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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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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.

[Signatures]

Chairman

Raleigh J. Fenell

Richard D. Daugherty
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To Dr. James Goss, Dr. Raleigh Ferrell, and Dr. Richard Daugherty, I extend my gratitude and appreciation for the suggestions, criticisms, and support during the preparation of this paper.

To my friends of the Clallam Indian Tribe, and the members of the Port Angeles School District No. 9, I express my sincere thanks for your cooperation and friendship.

To Dr. Patricia Stanley, I owe my ironic introduction to the science of linguistics.

The field research during which data for this paper were collected was supported by a WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY RESEARCH GRANT-IN-AID (Director: Dr. James Goss), and, in part, by the Clallam Indian Tribe.
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/ ~ /ɛ/ </*tpleado/; and (3) continuant and non-continuant obstruents, e.g., /c/ </*t'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 abori-
ginally 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 Town-
send, on the eastern portion (Figure 1).

Currently, the Clallams live in three main areas: (1) the
Lower Elwha Reservation, Port Angeles, Washington; (2) James-
town, 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 Wash-
ington Harbor had nine houses sheltering forty-three people in
1880. In 1923 a census . . . listed 296 Klallam residing in
three localities, Jamestown, Elwha [sic] and Clallam Bay."
Figure 1. Aboriginal Clallam distribution.
Figure 2. 1975 Clallam distribution.
Gunther (1927:181) gives the following total tribal population figures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>296</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**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 S·oke" (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., /sʌ̀cənʔ/, 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
2.I & \quad [+ \text{Noun}] \quad \rightarrow \quad [+ \text{Animate}] \\
& \phantom{\rightarrow} \quad [+ \text{Possessed}] \\
2.II & \quad [+ \text{Common} \quad \downarrow \quad [+ \text{Human}] \\
& \phantom{\rightarrow} \quad [+ \text{Animate}] \\
2.III & \quad [+ \text{Common} \quad \downarrow \quad [+ \text{Place Name}] \\
& \phantom{\rightarrow} \quad [- \text{Animate}] \\
2.IV & \quad [+ \text{Natural}] \quad \rightarrow \quad [+ \text{Geographic}] \\
& \phantom{\rightarrow} \quad [+ \text{Plant}] \\
2.V & \quad [+ \text{Geographic}] \quad \rightarrow \quad [+ \text{Topographic}] \\
& \phantom{\rightarrow} \quad [+ \text{Mineral}] 
\end{align*}
\]
Semantic Redundancy Rules

2.1 \[ \text{Animate} \quad + \text{Possessed} \] = Bodypart

2.2 \[ + \text{Human} \quad + \text{Possessed} \] = Kinterm

2.3 \[ - \text{Human} \quad + \text{Common} \] = Animal

2.4 [+ Plant] = Plant

2.5 \[ - \text{Natural} \] = Artifact

2.6 [+ Place Name] = Place Name

2.7 [+ Topographic] = Topographic

2.8 [+ Mineral] = Mineral

2.9 \[ - \text{Topographic} \] = 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).

\[
\begin{align*}
[\pm \text{Speaker}] & \quad \rightarrow \quad / & \text{Noun stem} \\
[\pm \text{Possessed}] & \quad \rightarrow \quad \\
[\pm \text{Addressee}] & \quad \rightarrow \\
\end{align*}
\]

Prefixes

\[
\begin{align*}
[+ \text{Speaker}] & \quad \rightarrow \quad /n(\partial)-/ \ 'my' \\
[- \text{Addressee}] & \quad \rightarrow \quad \\
[- \text{Speaker}] & \quad \rightarrow \quad /n?-/ \ 'your' \\
[+ \text{Addressee}] & \quad \rightarrow \\
\end{align*}
\]

Suffixes

\[
\begin{align*}
[+\neg \text{Speaker}] & \quad \rightarrow \quad /-\tilde{z}/ \ 'our' \\
[+ \text{Addressee}] & \quad \rightarrow \quad \\
[- \text{Speaker}] & \quad \rightarrow \quad /-s/ \ '3rd singular/plural' \\
[- \text{Addressee}] & \quad \rightarrow \\
\end{align*}
\]
Bodypart Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

\[ \begin{align*}
N + \text{Possessed} - \text{Human} &= \text{Bodypart}
\end{align*} \]

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. /scam?/ 'bone'
/scam?eq'/ 'skull'
/scam?ucen?/ 'mandible'
/sxw'cemcamu?eq/ 'spine'

2.1.2. /q'incen/ 'whiskers'
/?esq'a?nucen/ 'mustache'
/?esxw'enq'w'enen?/ 'beard'

2.1.3. /sxw'cetoq'/ 'waist'
/sxw'cetoq'wac/ 'wrist'
/sxw'cetoq'wesen?/ 'ankle'

2.1.4. /sqwenen?/ 'head'
/sqwenes/ 'forehead'
<p>| | |</p>
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<td>2.1.6</td>
<td><code>/sxʷəyənʔ/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.7</td>
<td><code>/qayəŋʔ ~ qaʔəŋʔ/</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.8</td>
<td><code>/sʔacs/</code></td>
</tr>
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<td>2.1.30</td>
<td><code>/sqamuʔ/</code></td>
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</table>
2.1.31. /čɛnəʔ/ 'chest'
2.1.32. /ciq’ənʔ/ 'shoulder'
2.1.33. /tawiʔ/ 'arm'
2.1.34. /sqiʔukʷs/ 'left arm/hand'
2.1.35. /sčikʷs/ 'right arm/hand'
2.1.36. /sčxac/ 'finger'
       /sčxsən/ 'toe'
2.1.37. /skʷicəʔqsayʔs/ 'index finger'
2.1.38. /?əscəʔənuʔics/ 'middle finger'
       /scactuʔics/ 'thumb'
       /scəʔctuysən/ 'big toe'
2.1.39. /?əsəʔənuʔics/ 'ring finger'
2.1.40. /sqəʔqiʔuʔics/ 'little finger'
2.1.41. /čəʔuʔics/ 'fingernail'
       /čəʔuʔisn/ 'toenail, claw'
2.1.42. /cays/ 'hand'
2.1.43. /kəʔtasəʔcs/ 'palm of hand'
       /kəʔtasəʔnʔ/ 'sole of foot, foot'
2.1.44. /sqpxʷiʔaxənʔ/ 'elbow'
2.1.45. /sxanaʔ/ 'leg'
2.1.46. /scxač/ 'hip'
2.1.47. /sqiʔakʷən/ 'knee'
2.1.48. /qaʔnsn/ 'calf'
2.1.49. /sxʷčutuʔəč/ 'heel'
2.1.50. /skʷənəʔ/ 'afterbirth'
2.1.51. /?əsməquʔs/ 'non-deformed skull'
2.1.52. /yanuwsə/ 'heart'
2.1.53. /sx'ëx'ik'n/ 'internal organs'
2.1.54. /që?/ 'intestine'
2.1.55. /scëncën/ 'kidney'
2.1.56. /stäqa?/ 'liver'
2.1.57. /sk'waq'/ 'lung'
2.1.58. /xe?nën/ 'tendon'
2.1.59. /yëk'x/ 'rib'
2.1.60. /čsu?/ 'stomach'
2.1.61. /sx'éncaytn?/ 'brain'
2.1.62. /mëc/ 'fat'
2.1.63. /që?a?k'ways/ 'eyebrow'
2.1.64. /tëptn?/ 'eyelash'
2.1.65. /si?atn/ 'hair'
2.1.66. /spusëŋ/ 'boil'
2.1.67. /stu?ik'ën/ 'blood'
2.1.68. /nëčt/ 'pus'
2.1.69. /sx'k'wa?inţ/ 'saliva'
2.1.70. /šiyč/ 'skin'
2.1.71. /qëxnën/ 'hoof'
2.1.72. /čëstn/ 'antler, horn'
2.1.73. /xëncëqënsëŋ/ 'beak'
2.1.74. /sxq'a?e?/ 'feather, wing'
2.1.75. /sxëpï?nč/ 'bird's tail'
2.1.76. /qätinëŋ/ 'area around the spine of a fish'
2.1.77. /sxak'a/ 'spine of a fish'
2.1.78. /sxëpšëŋ/ 'fish tail'
Kinship Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{+ Human} \\
\text{+ Possessed}
\end{array}
= \text{Kinterm}
\]

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-səʔcuʔiʔ/ 'my younger sibling'
2.2.2. /nə-sxʷtunəq/ 'my older sibling'
2.2.3. /nə-swiʔčaʔč/ 'my child'
2.2.4. /nə-tən/ 'my mother'
2.2.5. /nə-cət/ 'my father'
2.2.6. /nə-siʔyaʔ/ '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-sxʷsuʔkwə́ł/ 'my step-parent'
2.2.11. /nə-səʔənəʔən/ 'my step-child'
2.2.12. /nə-tkwəʔnuʔiʔ/ 'my younger sibling's child'
2.2.13. /nə-cačc/ 'my parent's siblings'
2.2.14. /nəʔinuc/ 'my grandchild, sibling's child's child, first cousin's grandchild'
2.2.15. /nə-čaʔəmaqʷ/ 'my great grandparent, great grandchild'
2.2.16. /nəʔəqʷəʔəqʷ/ 'my great-great grandparent, great-great grandchild'
2.2.17. /nə-čəʔəpəʔəqʷ/ 'my great-great-great grandparent, great-great-great grandchild'
2.2.18. /nə-snəxʷtən/ 'my spouse's sibling (not of my sex), sibling's spouse (not of my sex), potential spouse'

2.2.19. /nə-swaʔit/ 'my spouse's sibling (of my sex), my sibling's spouse (of my sex)'

2.2.20. /nə-swəʔqəʔ/ 'my husband, man'

2.2.21. /nə-sčutaʔəl/ 'my child's spouse'

2.2.22. /nə-sʔkwuʔis/ 'my child's spouse's parent'

2.2.23. /nə-maycənʔ/ 'my in-laws after the death of my spouse'

2.2.24. /nə-siyaʔit/ 'my parent-in-law'

2.2.25. /nə-siʔuʔit/ 'my oldest child'

2.2.26. /nə-sʔaʔaʔčayt/ 'my youngest child'

2.2.27. /nə-sʔəniʔ/ 'my wife, woman'

2.2.28. /nə-sčaʔča/ 'my friend, relation, relative'

2.2.29. /ʔəʔaʔin nə-sčaʔča/ 'my close relative' [lit.: at home relative]

2.2.30. /ʔaʔčaʔ/ 'my mother's kin group, father's kin group'

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
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Table I. A Semantic Distinctive Feature Matrix for Classical Computational Linguistics
not genetically related to either or both (step-) parent(s);
(4) Ego's Generation (G⁰); (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,

\[
\begin{align*}
2.2.i & \quad + [+ \text{ Male}] \rightarrow \text{ti'?a/kinterm } \\
2.2.ii & \quad + [- \text{ Male}] \rightarrow \text{ci'?a/kinterm }
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
2.2.1. & \quad + \text{Lineal} \\
& \quad - \text{E. L.} \\
& \quad + G⁰ \\
& \quad - \text{OL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ + /nə-səʔcən \sim nə-səʔčut'iʃ/ 'my younger sibling' \]

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-səʔcən/ 'my younger sibling'.
2.2.2. 
\[
\begin{align*}
&+ \text{Lineal} \\
&- \text{E. L.} \\
&+ G^0 \\
&+ \text{OL}
\end{align*}
\]  
\(\rightarrow /nə-\text{sxw}^\text{tuneq}/ '\text{my older sibling}'\)

2.2.3. 
\[
\begin{align*}
&+ \text{Lineal} \\
&- \text{E. L.} \\
&- G^0 \\
&- G^{+1} \\
&+ G^{-1}
\end{align*}
\]  
\(\rightarrow /nə-\text{swiʔčačʃ}/ '\text{my child}'\)

\[
\begin{align*}
&+ [+ \text{RA}] \\
&- [+ \text{RA}]
\end{align*}
\]  
\(\rightarrow /nə-\text{siʔuʔiʔ}/ '\text{my oldest child}'\)

\(\rightarrow /nə-\text{sʔaʔčayʃ}/ '\text{my youngest child}'\)

2.2.4. 
\[
\begin{align*}
&+ \text{Lineal} \\
&- \text{E. L.} \\
&- G^0 \\
&+ G^{+1} \\
&- M
\end{align*}
\]  
\(\rightarrow /nə-\text{tan}/ '\text{my mother}'\)

2.2.5. 
\[
\begin{align*}
&+ \text{Lineal} \\
&- \text{E. L.} \\
&- G^0 \\
&+ G^{+1} \\
&+ M
\end{align*}
\]  
\(\rightarrow /nə-\text{cət}/ '\text{my father}'\)
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. \([- \text{Lineal}]\)

- E. L.
+ H. L.
+ G^0
- [+ M]

\(\rightarrow /nə-snəčuʔiʔ/\) 'my half-sibling'

2.2.10. \([- \text{Lineal}]\)

- E. L.
+ H. L.
- G^0
+ G^{+1}

\(\rightarrow /nə-sxʷsuʔkʷiʔ/\) 'my step-parent'

2.2.11. \([- \text{Lineal}]\)

- E. L.
+ H. L.
- G^0
- G^{+1}

\(\rightarrow /nə-sənəʔəʔ/\) 'my step-child'

2.2.12. \([- \text{Lineal}]\)

- E. L.
- H. L.
- G^{+1}

\(\rightarrow /nə-tkʷonuʔiʔ/\) 'my younger sibling's child'
2.2.13. 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- \text{Lineal} \\
- E. L. \\
- H. L. \\
+ G^1 \\
+ [+ M] \\
- [+ M]
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow /nə-cačc/ \ 'my parent's siblings'\]

2.2.14. 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ \text{Lineal} \\
+ E. L. \\
+ G^{-2}
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow /nə-ʔiŋuc/ \ 'my grandchild, sibling's child's child, first cousin's grandchild'\]

2.2.15. 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ \text{Lineal} \\
+ E. L. \\
- G^{-2} \\
+ G^3
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow /nə-ʔaʔmaqʷ/ \ 'my great grandparent, great grandchild'\]

2.2.16. 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ \text{Lineal} \\
+ E. L. \\
- G^{-2} \\
- G^3 \\
+ G^4
\end{array}
\]

\[\rightarrow /nə-həqʷʔəqʷ/ \ 'my great-great grandparent, great-great grandchild'\]
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.
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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<tr>
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<td>5. Male</td>
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/nə-snax\'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 /micinə/. 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. 

| - Consanguineal |
| - G+ |
| - G- |
| + Male |

(Expansion for male ego):

- [+ M] → /nə-s\-\swyʔqəʔ/ 'my husband, man'
- [+] → /nə-s\-\șaniʔ/ 'my wife, woman'
Suttles (1960) comments on the /nə-sʔkʷuʔiʔ/ relationship in South Georgia and Straits Salish social systems.

The most important remaining affinal kinship term is skʷələws, 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].
/nə-siwaʔɬ/ 'my parent-in-law' is the affectionate diminutive form of /nə-siwaʔ/ '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.

Female Ego

\[
\begin{align*}
\triangle & = \bigcirc \\
& \quad \text{\textit{\text `/swaʔiʔ/}} \\
& \quad \text{'sibling's spouse} \\
& \quad \text{(of my sex)}' \\
\bigcirc & = \triangle \\
& \quad \text{\textit{\text `/snaxʷtan/}} \\
& \quad \text{'sibling's spouse} \\
& \quad \text{(not of my sex)}'
\end{align*}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE (YEARS)</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE/FEMALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>/swiʔquʔiʔ/</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>/sinaʔcuʔiʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-10</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/sčoʔayʔiʔ/</td>
<td>/sinaʔcuʔiʔ ~ sinaʔčuyʔiʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 10-12      | +    | +           | [ /qanəʔcuʔiʔ/  
|            |      |             | [ /sinaʔcuʔiʔ/ ] |
| 13-17      | /swəʔwəs/ | +           | /qanəʔniʔ/ |
| 18/20-29   | +    | /sšiwiʔ/   | +      |
| 30-40      | /swəʔqəʔ/ | +           | /šaniʔ/ |
| 41-50      | +    | /kʷa kiʔayʔ/ | +      |
| 50 +       | /kʰəsn/ | /kʰiʔ čeq/ | +      |
Animal Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
N \\
- \text{Human} \\
+ \text{Common}
\end{bmatrix} = \text{Animal}
\]

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/ 'animal' (generic)
2.3.2. /skʷuʔikʷi/ 'whistling badger' (Taxidea taxus)
2.3.3. /šaʔtiʔpiʔaxən/ 'bat' (Lasionycteris noctivagans)
2.3.4. /sčiʔkʷaʔəč/ 'black bear' (Ursus americanus)
2.3.5. /kʷəyoč/ 'grizzly bear' (Ursus horibilis)
2.3.6. /sqeʔawʔ/ 'beaver' (Castor canadensis)
2.3.7. /šaʔšuʔləwiʔ/ 'mountain beaver' (Aplodontia rufa)
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. /sta?čən/ 'wolf' (Canis lupus)
/sta?čən?iʔ/ '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. /smayəʔ/ 'elk' (Cervus canadensis)
2.3.17. /stiqiʔ/ 'horse' (Equus caballus)
2.3.18. /qiʔutn/ 'horse' (Equus caballus)
2.3.19. /čistn/ 'horn'
2.3.20. /qʷuxənʔ/ 'hoof'
2.3.21. /sxʷutmoʔ/ 'marten' (Martes americana)
2.3.22. /məsʔčuʔ/ 'mink' (Mustela vison)
2.3.23. /xaʔiʔt(h)acs/ 'mole' (Scapanus townsendi)
2.3.24. /kʷatənʔ/ 'rat' (genus Rattus)
/kʷəʔkʷatənʔ/ 'mouse' (genus Rattus)
2.3.25. /kʷaʔuʔ/ '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. /čiʔatkw̓(s)/ 'stick Indian, sasquatch'
2.3.30. /ʔiʔas/ '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. /ləməʔtu/ 'sheep' (genus Ovis)
2.3.35. /sxʷiʔi/ 'mountain sheep' (?)
2.3.36. /čitxʷayqənʔ/ 'shrew' (Sorex palustris)
2.3.37. /smaćən/ 'striped skunk' (Mephitis mephitis)
2.3.38. /ʔaʔelxaʔiʔs/ 'spotted skunk' (Spilogale putorius)
2.3.39. /čəʔpsɨʔucən/ 'squirrel' (Sciurus griseus)
2.3.40. /sxʷqəʔqəʔənkʷən/ 'flying squirrel' (Glaucomys sabrinus)
2.3.41. /papqəʔqən/ 'weasel' (Mustela frenata)
2.3.42. /čxʷəyu/ 'whale' (generic)
2.3.43. /sxʷsiʔsayəʔ/ 'whale' (unidentified)
2.3.44. /qəʔuməʔən/ 'killer whale' (Orcinus rectipinna)
2.3.45. /qəʔcawʔəč/ 'finback whale' (Balaenoptera davidsoni)

Fish and Shellfish

2.3.46. /sʔiʔtən/ 'saltwater fish' (generic)
2.3.47. /ʔačt/ ' ling cod' (Ophiodon elongatus)
2.3.48. /čəʔmanaʔ/ 'night smelt' (Allosmerus elongatus)
2.3.49. /čəʔnkʷaʔ/ 'tom cod' (Microgadus tomcod)
2.3.50. /sčəʔnənəxʷ/ 'salmon' (generic)
2.3.51. /hanənʔ/ 'hump-back salmon' (Oncorhynchus gorbuscha)
2.3.52. /kʷitšən/ 'spring salmon' (Oncorhynchus tschawytscha)
2.3.53. /qəʔčqs/ 'silver salmon' (Oncorhynchus kisutch)
2.3.54. /scəʔqiʔ/ 'sockeye salmon' (Oncorhynchus nerka)
2.3.55. /ʔəʔχʷayʔ/ 'chum salmon' (Oncorhynchus keta)
2.3.56. /xatup/ 'salmon' (unidentified)
2.3.57. /ʔiʔəcəʔən/ 'rock cod' (genus Sebastodes)
2.3.58. /kʷuilesteʔu/ 'eulachon' (Thaleicthys pacificus)
2.3.59. /təʊˈsən/ 'steelhead trout' (Salmo gairdneri)
2.3.60. /təˈruʔəˈsən/ 'eel' (Anguilla rostrata)
2.3.61. /pəˈwəʔ/ 'flounder' (Platicthys stellatus)
2.3.62. /qəˈwəʔ/ 'starfish' (Astérias rubens)
2.3.63. /qəˈwəʔ/ 'skatefish' (Raja ernaceae)
2.3.64. /qəˈwəʔ/ 'day smelt' (Allosmerus elongatus)
2.3.65. /səˈcuʔtəx/ 'halibut' (Hippoglossus stenolepis)
2.3.66. /skəˈwəʔms/ 'pollack' (Pollachius virens)
2.3.67. /skəˈwəʔac/ 'dogfish shark' (Squalus suckleyi)
2.3.68. /kəˈwəʔəntəʔ/ 'mud shark' (?)
2.3.69. /səˈluʔənət/ 'herring' (Clupea pallasi)
2.3.70. /squmə/ 'ratfish' (Hydrolagus colliei)
2.3.71. /stɪˈʃəcə/ 'octopus' (Octopus apollyon)
2.3.72. /sqəˈwəʔəˈəkəxə/ 'jellyfish' (class Scyphozoa)
2.3.73. /təˈqəʔtəqə/ 'red snapper' (family Lutjanidae)
2.3.74. /tɨˈkus/ 'black bass' (genus Micropterus)
2.3.75. /təˈʔəʔəʔənən/ 'minnow' (Phoxinus phoxinus)
2.3.76. /wəʔtəʔ/ 'perch' (Perca flavescens)
2.3.77. /xəˈwəʔtə/ 'bullhead' (genus Ictalurus)
2.3.78. /sqəˈməʔəkəxə/ 'bullhead' (?)
2.3.79. /qəˈwəʔtə/ 'dolly varden' (Salvelinus malma)
2.3.80. /squmana/ 'trout' (generic)
2.3.81. /sqiʔkəˈnət/ 'shellfish' (generic)
2.3.82. /ʔəˈʔəʔəxə/ 'crab' (Cancer magister)
2.3.83. /nəˈwəʔtəxə/ 'large, yellowish crab' (unidentified)
2.3.84. /ʧuŋˈkənən/ 'acorn barnacle' (Balanus glandula)
2.3.85. /həˈʔəʔə/ 'weathervane scallop' (Pecten caurinus)
2.3.86. /kʰəŋkʰwɪnsən/ 'helmet crab' (Telmessus cheiragonus)

2.3.87. /kʰəʔkʰwɪluʔəʔ/ 'purple shore crab' (Hemigrapus nudus)

2.3.88. /tɑumʔaʔs/ 'limpet' (Nodiolus flabellus)

2.3.89. /nəqʔseʔeʔ/ 'gooseneck barnacle' (Pollicipes polymerus)

2.3.90. /nəŋəʔ/ 'horse clam' (Tresus nuttalli)

2.3.91. /saʔsaʔnumaʔ/ 'hermit crab' (Pagurus sp.)

2.3.92. /sqxəyuʔ/ 'butter clam' (Saxidomus giganteus)

2.3.93. /stiʔuʔəm/ 'yellow clam, cockle' (Cardium corbis)

2.3.94. /sxʷiʔnʔn/ 'scallop' (unidentified)

2.3.95. /sxʷliapunaʔ/ 'small chiton' (unidentified)

2.3.96. /ʃəʔʃəʔn/ 'littleneck clam' (Venerupis staminea)

2.3.97. /tuʔeʔəʔqʷ/ 'small, white-tipped mussel'

2.3.98. /təŋsuʔeʔč/ 'linded chiton' (Lepidochitona lineata)

2.3.99. ʔəʔtʃəʔmʔ/ 'giant horse clam' (Schizathaerus nuttalli)

2.3.100. ʔaxʷχaxʷ/ 'razor clam' (Siliqua patula)

2.3.101. /ʔukʷs/ 'giant chiton' (Cryptochiton stelleri)

2.3.102. /ʔuncəʔeqʷ/ 'small crab' (Cancer oregonensis)

2.3.103. /μuʔtʃəʔčuʔ/ 'shrimp' (Pandalus danae)

2.3.104. /xixʷ/ 'large sea urchin' (?)

2.3.105. /sxʷpəʔiʔeqʷ/ 'green sea urchin' (Stronglocentrotus droebachiensis)

2.3.106. /skʰwɪčiʔ/ 'sea egg' (?)
Birds

2.3.107. /ćačəmʔ/ 'bird' (generic)

2.3.108. /kʷaškʷʃ/ 'bluebird' (Sialia mexicana)

2.3.109. /sxʷcaʔisčsus/ 'black-capped chickadee' (Parus atricapillus)

2.3.110. /səʔqʷuʔ/ 'crane' (Grus americana)

2.3.111. /skʷatuʔ/ 'raven' (Corvus corax)

/skʷakʷatuʔ/ 'crow' (Corvus brachyrhynchos)

/skʷakʷatuʔit/ 'blackbird' (Euphagus cyanocephalus)

2.3.112. /məʔeqʷ/ 'duck' (generic)

2.3.113. /tinʔqəʔən/ 'mallard duck' (Anas platyrhynchos)

2.3.114. /xʷuʔuqʷ/ 'merganser duck' (Mergus merganser)

2.3.115. /maʔmeʔkʷeʔwən/ 'bufflehead duck' (Charitonetta albeola)

2.3.116. /waʔwoʔšelʔeʔiʔ/ 'helldiver' (Podiceps cristatus)

2.3.117. /qʷəqʷəčʷ/ 'tiny helldiver' (unidentified)

2.3.118. /kʷiʔaʔeʔ/ 'yellow shafted flicker' (Colaptes auratus)

2.3.119. /kʷaʔiʔkʷiʔ/ 'brant goose' (Branta bernicla)

2.3.120. /kʷaʔxəʔən/ 'goose' (Branta canadensis)

2.3.121. /neʔet/ 'ruffed grouse' (Dendragapus obscurus)

2.3.122. /qʷənīʔ/ 'seagull' (Larus occidentalis)

2.3.123. /sxʷcaʔscayuʔ/ 'marsh hawk' (Circus cyaneus)

2.3.124. /peheʔ/ 'nighthawk' (Chordeiles minor)

2.3.125. /xʷaʔxʷtčʔiʔ/ 'hummingbird' (Selasphorus rufus)

2.3.126. /čšayi/ 'belted kingfisher' (Megaceryle alcyon)
2.3.127. /sxʷaʔqukwʷt/ 'loon' (Gavia immer elasson)
2.3.128. /nəčkwʷay/ 'small bird resembling a loon'
2.3.129. /čəčuʔxaʔeʔiʔč/ 'pygmy nuthatch' (Sitta pygmaea) or 'brown creeper' (Certhia familiaris)
2.3.130. /čəčtəʔnʷ/ 'great horned owl' (Bubo virginianus)
2.3.131. /məqmqəʔ/ 'snowy owl' (Nyctea scandiaca)
2.3.132. /skʷəʔəxʷ/ 'screech owl' (Otus asio)
2.3.133. /šəʔaʔčəʔənʔn/- 'saw-wheat owl' (Aegolius acadicus)
2.3.134. /stayxʷəʔn/- 'pheasant' (Phasianus colchicus)
2.3.135. /həʔmʔu/- 'pigeon' (Columba livia)
2.3.136. /xaxasčaʔeʔq/- 'California quail' (Lophortyx californicus)
2.3.137. /sqʷəsqʷ/- 'robin' (Turdus migratorius)
2.3.138. /sqeqs/- 'killdeer' (Charadrius vociferus)
2.3.139. /stəməč/- 'shag' (Phalacrocorax carbo)
2.3.140. /qʷəʔaʔšəʔən/- 'barn swallow' (Tyto alba)
2.3.141. /sxʷawəʔqən/- 'swan' (Cygnus olor)
2.3.142. /čuʔaʔčəʔən/- 'tern' (Sterna hirundo)
2.3.143. /xʷaʔxʷiʔəʔ/- 'hermit thrush' (Hylocichla guttata)
2.3.144. /sxʷaxʷunʔ/- 'rufous-sided towhee' (Pipilo erythrophthalmus)
2.3.145. /'təʔəmʔ/ 'bewicks wren' (Thryomanes bewickii) or 'winter wren' (Troglodytes troglodytes)
2.3.146. /təki/- 'turkey' (Meleagris gallopaua)
2.3.147. /kəʔeʔəʔqʷ/- 'pileated woodpecker' (Dryocopus pileatus)
2.3.148. /čəʔtnʔ/- 'acorn woodpecker' (Melanerpes formicivorus)
2.3.149. /maʔmiʔxʷi/- 'dipper' (Cinclus mexicanus)
Insects

2.3.150. /sxʷaʔxənʔaʔam/ 'insects' (generic)
2.3.151. /čəʔčəməcənəʔ/ 'bee' (generic)
2.3.152. /sxʷdəʔəcənəʔ/ 'cricket' (Gryllus domesticus)
2.3.153. /čəʔiʔənəʔqəʔəy/ 'earwig' (Forficula auricularia)
2.3.154. /sqiqəwəc/ 'flea' (Ctenocephalides felis)
2.3.155. /kʷaʔəcəc/ 'sand flea' (Culicoides canithorax)
2.3.156. /qaʔqayixənəʔ/ 'fly' (Musca domestica)
2.3.157. /sqxeʔeqʷ/ '(blue) dragonfly' (Plathemis lybia)
2.3.158. /sxʷyayixamus/ '(red) dragonfly' (Plathemis lybia)
2.3.159. /nəʔscənʔ/ 'louse' (Pediculus humanus capitis)
2.3.160. /ʔačinʔ/ 'maggot'
2.3.161. /qʷaʔən/ 'mosquito' (Culex pipiens)
2.3.162. /kʷaʔkʷaʔəʃu/ 'sowbug' (Porcellio laevis)
2.3.163. /sxʷqacqicayuʔ/ 'spider' (generic)
2.3.164. /kəʔqəʔənəʔ/ 'spider' (?)
2.3.165. /sqeqʷ/ 'worm' (generic)
2.3.166. /qəʔənəʔ/ 'snail' (?)
2.3.167. /qəʔənəʔ/ 'slug' (Limax maximus)

Amphibians/Reptiles

2.3.168. /həʔhəʔnʔʔ/ 'frog' (Rana catesbeiana)
2.3.169. /sxʔənuxʷ/ 'bullfrog' (Rana catesbeiana)
2.3.170. /sxʷnʔəʔnəntuʔəč/ 'turtle' (generic)
2.3.171. /wəʔəʔəq/ 'toad' (Hyla regilla)
2.3.172. /sxʷiʔxayuʔačin/ 'lizard' (generic)
2.3.173. /peʔčəʔən/ 'salamander' (generic)
2.3.174. /sxʷaʔxʷəʔ/ 'snake' (generic)
Plants

Semantic Feature Specification

\[
\begin{align*}
N & \quad + \quad \text{Plant}
\end{align*}
\]

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 /ič/ 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 term 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 /sqi?yayn/ 'trees'
2.5.B /šu?u?em/ 'bushes'
2.5.C /q'em/ 'roots'
2.5.D /scacqi?/ 'sprouts'
2.5.E /sk'ı?e?n/ 'bark'
2.5.F /?osay?a?yet/ '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/ 'trees'

2.5.1. /ću?yép/ '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. /sxʷiʔyeʔiⱡč/ '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. /xəŋq̓ič/ 'yew' (Taxus brevifolius)
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. /xčaʔčači/ '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. /nəqʷnəqʷyiⱡč/ '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. /sa?si?ta?nič/ 'western white pine' (Pinus monticola)
No information is available.

2.5.7. /ča?nič/ 'oak' (Quercus kellogii)
No information is available.

2.5.8. /čiša?aič/ '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. /pa?aič/ '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. /?aplus/ 'apple' (Pyrus malus)
The apple was introduced into the area by Europeans. The fruit was consumed.

2.5.11. /čtiuys/ 'orange' (Citrus auranticum)
The fruit was consumed.

2.5.12. /sq'oci?ye?aič/ 'western hemlock' (Tsuga heterophylla)
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. /ččač/ 'sitka spruce' (Picea sitchensis)
The Marine Drive area in Port Angeles, Washington, was called /čsčayčač/ 'the place of many spruce'.

2.5.14. /čiyaʔčič/ '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. /kʷatxič/ 'dogwood' (Cornus nuttallii)
The wood was used to make gambling discs (Gunther 1945:42).

2.5.16. /qaʔxʷič/ '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. /skʷač̓n̓ič/ '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. /sqʷun̓ič/ '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 pistilate 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 sweetner. 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. /sʰasəmiʔč/ '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. /tamuxʷiʔč/ '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. /piʔiʔč/ 'red huckleberry' (Vaccinium parvifolium)

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

/piʔw/ is used as a term of endearment or affection; when used in this sense /piʔw/ 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. /nəčinəčič/ '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. /təqˈəmič/ '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. /tiyuqʷič/ 'strawberry' (*Fragaria virginiana, F. vesca, F. chiloensis*)
The berries were eaten fresh.

2.5.26. /əqˈič/ 'ironwood' (*Holodiscus discolor*)
The wood was used for roasting stakes and digging sticks (Gunther 1945:33; AB).

2.5.27. /pačič/ '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. /qaʔyəqiič/ 'wild rose' (*Rosa nutkana*)
The rose hips were eaten for sweet breath (Gunther 1945:34).

2.5.29. /sčaničč/ '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. /spaʔachičč/ 'swamp current' (*Ribes lacustre*)
No information is available.

2.5.31. /sxʷčiʔheʔwničč/ 'chokeberry' (*Prunus demissa*)
No information is available.

2.5.32. /yeyʔxaʔmičč/ 'Hood Canal blue huckleberry'
(*Vaccinium* spp.)
The berries were eaten fresh and dry.

2.5.33. /siʔyəʔičč/ '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. /puqičč/ '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'ontaʔyič/ '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. /sc'iwq'ič/ '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. /čqeʔič/ '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. /kiyaʔcays/ 'wild lily of the valley' (*Maianthemum dilatatum*)
The berries were eaten but not relished (Gunther 1945:25).

2.5.39. /ʔałiluʔ, saʔiann/ '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 /qʷέʔ/ 'roots'

2.5.40. /čapx/ '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. /sakʷq/ '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. /qʷɛxʷʔəyəč/ 'nodding onion' (Allium cernuum)
They were eaten raw, cooked in pits or fried with meat in a frying pan (AB).

2.5.43. /qʷbiltʔiʔ/ '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 /scacqιʔ/ 'sprouts'

2.5.44. /saʔían, ?aliluʔ/ 'salmonberry' (*Rubus spectabilis*)
(See 2.5.39.)

2.5.45. /ʡqeyiʔč/ 'thimbleberry' (*Rubus parviflorus*)
(See 2.5.39.)

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

2.5.E /skʷəčəʔ/ 'bark'

2.5.47. /ʔcayiʔ/ '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 /ʔəsayʔaʔyat/ 'vines'

2.5.50. /sqʷiʔyayənxʷ/ '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. /k'i?x'y?si?t\c/ 'bog cranberry' (Vaccinium oxyccocus)

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. /ma?ex\w/ 'giant horsetail' (Equisetum telmateia)

Two parts were eaten: (1) bulbs; and (2) sprouts of the fertile shoots (/\ttuc/). 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\w\ma?k\wus\yn/ 'cow parsnip' (Heracleum lanatum)

In Spring, young sprouts and flower buds were peeled and eaten (Turner 1974:8).
2.5.54. /sx"ayʔəs/ '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. /čəʔčəŋ/ '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. /cəkʷt/ 'sea cucumber' (*Stichopus californicus*)
No information is available.

2.5.57. /ʔəqəs/ 'sea lettuce' (*Ulva lactuca, U. linza*)
No information is available.

2.5.58. /qʷaqq/ 'rockweed' (*Fucus vesiculosus*)
No information is available.

2.5.59. /ʔəqʷuʔənʔ/ 'bull kelp' (*Nereocystis luetkeana*)
After drying, the thin tail of the kelp was used for string.

2.5.60. /qəcəčənt/ 'ribbon seaweed' (?)
No information is available.

**Grasses**

2.5.61. /kʷuʔət/ '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, /sxʷcačəʔikʷən/.

2.5.62. /cənaʔxʷ/ 'tule' (*Scirpus acutus*)
Used to construct sleeping and wall mats (Gunther 1945:22).

2.5.63. /ʔuʔɁ/ '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.

Uncategorized

2.5.65. /scxøyem/ '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. /smunuš/ '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. /cakʷčn/ '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. /čəŋəŋʷa/ 'lichen' (?)
Lichens were not identified as to specific type.

2.5.69. /sxʷpiʔqʷusəŋ ?ə skʷəʔkwətuʔ/ '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. /čχəɣč/ '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. /piʔpiʔayqʷ/ 'tree fungus' (?)
No information is available.

2.5.73. /qəŋqəŋ? čisitč/ '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. /čisitč/ '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. /'cu?kwi?/ '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. xuwiXuq!a 'red-flowering currant' (*Ribes sanguineum*)
The berries were eaten fresh (Gunther 1945:32).

2.5.78. koqwexilte '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. ngkłał '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. /čəčsinęč/ 'service berry' (Amelanchier alnifolia)
The berries were eaten (Turner 1974:14).

2.5.83. wū'cinütc '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. sintcíqwuxtakèqwa'ítc 'self-heal' (Prunella
vulgaris)
An informant claimed that this is not the true
kèqwa'ítc whose root was eaten, but its step-
brother (Gunther 1945:45).
2.5.86. qápūt '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. tseqwekú '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. snanáqwútc 'orange honeysuckle' (*Lonicera ciliosa*)
The leaves were chewed and put on bruises (Gunther 1945:48).

2.5.90. sakúqwuk'kaín '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. swuxklà'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'šip 'licorice fern' (*Polypodium vulgare*)
The roots were eaten raw as cough medicine or eaten baked (Gunther 1945:13).
tsa'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).

/quake/ 'thick underbrush'
/scha?e?/ 'tree stump'
/staynx/ 'plant medicine'
/schuy?u/ 'stick of wood'
/saplin/ 'bread, flour'
/skaqo?/ 'flower'
/sxqwa?tn?/ 'fruit juice'
/ce?c?/ 'Indian rope'
/ce?yu?/ 'cedar limb'
/sxca?i?/ 'hay'

/sxca?ya?n?w/ 'grass'
/pkway?/ 'fallen, rotten log'
/ce?ni?/ 'erect, rotten log'
/ce?ni?/ 'plant'
/ce?x/ 'pitchwood, gum, pitch'
/sch(?)?yaq?ti?/ 'fruit tree'

/scha?yaq?/ 'berry' (generic)
/ram/ 'dried berries'
/qhay?/ 'drift log'
/schu?la/ 'leaf'
/schac/ 'thin tail of kelp'
/xpay?/ 'cut, dried cedar'
/sxi?yis/ 'branch'
/cha?ema?/ 'cone'
Artifact Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
N \\
\text{Natural}
\end{bmatrix} = \text{Artifact}
\]

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. /təˈɡəmənʔ/ 'barbecue stake'
2.5.2. /sʔiˈtən/ 'food'
2.5.3. /ˈćxas/ 'rock oven'
2.5.4. /stayaq/ 'sand cooking'
2.5.5. /sqʷˈayən/ 'barbecue'
2.5.6. /sčuˈt/ 'firewood'
2.5.7. /sunuc/ 'fire'
2.5.8. /swaˈtʃp/ 'fire drill'
2.5.9. /sxʷˈtiháy/ 'teapot'
2.5.10. /sxʷˈalap/ 'cooking pot'
### Canoes

2.5.11. /skʷəšn/ 'frying pan'
2.5.12. /čiʔiʔsantnʔ/ 'cross-piece of drying rack'

### Tools and Woven Artifacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.5.13.</td>
<td>/čəʔətnʔ/</td>
<td>'bailer'</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.5.14.</td>
<td>/put/</td>
<td>'boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.15.</td>
<td>/səʔxʷix/</td>
<td>'canoe' (plain ends)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.16.</td>
<td>/ʔuʔutxs/</td>
<td>'canoe' (fancy ends)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.5.17.</td>
<td>/kw̃inïʔ/</td>
<td>'war canoe'</td>
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<td>2.5.18.</td>
<td>/sxʷcayʔsn/</td>
<td>'canoe mat'</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.5.19.</td>
<td>/sxʷixawixtn/</td>
<td>'canoe thwart'</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.5.20.</td>
<td>/χʷuʔət/</td>
<td>'paddle'</td>
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<td>2.5.21.</td>
<td>/χʷuʔwən/</td>
<td>'pole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.22.</td>
<td>/muhuyʔ/</td>
<td>'basket' (generic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.23.</td>
<td>/spčuʔ/</td>
<td>'watertight basket'</td>
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<td>/qaʔawəc/</td>
<td>'pack basket'</td>
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<td>2.5.25.</td>
<td>/caʔatnʔ/</td>
<td>'tump line'</td>
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<td>2.5.26.</td>
<td>/qʷəyənʔ/</td>
<td>'basket handle'</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.5.27.</td>
<td>/sxʷčatč/</td>
<td>'bottom of basket'</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.5.28.</td>
<td>/sxʷšaʔ/</td>
<td>'blanket'</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.5.29.</td>
<td>/cuʔn/</td>
<td>'spindle whorl'</td>
</tr>
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<td>2.5.30.</td>
<td>/sʔiʔikʷliʔ/</td>
<td>'outer surface of basket/object'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.31.</td>
<td>/snaʔuʔ/</td>
<td>'inner surface of basket/object'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.32.</td>
<td>/scčucən/</td>
<td>'rim of basket/object'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. /skʷiʔcyʔsʔ/ 'adze'
2.5.37. /skʷkʷamʔ/ 'axe'
2.5.38. /cisnʔ/ 'nail'
2.5.39. /čqayıtnʔ/ 'sharpening stone'
/čqan/ 'file'

Tools (Subsistence)
2.5.40. /yəčt/ 'arrow'
2.5.41. /sxʷmutn/ 'bow'
2.5.42. /qukʷ/ 'digging stick'
2.5.43. /xəcətn/ 'fishing line'
2.5.44. /čičəsuʔ/ 'float'
2.5.45. /čukʷiʔtn/ 'spear point'
2.5.46. /teʔtmnʔ/ '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. /čiʔaxʷ/ 'weir'
2.5.52. /steʔxʷ/ 'spear shaft'
2.5.53. /təčiʔuʔ/ 'spear'
2.5.54. /sətsənʔ/ 'animal trap'
2.5.55. /sxʷəpənʔyeʔkʷənʔ/ 'detachable spear point'
Tools (Domestic)

2.5.56. /ʔeχʷʔənuʔʔən/ 'broom'
2.5.57. /xʷʔeləm/ 'rope'
2.5.58. /sxʷʔamut/ 'bed'
2.5.59. /pʰuʔčs/ 'cradle'
2.5.60. /ŋaʔaq/ 'lamp, torch'
2.5.61. /sxʷʔaʔi/ 'night toilet'
2.5.62. /čaʔwiʔ/ 'dish'
2.5.63. /χuʔaʔiʔ/ 'wooden pan'
2.5.64. /ʔuʔən/ 'spoon'
2.5.65. /χuʔʔəqʔs/ 'storage box'
2.5.66. /sxʷʔiʔyaʔiʔ/ 'food box'
2.5.67. /sxʷʔaʔwnay/ 'box for food taken on trips'
2.5.68. /saʔwn/ 'food taken on trips'

Clothing and Ornamentation

2.5.69. /ʔqit/ 'clothing' (generic)
2.5.70. /ʔčəʔčn/ 'belt'
2.5.71. /likʷʔəntn/ 'suspenders'
2.5.72. /nuʔsəntn/ 'trousers'
2.5.73. /sčəməʔčuʔəs/ 'cape'
2.5.74. /sčəʔəʔawʔqʷ/ 'hat'
2.5.75. /ʃəʔqəʔn/ 'shoe'
2.5.76. /xʷʔiʔqʷʔən/ 'kerchief'
2.5.77. /qʷuʔačukʷit/ 'hide clothing'
2.5.78. /šľpuqt/ 'shirt'
2.5.79. /qʷayʔqʷiyʔ/ 'beads'
2.5.80. /tšeʔkʷəŋ/ 'comb'
2.5.81. /čuʔməʔčnʔ/ 'bracelet'
2.5.82. /suwəcsin/ 'ring'
2.5.83. /nuwəcsin/ 'glove'
2.5.84. /ʔəsqəʔqəs/ 'headband'
2.5.85. /ʔəsqatuʔis/ 'headband'
2.5.86. /sƛəwəʔʔ/ 'earring'
2.5.87. /təmʔt/ 'ochre, Indian paint'
2.5.88. /qačs/ 'cedar bark cloth used for frontal bone deformation'
2.5.89. /nəxʷayʔs/ 'artificially deformed skull'
2.5.90. /sxʷnuʔusn/ 'mask'
2.5.91. /quxən/ 'deer hoof rattle'
2.5.92. /paʔəkʷ/ 'pipe' (smoking)
2.5.93. /kʷčəysnʔ/ 'walking stick'
2.5.94. /ƛəʔquʔyaʔsŋʔ/ 'drumming stick'
2.5.95. /ʔawʔʷ/ 'belongings'
2.5.96. /maʔyust/ 'possessions of the upper class'

Settlement

2.5.97. /sʔasəs/ 'face, outside surface'
2.5.98. /spkʷəŋawʔtxʷ/ 'smokehouse'
2.5.99. /sƛʰaʔənəqawʔtxʷ/ 'potlatch house'
2.5.100. /sʔxʷənxʷəawʔtxʷ/ 'longhouse' (?)
2.5.101. /ʔaʔyən ~ ʔaʔiŋ/ 'house' (unidentified)
2.5.102. /ʔəsxʷtčəynʔ/ 'corner'
2.5.103. /qaqʔ/ 'corner post'
2.5.104. /təʔənʔ/ 'wall'
2.5.105. /siyayič/ 'cedar boards, wall mat'
2.5.106. /ɬəplaš/ 'boards'
2.5.107. /sxʷlaxʔ/ 'doorway'
2.5.108. /kʷiʔuqəʔ/ 'smokehole'
2.4.109. /sxʷlxačn/ 'floor'
2.5.110. /sxʷqqəqənumʔ/ 'window'
2.5.111. /qayaxən/ 'fence'
2.5.112. /čaʔyaʔkʷaxən/ 'forest edge of a village'
2.5.113. /huʔaʔkʷaxən/ '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. /qʷəʔkwaxən/ 'downriver edge of a river village'
2.5.117. /makʷa/ 'graveyard'

**Place Name Nouns**

**Semantic Feature Specification**

\[
\begin{bmatrix} 
N \\
+ \text{Place Name} \\
\end{bmatrix} = \text{Place Name}
\]

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.  /huqu?/       'Hoko River'
2.6.2.  /sx'í?ucən/   'Dry Creek'
2.6.3.  /ʔeʔix'wa/    'Elwha River'
2.6.4.  /ʔiʔins/      'Inis Creek'
2.6.5.  /cəʔmət/      'Morse Creek'
2.6.6.  /nəx'čeʔsaʔqn/ 'Twin River'
2.6.7.  /pəʔčt/       'Pysht River'
2.6.8.  /čix'əʔ/      'Deep Creek'

Single Site Names

2.6.9.  /čəʔqʷ/       'Jamestown'
2.6.10. /hacqs/       'Point-no-Point'
2.6.11. /nəx'qəʔt/    'Port Gamble'
2.6.12. /sx'čaʔqəʔytʔnʔ/ 'Ranger'
2.6.13. /ƛiʔłuyəqs/   'Tongue Point'
2.6.14. /čaʔiʔsaʔeč/  'The Place'
2.6.15. /šx'əʔcən/    'Hollywood Beach, Port Angeles'
2.6.16. /sx'maʔ/      'Esquimalt, British Columbia'
2.6.17. /smitolia/    'Victoria, British Columbia'
General Area Names

2.6.18. /čiʔisnəʔw/ 'east side of Marine Drive, Port Angeles'
2.6.19. /čayčaʔč/ '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. /kʷiʔcaʔawtxʷ/ 'village on the upper Elwha River'
2.6.23. /xaʔyčaʔčiʔ/ 'village in the Marine Drive area, Port Angeles'
2.6.24. /tiʔət/ 'village on Indian Creek'

Inlets (Bays)

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

Topographic Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
N \\
+ \text{Topographic}
\end{bmatrix} = \text{Topographic}
\]

This semantic category includes features in the natural environment.
| 2.7.1. | /cacaʔ/ | 'beach' |
| 2.7.2. | /sxʔcaʔuʔxʷ/ | 'canal, inlet' |
| 2.7.3. | /sängeʔat/ | 'mountain' |
| 2.7.4. | /sxʔcaʔyič/ | 'valley' |
| 2.7.5. | /stuʔwiʔ/ | 'river' |
| 2.7.6. | /čoʔʷ/ | 'dirt' |
| 2.7.7. | /scətəʔxʷən/ | 'earth, land, dirt' |
| 2.7.8. | /caʔɁanʔqʷ/ | 'higher ground' |
| 2.7.9. | /sqiʔqiʔyayʔuʔxʷ/ | 'forest' |
| 2.7.10. | /sxayəʔkʷiʔeč/ | 'foothills' |
| 2.7.11. | /ƛʔčas/ | 'island' |
| 2.7.12. | /caʔɁí/ | 'lake' |
| 2.7.13. | /čəʔxigʷəxt/ | 'ocean' |
| 2.7.14. | /spəʔxəʔʔʔ/ | 'field, prairie, plain' |
| 2.7.15. | /šiʔiʔct/ | 'river rapids' |
| 2.7.16. | /sxʷtitəʔɁəqʷ/ | 'head of a river' |
| 2.7.17. | /stəʔx/ | 'branch of a river' |
| 2.7.18. | /ƛɁəłəʔc/ | 'saltwater' |
| 2.7.19. | /čɨxʷən/ | 'land spit' |
| 2.7.20. | /muʔčuʔ/ | 'spring' |
| 2.7.21. | /saʔsusʔ/ | 'trail' |
| 2.7.22. | /qʷuʔqʷaʔ/ | 'creek' (< /qʷuʔ/ 'water') |
| 2.7.23. | /sʃəʔəʔʔəʔsəʔstuʔwiʔ/ | 'waterfall' |
| 2.7.24. | /ʔeʔeʔus ~ ʔeʔyuc/ | 'land on either side of a river mouth' |
Mineral Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
N \\
+ \text{Mineral}
\end{bmatrix} = \text{Mineral}
\]

Mineral nouns refer to a small class of natural elements.

Mineral Nouns (2.8)

2.8.1. /pɔk'wɔčn/ 'sand'
2.8.2. /sɛk'či/ 'fine gravel'
2.8.3. /sŋiyant/ 'rock'
2.8.3. /sŋantuʔiʔ/ 'gravel'
2.8.4. /smiʔiʔ/ 'mud'
2.8.5. /k'wəx'wəŋxᵲ/ 'ashes'
2.8.6. /xaʔn/ 'salt'
2.8.7. /caʔis/ 'charcoal'

Atmospheric Nouns

Semantic Feature Specification

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
N \\
- \text{Topographic}
\end{bmatrix} = \text{Atmospheric}
\]

Atmospheric nouns refer to naturally occurring phenomena.
| 2.9.1. | /sxʷnuʔus/ | 'cloud' |
| 2.9.2. | /spəʔxʷən/ | 'fog' |
| 2.9.3. | /čixahaysnʔ/ | 'hail' |
| 2.9.4. | /nəaqəʔ/ | 'snow' |
| 2.9.5. | /sləməxʷ/ | 'rain' |
| 2.9.6. | /xʷataʔšn/ | 'rainbow' |
| 2.9.7. | /skʷači/ | 'sky, day, daytime' |
| 2.9.8. | /čəʔaʔtnʔ/ | 'dark night' |
| 2.9.9. | /sqʷəqʷayʔ/ | 'sun' |
| 2.9.10. | /səʔən/ | 'wind' |
| 2.9.11. | /qixʷ/ | 'west wind' |
| 2.9.12. | /sxəʔas čuŋ/ | 'north wind' |
| 2.9.13. | /ččaʔγqʷ/ | 'south wind' |
| 2.9.14. | /sutč/ | 'east wind' |
| 2.9.15. | /stiʔuʔʔ/ | 'severe storm' |
| 2.9.16. | /stəʔqʷ/ | 'river wind' |
| 2.9.17. | /pəkʷəŋ/ | 'smoke' |
| 2.9.18. | /xaʔx/ | 'windy, stormy, rough' |
| 2.9.19. | /ʔacáqʔ/ | 'thunder' |
| 2.9.20. | /nučaʔaqʷčqʷ/ | 'lightning' |
| 2.9.21. | /ʔqayʔt/ | 'moon' |
| 2.9.22. | /ʔqayʔčəŋʔ/ | 'moonlight' |
| 2.9.23. | /tətawusna/ | '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, [± Human], referent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Referent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/cucən/</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cays/</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/čəns/</td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/naqsən/</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/q'məne?/</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sʔacs/</td>
<td>'face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sxana/</td>
<td>'leg'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(N, Bodypart, . . . )
/scəucən/ 'upper lip; rim of a basket/object'
/səčəucən/? 'chin, lower lip'
/səcam?ucən/? 'mandible'
/qəincən/ 'whiskers'
/?əsqʷənucən/ 'mustache'
/sʔacs/ 'face'
(N, Animal, . . .)
/skwa?ac/ 'dogfish shark'
/sqiq̓əwəc/ 'flea'
/ə̱scənʔ/ 'louse'

(N, Artifact, . . .)
/sənuc/ 'fire'
/sə̱scənʔ/ 'rim of a basket/object; upper lip'

(N, Place Name, . . .)
/ʃəxəcənʔ/ 'Hollywood Beach, Port Angeles, Washington'
/sxəʔucənʔ/ 'Dry Creek, Clallam County, Washington'

(N, Topographic, . . .)
/ʔəʔəs ~ ʔəʔəc/ 'land on either side of a river mouth'
/ʃəcəʔ/ 'beach'
/ʃəʔpicənʔ/ 'hill with steep slopes'

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

(N, Bodypart, . . .)
/sə̱səʔəc/ 'finger'
/ʃəʔuʔəcəc/ 'fingernail'
/sxəʔəqəʔac/ 'wrist'
(N, Animal, ...)  
/qa?yac/ 'starfish'  
/stič'ac/ 'octopus'

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

(N, Animal, ... )  
/sxʷxəpi?nč/ 'bird's tail'  
/ɪpuʔəwəynč/ 'eel'

(N, Plant, ... )  
/ηəčinəč/ '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'  
/sxʷčutuʔeč/ 'heel'  
/scxač/ 'hip'

(N, Animal, ... )  
/qtluməčən/ 'killer whale'  
/qəʔcəwəč/ 'finback whale'  
/kwəcəntč/ 'mud shark'  
/sxʷiʔxayuʔačin/ 'lizard'  
/sxʔiʔkʷaʔeč/ 'black bear'
/k'øyée/ 'grizzly bear'
/xaʔxiʔyuʔiʔ/ 'chipmunk'
/staʔčən/ 'wolf'
/ʔoŋsuʔeʔ/ 'linded chiton'
/čaʔcuʔyaʔeʔiʔ/ 'nuthatch'
/stəməʔ/ 'shag'
/qʷaʔkʷəʔəʔən/ 'barn swallow'
/sxʷŋəʔəntuʔeʔ/ 'turtle'

(N, Plant, . . . )
/qəcicənt/ 'ribbon seaweed'
/cak'čn/ 'tiger lily'
/scaʔeʔ/ 'stump'
/qʷəxʷəyəʔ/ 'onion'

(N, Artifact, . . . )
/ʔkcaʔčn/ 'belt'
/čuʔməʔčn/ 'bracelet'
/sxʷčatč/ 'bottom of a basket/object'
/siyayiʔ/ 'cedar board, wall mat'
/qâčs/ 'headband for cranial deformation'
/sxʷt xačn/ 'floor'
/sxʷcaʔwačn/ 'chair'

(N, Topographic, . . . )
/sxʷčaʔyiʔ/ 'valley'
/sxayəʔkʷiʔeʔ/ 'foothills'
(N, Mineral, ...) 
/pkʰəčn/ 'sand'

(N, Atmospheric, ...) 
/sutč/ 'east wind'

(5) /-qʷ/ 'superior (anatomical); top; above; head'

(N, Bodypart, ...) 
/sxʷqtayeqʷ/ 'top of head'
/kʷiyqeqʷ/ 'scalp'
/skʷaqʷ/ 'lung'

(N, Kinterm, ...) 
/čaʔəmaqʷ/ 'great grandparent'
/həqʷəʔeqʷ/ 'great-great grandparent'
/čəʔpeʔeqʷ/ 'great-great-great grandparent'

(N, Animal, ...) 
/sqxeʔeqʷ/ 'blue dragonfly'
/tuʔeʔeqʷ/ 'mussel'
/sxʷpəq'iʔeqʷ/ 'green sea urchin'
/sxəčaqʷ/ 'smoked halibut head'
/məʔuqʷ/ 'duck' (generic)
/xʷuʔuɬʷ/ 'merganser duck'
/χaʔeʔeqʷ/ 'pileated duck'
(N, Plant, . . . )
/tiyuq"/ 'strawberry'
/sxca?ya?nəq"/ 'grass'
/sča(?)yəq"iίč/ 'fruit tree'
/sča?yəq"ί/ 'berry'

(N, Artifact, . . . )
/sčəswəq"/ 'hat'
/x"iəq"e?q"ən/ 'kerchief'

(N, Topographic, . . . )
/ča?łan?q"/ 'higher ground'
/sx"titayəq"/ 'head of a river'

(N, Atmospheric, . . . )
/čča?yq"/ 'south wind'
/stəq"/ 'river wind'

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

(N, Bodypart, . . . )
/sx"čəq"əsn?/ 'ankle'
/ʃtəsnən?/ 'foot, sole of foot'
/qašnən/ 'calf'
/čšu?isn/ 'claw'
/sxəpšn/ 'fishtail'
(N, Animal, . . . )
/kʷitʃən/ 'spring salmon'
/ʔoːʃən/ 'steelhead trout'
/kʷənkʰinsən/ 'helmet crab'
/xʷaʔxʷiʔəʃ/ 'hermit thrush'
/sxʷʔaʔxəʔqʷyaʔsnʔ/ 'grasshopper'
/ʔaʔaʔsn/ 'spider'
/peʔčən/ 'salamander'

(N, Artifact, . . . )
/nuʔsəntn/ 'trousers'
/kʷəčəjnʔ/ 'walking stick'
/sxʷcayʔsn/ 'canoe mat'
/ʔiʔ qaʔqaykʷsn/ 'basket warp'
/sətʃən/ 'animal trap'
/xanaʔsnʔ/ 'foundation element' (basket)

(N, Atmospheric, . . . )
/xʷaʔaʔʃn/ 'rainbow'
/čiʔahayʔsnʔ/ 'hail'

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

(N, Bodypart, . . . )
/sqpxʷʔiʔaxənʔ/ 'elbow'
/sxana/ 'leg'
/sxakʷa/ 'fish spine'
(N, Animal, . . . )
/ta?ti?pi?axen/  'bat'
/çuaxen/       'goose'
/çu?axen/      'tern'
/qayixena/     'fly'

(N, Artifact, . . . )
/si?xen/        'edge, border'
/qoyaxen/       'fence'
/ça?ya?k"axen/  'forest edge of a village'
/hu?a?k"axen/   'water edge of a village'
/sqixen/        'east/west sides of a village'
/titaxen/       'upriver edge of a river village'
/q"wq"axen/     'downriver edge of a river village'

(N, Topographic, . . . )
/spəxen?/       'field, prairie, field'

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

(N, Bodypart, . . . )
/sx"cīk"ayqσn/  'nostril'
/sk"ice?qsay?cs/ 'index finger'
/ənəqιčeqσn/    'beak'

(N, Animal, . . . )
/qočqs/         'silver salmon'
/tineqσn/       'mallard duck'
/sqeqs/         'killdeer'
(N, Plant, . . . )
/sakʷq/ 'carrot'

(N, Place Name, . . . )
/hacqs/ 'Point-no-Point, Washington'
/ʔiʔkuyəqs/ 'Tongue Point, Clallam County, Washington'

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

(N, Bodypart, . . . )
/sʔacs/ 'face'

(N, Animal, . . . )
/ʔəsxʷcaʔisčus/ 'black-capped chickadee'
/ʔiʔqus/ 'black bass'
/sxʷyayixamus/ 'red dragonfly'

(N, Plant, . . . )
/sxʷməkʷusnən/ 'cow parsnip'

(N, Artifact, . . . )
/sxʷqəʔənusn/ 'window'
/sxʷnuʔusn/ 'mask'

(N, Atmospheric, . . . )
/sxʷnuʔus/ 'cloud'
/ʔatawusna/ 'star'
(10) /-q(n)/ 'exterior surface; supporting surface; skin, integument'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )
/slixiw'iqn?/ 'navel'

(N, Animal, . . . )
/pap?qe?qn/ 'weasel'
/sx?awəqn/ 'swan'

(N, Artifact, . . . )
/qaqn/ 'cornerpost'

(N, Place Name, . . . )
/nəxʷčə?sa?qn/ 'Twin River, Clallam County, Washington'

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

(N, Bodypart, . . . )
/čəŋəx/ 'chest'

(N, Animal, . . . )
/hə?hə?η?/ 'frog'
/sx?si?sayη?/ 'whale' (unidentified)

(N, Plant, . . . )
/sk'əčənilčə/ 'bitter cherry tree'
/sa?lənη/ 'salmonberry'
/ʔəčη/ 'root' (generic)
/čq'ənilčə/ 'rotten log'
(N, Artifact, . . . )
/čâ?netaŋ?/    'bailer'
/?a?γəŋ ~ ?a?in/?    'house'

(12) /-k'w ~ ? -w/ 'interior/exterior surface; side; body'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )
/stack'k/    'lower back'
/stk'k'n/    'upper back'
/sqi?uk'k's/    'left arm/hand'
/sčik'k's/    'right arm/hand'
/sx'čix'k'n?/    'internal organs'
/tawi?/    'arm'

(N, Plant, . . . )
/sx'čačø?ik'kən/    'interior surface of a cattail stem'

(N, Artifact, . . . )
/s?i?ik'k'ł/    'outer surface of a basket/object'

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

(N, Bodypart, . . . )
/čək'nt/    'pierced ear'
/čøns/    'tooth'
/sx'øyən?/    'side of the head'

(N, Animal, . . . )
/šø?čø?n/    'littleneck clam'
(N, Artifact, . . . )
/qə'ayənʔ/   'basket handle, ear'

(14) /-uʔ/ 'surface'

(N, Artifact, . . . )
/snaʔuʔ/   'inner surface of a basket/object'

(15) /-eʔ/ 'central, primary'

(N, Bodypart, . . . )
/sə'wənəʔ/   'head'
/ŋəwəʔ/   'umbilical cord'
/qəʔ/   'intestines'
/sə'kəʔeʔ/   '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., /skwəcəʔqsayʔcs/ '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

\[[+ \text{Diminutive}] \rightarrow \]

\[
\left\{
\begin{array}{l}
C^1_o(?) \\
C^1_V^1(?) \\
[\emptyset]
\end{array}
\right\} / \left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\emptyset \\
\#C^1_V^1 \ldots \{C^#-u?i\} \\
\#C^1_V^1 \ldots \{V^#-?i\}
\end{array}
\right\}
\]

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

Affixing

Suffixing

/swεʔ?qəʔ/ 'man' > /swiʔ-q-u?i/ 'boy'; /sʔaniʔ/ 'woman' > /sʔnaʔ-c-u?i/ 'girl' > /sʔnaʔ-c-uyʔ/ 'girl' > /sʔənəʔ-c-u?i/ 'girl' (See TABLE III); /ʔaʔŋiʔ/ 'teenage girl' > /ʔaʔŋaʔ-c-u?i/ 'pre-teenage girl'; /skʷaʔkʷatuʔ/ 'crow' > /skʷaʔkʷatuʔ-i/ 'blackbird'.

Reduplication

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

Pluralization

Pluralization exhibits two general patterns: (1) inf ixing; 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 /nənʔ/ '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 /nənʔ/ plurals were provided to satisfy
the inquisitive nature of the investigator.
Pluralization Rule

\[ [+ \text{Pluralization}] \rightarrow \]

\[
\left[ \begin{array}{c}
\left\{ \begin{array}{c}
V^1_- \\
C^1_- \left( \begin{array}{c}
V^1 C^2_- \\
-\text{i-} \\
-\text{V(?)y-} \\
-\text{V y V-}
\end{array} \right)
\end{array} \right\}
\end{array} \right] / \left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{---#C}^1-\ldots
\end{array} \right]
\]

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

Affixing

Infixing

\(-\text{ay-}\)

/sči?k'а?iç > sč-ay-i?k'а?iç/ 'black bear'; /sqaxa? > sq-ay-axa?/ 'dog'; /q'uxηен > q'-ay-uxηен/ 'hoof'; /k'atən > k'-ay-atən/ 'rat'; /?a?čx > ?-ay-a?čx/ 'crab'; /qəčqs > q'-ay-čqs/ 'silver salmon'; /k'ęsən > k'-ay-čsən/ 'steelhead'; /x'əčt > x'-ay-čt/ 'bullhead'; /čačəm > č-ay-čəm?/ 'bird'; /səqqu > sə-agəq/ 'crane'; /qəquxən > q'-ay-aquxən/ 'goose'; /sq'asqq > sq'-ay-asqq/ 'robin'; /k'аčač > k'-ay-čač/ 'sand flea'; /?аčin > ?-ay-ačin/ 'maggot'; /nəsən > n'-ay-sən/ 'louse';
/spusən > sp-ay-usən/ 'abscess'; /qɑ̃n > ɑ̃-ay-ɑ̃n/ 'calf' (bodypart); /ču?ics > č-ay-šu?ics/ 'fingernail';
/tɛptn? > ə-ay-ɛptn?/ 'eyelash'; /pacɪč > p-ay-ačič/ 'waxberry';

/-iy-/  
/kwɑšu? > kw-iy-ašu?/ 'pig'; /xayukw > x-iy-ayukw/ 'raccoon';
/xuŋən > x-iy-uŋən/ 'animal's neck'; /kɑʔam? > k-iy-ʔam?/ 'giant horse clam'; /xinč > x-iy-inč/ 'olive shell';
/məuʔuqw > m-iy-əʔuqw/ 'duck'; /xuʔuqw > x-iy-uʔuqw/ 'merganser duck'; /nɛʔet > n-iy-eʔet/ 'grouse'; /qherent > q-iy-əni/ 'seagull'; /sxana > sx-iy-na/ 'leg'; /kwuʔet > kw-iy-uʔet/ 'cattail'; /xiiʔ > k-iy-əʔ/ 'bear grass';
/sqawc > sq-iy-awc/ 'potato'; /qaʔexw > q-iy-aʔexw/ 'crabapple'; /kwɑšu > kw-iy-ašu/ 'sowbug'; /čəɛmawʔtxw > č-iy-ačɛmawʔtxw/ 'bird's nest'.

/-a?y-/  
/čəmana > č-a?y-əmana/ 'night smelt'; /ipqwieynč > ɪ-ʔaʔy-ɪʔwieynč/ 'eel'; /nəqweʔeʔ > n-ʔaʔy-əqweʔeʔ/ 'goose-neck barnacle'; /qaʔuʔu > ʔ-aʔy-aʔuʔu/ 'skatefish';
/?asxw > ᵇ-aʔy-asxw/ 'hair seal'; /skwičiʔ > sk-ʔaʔy-ičiʔ/ 'sea egg'; /ʔukws > ᵇ-aʔy-ukws/ 'giant chiton'; /wači > w-aʔy-ačiʔ/ 'perch'; /xixw > x-aʔy-ixw/ 'large sea urchin';
/sx̌upč > sx̌-aʔy-upč/ 'old salmon'; /ʔačt > ᵇ-aʔy-čt/ 'ling cod'; /həmʔu? > h-aʔy-əmuʔ/ 'pigeon';
/s?acs > s?-a?y-acs/ 'face'; /xčaʔčič > x-aʔy-čaʔčič/ 'western red cedar'; /qɑčič > q-aʔy-ačič/ 'ironwood';
/pixʷ > p-aʔy-ixʷ/ 'red huckleberry'; /skʷaqən > skʷ-aʔy-aqən/ 'flower'; /təqa? > t-aʔy-aqa?/ 'salal'.

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

/-əyeə-/  
/təʔəsen? > tə-əyeə-təʔəsen?/ 'foot'; /sxʷcutuʔəč > sxʷ-čə-yə-tuʔəč/ 'heel'.

Reduplication

/C¹/-  
/pəwiʔ > p-ʔəwiʔ/ 'halibut'; /qaʔyac > q-aʔyəc/ 'starfish';
/sčaʔmuʔkʷ > s-č-čaʔmuʔkʷ/ 'bullhead'.

/C¹⁰¹/-  

/əʔnuʔəʔč > əʔn-əʔnəʔsəʔč/ 'linded chiton'.

Reduplication

/C¹/-  
/pəwiʔ > p-ʔəwiʔ/ 'halibut'; /qaʔyac > q-aʔyəc/ 'starfish';
/sčaʔmuʔkʷ > s-č-čaʔmuʔkʷ/ 'bullhead'.

/C¹⁰¹/-  

Reduplication

/C¹/-  
/pəwiʔ > p-ʔəwiʔ/ 'halibut'; /qaʔyac > q-aʔyəc/ 'starfish';
/sčaʔmuʔkʷ > s-č-čaʔmuʔkʷ/ 'bullhead'.

/C¹⁰¹/-  

Reduplication

/C¹/-  
/pəwiʔ > p-ʔəwiʔ/ 'halibut'; /qaʔyac > q-aʔyəc/ 'starfish';
/sčaʔmuʔkʷ > s-č-čaʔmuʔkʷ/ 'bullhead'.

/C¹⁰¹/-  

Reduplication

/C¹/-  
/pəwiʔ > p-ʔəwiʔ/ 'halibut'; /qaʔyac > q-aʔyəc/ 'starfish';
/sčaʔmuʔkʷ > s-č-čaʔmuʔkʷ/ 'bullhead'.

/C¹⁰¹/-  

Reduplication

/C¹/-  
/pəwiʔ > p-ʔəwiʔ/ 'halibut'; /qaʔyac > q-aʔyəc/ 'starfish';
/sčaʔmuʔkʷ > s-č-čaʔmuʔkʷ/ 'bullhead'.

/C¹⁰¹/-  
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 /C¹V¹C²-/ reduplication is a common pattern in Chinook Jargon.

/məʊməʊ/ 'snowy owl'; /kwəškəwə̌š/ 'bluebird'; /təq'təqʷ/ 'red snapper'; /xəx̌əxəxʷ/ 'razor clam'; /musmus/ 'cow'; /pišpš/ 'cat'.

/C¹-i-/ /sčxac > s-č-i-čxac/ 'fingernail'; /sčxasən > s-č-i-čxasən/ 'toenail'; /cays > c-i-cays/ 'hand'; /scxač > s-c-i-cxač/ 'hip'; /sxʷcɪkʷayqson > sxʷ-c-i-cɪkʷayqson/ 'nostril'; /sčaʔyiqʷt > s-č-i-čaʔyiqʷt/ 'berry'; /scəqʷ > s-c-i-cəqʷ/ 'worm'; /s-ƛ́-i-ƛ́əqʷ/ '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-/ , /-aʔy-/ , or /-iy-/ infixation. The second category contains only a few items displaying unique pluralization patterns.
/ḥəʔhəʔη? > h-iy-əʔhəʔη?/ 'frog'; /sxʷəʔxʷč > sxʷ-ay-aʔxʷč/ 'snake'; /taʔtaʔciʔuxʷ > t-iy-aʔtaʔciʔuxʷ/ 'animal';

/qiyutn > qiyu-wəʔtn/ 'horse'; /sxʷčəʔqʷəsənʔ > sxʷ-əʔqʷ-əsənʔ/ 'ankle'; /sxʷčəʔqʷac > sxʷ-əʔqʷac/ '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 [± 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Can</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Speaker</td>
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<td>2. Addressee</td>
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<td>3. Plural</td>
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<td>4. Emphatic</td>
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<td>7. Location</td>
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<td>8. Animate</td>
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<td>9. Male</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Personal Pronouns

3.1

- Speaker
- Addressee
- Plural
- Emphatic

3.2

- Speaker
- Addressee
- Plural
- Emphatic

3.3

- Speaker
- Addressee
+ Plural
- Emphatic

3.4

- Speaker
- Addressee
+ Plural
+ Emphatic

3.5

- Speaker
+ Addressee
- Plural
- Emphatic

\[ \rightarrow /\text{con}/ \ 'I, me' \]

\[ \rightarrow /\text{can}/ \ 'I, me (emphatic)' \]

\[ \rightarrow /s\text{t}/ \ 'we, us' \]

\[ \rightarrow /\text{sim} \sim /\text{sim}/ \ 'we, us (emphatic)' \]

\[ \rightarrow /\text{cim}/ \ 'you (singular)' \]
3.6

[- Speaker
+ Addressee
- Plural
+ Emphatic]

→ /nəkʷ/ 'you (singular, emphatic)'

3.7

[- Speaker
+ Addressee
+ Plural
- Emphatic]

→ /hay/ 'you (plural)'

3.8

[- Speaker
+ Addressee
+ Plural
+ Emphatic]

→ /ɪnəkʷ/ 'you (plural, emphatic)'

Demonstratives

[- Speaker] and [- Addresser] are redundant for demonstratives and will therefore be omitted from the semantic feature structure of each demonstrative element.

3.9

/tiʔ/

→

[- Emphatic
+ Primary
- Gender
- Location]

[- Emphatic
+ Primary
- Gender
+ Animate]

[+ Emphatic
- Primary
+ Animate]

↓

↓

↓

/t/    /i/    /ʔ/
Example: /k'wiʔat tiʔ čin kʷə/ 'I'm spilling it' (< /kʷay-/ 'to spill', /čin/ 'be the time of').

3.10 /tsaʔ/ →

| - Emphatic | - Emphatic | - Emphatic | + Emphatic | + Emphatic |
| + Primary  | - Primary  | + Primary  | - Primary  | - Primary  |
| - Gender   | - Gender   | + Gender   | + Male     | + Male     |
| - Location | + Animate  | + Animate  | + Animate  | + Animate  |

Example: /čqʷət tsəʔ ən/ 'I'm going to burn it' (< /čqʷə-/ 'to burn', /ən/ 'I').

3.11 /tiʔa/ →

| - Emphatic | - Emphatic | + Emphatic | - Emphatic | + Emphatic |
| + Primary  | + Primary  | - Primary  | + Primary  | - Primary  |
| - Gender   | - Gender   | + Gender   | + Male     | + Male     |
| - Location | + Animate  | + Animate  | + Animate  | + Animate  |

Example: /čay u ca(?) cxʷ əʔ tiʔ a ʔaynúkʷ/ 'Are you going to work today?' (< /čay-/ 'to work', /u/ (interrogative), /ca(?)/ (intensive), /əʔ/ (non-focus), /ʔaynúkʷ/ 'today').
3.12 /tɬ/

- Emphatic
+ Primary
- Gender
- Location

/ɪ/

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

3.13 /kʷi/

- Emphatic
+ Primary
- Gender
+ Location

/i/

Example: /ʔuʔ kʷi nstay tiʔ yaʔ/ 'I was upriver' (< /ʔuʔ/ (directional clitic ?), /nəʔ-/ 'my', /s-/ (nominalizer), /tay-/ 'to go upriver', /yaʔ/ (durative completive).
3.14 /kʷə/ →

[ - Emphatic ] [ - Emphatic ]
[ + Primary ] [ + Primary ]
[ - Gender ] [ + Gender ]
[ + Location ] [ + Animate ]

>/kʷ/ /ə/

Example: /ʔett kʷə/ 'She is sleeping' (< /ʔt-/ 'to sleep').

3.15 /kʷa/ →

[ - Emphatic ] [ - Emphatic ]
[ + Primary ] [ + Primary ]
[ - Gender ] [ + Gender ]
[ + Location ] [ + Animate ]

+/kʷ/ /a/

Example: /ʔett kʷa/ 'He is sleeping' (< /ʔt-/ 'to sleep').
3.16 \[/k^wssə/ \rightarrow \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- Emphatic} \\
+ Primary \\
- Gender \\
+ Location \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\downarrow
\]

\[/k^w/\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- Emphatic} \\
- Primary \\
- Gender \\
+ Animate \\
- Male \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\downarrow
\]

\[/s/\]

\[
\downarrow
\]

\[/ə/\]

Example: \[/k^wssə naʔcaʔnaxʷ/ 'Female stranger' (< /naʔcaʔnaxʷ/ 'stranger').

3.17 \[/cə/ \rightarrow \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+ Emphatic \\
+ Primary \\
+ Location \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\downarrow
\]

\[/c/\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
- Emphatic \\
+ Primary \\
+ Gender \\
+ Animate \\
- Male \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\downarrow
\]

\[/ə/\]

Example: \[/niʔ kʷanəxʷ cə sənəxʷəl qʷiʔeʔiš ?iya kʷse/ 'I saw a dancing canoe (outside) over there' (< /niʔ/ (anaphoric-copulative), /kʷən-/ 'to see', /sənəxʷəl/ 'canoe', /qʷəy-/ 'to dance', /?iya/ 'over there').
3.18 \(/k^\text{w}\xi/\)

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{− Emphatic} & \text{− Emphatic} & \text{− Emphatic} \\
\text{+ Primary} & \text{− Primary} & \text{+ Primary} \\
\text{− Gender} & \text{+ Gender} & \text{− Gender} \\
\text{+ Location} & \downarrow & \downarrow \\
\hline
\text{/k^w/} & \text{/\text{i}/} & \text{/i/}
\end{array}
\]

Example: /?i? k^w\text{anæx} k^w\xi n\text{e}cačc/ 'I saw my aunt' (< /?i?/ (directional clitic ?), /k^w\text{on}/ '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

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

[Objective, Non-Focus] → [± Addressee] [± Plural]

[+ Speaker]
- Addressee
- Plural

/-s/ 'me'

- Speaker
+ Addressee
+ Plural

/-s/ 'you'

[+ Speaker]
- Addressee
+ Plural

/-unθ/ '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

- Vocalic
  + Consonantal
- Continuant
- Peripheral # [++] #
  + Anterior
- Tense
- Strident

{ [+ Strident] # [++] #
  1 2 3 4 }

3.b Apply morphophonemic rule 5.4 to { } in 3.a → 6

(See CHAPTER 5)

{ [+ Strident] ∅ ∅ ∅ ∅ }
  1 2 3 4 5 6

Similar obstruent clusters appear; however, the objective suffix assimilation rule does not operate without [++] morpheme boundary which is seen as the residual effect of /-η/ deletion. Following are examples illustrating where the rule does not operate.
Example: /tsa/ 'demonstrative pronoun'
/k'itšən/ 'spring salmon'
/sətšən/ 'animal trap'
/tʃeʔk'əŋ/ '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 */ts/. This form is then parallel to the base forms posited for [č] (<*/tʃ/), and [kʷ] (<*/kw/).
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.a</th>
<th>[Verb]</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>[+ State]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.b</td>
<td>[- State]</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>[+ Action]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.i</td>
<td>[+ State]</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>State Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.ii</td>
<td>[+ Action]</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>Action Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.iii</td>
<td>[+ Process]</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>Process Verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 4.iv | [+ Action]  
    + Process | → | Action-Process Verb |
State (4.i)

4.1 [Resolution] $\rightarrow $ /ʔəs-/ [+ State]

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

4.2 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V} \\
\text{State} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{Patient}
\end{array}
\]

A state verb is accompanied by a patient noun phrase.

Example: /ʔəsxʷəməʔə筵/ 'I am resting'

/ʔəsxʷələʔis/ 'I am lying down'

/ʔəsxʷtaqə/ 'It is closed'

Action (4.ii)

4.3 [Resolution] $\rightarrow $ /-t/ [+ Action]

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

4.4 
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V} \\
\text{Action} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{Agent}
\end{array}
\]

An action verb is accompanied by an agent noun phrase.

Example: /títč/ 'I cut it'

/ʔaʔaʔt/ 'I vomit'

/ʔəsccawt/ 'I am lying down' (This construction is interesting in that both state /ʔəs-/ and action /-t/ resolution are marked, along with continuative aspect (C$^1$- reduplication). An appropriate gloss may be: 'to be continuing in the state of lying down').
Process (4.iii)

4.5 [Resolution] + /-n/ ~ /-η/ [+ Process]

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

4.6

```
[ V ]
[ Process ]
```

[ NP ]
[ Patient ]

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 /-əxʷ/ occurs immediately following.

4.7

```
[ V ]
[ Process ]
```

```
[-n]
```

```
[-əxʷ]
```

The suffix /-əxʷ/ may be related to /cxʷ/ '2nd person singular, subject/object enclitic. The function of /-əxʷ/ 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 /-η/ in process and action-process resolution.

Example: /ʔənəxʷ կուկղարա / '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:
/ʔəsqənəxʷ/ 'one who eats too much', 'to be always hungry').
/ɬəqʷɬəqʷ(ə)/ 'It was pulled apart'
/ɬəqʷəɣəŋəstə səčənənəxʷ/ '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.

kʷénʔənəxʷ q sn 'I might get it' (< kʷən '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 -əxʷ).

sxʷnəxʷ sn kʷə 'I lost it' (< sxʷə 'to disappear', 'lose', sn '1st person singular subject', kʷə (demonstrative)). (The emphasis is the change in state of the patient [from a known to unknown position] referent).

The combination /-n-ə/ 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.
4.8 [Resolution] \[Action-Process\] 

The resolution marker for action-process verbs is /-t-\(\eta\)/.

4.9 

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 /?\(\alpha\)/. The Clallam examples are from Thompson and Thompson (1971:281). Parenthetical remarks are mine.

Example: \(x\text{C}i-t-(\omega)\text{C}en \, ?\omega \, k\text{a} \text{O} \, s\text{K}\text{a} \text{O} \, ?\text{tu}\text{S} \, 'The cat scratched me'\) (The agent is marked as non-focus while the patient, \(\text{Cen}\), is emphasized).

\(\text{C}k\text{u} \, t-(\omega)\text{C}en \, ?\omega \, \text{C}o \, s\text{a} \text{t}\text{a} \text{tak} \text{\u00e8}n \, 'The bee stung me'\).
The same pattern is evident in Sooke (1970:101).

Example: qóitn cə sλ̚λ(ə)λqət 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**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Condition: Referent of } & \quad \text{NP } \end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP } &= \quad \text{NP } \end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Agent } &= \quad \text{Patient } \end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP } &= \quad \text{NP } \end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Agent } &= \quad \text{Patient } \end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP } &= \quad \text{NP } \end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Agent } &= \quad \text{Patient } \end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP } &= \quad \text{NP } \end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Agent } &= \quad \text{Patient } \end{align*}
\]
Ambient

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
4.10 \\
\text{State} \\
\text{Ambient}
\end{array}
\]

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: /ɬʷsəʔ tiʔə/ 'It is hard'
/saqʷə/ '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]  →

\{
\{ Momentaneous Compleitive \}
\{ Inceptive \}
\{ Continuative \}
\{ Resultative \}
\}

\{ V \}
\{ Descriptive \}
\{ ( Resultative ) \}

\{ Durative \}
\{ Inchoative \}

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: /uwq/ 'yawned, yawn'

/ɪtən̩/ 'to land, airplane'
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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\-ič }, \text{?e?č}/ & \text{ 'scoop, dip'}; \text{\-ist }, \text{?e?st}/ \text{ 'paddle'}; \text{\-itt}, \\
\text{?ett}/ & \text{ 'sleep'}; \text{\-ičőn }, \text{?e?čőn}/ \text{ 'eat'}; \text{qi?nu?uŋət }, \text{qe?nu?-uŋət}/ \text{ 'angry'} \\
\text{čeq̃w}/ & \text{, čeq̃w?e?}/ \text{ 'burn'}; \text{čeni }, \text{čen?e?}/ \text{ 'bury, plant'}; \\
\text{q̃w}=\text{yəq̃}, \text{q̃w}=\text{e?e?q̃}/ & \text{ 'dance'} \\
\text{ač }, \text{ača?č}/ & \text{ 'wipe'}; \text{ač }, \text{ača?č}/ \text{ 'replace something'}; \\
\text{čay }, \text{ča?y}/ & \text{ 'work'}; \text{ćun }, \text{ću?n}/ \text{ 'push'}; \text{ćeyx }, \text{ćey?x}/ \text{ 'spearfish'}; \text{čomaxw}, \text{čom?axw}/ \text{ 'rain'} \\
\text{səwakwi }, \text{səwaxwakwi}/ & \text{ 'to act crazily'}; \text{qi?ci? }, \text{qaqi?cay?}/ \text{ 'stare'}; \text{piyakwəŋ }, \text{piyakwəŋ}/ \text{ 'float'}; \text{ćam }, \text{ćcam}/ \text{ 'moisten'}; \\
\text{caw }, \text{ccaw}/ & \text{ 'lay down'}; \text{cəč }, \text{cəč}/ \text{ 'stand'}; \text{či?as }, \text{ččas}/ \text{ 'chase'}
\end{align*}
\]
Continuative aspect can occur with the durative completive enclitic, /ya?/, indicating the completion of an action or process of duration.

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

/čəqʷat yaʔ cən/ 'I was burning it'

/?əsxaʔxt yaʔ cən kʷi/ 'I was lying on my back'

The momentaneous completive, /kʷət/, proclitic occurs with continuative aspect providing the notion of the end of an action or process with less duration than /ya?/ (durative completive).
Example: /kʷɛʔ ʃətʃ/ 'already crawling' (e.g., a baby who is already crawling)
/kʷ'ɛʔ kʷaʔqəʔ kʷi/ '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: /kʷ'ɛʔ kʷaʔqəʔ yaʔ kʷi/ '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: /xʷaʔ/ 'stop raining' (The result of the ambient action, 'to stop raining'

4.15 [Durative] → /-ɪ ~ -âɪ/  

Durative aspect indicates continuation of an action or process.

Example: /čakʷâɪ/ 'hiccup'
/qqakʷɪ/ 'tired'
/čaxɪ/ 'torn'

4.16 [Inchoative] → /-ct ~ - cút/  

Inchoative aspect indicates the beginning or commencing of an action or process.
Example: /čə?məŋct cən/ 'I'm getting wet'
   /(h)u? čə?məŋ cən/ 'I was wet')
/ŋa?xact cən/ 'I am hurrying'
/(h)i? məccūt/ 'I'm getting fat'
4.17 [Durative Completive] → /ya?/

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

Example: /xʷu?un ya? cən/ 'I was crying'
4.18 [Momentaneous Completive] → /kʷi/  

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

Example: /kʷi kʷa?qəŋ? kʷi/ 'The flower bloomed'
/kʷi hawənistxʷ/ 'He returned it'
4.19 [Inceptive] → /čə?/

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

Example: /čə?e?ʃəŋ? st kʷi/ 'We are eating'
   č hāi sn kʷə nə səčət 'I just finished hitting him' (Efrat 1970:39)

Causative
4.20 [Causative] → /-txʷ/

Example: /hawənistxʷ/ 'to return something'
   /čənistxʷ/ 'to put something on someone'
   /ča?čaw?txʷəŋ/ 'to make camp' (< /čay-/ 'to work';
   /?-/- (continuative); /-aw?/ 'building'; /-əŋ/ (process resolution)
Purposive

4.21  [Purposive]  /-s ~ -is/

Example: /hawənistxʷ/ 'to return something'
/kʷkʷays/ '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: kʷənít sn kʷə s (h)i? hnʔéʔəs 'I see they are coming this way' (Efrat 1970:38)

?u? i? šətəʔ,u cxʷʔə kʷə nʔsʔəʔə 'Did you walk walk over?' (Thompson and Thompson 1971:273)

?u? čəʔsəʔ, kʷə səʔiʔicátəyəŋəxʷ 'There are only two people' (Thompson and Thompson 1971:264)

čš-Śyʔ-? cənʔə kʷi snənəʔiʔ, čúsnəxʷ kʷi swóʔʔəʔ 'I threw a rock and hit the man' (Thompson and Thompson 1971:284)

/(h)u? čəʔmən cən/ 'I was wet'

/(h)i? məcúʔt/ 'I'm getting fat'

/?u? ?əskəʔəmʔ yaʔ, 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]  →

\[
\begin{align*}
(Factual) & \quad [\text{VERB}] & (Quotative) & \quad \{ \text{Interrogative} \} \\
& & \{ \text{Potential} \} & \quad \{ \text{Emphatic} \} \\
& & \{ \text{Intensive} \}
\end{align*}
\]

4.23 [Factual]  → /yu/

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

Example: /yu? tì?tayəqən? ya? cən/ 'I was soaking wet'

4.24 [Quotative]  → /č/

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

Example: /kʷtʰ xʷəy?xʷiʔ/č/ 'She abandoned him'

4.25 [Interrogative]  → /u/

Example: /čay u ca(?) cxʷ/ 'Are you going to work?'

4.26 [Indefinite]  → /(y)ixʷ/

Indefinite indicates knowledge that is uncertain.

Example: /ɬəməxʷ taʔsən (y)ixʷ caʔ cxʷ/ 'You are going to travel with the rain' ('You might be travelling in the rain')
4.27 [Potential] → /qɨ/
Potential indicates the possibility of an event occurring.
Example: /təqɨqɨ qɨ/ 'It might get stuck'

4.28 [Intentive] → /ca(?) ~ cə?/
Intentive conveys the possibility that something might occur.
Example: /təməxʷ taʔsən (y)iχʷ caʔ cxʷ/ 'You intend to travel when it might be raining'

4.29 [Emphatic] → /ʔuč ~ či/
Example: /xənʔawxʷ či/ 'Say it!

Verb Affixes
Prefixes
4.30 [Nominalizer] → /s-/
Example: /šəmʔucənʔ/ 'mandible' (< /čam- / 'be bony', /-ʔ/ (continuative), /-uc/ (spatial suffix), /-(ə)n/ (instrumental)) /šəmʔeqʷ/ 'skull' (< /čam- / 'be bony', /-ʔ/ (continuative), /-eqʷ/ (spatial suffix))

4.31 [Locative] → /xʷ-/
Example: /sxʷčəmʔamuʔčeqč/ 'spine' (< /čam- / 'be bony', /-uʔ/ (~ʔ/-kʷ ~ʔ -w/ spatial suffix), /-eqč/ (spatial suffix)) /ʔesxʷqʷənqʷinəʔ/ 'beard' (< /ʔəs- / (stative), /qʷən-/ 'be hairy', /-i-/ (collective), /-(ə)n/ (process resolution), /-ʔ/ (continuative))
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'ća?wačn/ 'seated'
/nəx'ix'axn/ 'triangle'
/nəx'sk'ək'ə?áñ/ 'quiet'
/nəx'sqá?yáñ/ 'loudly'
/nəsčək'utəñ/ 'sting'

Suffixes

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: /nə?san?tn/ 'anchor' (< /nə?sa?n-/ 'to anchor')
/sx'q'aytn/ 'voice' (< /q'ay-/ 'to speak')
/çiçənc/ 'needle' (< /çiçəc/ 'be thin')
/puxn/ 'sail' (< /pux-/' to sail')
/šk'əşn/ 'frying pan' (< /k'əš/ 'to fry' (Initial /š-/ is probably the result of root inversion, /šək'/ > /k'əš/). This is significant in that it points to critically ordered rules in the process of derivational affixation)
/чк'айу/ 'hunt, shoot'
/xёй?еу?/ 'write'
/чёйсайу/ 'hit' (with an instrument)

4.34 [Reciprocal] + /-ау?, -уу?/

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.

/-ау?, -уу?/ are non-active inflections; /-ау?, -уу?/ are active inflections. I cannot overlook the possibility that these suffixes may be related to /-ау?(?) ~ -еу?(?)/ (instrumental).

Example: /кі?кауей/ 'stare'

/sк'исео?ксауё?/ 'index finger'
/sк'исайу?е?с/ 'thumb'
/sк'исйк'айксауё?н/ 'nostril'
/sка?ктуксауё?н/ '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 /xʷ-/ (locative). /s-/(nominalizer) freely occurs with /nə-/ (adverbial) and /xʷ-/ (locative), e.g., /s-xʷ-/ /nə-s/ and /nə-xʷ-s/. On several occasions /nə-xʷ-s/ has varied freely with /s-xʷ-/ in the context of eliciting the same terms, i.e., /s-xʷ'-t̤at̤akʷn̂/ ~ /nə-s-xʷ'-t̤at̤akʷn̂/ 'bee' (generic); /s-xʷ'naʔentuʔeč/ ~ /nə-xʷ'-s-naʔentuʔeč/ 'turtle'.

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

Example: /ʔəs-xʷ'aʔčʰ/ 'in between'

/ʔəs-čeʔeʔn̂/ 'near'

/ʔəs-tasʰ/ 'having approached, near'

/ʔəs-aqʰ/ 'outside'

/ʔəs-nat/ 'be evening, night'

/ʔəs-cxʷaʔyaqč/ 'quietly'

/ʔəs-caʔyaʔ/ 'slowly, gradually'

/ʔəs-ʔamʔqson/ 'blunt'

/ʔəs-ʔis/ 'scaly'

/ʔəs-ʔuʔaʔčʰ/ 'wrinkled'

/ʔəs-ʔaʔt/ 'flat'

Occasionally the meaning of an /ʔəs-/ prefixed form cannot easily be determined from the meaning of the root, i.e.,
/qanuxʷ/ 'swallow' > /ʔəsqanuxʷ/ '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., /cɪəkʷ/ 'to pierce' > /ʔəscɪəkʷ/ '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., /ɪˈp-/ 'to hang loose' > /stəŷp/ 'loose' > /sɪpúqt/ 'shirt') producing a noun or adjective also functions to form gerundives from a small class of lexical material, i.e., /səkʷeʔ/ 'liking, wanting' > /nəsəkʷeʔ/ 'my liking, my wanting; /sxʷaʔtn/ 'disliking, not wanting' > /nəsxʷaʔtn/ '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., /sɪpúqt/ 'shirt' (as an object) as opposed to /nəsəkʷeʔ/ '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(ə?)-/ (color participial), i.e., /ʔənˈqex ~ ʔənəʔˈqex/ 'black'; /ʔəncəkʷ/ ~ ʔənəʔˈcəkʷ/ 'red'. The prefix /ʔən(ə?)-/ has not been observed to occur with any other class of derived lexical material. The prefix /ʔən(ə?)-/ is suspiciously similar to the possessive prefixes /n(ə)-/ 'my' and /nʔ-/ 'your'. The initial C1V1 of the prefix /ʔən(ə?)-/ may represent a reduced form of /ʔəs-/ (participial). /ʔən(ə?)-/ 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: /pəq'iyanuxʷ/ 'Fall' (lit.: whitening month)
/pəpq'əʔq/n/ 'weasel' (lit.: white skin)
/sxʷpəq'iʔeqʷ/ 'green sea urchin'
/ʔəɛ̃ɛŋɛč/ 'blue huckleberry'
/pkʷəyʔ/ 'fallen, rotten log'
/pkʷən/ 'sand'
/spkʷənáw?txʷ/ 'smokehouse'

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

**Nominal Paradigm**

4.1.a /ʔən(ə?)-qex/ 'black'
4.1.b /pəq/ 'white' (/ʔənʔpəxʷ/ 'blonde')
4.1.c /ʔən(ə?)-cəkʷ/ 'red'
4.1.d /ʔən(ə?)-kəj/ 'green'
4.1.e /ʔən(ə?)-pəkʷ/ 'brown'
4.1.f /ʔən(ə?)-xʷi̓kʷ/ 'gray'
4.1.g /ʔən(ə?)-ŋəč/ 'purple'

**Versive Paradigm**

4.2.a /qexiʔ/ 'become black'
4.2.b /paqayʔ/ 'become white'
4.2.c /cəkʷəyʔ/ 'become red'
4.2.d /əjəyʔ/ 'become green'
4.2.e /pֶkֶ'ay?/ 'become brown'
4.2.f /xֶ’iֶkֶ’i?/ 'become faded'
4.2.g /nֶaֶ’cay?/ 'become purple'

Abstract Paradigm
4.3.a /qәxә?ya?ys/ 'blackish'
4.3.b /?i’ pәdq?i?/ 'whitish'
4.3.c /?әn?cәkֶ’ays/ 'reddish'
4.3.d /?әn(ә?)ә’ays/ 'greenish'
4.3.e /pֶkֶ’a?cays/ 'brownish'
4.3.f /?әnә?xֶ’kֶ’ays/ 'grayish'
4.3.g /nֶaֶ’cәya?is/ 'purplish'

Nominals prefixed with /?әn(ә?)-/ (color participial) with the exception of /pәq’/ 'white'. In the nominal paradigm /?әnә?pәxֶ’w/ 'blonde' serves as the prefixed complement for /pәq’/ and functions as a semantic variant of /pәq’/: /pәxֶ’w/ 'blonde, light, white' > /spa?xֶ’әnη/ 'fog', /pәpәxә?әnη?/ 'foggy'.

The versive paradigm is formed by suffixing /-a’y?/ on an unmarked root. The versive /-a’y?/ and the abstract suffix /-a’ys/ are related and can probably be parsed as the combination of the suffixes: /-a’y?/ < /-a’y/, /-?/; /-a’ys/ < /-a’y/, /-s/.

The suffixes /-?/ and /-s/ are probably (continuative) and (possessive) markers, respectively. /-a’y/ 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 /?әn(ә?)-/ < */әә-әә?/ (inalienable possession) in the nominal paradigm.
Within the abstract paradigm the form */pəd'ays/ could not be elicited and in its place is the inflected verb form preceded by the clitic */i?/. */qexa'yays/ 'blackish', */pəw'a?çays/ 'brownish' and */nəça?ya?is/ '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'ay/ 'pale, pale yellow'; and */s'ća(?)na'ič/ '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. */qex/ 'black'
2. */pəq/ 'white'
3. */co'k'w/ 'red'
4. */kɔ'i/ 'green'
5. */s'ća(?)na'ič/ 'yellow'

It was not until an informant carefully examined the intensities and shades of blue and purple that the term */nəç/ 'purple' was obtained. */q'aw/ 'pale, pale yellow', */x'k'wə/ 'to fade' and */p'wə/ 'brown' were given as color terms during elicitation within other semantic categories. It is interpreted that these terms constitute secondary color categories.
(/q\textsuperscript{ay}/ 'pale, pale yellow')

7. /p\textsuperscript{ok}w/ 'brown'

8. /x\textsuperscript{ik}w/ 'gray'

11. /\eta\textsuperscript{ace}/ 'purple'

The two terms for yellow refer to different intensities of yellow: /s\textsuperscript{ca(?)}na?i\textsuperscript{c}/ "sharp" yellow; and /q\textsuperscript{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 /p\textsuperscript{ok}w/ 'brown' and Stage VII requirements are partially met with the inclusion of /\eta\textsuperscript{ace}/ 'purple' and /x\textsuperscript{ik}w/ '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 \textsuperscript{c}q\textsuperscript{i}x 'black'

2. Cw Ms Ch \textsuperscript{c}p\textsuperscript{a}q 'white'

3. Cw Ms \textsuperscript{c}k\textsuperscript{w}im 'red'
   Ch \textsuperscript{c}k\textsuperscript{w}i\textsuperscript{m} 'red'

4. Cw Ms \textsuperscript{c}q\textsuperscript{w}ay 'green'
   Ch \textsuperscript{c}q\textsuperscript{w}a\textsuperscript{y} 'green'

5. Cw Ms \textsuperscript{s}a\textsuperscript{l}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{l}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{c} 'yellow'
   Ch \textsuperscript{s}a\textsuperscript{l}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{l}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{c} 'yellow'
7. **Cw Ms Ch** spk'wöm 'dust'

**Cw Ms** pq'w'y? 'rotten wood'

**Ch** p̄q'w'y 'rotten wood'

**Cw** pq'w'scən '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 /nac/ 'purple' (> /nocnac/ 'blue huckleberry'). Note too that the Halkomelem cq'w'ay 'green' (Cw Ms) is quite similar to the Clallam /q'w'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

| Feature       | p  | p' | k' | l' | q' | t  | c  | c' | \(\chi\) | q  | s  | š | x  | x' | n  | m  | ? | h  | w  | y  | i  | e  | u  | 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
- Vocalic
+ Consonantal
<+ Peripheral>
- Continuant

5.3
- Vocalic
+ Consonantal
<+ Peripheral>
+ Continuant

5.2
- Vocalic
+ Consonantal
- Peripheral
- Continuant
α Low

5.4
- Vocalic
+ Consonantal
+ Anterior
+ Continuant

[[-α Strident]
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<th>5.5</th>
<th>+ Vocalic</th>
<th>5.7</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ Consonantal</td>
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<td>- Consonantal</td>
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<td>&lt;- Peripheral&gt;</td>
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<td>- Strident</td>
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<td>- Consonantal</td>
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<td>+ Peripheral</td>
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<td>α Strident</td>
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<td>5.9</td>
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<td>- Consonantal</td>
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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; /?, 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 /j/ stridency is negatively marked since phonetically the affricate is composed of a stop and a liquid, [i].

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, š, kʷ, šʷ, qʷ, q̥, t, c, ť, į, š, x, xʷ, x̆/ 
(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, š, ʔ, x, xʷ, x̆/ from interrupted obstruents /p, š, kʷ, šʷ, qʷ, q̥, t, c, ť, į, š, x, xʷ, x̆/.

The first relational feature, peripheral, distinguishes labial, velar, and post-velar obstruents /p, š, kʷ, šʷ, qʷ, q̥, xʷ, x̆/ from non-peripheral, central obstruents /t, c, ť, į, š, x, ř, č, ć, q, q̥, s, š, ʔ/; 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, š, t, ť, c, ć, s/ from non-anterior, back, obstruents /kʷ, šʷ, qʷ, q̥, ʔ, č, ć, q, q̥, š, ʔ, š, x/; the anterior nasal /m/ from /ŋ/, and for vowels, /e, i/ from /u/.

The feature, low, separates the post-velar obstruents /qʷ, q̥, q̥, q̥, x, xʷ/ from /kʷ, šʷ, ʔ, č, ć, ť, š, x, xʷ/; 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, /p̥, šʷ, q̥, ʔ, č, ć, š, ć̆/ from /p, kʷ, qʷ, t, c, č̆/ and /h/ from lax /ʔ/. 
Stridency is the least utilized feature and segregates affricates /c, č, č/ from /t, ɬ, ʃ/ and /š/ from /ž/.

**Phonological Rules**

**Morphophonemics**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\begin{array}{c}
\text{[- Vocalic]} \\
\text{[+ Consonantal]} \\
\text{[+ Low]} \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+ Vocalic]} \\
\text{[- Consonantal]} \\
\text{[+ Peripheral]} \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Example: /swi?q'uiʔ/ 'baby boy, prepubescent boy, adolescent boy' < [swi?q'ʷ-uʔiɹ]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\begin{array}{c}
\text{[- Vocalic]} \\
\text{[+ Consonantal]} \\
\text{[+ Continuant]} \\
\text{[+ Strident]} \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\begin{array}{c}
\text{[- Anterior]} \\
\text{[+ Strident]} \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(N.B. This rules specifies /x, xʷ, ʃʷ/ as well, though, no Clallam data is available, cf. Efrat 1970:29).

Example: /sčayčač/ 'sitka spruce' < [štšaytšaɫtš]
A spirant following an identical spirant or homorganic affricate lengthens the preceding segment and drops.

Example: /čšu?ics/ 'fingernail' < [tš·u?its·]
/sšayux"η/ 'steam' < [š·ayux"ʌŋ]}
/sšiwi?/ 'young adult' < [š·iwi?]}

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

Example: /swəyʔqəʔ/ 'man' [swi-q"uʔiʔ]
/sɪnaʔčuyʔ ~ sɪnaʔčuʔiʔ/ 'young girl'
/w/ and /y/ are non-continuant in X environments.

Example: */tw/ > *[ta^k̂ws] > /tak^w's/ 'to buy'
   /nəeg-/ > /nəc-/ 'to laugh'

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[- \text{Vocalic}] \\
[- \text{Consonantal}]
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{c}
[- \text{Vocalic}] \\
[- \text{Consonantal}]
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
[- \text{Anterior}] \\
+ \text{Low} \\
- \text{Tense}
\end{array}
\]

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

Example: /?i? ?a?a^wkw/ 'running out of or using up something' < [?i? a?a^wkw]

   /šawi?/ 'growing' < [šawi? ~ šawi]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[- \text{Vocalic}] \\
[- \text{Consonantal}]
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad \begin{array}{c}
V \\
[\text{-1 Stress}] \\
V \\
[\text{-1 Stress}]
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V^1 \\
[\text{-1 Stress}] \\
V^2 \\
[\text{-1 Stress}]
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{c}
V^1 \\
[\text{+ Long}] \\
\emptyset^2
\end{array}
\]

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

A glottal stop drops between unstressed vowels. If the vowels are identical they coalesce and lengthen.
Example: /qʷəʔqʷiʔ caʔəʔən/ 'I will be going downriver' < [qʷəʔqʷiʔ tsə̓ n]

5.8

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- Vocalic} \\
\text{- Consonantal} \\
\text{+ Anterior}
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- Continuant} \\
\text{- Anterior}
\end{array}
/ X
\]

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

Example: /həqʷəʔəqʷ/ 'great-great grandparent and -grandchild' < [həqʷəʔəqʷ ~ həqʷəʔəqʷ]

5.9

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{+ Vocalic} \\
\text{- Consonantal}
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+ Tense]}
\text{[[-1 Stress]]}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{- Vocalic} \\
\text{+ Consonantal}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

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

Example: /i/ < [ɪ̞] > [i, ɨ, ɯ]

/pi̞xʷ/ < [pi̞xʷ] 'red huckleberry'

/ʔə̞šas/ < [ʔi̞šas] 'sea lion'

/héʔhiʔnəʔʔ/ < [héʔheʔnəʔʔ ~ híʔhiʔnəʔʔ] 'pink salmon (plural)'

\[\text{\llap{[}}\text{- Anterior}\{\text{[+ Peripheral]}\}\{\text{[+ Strident]}\}\text{\rlap{]}}\]
/e/ < [ˌe̞] > [e, ɛ]
/sqxeʔéqʼw/ < [sqxeʔɛqʼw] 'blue dragonfly'
/pehéqʼw/ < [pehɛqʼw] 'nighthawk'

/a/ < [ˌa̞] > [a, ə]
/spáʔxʷəŋ/ < [spáʔxʷəŋ] 'fog'
/ʔáplus/ < [ʔəplus] 'apple'

/ə/ < [ˌə̞] > [ə, əʼ], i, ə

/sn̥əq/ < [sn̥əq] 'crane'
/q̥əyəq̥uʔəŋ/ < [q̥əyɪq̥uʔəŋ] 'kelp bulb'

/u/ < [ˌu̞] > [u, o, ə, ɑ̞, ʊ]
/q̥əʔy̞s/ < [q̥əʔɪs] 'juicy'
/q̥əyəq̥uʔəŋ/ < [q̥əyɪq̥uʔəŋ] 'kelp bulb'
/ɬúʔč/ < [ɬúʔč] 'Indian rope'
/t̥q̥uʔmaʔ/ < [t̥sq̥uʔmaʔ] '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., /xá̱puʔ/ '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 vowels 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., /kʷ/ < */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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White, E., and Peter Wilson
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., tseqwekū 'blue huckleberry'. Cognates are indicated by †, e.g., †čikʷəkʷ 'blue huckleberry' Cw Ms. The scientific identification of plants and animals follows the English gloss, e.g., /cənaʔxʷ/ '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; ? appears directly before specific questionable cognates
(11) / ( ) / parenthetetic 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).


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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Clallam</th>
<th>Lummi</th>
<th>Songish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fraser</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squamish</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisqually</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snohomish</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skagit</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuswap</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalispel</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coeur D'Alene</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, ĉ, e, h, i, k, kʷ, kʷ', l, ɬ, m, n, ɳ, p, ɺ̈, q, ţ, qʷ, qʷ', s, š, t, ɺ, ɺ̈, ţ, u, w, x, xʷ, ɺ̈, y, ?.
/?ac-/  
/s-?as-ɔs/ 'face, outside surface'  
/s-?ac-ɔs/ 'face (bodypart)'  
+ s?ásɔs 'face' Sk  
s?ós(ɔ)s 'face' Sk  
s?ásɔs 'face' Sg  
s?ásaɔs 'face' Sn  
s?óss 'face' Lm  
s?áʔɔs 'face' Cw Ms  
s?áʔوس 'face' Ch  
s?áacdus 'face, front side' Sq

/ʔacáqɨ/ 'thunder, thunderbird'

/ʔač-/ 'to replace something'  
/ʔač-/ (descriptive)  
/ʔaʔ-ʔ-č-/ (continuative)  
/ʔač-ʔ(ɔ)ŋ-ɪ/ (process, durative)  
/ʔač-ʊʔs-ɪ/ 'that which has been replaced'  
+ nɔx'ʔay 'to exchange' Sq  
ay? 'to change things' Pg  
ʔeqy 'exchange, give in return, meet' Sh  
ʔeqy 'exchange, barter' Cda

/ʔačinʔ/ 'maggot'  
+ ší- 'be maggot-ridden Sk  
šáioʔ 'maggot' Sk

/ʔačt/ 'ling cod' (Ophiodon elongatus)
\(\sqrt{\text{ač}}\) 'be between, interior, inside' (cf. /\text{cayux}/)
\(\sqrt{\text{əs-xʷ-a-ʔ-č-ɪ}}\) (stative)

\(\sqrt{\text{ač}}\) 'wipe'
(PS) *\(\text{ač}\) 'wipe'
\(\sqrt{\text{ač}}\) (descriptive)
\(\sqrt{\text{a-ʔ-č-}}\) (continuative)
\(\text{ečet 'wipe'}\ Cw\)
\(\text{ēpōt 'wipe'}\ Ms\)
\(\text{ēp̌et 'wipe'}\ Ch\)
\(\text{síʔ-n 'wipe'}\ Sq\)
\(\text{iIp 'wipe'}\ CDA\)

/alilu?; \text{sət̓aʔan̓}/ 'salmonberry sprouts' (Rubes spectabilis)
\(\text{fálíʔəč 'salmonberry vine'}\ Sk\)
\(\text{lílaʔ 'salmonberry'}\ Cw\ Ms\)
\(\text{əlíʔlɛ 'salmonberry'}\ Ch\)

\(-ač ~? -č/ 'water, liquid'

\(\sqrt{\text{am}}\) 'come to a sitting position'
(PS) *\(\text{am(-t)}\); *\(\text{m-ut 'sit'}\)
\(\sqrt{\text{am}}\) (descriptive)
\(\sqrt{\text{a-ʔa-ʔ-mə-}}\) (continuative)
\(\sqrt{\text{am-u-t-txʷ}}\) (causative)
\(\text{s-xʷ-am-u-t/ 'bed'}\)
\(\text{fám- 'come to a sitting position'}\ Sk\)
\(\text{f̌ómət 'sit down'}\ Sk\)
\(\text{síxʷ(ʔ)ā(ʔ)mət 'bed platform'}\ Sk\)
\(\text{ʔóʔmət 'seated'}\ Sk\ Lm\)
\(\text{ʔaʔmət 'seated'}\ Sg\ Sn\)
\(\text{f̌ómət 'sit'}\ Cw\ Ms\)
\(\text{f̌ómət 'sit'}\ Ch\)
mut 'assume a sitting position' Sq
?əmut 'to sit down' Sh
mut 'be at home, be camped' Sh
?emút 'to sit, be at home' Kl
em, ām 'one sits' CdA

/?amxʷ-/ 'pick berries'
/?amxʷ-/ (descriptive)
/?am-ʔ-xʷ-/? (continuative)
+ λəm 'pick berries' Sq

//?an-/ 'do something excessively'
?/m-an-uʔ/ 'very'
/xaʔas ?an-əə/ 'evil' (< /xaʔas/ 'bad')
//ʔiʔ ?an-əə/ 'well, do it well'

/-anuxʷ ~? -an-uxʷ/ 'time, season, month'

/?aplus/ 'apple' < English apple
+ ?épls 'apple' Sn
?aplš 'apple(s)' Sh

//ʔaq-/
?/ʔiʔʔaq-ʔ/ 'yesterday' (cf. /čin/)
/?əs-aq-ʔ/ '(be) outside'
+ ?əséqə 'outside' Sk
?acq 'outside' Sq
?ucq 'go outside' Sq
(ʔə)?uʔqe 'to go out' Sh
?ocqeʔ 'to go out' Kl
acqeʔ 'go out' CdA
/?asx\"/ 'hair seal' (Phoca richardii)  
  + ?e\̄x\" 'hair seal' Cw Ms  
  ?es\̄x\" 'hair seal' Ch  
  ?asx\" 'seal' Sq

/\?aw-/'be behind' (cf. */hw?/)  
(PS) */awt/; */awit 'be behind, after'  
/\?i? \?awtj 'afternoon' (cf. /\?in/)  
/\?i? \?awt\?i?/ (See Figure 9)  
  + sau?t 'junior-line children or cousins; youngest child' Sq  
  sau?t-q\̄w\̄ui-ač 'little finger' Sq

/\?awk\"/- 'to use-up, run out of something'  
/\?awk\"/- (descriptive)  
/\?a-\?awk\"/- (continuative)

/\?awk\"/ 'property' (cf. /-aw?/)  
  + ?ek\" 'belongings' Nst  
  ëwk\" 'wealth, property' Cw Ms  
  ë\̄wk\" 'wealth; property' Ch  
  */aw(-t) 'call' (PS)  
  ?u(?)-t 'invite' Sq

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

/-aw?tx\" ~ ?-aw?-tx\"/ 'building' (<? /-aw?/ 'belonging to, (reciprocal)', /-tx\"/ (causative))

/\?ay-/ (possible relationship to /\?ač-/ 'to replace something' as in seasonal growth)  
/\?os-ay-?a-?-y-(ө)t/ 'vines' (generic)  
  + */?ay 'exchange, barter, pay' (PS)
//?a-y/- 'taste, smell'
//?a-y-q-?č/ 'smells/tastes good'
/xə? s ?a-y-q-?č/ 'smells/tastes bad'
   + -ai-aqap 'smell, taste' Sq

//?a-y/- 'be good'
/čin ?a-y-i?/ 'summer' (cf. /čin/)
/?a-y-uc/ 'sharp'
/?i-ya?-c-(ə)q-s-n/ 'very sharp point'
   + ?oi? 'good' Sk
   ?a-y? 'good' Cw Ms
   ?éy· 'good' Ch
   ?a-yáʔ 'sharp' Cw Ms
   εyáʔ· 'sharp' Ch
   ?í-uʔc 'sharp' Sq
   s-ʔí-uʔ-c-áxan 'sharp edge' Sq

*/?a-y/ (cf. //?a-w-/)  
/nə-s-ʔa-ʔa-ʔ-č-uʔiʔ/ 'my youngest child' (cf. */-(w)yʔ/)
   + sʔáyʔɛʔ 'sweetheart, lover' Cw Ms
   sʔɛyʔɛʔ 'sweetheart, lover' Ch

/?a-y-ʔnukʷ/ 'today' (cf. /-a-nʔuxʷ/)

/?aʔe?lxaʔiʔs/ 'spotted skunk' (Spilogale putorius)

/?aʔeʔçx/ 'crab' (Cancer magister)
(PS) *?aʔx 'crab, crayfish'
/ŋaʔ-aʔčx/ '(large, yellowish) crab (unidentified)'
   + ?éʔx 'crab' Sk
   ?aiʔx 'crab' Sq
   ayʔx 'crab' CdA
/?a?y-\ (cf. /?a\ci\) /?
a?y-\ (\ < [?a?-i\}) 'house'
  \ + \é?i\ 'house' Sk
  \é?y\ 'house' Sk
  \é?l\ 'house' Sg Sn Lm
  ?ai-s 'be inside' Sq
/*c1t1ayənəxʷ/ 'Indian'
   ṣəcətyənəxʷ 'Indian' Sk
   ?əxʷənəxʷ 'Indian' Sk
   ṣəcətelənəxʷ 'Indian' Sg Sn Lm

/*cənukʷən/ 'broom'

/*ən-/ 'to peek in'
   /*-ə?-n-ən/ (continuative)
   /i? ?-e?-n-ən kʷa s-qʷə-qʷəy/ 'sunrise'

/*ən(ə?)-/ (color participial)

/*ən?ə-/ 'to come'
   /*ən?ə-/ (descriptive)
   /*ən?ə-ə-/ (continuative)
      ṣəhən?ə 'to come' Sk
      ṣəməni 'to come' Ms
      ṣəni 'to come' Ch

/*ənəwə/ 'no to be the case, not to be involved in'
      ṣənəw 'no, not' Sk
      hə 'be not the case, no' Sq

/*əxʷənukʷən/ 'broom'
(PS) *?ixʷ 'sweep'
   ṣəxʷənə 'broom' Cw
   ṣəxʷəl 'broom' Ch
   /?ixʷ 'sweep' Sq
   ?ixʷ 'sweep' Sh
/nə-cačc/ 'my parent's sibling'
† séčs 'parent's sibling' Sk Sg Sn Lm

/cak'čn/ 'tiger lily' (\textit{Lilium columbiaum})

/caw-/ 'extend, be far away'
(PS) *kaw 'extend, far'
/caw-cu-?/ 'far off shore'
/c-i-ck'-i-ŋ/ 'farther off shore than /?i? qət-uc-əŋ/ but closer than /caw-cu-?/'
/c-i-c-a-k'-əč/ 'on the spit'
/c-i-c-a-k'-ax-əŋ/ 'front edge, water edge (of a village)'
†隐形kwl 'way out in the deep' Sk
Ŝqəŋ? 'go far out into the sea; cross a wide stretch of water' Sq
čęg' 'extend' CDA

/cax'-/ 'be lazy'
/ca-?-x'/ (continuative)
/s-cax'-cxl/ (nominal)
† sex' 'be lazy' Sk
sex'sx' 'lazy by nature' Sk
séx'xəx' 'lazy by nature' Sg Sn Lm
sé?x'əŋ 'being lazy' (temporarily) Nst

/cay-/
/s-x'-cay-?-sn/ 'canoe mat'
/c-i-cay-əq/ 'rough, uneven (as a surface)'
† ŋəs-cóm-cm-q' 'wrinkles, creases' Sq
/cay-/ "hand"

/s-x\-ca-\-?:?-s\-cay\-u/? "marsh hawk" (*Circus cyaneus*)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Seyes} & \quad \text{'hand'} \quad \text{Sk} \\
\text{Séles} & \quad \text{'hand'} \quad \text{Sg} \quad \text{Sn} \quad \text{Lm} \\
\text{Céles} & \quad \text{'hand'} \quad \text{Sm} \\
\text{Céloš} & \quad \text{'hand'} \quad \text{Cw} \\
\text{CéloxY} & \quad \text{'hand'} \quad \text{Ms} \\
\text{CéloxY} & \quad \text{'hand'} \quad \text{Ch} \\
\text{Čališ} & \quad \text{'hand'} \quad \text{Pg} \\
\text{Kelx} & \quad \text{'hand'} \quad \text{Sh} \\
\text{#kalx} & \quad \text{'hand'} \quad \text{(PS)} \\
\text{Češš} & \quad \text{'hand'} \quad \text{Kl}
\end{align*}\]

/cayx/- "to stir"

/cayx/ (descriptive)

/cay-?-x/ (continuative)

/cayʔ天河/ "lake"

/caʔyaʔ天河/ "do something slowly or gradually"

/ʔʔes-caʔyaʔ天河/ (stative)

/cək\\w/- "become red"

(PS) *ci/aq\\w/ "red, bleed"

/čk\\w-ayʔ天河/ "become red, get red"

/čk\\w-ay-ʔ天河/ "light red"

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Ckwim} & \quad \text{'red'} \quad \text{Cw} \quad \text{Ms} \\
\text{Ckwim} & \quad \text{'red'} \quad \text{Ch} \\
\text{Cqw} & \quad \text{ceq\\w} \quad \text{Sh} \\
\text{Ckw} & \quad \text{'blue'} \quad \text{CdA} \quad \text{CDA}
\end{align*}\]
/cəlmot/ 'Morse Creek, Washington'

/cən-/
   /s-čən-čən/ 'kidney'
     + s-x̑m-xm 'kidney' Sq

/cənɑʔxʷ/ 'tule' (Scirpus acutus)

/s-čəqi?/ 'sockeye salmon' (Oncorhynchus nerka) (cf. /cəqəy/?)
     + səqi(?) 'sockeye salmon' Sk Lm
        səqi? 'sockeye salmon' Sg
        təqi? ~ səʔi? 'sockeye salmon' Sn
        təqəʔy? 'sockeye salmon' Cw
        səʔqəʔy? 'sockeye salmon' Ms
        səʔqəy 'sockeye salmon' Ch
        s-čəqi 'sockeye salmon' Sq

/nə-čət/ 'my father'
     + mən 'father' Sk

/tseqweku/ 'blue huckleberry' (Sambucus cerulea)
     + čikwək 'blue huckleberry' Cw Ms
        sčəkʷək 'blue huckleberry' Ch

/cimuʔ-n-ʔ/ 'halibut hook'

/cis-n-ʔ/ 'nail' (cf. /čəso-/)
     + ti 'hit, pound' CDA
Ick'wo - 'gather seafood' (cf. */c'i/)
/c-i?:-k'-/ (descriptive)
/c-i?:-k'-e?:-e/- (continuative)
/s-c-i?:-k'-i-ηt/ 'seafood (other than fish)'

/c'i?-/ 'be above, high, up, stand'
/c-i?:-?/- (descriptive)
/c-c-i?:-?/- (continuative)
/c:i-a?:-a?:-u-i/- 'top' (cf. */hw?/)
/hi? ic-i-ci/- 'moving above, overhead'
/c-i-c-i/- 'high, up'
/s-c:i-uc-ən/- 'upper lip, rim of an object'
/s-c:i?-a?-/ 'child from an upper class family'
/c-a?-a-n?-q'/ 'higher ground'

+ šiči- 'to stand' Sk Sn
šičoč 'high' Sk Lm
šičoč 'high' Sg
šičoč 'high' Sn
šici?- 'high class' Cw Ms Ch
šičiayʔən ~ šičaʔayʔən 'upper lip' Cw Ms
šičaʔayʔən 'upper lip' Ch
čiλ 'upper part, top, high, above' Sq
λxilš 'stand up' Sq
λaʔ-λč 'be on top, high up' Sq
čč 'to stand (up)' Sh
čč 'to stand (long objects only)' Kl
čč 'one stands' CdA
der 'stand' CDA

/cik'/ 'to pierce, penetrate'
/cik?-a/- (descriptive)
/cik?-a?-/ (continuative)
/?s-cic'/ (stative)
/s-ɛ-cik'/ 'nostril'
+ čəəəqʷ 'pass through a hole or opening' Sq
\are
\petkʷ 'to pierce, perforate' Sh
\are
ptkʷ 'to perforate'
\are
paʔkʷ 'to pierce' Cda Cda
čəəkʷ 'poke' Cda
leʔpəxʷ 'hole in something' Cda

/\cηə-/
\are
/c-a-ə-a-tənʔ-ʔ/ 'tump line'
+ seʔ 'lift' Sk
cómʔətn 'packstrap' Cw Ms
cómətəl 'packstrap' Ch
čómʔə-tən 'packstrap' Sq

/*/cqəq\/
(PS) *caq 'be in position, stand (tree)'
\are
/s-c-a-cqiʔ-ʔ/ 'sprouts'
\are
ʔəs-c-a-caiʔ-ʔ/ 'pick sprouts' (stative)
+ səəʔ qəq 'sprout' Cw Ms
səəʔqəq 'sprout' Ch

/\ctə-/ 'to point'
\are
/s-c-a-ct-uʔi-ʔi-CS/ 'thumb'
\are
/s-c-əʔ-ct-uy-ən/ 'big toe'
\are
ʔəs-ct-ən-ʔən-uʔi-CS/ 'middle finger'

/cucəʔ/ 'mouth, lips'
+ sóʔsəʔ 'mouth' Sk Lm
sáʔsəʔ 'mouth' Sg
əʔəən, saʔən 'mouth' Sn
əʔəən 'mouth' Cw Ms
əʔəəl 'mouth' Ch
cucən 'mouth' Sq
\ă/\u0101u/- 'to go up away from the beach' (cf. */cw/1)  
\dagger \ sán 'to go up to the woods' Sk  
\ sōn 'go up away from water' Sk Lm  
\ sōn 'go up away from water' Sg  
\θaŋ 'go up away from water' Sn  
\k'um? 'to upward, go ashore' Sq  

/s-cuʔtx/ 'halibut' (Hippoglossus stenolepis)  

*/cw/1  
/c-a-cuʔ/ 'beach'  
\dagger \ sēsuʔ 'beach' Sk Sn Lm  
\ cēcəwʔ 'beach' Cw Ms  
\ cēcəw 'beach' Ch  

*/cw/2 'lay down'  
/c-a-w/ (descriptive)  
/c-c-a-w/ (continuative)  
/c-a-k'ʔ-s/ 'put something down, (purposive)'  
\dagger \ čōuʔ 'to lay down' Sk  

/s-cxač/ 'hip'  

/s-cxəyem/ 'sword fern' (Polystichum munitum)  
\dagger \ səxéłəm 'sword fern' Cw Ms Ch  

/cx'əʔyəqč/ 'quietly' (cf. */ʔay-/)

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"to put on something"

"to use the left hand, (continuative)"

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. /di?u?sonʔ/? 'left-handed').

"be bony"

(PS) *s-ču/am 'bone'

"bone"

"skull"

"mandible"

"spine"

'skull' Sk

'skull' Sk

'skull' Sk

'skull' Sk

'skull' Sk
sćam? 'bone' Sg
sćomáîen 'fish backbone' Sg
sćám? 'bone' Sn
sćomáîen 'fish backbone' Sn
sćóm? 'bone' Lm
sćomóîen 'backbone' Lm
sćám? 'bone' Cw Ms
sćáməqʷ 'skull' Cw Ms
sć’a’m 'bone' Ch
sć’a’məqʷ 'skull' Ch
šay? 'bone' Sq
šayʔ-qʷ 'skull' Sq
(n-)šayʔ-us 'skinny' Sq
sčamčaʔ-tən 'weaving needle' Sq
sćom 'bone' Kl
sćám 'bone, be bony' CdA
čám 'bone' CDA

/čan-/  
/čan-ət/ 'chest'  
† čənət 'chest' Sk

/čapx/ 'cedar root' *(Thuja plicata)*

/čaw-/ 'come to a sitting position'
/nə-xʷ-čaʔ-w-ač-n/ (descriptive)
/s-xʷ-čaʔ-w-ač-n/ 'chair'
† čouʔ 'to put down' Sk
šxʷčuʔéčn 'chair' Sk

/čaw-/ 'to disappear, accidently lose something'
/čaw-/ (descriptive)
/čaʔ-w- (continuative)
/čaw kʷə ḥqayč/ 'moonless'
  + ?sxʷə- 'disappear' Sk
cəxʷ 'disappear' Sq
cə-cx 'be away' Sq
*čəw? 'pull out' (PS)

/čay-/  
/s-xʷəŋ-čay-tn-ʔ/ 'brain'
  + šmačən 'brain' Sk

/čay-/ 'to dig, chip'
  /čay-əqʷ/- (descriptive)
  /čay-ʔ-əqʷ/- (continuative)
  /čay-ʔ-s/- (continuative)
  /s-kʷ-čay-ʔ-s-n/ 'adze'
  + šikʷ 'dig clams, clam' Sq
cək 'hew, carve, whittle' Sh
*ciq 'stab, dig' (PS)

/čayi/ 'fur seal' (Callorhinus alascensis)

/čaʔaʔ-t-n-ʔ/ 'dark night' (cf. /čaw-ʔ/)
  + əčəʔt 'dark (as night)' Ms
  əčəʔt 'dark (as night)' Ch

/čaʔən-(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

/čənkʷaʔ/ 'tomcod' (*Microgadus tomcod)

/čən-/- 'located nearby'
(PS) *kïh, ki-t 'near'
/?əs-č-eʔ-čən-ʔ/ 'near' (stative)
/?č-u-ʔ-čən/ 'acorn barnacle' (Balanus glandula)
+ či-, čit- 'near, approach' Sq

/čəʔʷ-/- 'to narrow'
/s-xʷ-čəʔʷ/ 'waist'
/s-xʷ-čəʔʷ-ac/ 'wrist'
/s-xʷ-čəʔʷ-(ə)sn-ʔ/ 'ankle'
/?č-i-ʔʷ-ən/ 'cedar bark shredder'

/čəʔʷ-/- 'be dirty' (cf. /ʔʷəč/)
/čəʔʷ/ 'dirt'
/?s-čəʔʷ/ 'worm' (generic)
/čəʔʷ/ 'Jamestown, Washington'
+ čkʷó- 'be wormy' Sn
sčókʷ 'worm' Cw Ms Ch
s-čəkʷ 'worm' Sq
ʔəs-čóq-čəq 'dirty' Sq

/čəʔ-/
/s-xʷ-č-a-č-əʔ-i-kʷ-ən/ 'interior of cattail stem'
"/įʔ-/- 'to climb'
/ʔ-eʔ-ʔəŋ/ (descriptive)
/ʔ-i-ʔ-ʔ-əŋ/ (continuative)

/ʔəʔtnʔ/ 'acorn woodpecker' (Melanerpes formicivorus)

"/ččə-/ 'to wake someone'
/ččə-/ (descriptive)
/čoč-/ (continuative)
?/ččxə-tč/ 'stinging nettle' (Urtica dioica)
+ ęxčəx 'stinging nettle' Cs Ms Ch

/čis-/  
/s-xʷ-čis-a-t-əŋ/ 'wentle trap'

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

/čiwq-/  
/s-čiwq-itč/ 'red elderberry' (Sambucus racemosa)
+ ćiwəq 'red elderberry' Cw Ms
ščiwəq 'red elderberry' Ch

/čixʷ-/  
/čixʷ-əŋ/ 'land spit, Deep Creek, Washington'
? *čixʷ-čoxʷ 'osprey, fishhawk' (PS)

/čiʔatkʷ(s)/ 'sasquatch, stick Indian'
+ ćámaqʷəs 'hairy giant' Cw
səsqəc 'hairy giant' Ms
sé·sqəc 'hairy giant' Ch
/čiʔisnəqʷ/ 'east side of Marine Drive area, Port Angeles, Washington'

/č̕i/-
/č̕i-ʔaʔ-aʔ-č/ 'broad-leaf maple' (Acer macrophyllum)
/s-č-u-č̕i-ʔaʔ/ 'leaf'
+ č̕čəʔ? 'leaf' Sk
  (s)čəʔčəʔ? 'leaf' Sk
  ščāʔčəʔ? 'leaf' Sn
  ščoʔčəʔ? 'leaf' Lm
  ščáʔčəʔ? 'leaf' Cw
č̕čəʔIp 'broad-leaf maple' Cw
ščáʔaʔ? 'leaf' Ms
ščáʔaʔ? 'leaf' Ch
ščúʔaʔ? 'leaf' Sq

/č̕əʔp̕-ʔaʔ/ 'to disappear, come to the end (as in linear measurement)
/č̕əʔp̕-eʔ-ʔoʔw/ 'great-great-great grandparent or -grandchild'
+ č̕əʔp̕ayaʔw 'great-great-great grandparent or -grandchild' Cw Ms
č̕əʔp̕ayâʔw 'great-great-great grandparent or -grandchild' Ch
t̕əʔpiʔaʔw 'great-great-great grandparent or -grandchild, hull of a berry' Halk
č̕əʔ-iʔəʔq̕w 'great-great grandparent/child' Sq
⁠gʷən̕əp̕ 'disappear' CDA

/č̕əʔq̕ʷ-/ 'squeeze, pinch'
/č̕əʔq̕ʷ-/ (descriptive)
/čəʔq̕ʷ-/ (continuative)
\(/\text{čm-}/\) 'be wet'

(PS) *(s-)?iča-m 'covering surface; blanket, dress'
\(/\text{č-a-m-un}/\) 'to moisten something, (descriptive)'
\(/\text{č-č-a-m-u-ŋ}/\) 'to moisten something, (continuative)'
\(/\text{č-u-ʔ-m-ŋ}/\) 'wet'
\(/\text{č-u-ʔ-m-ŋ-ct}/\) 'wet, (inchoative)'

? + čamʔin? 'to lick' Sq
\(\text{teq}/\) 'lick' Sh

\(/\text{čŋə-}/\) 'to bite'

/čŋə-/ (descriptive)
/čŋə-/ (continuative)
\(/\text{č-əʔ-čəŋ}/\) 'anemone' ( Cribrina xanthogrammica)

+ čəŋ? 'to bite' Sk
čəm? 'bite' Sq
čumʔáju 'barnacle' Sq

\(/\text{čpə-}/\) 'to bother'

/čpə-/ (descriptive)
/čpə-/ (continuative)

/čpsiʔ-/

?(PS) *čip 'squeeze (shut), pinch'
\(/\text{čo-čpsiʔ-uc-ən}/\) 'squirrel' (Sciurus griseus)

+ čopsiyʔáəen 'squirrel' Cw
čůspi 'ugly' Sq
kis-t 'bad' Sh
ces 'bad' K1
čes, čás 'be bad' CdA
/čə-/ 'to support oneself' (walking)
/čə-ay-s/ (descriptive)
/čə-ay-s/- (continuative)

/čəwə-/ 'be rotten'
/čəwə-ŋ-ič/ 'erect, rotten log'
+ čəwəm 'rotten log' Cw Ms
čəwəm 'rotten log' Ch
cəxw 'be rotten' Sq
duğw 'rotten' CDA

/čəwum-/ /čəwum-e?-eč/ 'black raspberry' (Rubus leucodermis)
/nc-čəwum-e?/ 'my black raspberry, (hypocortistic)'
+ čəwum 'blackcap' Sq

/čsw-/ 'to hit with hand, arm'
/čsw-/ (descriptive)
/čsw-/ (continuative)
/čsw-oyu/ (instrumental, descriptive)
/čsw-s-oyu/ (instrumental, continuative)
/čw-s-ŋ-s?/ 'to use an adze'
/čsw-t-n/ 'antler, horn'
+ čwes 'hit' Sk
čístn 'horn' Sk
čs- 'hit with hand, arm' Sk Sg Lm
čs- 'hit with hand, arm' Sn
čiğwet 'hit' Cw Ms
čyyston 'horn' Cw Ms
čiğwet 'hit' Ch
čyystol 'horn' Ch
čís-tn 'horn, antler, nail' Sq
*cu? 'to hit, strike' Sh
*cu? 'strike with fist' Kl
či? 'antler, horn' CDA
cu 'punch' CDA
ti 'hit, pound' CDA

/čsə-/  
/čs-uʔ/ 'stomach'  
/č-i-čəs-uʔ/ 'float'  
† čsaʔ 'stomach' Sk

/čukʷiʔ-t-n/ 'spear point'

/čut-/  
/s-xʷ-čut-uʔ-əč/ 'heel'  
† sčócnəčən 'heel' Cw  
sčócnəcxən 'heel' Ms  
sčəcləcxəl 'heel' Ch

/čuʔkʷiʔ/ 'skunk cabbage' (Lysichiton americanum)  
† čákʷaʔ 'skunk cabbage' Cw Ms  
čákʷa 'skunk cabbage' Ch  
čúqʷa 'skunk cabbage' Sq

/č-uʔ-m-əʔ-č-nʔ-/ 'bracelet' (cf. /čam-/)  
† čámʔɛn 'bracelet' Sq

*/čw/ 'to wash'  
/č-a-kʷ-/ (descriptive, resultative)  
/č-əʔ-kʷ-/ (continuative)  
/?əs-č-a-čuʔ-?/ (stative)  
† čákʷ 'to wash' Sk  
čékʷt 'wash' Sk Lm  
čékʷoʔ 'wash' Sg
\[\text{\'k\text{e}k\text{w}t\ 'wash' Sn}\]
\[\text{\'c\text{x}\text{w}t\ 'wash' Cw Ms}\]
\[\text{\'c\text{x}\text{w}t\ 'wash' Ch}\]
\[\text{\'c\text{a}k\ 'to wash' Pg}\]
\[\text{\'c\text{e}w- 'to wash body' Sh}\]
\[\text{\'c\text{e}u 'to wash' Kl}\]
\[\text{\'c\text{a}w 'wash' CdA CDA}\]

\[\text{/\text{c\text{x}as/ 'rock oven'}}\]
+ \[\text{\'c\text{x}\text{w}es 'earth oven cooking' Sk Sg Lm}\]
\[\text{\'c\text{x}\text{w}es 'oven of rocks' Sn}\]

\[\text{/\text{c\text{x}e\text{?}ls/ 'Chehalis, Washington'}}\]

\[\sqrt{\text{\'c\text{x}w-}}\]
\[\text{/\text{c\text{x}w-us-ən-ʔ/ 'feeling when frightened by spirits'}}\]
+ \[\text{\'x\text{w}e\text{nl\text{o}ct 'sing out words of a spirit song' Cw MS}\]
\[\text{\'x\text{w}e\text{nl\text{o}ct 'sing out words of a spirit song' Ch}\]
/čakʷ- 'to hiccup, be stuck in the throat'
/čakʷ-äʔ/ (durative)

/čan-/ 'to fish'
/s-čən-ənəxʷ/ 'salmon' (generic)
?/s-xʷ-č-iʔ-ənəxʷ/'Beecher Bay, British Columbia'
+ sčə'nəxʷ 'salmon' Sk
čənənəxʷ 'to fish' Sn

/čan-/ /s-ča (?)n-aʔ-i-č/ 'yellow'

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

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

/čat-/ /s-xʷ-čat-č/ 'bottom of an object'
+ sʔac-q 'bottom' Sq
sʔac-nač 'bay' Sq
/čay-/ 'to work'

/čay-/ (descriptive)

/ča?-i-/ (continuative)

?/ča-čay-t-n-?/ 'body'

/ča?-č-aw?-tx"-η/ 'to put up camp'

+ ?yáys 'work' Cw Ms

yá'ys 'work' Ch

/čay-/ 'to hang up something'

/č-i?-oŋ-us-?-t/ (continuative)

/ča?-čay-?-ya-ŋ-us-?-t/

/čay-/ 'berry' (generic)

/s-ča?-y-əq"-i/ 'fruit tree'

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

+ sčəči-é1ť 'child, youngster' Lm

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

/čay-ɛʔk"-aw?-t/ 'be in back of something, (action)'

/čay-ɛʔk"-aw?-ʔ/ 'be in back of something, (durative)'

/ča?-ʔ-y-aʔk"-ax-ən/ 'back edge (of a village)' (cf. */hw?/

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

?/ʔiʔ ča-?-iʔ ʔa ʔiʔ/ 'morning'

?/ʔiʔ ʔ-ča-?-iʔ/ 'first'

/č-ʔča-s/ 'chase' (descriptive)

/č-ʔʔ-ʔa-s/ 'chase' (continuative)

+ /čaj 'follow' Sq

čay 'follow, pursue' Sq

kel 'pursue, chase (away)' Sh

*kal 'go after, follow, chase (PS)
/čaya-/ 'to vomit'

/čaya-/ (descriptive)
/ča-ʔ-aʔ-/ (continuative)
/ča-ʔ-y-aʔ-t-ay-ʔ/ 'getting sick'
+ yɛʔet 'vomit' Cw Ms
yɛʔt 'vomit' Ch
či(h), čoh, ča 'rise, mount, go upward' Sq

/ča(?)-/
/s-čaʔ-ča/ 'friend'
/no-s-čaʔ-ča/ 'my friend, relative'
/?əʔ-aʔin nə-s-čaʔ-ča/ 'my close relative'
+ sčéʔčəʔ 'friend' Sk
sʔáyʔeʔ 'sweetheart, lover' Cw
syɛʔyɛʔ 'friend' Cw Ms
syɛʔyeʔ 'friend' Ch
s-jiʔiʔ 'friend' Sq
si 'friend' Sh

/s-čaʔ-eʔč/ 'tree stump'

/s-čaʔmukw/ 'bullhead (unidentified)'
+ sčnayʔ 'bullhead' Sq
s-čn-eʔye 'fish with head like frog' Sh (Kuipers 1974: 177)

/čaʔ-ʔ-itč/ 'oak' (Quercus kellogii)

/čaʔ-y-/  
/č-čaʔ-y-qw/ 'south wind'
+ *seʔiʔ 'pass across' Sq
/š-čəmɔʔ-čuʔəs/ 'cape'

/čən-/ 'to plant, bury'
 /čən-/ 'bury' (descriptive)
 /čən-ʔ-/ 'bury' (continuative)

/čən-ʔ-ŋ-ı/ 'plant' (descriptive)
 /čən-ʔ-eʔ-ŋ-əi/ 'plant' (continuative)
 /č-e-n-ʔ-ı/ 'plant' (nominal)

÷/ʔas-čən-əŋət/ 'low class, poor'
 ṣ  čən- 'bury, plant' Sk
 pon 'be buried' Sq
 ṣʻpen > c-ən-ʻpen 'graveyard' Sh

/čən-ʔəq-ʔa/ 'lichen (unidentified)'

/š-čəŋ/ 'to blow'
 /s-čən/ 'wind'
 /s-xaʔas č-u-ŋ/ 'north wind' (< /xaʔas/ 'bad')
 ṣ čəŋ 'strong wind' Sk

/šəŋikwʔs/ 'unfamiliar with (or accomplished at) a task'

/čəq/ 'big'
 ṣ  čəq 'big' Sk

/š-čəq-/ 'to age, tire'
 /t-čəq/ (descriptive)
 /t-ʔt-čəq/ (continuative)
"kʷt čəq-əŋ/ 'aging'
"kʷt čəq/ 'old man' (See TABLE III)

?/č-i-čəq-s/ 'early riser'
čəq-uť/ 'rough canoe surface caused by dragging'
† čaq 'bald' Sq

//čəx-/ 'to break in half'
no-xʷ-čəx-i-ct/ 'half'
† ṭəčəx-txʷ 'half' Sq
c-xeʔ 'torn off' Sh

//čəʔ-/ 
/s-čəʔ-ḥ/ 'fine gravel'

//či-/ 
txʷ-s-čiʔay/ 'almost'
† ča(?) 'do, act, make' Sq
ti- 'to make' Sq
či 'do it, put' CDA
*ka(-n) 'do, do what?' (PS)

/čin/ 'be time of' (~ ? /či-/ 'be the time of', /-n/ (process))
?/čiʔaq-ḥ/ 'yesterday'
t-ča-n-kʷ/ 'last year'
/iʔ čiʔn ?a ?ic-t/ 'Spring' (lit.: time of moving away)
/čiʔn sutč/ 'Winter' (lit.: time of the west wind)
/čəʔn tan/ 'when?'
/s-či/ 'year'
?/pəq-i-yəʔnʔuxʷ/ 'Fall' (lit.: time of whitening)
/xʷas-i-yəʔnʔuxʷ/ 'Fall' (lit.: time of shaking)
† sčiʔəŋŋ 'year' Sk
ciʔéqʔ 'yesterday' Sk
čəléqət 'yesterday' Sg Sn
čəl'éqì 'yesterday' Lm
kʷčəléqət 'yesterday' Cw Ms
syil'ámən 'year' Cw Ms
kʷčəlé·qət 'yesterday' Ch
syilá·lom 'year' Ch
cəl'áqλ > kʷi cəl'áqλ 'yesterday' Sq
sil-ánm 'year' Sq
pen (referring to time) Sh
pén(tə)č 'year' K1
s-pintč 'year' CdA
pin(t)č 'always' CdA

/čixaʔis/ 'Christ, God'
/masiʔ čixaʔis/ 'glory to God'

/čiʔaxʷ/ 'salmon-wier'
+ čiáq 'salmon-weir' Sq

/čkʷ-/  
/s-č-i-kʷ-aʔ-əč/ 'black bear' (Ursus americanus)

/ʔčɨ-/ 'to dig, scoop'  
/ʔ-i-čɨ/ (descriptive)  
/ʔ-e-čɨ/ (continuative)  
+ yew 'scoop up' Sh

/ʔčɨ-/'be thick'  
(PS) *plə, pl- 'thick'

/čɨ-t-uy-s/ 'orange' (Citrus auranticum)
+ čiːot 'thick' Sk
piːt 'thick' Cw Ms
pléːt 'thick' Ch
pəl 'thick' Sq

/'pəl 'thick' Sh

yulqʷ 'thick (cylindrical objects)' Sh

pəl̕i? 'thick', Kl

pəl 'be thick layer' CdA

pəl 'thick' CDA

//čə/- 'to sharpen'

/čə-a-n/ 'file'

/čə-ay-t-n-/ 'sharpening stone'

/s-xʷ-čə-aʔ-ʔ-aʔ-y-t-n-/ 'Ranger, Washington'

+ čəqʷ- 'to file, rub' Sk

/əq 'be sharpened' Sq

//čəʷə/- 'to burn'

/čəʷə- (descriptive)

/čəqʷ- (continuative)

/či-čəqʷ-awʔ-ʔ-txʷ/ 'burning house'

/s-čəqʷ-uc/ 'fire'

/nə-čə-aʔ-ʔ-aʔ-qʷ-čəqʷ/ 'lightning'

/nə-xʷ-čəqʷ-aʔ-t/ 'burning in a particular place'

+ čəqʷ 'burned' Sk

čəqʷčəqʷ 'flashing, lightening' Sk

čəqʷčəqʷ 'burning' Sk Lm

čəqʷčəqʷ 'burning' Sg Sn

háyʔqʷ 'burning' Cw Ms

həʔ-yəqʷ 'burning' Ch

qʷiʔqʷ, (h)iʔqʷ 'fire' Sq

qʷiʔqʷ 'burn' CDA

//čəʷə- 'to sweat'

/č-aʔ-qʷ-ʔ-/ (resultative, durative)

+ čəqʷən 'sweat' Sn
čóq̱'ọn 'sweat' Lm
jáq̱'am 'to sweat, sweat' Sq

\[\text{I/ čsə-/ 'to throw'}\]
\[\text{/čsə-/ (descriptive)}\]
\[\text{/čsə-/ (continuative)}\]
\[? + \text{cxw'-im? 'throw' Sq}
ččč 'throw' CDA\]

\[\text{√/ čsə-/ 'to slap'}\]
\[\text{/nə-xw-čs-us-t-ŋ/ 'slap in face'}\]

\[\text{√/ čsə-/ 'to be on, located'}\]
\[\text{/s-čs-aw?-q'/ 'hat'}\]
\[?/nə-xw-čə?-s-a?-qn/ 'Twin River, Washington'
+ čsə- 'to be on' Sk
sčsəq̱ 'hat' Sk
čəs 'to be on' Sg
yə?saq̱ 'hat' Cw Ms
yə·səq̱ 'hat' Ch
jəsa?q̱ 'head-cover used by medicine-man, hat' Sq\]

\[\text{√/ čsə-/}\]
\[\text{/čə-čs-i-n?əč/ 'service berry' (Amelanchier alnifolia)}\]

\[\text{/č̱?iənə?q̱ 'earwig' (Forficula auricularia)}\]

\[\text{√/ s-čta-ŋx'-ən/ 'earth, land, ground'}\]
\[+ \text{təŋx'- 'be dirty, dirt' Sk}
təŋx̱ 'earth, ground' Sk
təməx̱ 'earth' Cw Ms
təm·əx̱ 'earth' Ch\]
I } cto- 'to ask'
/čt-a/ (descriptive)
/čt-a?/ (continuative)
+ čtě- 'to ask' Sk

I čtə-/
/čə-čtə-ŋxʷ/ 'great horned owl' (Bubo virginianus)
+ čočtěŋəxʷ 'owl' Sk
čítmoxʷ 'great horned owl' Cw Ms
čí·tmoxʷ 'great horned owl' Ch
čí·tmixʷ 'great horned owl' Sq
títmixʷ 'animal' CdA

I s-čuł/ 'firewood'

I čun-/ 'to push'
/čun-/ (descriptive)
/ču⁻?⁻ŋ/ (continuative)
/čəŋ⁻?⁻e⁻?⁻u?/ 'front, forward' (cf. */hwy/)
+ xət 'push' Cw
cəx 'be pushed' Sq

I no-s-čutaʔə́ł/ 'my child's spouse'
+ scutéł 'child's spouse; man's sister's husband' CwMsCh

I ču₃⁻n/ 'spindle whorl'
+ vsol 'spin around, turn' Sq
sól-s1-tn 'Indian spinning wheel' Sq
xʷəł 'to turn, spin' Sh
säl 'turn, spin in eye' CdA
sil 'turn, cause dizziness' CdA
\(/\text{čux-ωŋ-ʔ}/\) 'sour'

\(\dagger\) čáx\n'it's sweet' Sk
čur 'sour' CDA

\(/\text{čuŋ-研究院}/\) 'black cottonwood' (Populus trichocarpa)

\(\dagger\) čouŋ̈nəlp 'cottonwood tree' Sk
/č-ča-ʔtč/ 'sitka spruce' (Picea sitchensis)
/č-ay-ča-ʔtč/ 'name for the Marine Drive area, Port Angeles, Washington; present site of the Lower Elwha Reservation (plural)'
+ čičáʔ-aiʔ 'spruce' Sq
+ tsʔeːp 'spruce' Sh

/čaʔuʔxaʔeʔiʔč/ 'pygmy nuthatch' (Sitta phymaea) or 'brown creeper' (Certhia familias)

/čayi/ 'thick bark (e.g., as of fir, hemlock, spruce)'
(PS) kʰayʔ 'dry out, wither'
+ čay-, čʔiʔ, s-čayʔ 'dead tree' Sq
+ slaʔʔ 'bark of a tree, thick bark' Sq
+ póliʔ 'thin bark' Sq
+ póleŋ 'bark of a tree' Sh
+ čʔiʔlėlxʔ 'bark of a tree' Kl
+ čel 'bark' CdA

/čayuxʷ/ 'to come inside'
/čaʔ-ʔ-čayuxʷ/ (continuative)
/čayʔ-ʔ-xʷ/ 'be inside'
/čixʷ-ʔ-awʔ-ʔtʔ/ 'inside of a fenced area'
/s-čayuxʷ, s-xʷ-čayʔ-ʔ-uxʷ/ 'inlet, canal, Strait of Juan de Fuca'
+ ?aiʔ-ʔs 'be inside' Sq

/nə-čaʔoмаqʷ/ 'my great grandparent and -grandchild'
+ čáʔoмаqʷ 'great grandparent or -grandchild' Sk
+ scčáʔoмаqʷ 'great grandparent or -grandchild' Cw Ms
sčá'meq 'great grandparent or -grandchild' Ch
sčám?eq 'great grandparent or -grandchild' Sq

/ča?e?mač/ 'cone' (tree)

/ča?is/ 'charcoal'
/s-x'-ča?is-čs-us/ 'black-capped chickadee' (Parus atricapillus)
? čuís 'crazy' Sq
n?čuíus 'crazy-faced' Sq

/ča?yeʔʔ/ 'short'
ččíč 'short' Cw
ččíč 'short' Ms
číč 'short' Ch

/ččč/ 'Indian rope' (cf. /č-ča?-čč/)
ččč[epsilon] 'be twisted' Sq
čič 'get squeezed, trapped' Sq
čič 'to squeeze' Pg
s-peč-n 'Indian hemp, twine, string' Sh
čač 'squirt, defecate' CdA

/ččm-/ 'be thin (e.g., board)'
/ččʔččm-ʔ-eʔ-i/ (continuative)
ččmíl? 'thin' Cw, Ms
ččmíl 'thin' Ch
čmíl 'thin' Sq

?/ččmanaʔ/ 'night smelt' (Allosmerus elongatus)
ččaʔk'wsmelt' Sq
/č-ə?-čem-əc-ən-a-?/ 'ant' (generic)
  + čə-čm-ičn 'ant' Sq

/s-čac/ 'thin tail of bull kelp'

/čac-ən/ 'needle'
  + pęčtən 'needle' Cw Ms
  pęčtəl 'needle' Ch

/čəns/ 'sand pit cooking'
  /s-čəns/ (descriptive, nominal)
  /s-čə?-ə?-ns/ (continuative, nominal)

/čəx-/
  /č-e?-əx/ 'pitch, gum, pitchwood'
  cęməx 'pitch' Cw
  čəməx 'pitch' Sq

/ččə-/ 'to squeeze together, sew'
  /čč-i-/ (descriptive)
  /č-a-č?-e?-/ (continuative)
  + čeč 'to sew' Sk
  pęč 'sew' Cw Ms
  pęč 'sew' Ch
  čiik'-in 'squeeze, pinch' Sq

/čitx'ay-qs-ən/ 'shrew' (Sorex palustris)
  + /χ'wey 'sharp' Sh
  χ'y-χ'yey-qs 'shrew' Sh
  χ'ix'î 'sharp' Kl

/s-x'-čiik'he?wn-ič/ 'chokeberry' (Prunus demissa)
/čiyaʔč-ič/) 'douglas fir' (Pseudotsuga sitchensis)
   + le·qeyʔep 'douglas fir' Cw Ms
   lá·yəʔp 'douglas fir' Ch

/s-xʷ-čixʷikʷnʔ/ 'internal organs'

/čiʔiʔsantnʔ/ 'cross-piece of a drying rack'

/čη-/ 'to return home'
   /č-a-ηʔ/ (continuative, resultative)

/čp-/ 'to roll'
   /č-iʔ-p-uʔ-iʔ-s-ηʔ/ (continuative)

/čp-/ 'to squeeze, hold between fingers'
(PS) *čip 'squeeze (shut), pinch'; *pih, pʔ, pʔ-č 'squeeze, press, grab, push'
   /č-a-ʔp/ (resultative)
   /č-i-ʔp/ (continuative)
   + píčot 'squeeze' Cw Ms Ch
   píč 'get squeezed, trapped' Sq
   píhʔ, pʔaʔ, pʔoh 'grab, seize, get hold of' Sq
   kip- 'to pinch together' Sh
   čep 'to lock a door' K1
   čip 'to pinch' CdA
   píyʔ 'squeeze' CdA CDA

/čsayi/ 'belted kingfisher' (Megaceryle alcyon)
   + čəcələ 'kingfisher' Cw Ms
   čəcələ 'kingfisher' Ch
   čəcəl 'kingfisher' Sq
/čsə-/ 'to put out, extinguish'
  /čsə-/ (descriptive)
  /čəs-/ (continuative)

/čsəp-/ 'to reduce in swelling'
  /čsəp-/ (descriptive)
  /čəsp-/ (continuative)

/čɛ/-
  /čɛ-uʔi(cs)/ 'fingernail'
  /čɛ-uʔi(sn)/ 'toenail'
  /č-aʔi-s-us-n ~ č-ay-š-us-n/ 'claw'
    + čšaisəs 'fingernail' Sk

/čtə-/ 'to crawl'
  /čtə-/ (descriptive)
  /čtət-/ (continuative)

/s-čuyʔu/ 'stick of wood' (cf. */čw/)
    + ščešt 'stick' Cw
      ščešyt 'stick' Ms
      šće·šyt 'stick' Ch
    s-cəq 'stick, tree, log, wood' Sq

/čuʔaʔčaxən/ 'tern' (Sterna hirundo)

*/čw/ 'to store away'
  /č-č-i-kʷ-aʔ-??-sn-ʔ/ (descriptive)
  /s-xʷ-č-č-i-kʷ-aʔ-??-sn-ʔ/ 'Winter'
  /č-aʔ-??-w-iʔ/ 'dish'
    + čéʔwi(?) 'dish' Sk
čé?wi? 'dish' Sk
čé?wi? 'dish' Sg Sn Lm

/čxʷ-oq-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

/ʔeʔɪxʷa/ 'Elwha River, Washington'
/hac-qs/ 'Point-no-Point, Washington'

/has/ 'eyes' < English _eyes_

/hay-/ 'to build a canoe'
   /hay-?-hi-?/(descriptive)
   /ha-?-hi-?-hi-?/(continuative)
   /s-x"-ayi?-hi-?/ 'area south of the Lower Elwha Reservation'

/-hay/ 'container'
   /s-x"-ti-háy/ 'teapot'
       † -héíoc 'container' Sk

/ha?-/ 'to give thanks, to pray'
   /ha?-ha?-n-əŋ-?/ (continuative)
       † hoómwi? 'alone' Sk
       hoómá 'pigeon' Ch
       hoómí 'come' Sq

/ha?ča?/ 'weather vane scallop' (Pecten caurinus)

/hóm?u/ 'pigeon' (Columba livia)
       † hoómø 'pigeon' Cw Ms
       hoómá 'pigeon' Ch
       hoómí 'come' Sq

/həq-/ 'shove, push; move away from shore'
   /həq-áž/ 'shove, (descriptive)'
   /h-a?-q-a?-áž/ 'shove, (continuative)'
/ho-?-q-ay-t/ 'move away from shore, (descriptive)'
/ho-?-q-i-ct/ 'move away from shore, (continuative)'
† hiu-q-än 'shove, push' Sq

/həw-/ 'to return something'
/ho-?-w-e?-/ (continuative)
/h-a-w-əη-is-txʷ/ (causative, purposive)

/hə?-/
/ho-?-hə?-əη?/ 'frog' (Rana catesbeiana)

/hikčəm/ 'handkerchief' < English handkerchief

*/hs/ 'to sneeze'
/h-a-s/ (descriptive)
/h-a-?-s/ (continuative)
† hes- 'to sneeze' Sk

/huuʔ?/ 'Hoko River, Washington'

/huʔpt/ 'deer'
† (n-)&(h)u-hupit 'rabbit' Sq

*/hw(y)/ 'finish'
(PS) *həwy, *hwoy 'cease, finish'
/kʷə hu-?-i-n-əxʷ/ 'finished (weaving) it'
/?iʔ ha-?-kʷ-i-t/ 'weaving it'
† hái 'to finish' Sk
hui 'be finished' Sq
wiʔ 'to be finished, to be exhausted' Sh
hóí 'to quit doing something' Kl
wi 'to finish' Kl
hoi 'cease' CdA
gewî 'finish' CdA
hoy 'stop' CDA
gewî 'finish' CDA

/s-k"eh-s/ 'murder, (descriptive)'
/s-k"ay-s/ 'murder, (continuative)'
+k"elôws 'murder' Cw Ms
k"olk"elôws 'murder' Ch
k"âmc-mix" 'to murder' Sq

*/hw?/ 'front, forward; location, place'
/hu?-ak"?-aw-t/ 'be in front of something'
/hu?-ak"-aw-txw/ 'be in front of a house' ~? /hu?-ak"-aw?-txw/ 'be in front of something, (causative)'
/hu?-ak"-ax-on/ 'front edge'
/s-k"a-t/ 'be in back of something; stern of a canoe'
/s-e-/ 'bow of a canoe'
/no-hq"-ow/ 'my great-great grandparent and -grandchild'
+ ?ok"ow 'great-great-great grandparent or -grandchild' Cw Ms Ch
?aw't 'be behind, coming after, future' Sq
hok"-i?q' 'great-great-great grandparent or -grandchild' Sq
s-(h)îy? 'upstream region' Sq
s-âa'tq 'stern of a boat' Sq
?owit 'the last, behind' Sh
*ô?ut 'to follow, go behind' Kl
igw '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/

/hanen?/ 'humpback salmon' (Oncorhynchus gorbuscha)
  + ha'n? 'humpback salmon' Cw
  hown? 'humpback salmon' Ms
  howlaye 'humpback salmon' Ch
/\ic-\ 'to move away'
\i? \ci-?n ?a \ic-t\ 'Spring'
\i? \ic-\on\ 'just off shore'

/\i\ž/ (relative time/action; clitic)
\i\ž \ca\?i?\ 'first, (e.g., arrival)'
\i\ž k\w\a\?us\ 'last, (e.g., arrival)'

/-\i\ž\č/ 'tree, bush'

/\in-\ 'to have an attractive front, (e.g., a shirt)'
\i\?-\in-s\ 'Inis Creek, Washington, ("fine beach frontage" AB)'

/\nə-\?-\nuč/ 'my grandchild; sibling's child; first cousin's child'
+ ?i\ņo\š 'grandparent, grandchild' Sk
?i\m\o\ 'grandchild' Cw Ms
?i\ɾ.m\o\ 'grandchild' Ch
?i\m\ac\ 'grandchild' Sq
?im\c\ '(great-)grandchild' Sh
?im\c-\?uy 'great-grandchild' Sh

/\is\a\腈\w/ 'tall'
+ s-i-\îx-ixas 'big lizard' Sq

/\i\š\as/ 'sea lion' (Eumetopias jubata)

/\i\y\am/ 'strong'
/?i?εcεcεn/ 'rock cod' (genus Sebastodes)

/s-xml-?i?yis/ 'branch (of a tree)' (cf. /?iyam/?)

/kapú/ 'coat' < French capote
+ kapú 'coat' Sk

/kinya-txʷ/ 'La Push, Washington'

kla´síp 'licorice fern' (Polypodium vulgare)
/'kʷač-/ 'to holler, call someone'
/kʷač-/ (descriptive)
/kʷa-?-kʷ-ә?-č-/ (continuative)
/kʷ-i-č-aŋət/ (reflexive)
/kʷa-?-kʷ-i-??-č-a-?-ŋ-τ/ 'come when called'
/kʷ-kʷay-s/ 'yell (as in broadcasting news)'
† kʷéčəŋ 'yell' Nst
    wi 'shout' CDA

/kʷan-/ 'to lose'
/kʷan-/ (descriptive)

/kʷan-/ 'to dispose of'
/kʷan-әs/ (purposive)
/kʷ-ә?-a-??-n-әs/ (continuative)

/kʷan-/ 'to run'
/kʷan-/ (descriptive)
/kʷa-?-n-e?-/ (continuative)
† kʷánəŋət 'to run' Sk
    kʷónəŋət 'run' Sk Lm
    kʷánəŋət 'run' Sn
    kʷən 'start, begin doing something' Sq

/kʷaq-/ 'to bloom'
/kʷaq-/ (descriptive)
/kʷa-?-q-/ (continuative)
/s-kʷaq-әŋ/ 'flower'
† kʷéq- 'to flower' Sk
    skʷéqəŋ 'flower' Sk Sg Lm
spe'qom? 'flower' Cw Ms
spe'qom 'flower' Ch
spáqam 'flower' Sq

/kʷaš-/  
/kʷaš-kʷš/ 'bluebird' (Sialia mexicana)  
+ skʷičoc 'bluejay' Cw
šxʷičoc 'bluejay' Ms
kʷɛ.y 'bluejay' Ch

/kʷašu/ 'pig' < French cochon  
+ kʷašú 'pig' Sq
kʷúso 'pig' Sh

/kʷaʔ-kʷaʔ-su/ 'sowbug' (Porcellio laevis)

/kʷatx-ičč/ 'dogwood' (Cornus nuttallii)

/kʷay-/ 'to pour, spill, overturn'  
/kʷayʔ/ 'spill, spilled accidently'  
/kʷaʔ-aʔ/ (continuative)  
/kʷayʔ-iʔ/ 'overturned (in a canoe)'  
/kʷayʔ-kʷiʔ/ 'overturning'  
+ ?eskw³yʔət 'overturned, spilled' Sk
?eskw³lʔət 'overturned, spilled' Sg
skʷálʔət 'overturned, spilled' Sn
?eskw³lʔət 'overturned, spilled' Lm
kʷəl 'pour out' Sq

/kʷay-/ 'be ticking'  
/kʷay-x-ct/ (inchoative)
/kʷa/- 'to be day'
(PS) *kʷa- 'be visible, revealed, public'
/kʷa-č-i/ 'early, ahead of time'
/s-kʷač-i/ 'daylight, day, sky'
/kʷčinonč/ 'breakfast time'
/kʷči/ 'to be day' Sk
/kʷči/ 'daybreak' Sk
/kʷči/ 'day, sky' Cw
/kʷči/ 'day, sky' Ms
/kʷči/ 'day, sky' Ch
/kʷáči/ 'tomorrow' Sq
/kʷakʷáči/ 'dawn' Sq
/kʷáči/ 'by day' Sq
/kʷáči/ 'enter' Sq
/wey 'be visible, revealed' Sh

/kʷa/- 'to hide'
/kʷa/- (descriptive)
/kʷa-kʷi/- (continuative)
/kʷa-či/ 'to hide' Sk
/kʷoči? 'it's hiding' Sk
/kʷoči? 'hidden' Sk
/kʷoči? 'hidden' Sg
/kʷoči? 'hidden' Sn
/kʷoči-an 'hide' Sq
/kʷa-kʷi 'play hide and seek'

/s-xʷ-kʷaʔín/ 'saliva'

/kʷem-
/kʷemux/ 'dull, not sharp'
/mek? > mʔek? 'blunt, dull' Sh
/kʷəm-/
/kʷəm-?-xʷ/ 'be skinny'
/s-kʷ-a-?-kʷəm-?-xʷ/ (nominal)
/kʷəm-xʷ-ə?-/ 'getting skinny'
† ?ə́-s-kʷúm?kʷumʔ 'skinny' Sq

/s-kʷən-ən/ 'afterbirth'

/kʷən-/
/kʷən-kʷ-i-n-sən/ 'hermit crab' (Telmessus cheiragonus)

/kʷən-/'to dream'
/kʷ-ʔ-n-ənəʔ/ (reflexive, descriptive)
/kʷ-əʔ-w-ʔ-n-ənəʔ/ (reflexive, continuative)
† skʷəwkwʷin 'cry when possessed' Cw Ms
kʷənwəst 'harm by contagious magic' Cw Ms
skʷəwkwʷíl 'cry when possessed' Ch
kʷeləwst 'harm by contagious magic' Ch
ʔənən 'lose mental equilibrium' Sq

/kʷən-/
/s-kʷən-a-ŋ-t/ 'helping power'

/kʷən-/'to fight'
/kʷ-i-n-t-i/ (descriptive)
/kʷ-eʔ-w-n-t-i/ (continuative)
/kʷ-i-n-t-i/ 'war canoe'
† kwínəl 'fight' Sg Sn Lm
kwikʷəntál? 'wrestling' Cs Ms
kwínəl? 'fight' Cw Ms
kwikʷəntáʔl 'wrestling' Ch
ʔəyáʔtəl 'fight' Ch
kwínəl 'to fight' Sq
/s-k'ontaʔ-y-itiʔ/ 'yarrow' (Achillea millefolium)

/kʷəʔ-s/- 'to fry' (<ʔ/šakʷ-/) [+ inversion]
   /š-kʷəš-n/ 'frying pan'
   + čəkʷxa-n 'to fry' Sq

/kʷəʔ-y/- 'to fly'
   /kʷəʔ-y-əʔ-ʔ/ (continuative)
   + kʷənʔ? 'wing' Sk
   =key 'spread wings' Sh
   kʷiʔc 'fly' CDA

//kʷəʔkʷiluʔʔʔ/ 'purple shore crab' (Hemigrapus nudus)

/kʷcə/- 'to point at' (cf. /caw/)
   /s-kʷ-i-cəʔ-ʔ-s-ʔ-s/ 'index finger'

/kʷč/- 'to pry open'
   /-kʷ-i-č-ayʔ-s-n/ 'adze'
   + kʷč- 'pry up' Sq
   wtkeł 'to pry up' Sh
   wič- 'to chop, split' Sh

/s-kʷeʔms/ 'pollack' (Pollachius virens)

/s-kʷimay/ 'dog'
   + sqʷmɛ́y 'dog' Cw Ms
   sqʷomɛ́ʔy 'dog' Ch
   sqʷmáj 'dog' Sq
/k̓w̓it̑sn̓/ 'spring salmon' (Oncorhynchus gorbuscha)

(PS) *kəsəw?, *kwəʔs 'spring salmon'
  + k̓w̓it̑sn̓ 'spring salmon' Sk
  k̓w̓uʔs 'spring salmon' Sq
  kəkəsəw 'spring salmon' Sh

/k̓w̓intuʔiʔ/ 'with, along with others'

/kw̓iʔuqənʔ/ 'smokehole'

/k̓w̓stənʔ-xml̓/ 'Eskimo'

/k̓w̓ulesʔuʔ/ 'eulachon' (Thaleichthys pacificus)

/kw̓uyiʔ/ 'soft'
  + q̓óʔ-qiʔ 'soft' Sq

/kw̓uʔət̑/ 'cattail' (Typha latifolia)

/s-kw̓uʔikʷiʔ/ 'whistling badger' (Taxidea taxus)
/ˈkʷ-/  
/ˈkʷ-sən/ 'to trip'

/ˈkʷaːcin-ən/ 'calling to someone'

/ˈkʷaːcən-t-č/ 'mud shark'

/s-ˈkʷaqʷ/ 'lung'

/ˈkʷas-/ 'be hot'
(PS) *ˈkʷas 'hot, scorch'
† ˈkʷes- 'get burned'

/ˈkʷat-ən-/ 'rat' (genus Rattus)
(PS) *ˈkʷatən 'mouse'

/s-ˈkʷətən-/ 'mouse' (genus Rattus)
† ˈkʷētən 'rat' Sk
ˈkʷētən 'rat' Sk Sg Sn Lm
ˈhētən 'rat' Cw Ms Ch
ˈkʷatən 'mouse' Sq
ˈskʷatəd 'mouse' Pg
ˈkʷəkʷtn 'mouse' Sh
ˈkʷēkʷtene? 'mouse' Kl
ˈkʷitän? 'mouse' CdA

/s-ˈkʷatu?/ 'raven' (Corvus corax)
/s-ˈkʷa-ˈkʷatu?/ 'crow' (Corvus brachyrhynchos)
/s-ˈkʷa-ˈkʷatu?-it/ 'blackbird' (Euphagus cyancephalus)
† ˈskʷtō? 'raven' Sk
sk'w(ə)k'wótə? 'crow' Sk
sk'w'tá? 'raven' Sg Sn
sk'wək'watə? 'crow' Sg Sn
sk'w(ə)tó? 'raven' Lm
sk'wək'wótə? 'crow' Lm

/s-k'wə/ac/ 'dogfish shark' (Squalis suckleyi)
   + k'wəč 'dogfish' Sq

/k'w-a?-i?-k'w_i?/ 'brant goose' (Branta bernicla)

/k'wọč-/  
/s-k'wọč-ən/ 'tree bark' (generic)
/s-k'wọč-ŋ-ičč/ 'bitter cherry' (Prunus emarginata)

/k'wọk'w-/  
/s-k'w̱k'-am-ʔ/ 'axe'
   + q'wuq'w, q'weq'w 'beat, strike' Sq
   q'weq'w-ə-mn 'axe' Sq

/nə-x'w-s-k'wək'w-i-aʔ/ 'quiet'

/k'weŋ-/ 'to see'
/k'weŋ-/- (descriptive)
/k'weŋ-ʔ-/ (continuative)
   + k'weŋət 'look at it' Sk
   šx'k'weŋásəŋ 'window, mirror' SK
   k'wač 'look, catch sight of' Sq
   wíkm 'see' Sh
   wič 'see' Kl
   q'wič't 'see' CdA
/kʷəŋ-/  
/s-xʷ-kʷəŋ-ən-?/ 'esophagus'  
+ šqən̓xʷeylo 'throat' Cw Ms  
q̓əlxʷelə 'throat' Ch

/kʷəs-/  
/kʷəs-ə/ 'hard' (cf. TABLE III)  
+ čay 'hard, solid' CDA

/kʷəy-/ 'be pregnant'  
/?əs-kʷ-a-kʷi-?/ (stative)  
/kʷəč-ə-ən-?/ 'give birth'  
+ ?əskʷé?kʷi? 'pregnant' Sk Sg  
skʷé?kʷi? 'pregnant' Sn  
?əskʷókʷi? ~ ?əskʷékʷi 'pregnant' Lm  
? čáčlm 'give birth' Sq

/kʷəy-/  
(PS) *kʷəy 'grizzly, frosty'  
/kʷəy-əč/ 'grizzly bear' (Ursus horibilis)  
/?/s-kʷəy-əxʷ/ 'screech owl' (Otus asio)  
+ skʷékʷi 'hungry' Sk Sn  
kʷékʷi? 'hungry' Sg  
kʷékʷi ~ kʷókʷi 'hungry' Lm  
s-kʷí-?ačn 'grizzly bear' Lm  
kʷí?xʷm 'screech owl' Sq  
s-t-kʷy-kʷe 'silver-tipped grizzly bear' Sh

/kʷəcənəxʷ/ 'ashes'  
+ kʷəxʷi?nəxʷ 'ashes' Sk  
kʷəxʷołənəxʷ 'ashes' Sg Sn Lm
\(\text{\'k'wè'-} /\text{to butcher}'\)

(PS) *wac 'pry loose, pick out'

\(\text{\'k'w-i-č/} \) (descriptive)

\(\text{\'k'w-e?-wèč/} \) (continuative)

+ \(\text{\'k'wòč-} \) 'to bend' Sk

\(\text{\'k'wìč-} \) 'cut for smoking' Sk

\(\text{\'wèč-} \) 'to chop, split' Sh

\(\text{\'čiq\'} \) 'butcher' CDA

\(\text{\'k'wòč-} /\)

\(\text{\'k'wèč-ay-sn-?/} \) 'walking stick'

+ \(\text{\'č-ač} \) 'walking staff' Sq

\(\text{\'tèk?-em} \) 'support, prop up' Sh

\(\text{\'k'wèč-} /\)

\(\text{\'k'w-a-č-ač/} \) 'sand flea' (*Culicoides canithorax*)

\(\text{\'k'w-i-č-ač-aw?-?txw/} \) 'aboriginal village of the Upper Elwha River' (lit.: flea house)

\(\text{s-\'k'wiči/} \) 'sea egg' (generic)

+ \(\text{s\'k\'ičač?} \) 'sea-eggs' Sq

\(\text{\'k'wi?a?e?/} \) 'yellow-shafted flicker' (*Colaptes auratus*)

\(\text{\'k'wsè-} /\text{to count}'\)

\(\text{\'k'wsè-} \) (descriptive)

\(\text{\'k\'wsè-} \) (continuative)

+ \(\text{\'os\'k\'wósè} \) 'counted' Sk

\(\text{\'os\'k\'wásøè} \) 'counted' Sg

\(\text{\'sk\'wásøè} \) 'counted' Sn

\(\text{\'os\'k\'wésè} \) 'counted' Lm
skwšém 'count' Cw
kwšyém 'count' Ms
kwšyéém 'count' Ch

/kwui?i?/ 'skin' (cf. */(?)yw/)

(PS) *kwíl 'skin, feather, quill (porcupine)'

/kwinyaq-øq/ 'scalp'

+ kwíwiójw 'skins, pelts' Sk

kwolow? 'skin' Cw Ms
kwolów 'skin' Ch
kwolów? 'skin' Sq
/laʔhalʔ/ 'to gamble'
/s-lahal/ 'gambling game'
/s-lahal-umʔac/ 'sand dollar; disk game'
+ slēhēlʔ 'hand game' Cw Ms
    slēhēl 'hand game' Ch
    slōhēluum 'disk game' Cw Ms
    slōhēləm 'disk game' Ch
    slōhīl '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.

/ləmətuʔ/ 'sheep' < French le mouton
    + lmtū 'sheep' Sk

/ləplaš/ 'board' < French la planche
    + ləpláʔš 'wall lumber' Sk

/s-xʷ-liapona/ 'small chiton (unidentified)'

/ličom/ 'devil' < French le diable
    + liám 'devil' Sq
        lyam 'devil' Sh
/ɪ-/ 'to turn (canoe)'
   /ɪ-e?-/ (descriptive)
   /ɪ-e?-e-/ (continuative)
   /ɪ-e?-η-s/ 'turn to the left'

/-ɪ/ (directional ?)

/ʔɪən-/ 'to eat'
   /ʔ-i-ʔən/ (descriptive)
   /ʔ-e?-ʔən/ (continuative)
   /s-ʔə?-i-ʔən ~ s-ʔ-i-ʔən/ 'food'
   /s-ʔ-i-ʔən/ 'saltwater fish'
   + ?iʔn 'to eat' Sk
   ?iʔn 'eating' Nst
   ?iʔtən 'eat' Ms
   ?iʔtəl 'eat' Ch
   s-ʔiʔn 'food' Sq
   ?aʔ 'eat' Pg
   ?iʔn 'to eat' Sh K1
   iʔn 'eat' CdA

/lač-/ 'be cold'
   /la-lač-i/ 'cold'
   + lač 'dark' Sq
   c-lač 'soaked, all wet' Sh

/laʔw-/ 'to gaff or hook fish'
   /laʔw/-ayu/ (instrumental)
   + ʔiʔw- 'to hook' Sk
   ʔiʔw-ʔən 'gaff' (also 'hook on line') Cw Ms
gaff' (also 'hook on line') Ch
'get hooked up' Sq
'to snap, flip' Sh
'pierce with fine-pointed object, fork, barb, spike' CdA

/ian-/  
/s-ian-i-?/? 'woman'  
/s-ina-č-uʔi?/ 'baby girl'  
/siŋa-ʔ-č-uyɨ/ 'adolescent girl'  
/siŋəʔ-ʔ-č-uʔiʔ/ 'pubescent girl' (cf. TABLE III)  
/no-s-ian-i-?/? 'my wife'
+s iʔəniʔ 'woman' Sk
siŋəʔčőyoʔ 'preteen girl' Sk
siŋəʔčaλəʔ 'preteen girl' Sg
siŋəʔčaaʔ 'preteen girl' Sn
siŋəʔčoʔoʔ 'preteen girl' Lm
siʔənəʔ 'woman' Cw Ms
siʔəli 'woman' Ch
√λan, λən(?) 'weave' Sq
s-λən-ajʔ 'woman' Sq
s-λá-λən-aj 'female' Sq
s-λən-iʔ-úll 'young girl' Sq

/iaq-/  
/iaq-əŋʔ-?/ 'tasteless, odor'

/iaqʷ-/ 'to spit out something'
+iχʷəʔ 'spit' Cw Ms
+iχʷaʔ 'spit' Ch
λχʷə-λč 'to spit' Sq

/s-xʷ-ʔəy/ 'doorway'
/ˈsteɪld ˈtɹaut/ (Salmo gairdneri)
? + ɬač-tn 'knife' Sq
 Lith 'shear, cut' Sq

/ˈtoʊməx/ 'to rain'
/ˈtoʊməx/ (descriptive)
/ˈtoʊm-ʔ-əx/ (continuative)
/s-ˈtoʊməx/ 'rain'
/s-ˈtoʊayəx/ 'ice'
+ ɬəmʔxʷ 'it's raining' Sk
 səiʔəxʷ 'ice' Sk
 səímaʔ 'ice' Cw
 sə́əməxʷ 'rain' Cw Ms
 spíwʔ 'ice' Ms
 powéls 'freeze' Ms
 sə́əm-əxʷ 'rain' Ch
 spìu 'ice' Ch
 powéls 'freeze' Ch
 λəmʔxʷ 'rain' Sq

/ˈeptən/ 'eyelash'
+ ɬəptn 'eyelash' Sk
 ɬəpətn 'eyelash' Cw Ms
 ɬəptəl 'eyelash' Ch
 čipəl-tn 'eyelashes' Sq
 cəpəl-úye 'eyelash' Sh

/ˈseəltʃ/ 'sea lettuce' (Ulva lactuca, U. linza)

/ˈgo to ward the beach/'
//ɪ́č-/ 'to cut'
/ɪ́-ɪ́-č/ (descriptive)
/ɪ́č-ɛʔ-/ (continuative)
/ɪ́-a-ɛʔ-ɛʔ-/ (instrumental)
+
ɪ́čí- 'to cut' Sk
ɪ́čí- 'be cut, to cut' Sn
ɪ́čot 'cut' Sn
ɪ́čímәn 'comb' Cw Ms
ɪ́·čәt 'cut' Cw Ms
ɪ́čímәl 'comb' Ch
nič 'cut' CDA

//ɪ́č-/ 'to tire'
/ɪ́č-i-kʷ-s/ (descriptive)
/ɪ́-ɪ́-ɪ́č-i-kʷ-s/ (continuative)
+
ɪ́číkʷs 'tired' Sk
λč-iгs 'be tired' Sq

//ɪ́č-/ 'dentalium shell'
/ɪ́-ɪ́-ɛʔ-ɛʔ-ɛʔ-ɛʔ-/ 'dentalium shell'
/ɪ́-a-ɛʔ-ɪ́-a-ɛʔ-ɛʔ-ɛʔ-ɛʔ-/ 'saw-wheat owl' (Aegolius acadicus)

//ɪ́ɛtмnʔ/ 'herring rake'
+
ɪ́ɛtмmәn 'herring rake' Cw Ms
ɪ́ɛтm 'herring rake' Ch

//ɪ́kʷοntn/ 'suspenders'

//ɪ́s-/ 'have scales'
/s-ɪ́s/ 'scale (fish)'
/?әs-s-ɪ́s/ 'scaly'
/s-\ix'w\iqn?/ 'navel'
   ? + məx'woy 'navel' Cw Ms Ch

/\ix'm?/ 'be slippery, smooth, slick'
   + έotx'm 'slippery, shiny' Sq
   s-?úx'n 'ice' Sq
   lix' 'fall down' Sq
   tseR' 'slippery' CDA
   ttleR' 'slide' CDA

/\k'wačən/ 'thin salmon strips cut for smoking'

/\v\p-/ 'to hang loose'
(PS) *λa\p/ 'hang folded'
   /s-\i-ay-\p/ 'loose'
   /s-\p-uqt/ 'shirt'
   /\p-\a-?\-\i-\-\i-\-\a-\-\a-\-\a-\-\a-\-\a-\-\a-\-\a-/ 'bat' (Lasionycteris noctivagans)
   /ζ\p-u\-\-\k\-ay-s-n-\-\q/ 'eel' (Anguilla rostrata)
   + ζe\p 'to hang loose' Sg
   λop 'cover, clothing' Sq
   s-\qap-qap-c-\a 'bat' Sq
   λlipui 'loose skin, wrinkles' Sq
   /λe\p 'hang doubled up' Sh
   pūi 'wrinkled' K1
   puy' 'be wrinkled' CDA
   pul\k 'fold' CDA

/\qay\q/ 'moon'
   /\caw k\wι \qay\q/ 'moonless'
   /ne? k\w'a \qay\q/ 'new moon'
   /\qay\q-\-\a-?/ 'moonlight'
   + \qēi 'moon, month' Sk
   \qel 'moon' Cw Ms
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 /？qlaq/ is the name of an animal which moved along by rolling itself sideways along the hills (Kuipers 1967:336).

/ tqey-itč / 'thimbleberry sprouts' (Rubus parviflorus)

/tqit/ 'clothes'
  /nəma tqit/ 'holy clothes worn during Shaker religious services'
  + tqit 'blanket' Sk

/tqačs/ 'mother's or father's kin group' (homophonous with /tqačs/ 'five')
  + łqi? 'know, be acquainted with, know how to do' Sq

/tqot/ '(be) wide'
  ? /qit/ 'noon'
  ? /qitianinən/ 'lunch time'
  + tqet 'wide' Cw Ms
tqet 'wide' Ch
tqet 'morning, early morning' Sq
  łeq 'wide, broad, flat' Sq
  łeq 'wide' CDA

/s-xʷ-ɪʔəʔ-əqʷ-ənʔʔ?/ 'cheek'
  + sʔqʷə̱nnəs 'gums' Sk
sìq'èlès 'gums' Cw Ms
sìq'émòlo 'pulse' Cw Ms
sìq'èlòs 'gums' Ch
sìò'èmòlè 'pulse' Ch
luq'w- 'pull out, pluck' Sh

/ʔiq'wə-/ 'to peel something, pull off, pull apart'
(PS) *λu/aq'w 'peel off, bald'
/i-ʔi-ʔoq'w-/ (continuative)
/ʔiq'wʔist/ 'peel fruit'
/ʔuq'wct/ 'uncover something'
/s-x'-'ʔoq'w-'ʔiq'w-ο/ 'temple (bodypart)'
+ sìq'ènòxw's 'pulse' Sk
ʔoq'w 'pulled apart' Sk
sìoq'w 'tree bark' Cw
λuq'w, λəq'w 'come off' Sq
c-x-'λuq'w-'ws-qn 'bald' Sh
λoq'w, λ'ad-qw 'bald-headed' Kl
laq'w 'skin, pull off' Cda

/ʔit-/ 'to dampen'
(PS) *λi(-t-n) 'sprinkle'
/i-ʔi-t-us-t/ (continuative)
+ ʔal 'sprinkle' Cda

/ʔtək'w-/ 'to swallow something whole'
/ʔtək'w-/ (descriptive)
/ʔoτk'w-/ (continuative)

/ʔtq'w-/ 'to boil'
(PS) *wəλq'w, wλəq'w 'cook, boil'
/i-a-ʔʔ-t-u-ʔq'w/ (continuative)
+ ʔəτʔq'w 'it's boiling' Sk
/ţiañ?aq̓əm/ 'Indian doctor'
+ ṡəq̓ələq̓əm 'a being with supernatural power' Lm
 ṡəq̓ələq̓əm? 'animal' Cw Ms
 ṡəq̓ələq̓əm 'animal' Ch

/ţium?aq̓s/ 'limpet' (Nodiolus flabellus)

/ţiupən/ 'spoon'
+ láʔn 'spoon' Sk
 láʔʔən 'dish' Cw Ms
 láʔəl 'dish' Ch

/ţiutayiq/ 'to loose a fish once hooked'

/s-ţiʔəʔət/ 'herring' (Clupea pallasii)
+ səʔəʔət 'herring' Sk

/s-xʷ-ţiəčn/ 'floor'
+ ćiəq̓ən 'floor' Sk
 ćiə̕sítн 'cedar-bark mat' Sk
 ɬxónptn 'floor' Sq

/s-xʷ-ţiəwix-t-n/ 'canoe thwart'
+ ṡəқəlweʔtən 'thwart' Cw Ms
 ṡəʔəxmləwwəʔtəl 'thwart' Ch
/ɪx'w-/ 'go straight'
/ɪx'w-ayuʔ/ (instrumental)
    s-ɪx'w-aʔ-Šn 'foot of mountain, valley, area where the ground levels off' Sq

/ɪx'wə-/ 'to straighten-up things; tidy-up'
/ɪx'wə-/ (descriptive)
/ɪəx'w-/ (continuative)
/s-mačən/ 'striped skunk' (Mephitis mephitis)
(PS) *s-čipəq 'skunk'
  + spəpəčin 'skunk' Cw Ms
  sčipəq 'skunk' Ch
  s-məčɨ 'skunk' Sq
  sčipəq 'skunk' Sh
  spepəčə 'weasel' Sh

/makw-/ 'to gossip'
(PS) *maw? 'release'
  /ma-ʔ-kʷ-aʔ-t-ŋʔ-/ 'gossip'
  /ma-ʔ-kʷ-maʔ-kʷ-anukʷ/ 'one who is gossiping'

/makʷə/ 'graveyard'
  + mékʷə? 'grave' Sk
    (s)mékʷə? ~ šmokʷéʔya 'grave, graveyard' Sk
    smékʷə?, šmokʷéʔlə 'grave, graveyard' Sq
    mékʷə? 'hold funeral potlatch' Sq
    mékʷə? ~ mékʷə?, šmolkʷéʔlə 'grave(yard)' Sn
    x'molkʷéʔlə 'graves, graveyard' Lm
    šmokʷéʔlə 'graveyard' Cw Ms
    šmokʷéʔlə 'graveyard' Ch

/s-xʷ-maʔ/ 'Esquimalt, British Columbia'

/mam-/ 'be short'
/ma-ʔ-maʔ-ʔ-m-onʔ-/ 'short'
  + ?emí'məl 'small' Ch
  + ? mómiʔ 'be sinking' Sq
/s-man-uš/ 'tobacco' (*Nicotiana tabacum*)
\[ s-menx 'tobacco' Sq \]

/mäq'a?/ 'Makah Indians, Neah Bay, Washington'

/mäq'w/- 'be hurt'
/mäq'w-ə́/ (durative)
\[ mok'wə́ 'be hurt' Sk \]
\[ ma?k'w 'get hurt' Sq \]

/masiʔ/ 'glory' < English *mercy*
/masiʔ čixɑʔis/ 'glory to God (Christ)'

/matuk'w/- 'to bubble-up' (cf. /itq'w-/)

/s-mayəc/ 'elk' (*Cervus canadensis*)
\[ smáyə  'elk' Cw Ms \]
\[ sméyə  'elk' Ch \]

/nə-s-maycənʔ/ 'my in-laws after the death of my spouse'

/mawoxʷ/ 'giant horsetail' (*Equisetum telmateia*)
\[ ?əs-m-ʔ-aʔaxʷ/ 'picking horsetail' \]

/mawiməʔwai/ 'dipper' (*Cinclus mexicanus*)
\[ mɨʔtqʷ 'dipper' Sk \]
\[ muʔ 'be soaked, submerge' Sq \]

/mawust/ 'possessions of the upper class'
/мөс-/ 'be fat'
/s-мөс/ 'fat'
/no-х-мөс-us-n/ 'put oil on one's face'
/мөс-кít/ 'become fat'
+ snás 'fat' Cw Ms
siá's 'fat' Ch
cuú 'too fat' CDA
мөч 'greasy' CDA

/mөк'-/ 'to hook a fish'
/mөк'-u-t-η/ (action-process)

/s-х-мөк'-us-η-n/ 'cow parsnip' (Heracleum lanatum)

/s-мөк'-у?-/ 'rounded forehead (a forehead which has not been artificially deformed)'
+ мөк' 'be wrapped up, covered; be lump-shaped' Sq

/mөʔ-/? 'to move about (by boat)' (cf. /sx'маʔ/?)
/mөʔ-η/ 'wake (behind a boat)'

/маʔ-/ 'be in the mouth'

/маʔ-
/?әs-маʔ-uʔ-ʔ-s/ 'non-deformed skull'
? + қμуx' 'assume a spherical shape' Sq.

/маxچуʔ/ 'mink' (Mustela vison)
? + cicîqan 'mink' Cw
čičiğn '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'
† maʔ 'forget' Sq
√mil, mal 'be mixed up' Sq

/s-xʷ-məʔheʔns/ 'small porpoise' (unidentified)

/maʔməʔkw'eʔwn/ 'bufflehead duck' (Charitonetta albeola)

/maʔuqʷ/ 'duck' (generic)
† máʔqʷ 'duck' Cw Ms Ch

/s-mitali/ 'dice game'
smətəlí 'dice game' Cw Ms
mətəlí 'dice game' Ch

Ethno: The dice were made from beaver teeth in which holes had been drilled.

/s-miʔiʔ/ 'mud'

√/məʔə-ʔ/ 'to pick up; gather things together'
/məʔə-ʔ/ (descriptive)
/məʔkʷ-ʔ/ (continuative)
† móʔqʷm 'pick up, find things' Sq

√/məʔə-ʔ/ 'to stack things'
/?ęs-m-a-ʔʷ-əʔ-ęʔ/ (stative)
/mučču/ 'spring of water'
   + matču? 'spring of water' Sk

/s-xʷ-mut-n/ 'bow'
   + šxʷítmtn 'bow' Sk

/muhuyʔ/ 'basket' (generic)
   /muhuy-ičč/ 'material for basket construction'
   + môhái 'basket' Sk

/musmus/ 'cow' < Chinook Jargon (genus Bos)
   + mú'smus 'cow' Sk
   mú-s-mus 'cow' Sq

/muʔčəʔčuʔ/ 'shrimp' (Pandalus danae)

/-mxʷ/ 'animate, human' (cf. /-nxʷ/)


/nat-/ 'be night'
/s-nat/ 'night'
/?əs-nat/ 'night, evening'
/ʔəc s-nat/ 'midnight' (< /ʔco-/ 'to break'/)
/čiʔə?-qʷ-ʔ-nat/ 'monday'
/cən-ət-s-nat/ 'tuesday'
/ɪxʷ-ɪ-nat/ 'wednesday' (< /ɪxʷ/ 'three'
/s-ən-ɪ-nat/ 'thursday' (< /ən/ 'four'
/ɪʔ-ɪ-s-nat/ 'friday' (< /ɪʔaʔʃ/ 'five')
† snėt 'night' Sk
snėt 'night' Cw Ms
sleʔt 'night' Ch
snat 'nocturnal; red' Sq

/naw-/ 'be inside'
/s-na-ʔ-u-ɪ/ 'inside'
/nuʔ-ə-cis-n/ 'glove'
/nu-ʔ-son-t-n/ 'trousers'
/s-xʷ-nuʔ-ə-n/ 'mask'
/s-xʷ-nuʔ-ə-n/ 'cloud'
† /niuʔ, nəuʔ, nuʔ 'be inside, inserted' Sq
sǐuʔ-ə-q 'pants' Sq
ʔəs-nʔuʔ 'be inside, within' Sq
nəxʷ-ʔaiʔ-m-us-tn 'mask' Sq
λxʷ-us-tn 'mask' Sh

/nə-s-naxʷ-tən/ 'my spouse's sibling; my sibling's spouse (not of my sex); potential spouse'
† smətəxʷtən 'spouse's sibling, sibling's spouse' (cross-sex) Cw Ms
smətəxʷtəl 'spouse's sibling, sibling's spouse' (cross-sex) Ch
/naʔ-/ 'to be there, be on'
   /tə naʔ-aʔ/ 'over there (in reference to being on Vancouver Island, British Columbia)'
   + naʔ 'be on, at' (location, time) Sq

/nəʔcaʔ-ηxʷ/ 'stranger'

✓/nə-/ 'be born' (<? /ʔəʔ-/ [+] inversion])
   /n-eʔ kʷa ʔqayc/ 'new moon'

/nəčkwʰay/ 'bird (resembling a loon)'

/nə-š-nəč-uʔiʔ/ 'my half-sibling'
   + səčəwəyət 'half-sibling' Cw Ms
   səčəwəyət 'half-sibling' Ch
   s-nəč-əqɬ '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 ~ nəqʔ/ 'to dive'
   /nəq-ʔ/ (descriptive)
   /nənʔ-ʔʔ-ʔ/ (continuative)
   /nəq-ən kʷa s'-qʷə-qʷay/ 'sunset'

/nəqʔ-/ 'be old'
   /s-nəqʔ-eʔ/ 'old'
/nəqʷ-/ 'to fall asleep'
   /nəqʷ-n-əŋ/ (descriptive)
   + nəkʷ- 'to fall asleep' Sk
   nōqʷ时间节点 'fall asleep' Sk Lm
   nāqʷ时间节点 'fall asleep' Sg Sn

/nəqʷтеге?/ 'gooseneck barnacle' (Pollicipes polymerus)

/s-нəχʷ/ 'canoe'
   + snəχʷ时间节点 'canoe' (generic) Cw
   səχʷ时间节点 'canoe' Ch
   s-nəχʷ时间节点 'canoe' Sq

/ˈnəɣ-/ 'to laugh'
   /nəč-/ (descriptive)
   /n-əʔ-нəɣ-/ (continuative)
   + n̥i-, nəč 'laugh' Sk
   γενόν 'laugh' Cw
   нáγом 'laugh' Ms
   lay̥om 'laugh' Ch

* /nəʔ/
   /n-əʔ-kʷ时间节点-т-ήʔʔ/? 'spirit illness'
   ?/s-xʷ-naʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔ.setOnClickListener
/nغو-/ 'to swallow'
/nغو-/ (descriptive)
/noغ-/ (continuative)
/ʔn-/ 'to step'
   /ʔ-iʔn-/ (descriptive)
   /ʔ-aʔ-n-ʔiʔ-/ (continuative)

/ʔnʔ-/ 'to give'
   /ʔ-aʔ-nʔ-/ (descriptive)
   /ʔοʔnʔ-/ (continuative)

/ʔnakʷ-/ 'to chew'
   /ʔnakʷ-/ (descriptive)
   /ʔn-ʔ-kʷ-/ (continuative)

/ʔnaʔqəʔ-/ 'snow'
   ✤ mēqe 'snow' Cw Ms
   mēqe 'snow' Ch
   máqaʔ 'snow' Sq

/ʔnasʔ-/ 'to anchor'
   /ʔn-ʔ-s-aʔ-ʔnʔ-ʔ-t-ʔn/ (nominative)
   /ʔn-ʔ-s-aʔ-ʔʔ-n-t/ (continuative)
   /ʔəsʔ-ʔnʔ-ʔnasʔ/ (stative)
   ✤ qaʔəsəʔətan 'anchor' Cw Ms
   məsəʔyəltəl 'anchor' Ch
   məs 'stick to, adhere' Sq

/ʔnaʔaqʔ/ 'lamp, torch'

/ʔnəʔtʃ/ 'pus'
   ✤ móʔtʃ 'pus' Cw Ms Ch
/ηοκʰ/ 'to wait'
/ηοκʰ/ (descriptive)
/ηαʔʔ-ʔ/ (continuative)

/ηοʔ/ 'ring finger'

/ηοτʔ/ 'child, offspring'
/ηοʔ-ʔοʔοʔ-ʔοʔ/ 'my step child'
+ ηοτʔ 'child' Sk
ηʔ(?ηοʔ 'child' (status unknown) Sk
ηοʔʔ 'child, offspring' Sq

/ηοʔʔ/ 'many, much'

/ηοτʔʔ/ 'horse clam' (Tresus nuttalli)

/ηοʔʔςʔ/ 'nose'
+ ηοʔʔςʔ 'nose' Sk
ηοʔʔςʔ 'nose' Cw Ms
ηοʔʔςʔ 'nose' Ch
ηοʔʔςʔ 'nose' Sq

/ηςʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔqli, K1
/ŋəsxən?/ 'louse' (Pediculus humanus capitis)
  + ŋōssn(?) 'louse' Sk
  ŋōssən(?) 'louse' Sk
  ŋōsən 'louse' Sg Lm
  ŋōsən? 'louse' Sn
  mōščən? 'louse' Cw
  mēchuýčən? 'louse' Ms

/ŋəsiyu?/ 'bark, (e.g., a dog)'

/ŋəwe?/ 'umbilical cord'
  + mōx'wəye 'navel' Cw
  mōx'w-ja 'navel' Sq

/ŋəx-/ 'to hurry'
  /ʔəs-ŋ-a-ʔʔ-əŋəx/ (stative)
  /ŋ-a-ʔʔ-ŋ-act/ (inchoative)
  + ʔcitx 'act quickly, hurry' Sq
  ʔwən 'hurry' CDA

√/ŋəč-/ 'become purple'
  /ʔən(əʔ-)ŋ-a-č/ 'purple'
  /ŋ-a-č-ayʔ/ 'becoming purple'
  /ŋ-a-č-ʔy-aʔ-s/ 'light purple'
  /ŋəč-ŋ-əč-iič/ 'blue huckleberry' (Vaccinium ovalifolium)
  /ŋə-ŋəč-ŋ-əč/ 'my blue huckleberry' (hypocoristic)

√/ŋəč-/ 'be wrinkled'
  /ʔəs-ŋ-i-ŋ-a-č-əqʔ/ 'wrinkled (stative)'


/ŋe-/ 'to invite, name'
/ŋə-s-ŋe-?/ (descriptive)
/ŋə-s-ŋe-ŋ-a-?/ (continuative)
+ né- 'to name' Sk
sné 'name' Cw
√?om(e)t 'to call, name, mention' Sh

/ŋeʔet/ 'ruffed grouse' (*Dendragapus obscurus*)

/s-ŋiyant/ 'rock'
/s-xʷ-ŋaʔnant-uʔ-eč/ 'turtle' (generic)
/s-ŋant-uʔiż/ 'gravel'
/s-ŋiʔanət/ 'mountain'
+ snénət 'rock, mountain' Sk
smént 'stone' Cw Ms
smélt 'stone' Ch
s-mant 'stone' Sq

ngkiləl 'yellow avens' (*Geum macrophyllum*)

/ŋqẘ-/'to drain, (e.g., a blister, boil)'
/ŋqʷ-ŋəqʷ-iič/ 'grand fir' (*Abies grandis*)

/-nxʷ/ 'animate, human' (cf. /-mxʷ/)
/pastan/ 'White man' < English Boston

/s-paʔac-ič/ 'swamp currant' (Ribes lacustre)
  + spé · č 'blue currant, Indian currant' Cw Ms Ch

/paʔecit-ŋ/ 'to slip down'
  ? + čit- 'slip down' Sk
  cök'cök' 'low tide' Cw
  čišk' 'to recede, ebb' Sq

/paʔnan?xʷ/ 'dig camus'

/s-pəłxʷnʔ/ 'field, plain, prairie'
  + spółxʷn 'prairie' Cw Ms
  spółxʷl 'prairie' Ch
  ? čišm 'place above' Sq
  s-pelm 'prairie' Sh
  s-pilem 'level land' Cdag

/pəq-ʔ/ 'become white'
(PS) *paq 'bright, white'
/p-aʔ-ʔ-ič/ 'vine maple' (Acer circinatum)
/p-aʔ-eʔ-qon/ 'weasel' (Mustela frenata)
/s-xʷ-paʔ-iʔ-eqʷ/ 'green sea urchin' (Strongylocentrotus droebachiensis)
/pəq-ʔ-iyaxʷ/ 'Fall, Autumn'
/pəq-uʔi-s/ 'Mount Baker, Washington'
/pəq-iʔ/ 'whitish'
/p-aʔ-ʔ-ayʔ/ 'becoming white'
\[ \text{\textit{+ }'white'} \text{ Cw Ms Ch} \]
\[ \text{\textit{+ }'white'} \text{ Sq} \]
\[ \text{\textit{+ }'white'} \text{ Sh} \]
\[ \text{\textit{vpiq, peq 'white'} Sh} \]
\[ \text{\textit{paq 'to fade, get white'} Kl} \]
\[ \text{\textit{piq 'white'} Kl} \]
\[ \text{\textit{pápqle? 'weasel, ermine'} Kl} \]
\[ \text{\textit{páq 'white, bleached, silver'} CdA} \]
\[ \text{\textit{paq, piq 'white'} CDA} \]

/\textit{pəʃɛt/} 'Pysht River, Washington'/

/\textit{pəxʷ/- }'be foggy'/

/\textit{p-a-p-a??-xʷ-əŋ-?/ 'foggy'/} \]
/\textit{s-po-?-xʷ-əŋ-?/ 'fog'/} \]
/\textit{pəxʷ/ 'blonde'/} \]
\[ \text{\textit{+ }péxʷ 'be foggy'} Sk \]
\[ \text{\textit{spé?xʷəŋ '(light) fog'} Nst} \]
\[ \text{\textit{spé?xʷ 'fog'} Cw} \]
\[ \text{\textit{s-pəxʷ 'pale'/} \]

/\textit{s-pču?/ }'watertight basket'/

\[ \text{\textit{+ spčo? 'watertight basket'} Sk Lm} \]
\[ \text{\textit{spčá? 'watertight basket'} Sg Sn} \]

/\textit{peheq/} 'nighthawk' (*Chordeiles minor*)

\[ \text{\textit{+ piq 'nighthawk'} Cw Ch} \]
\[ \text{\textit{piq 'nighthawk'} Sq} \]
\[ \text{\textit{s-piqʷ 'nighthawk'} Sh} \]

/\textit{pipiʔayqə/} 'tree fungus (unidentified)'
/pi śpě/ 'cat' (Felis domesticus) < Chinook Jargon
   /pa?pi ś/ 'kitten'
      þ  pí·špě 'cat' Sk
      puš 'cat' Sq
      puš-úl 'kitten' Sq
      pus 'cat' Sh
      pus 'cat' Kl
      pus 'cat' CdA

/piśʷ-ítč/ 'red huckleberry' (Vaccinium parvifolium)
   /no-piśʷ/ 'my red huckleberry' (hypocoristic)

✓/pkiwa- /'become brown'
   /?ən(ə?-)pøkʷ/ 'brown'
   /pkiwa-a?č-ay-s/ 'light brown'
   /pkiwa-ay?/ 'becoming brown; fallen, rotten log'
   /pkiwa-óčn/ 'sand, beach'
      þ  pkʷái? 'rotten wood' Sk
      pqʷóčon 'sand' Sk Sg Sn Lm

✓/pkiwa- /'to smoke'
   /pokʷ-ən/ 'smoke'
   /s-pokʷ-ən-awʔ-ʔtxʷ/ 'smokehouse'
      þ  pokʷə-'give forth smoke' Sk
         ?əspokʷ' 'smoked' Sk
         pokʷən 'smoking'
         péʔekʷ 'pipe' Sk Sg
         pokʷən 'smoking' Sg
         péʔekʷ 'pipe' Sg Sn Lm
         pékʷat 'smokefish' Lm
         pokʷən 'smoke, dust is spreading' Lm
         půłam 'to smoke' Sq
         spoʔúl 'fog, steam'
/puq-ɪč/ 'devil's club' (Oplopanax horridum)
   + q'á?pəp 'devil's club' Cw Ms
     q'á·pə?p 'devil's club' Ch

/pus-/ 'to break out in boils'
   /s-pus-ən/ 'boil'
   + pās- 'break out in boils' Sk Sn

/put/ 'boat' < English boat

/pux-/ 'to sail'
   /pux-ən/ 'sail, (nominal)'
   /?i? ?es-pux-ən/ (stative)

/puxw-/ 'to blow-up, inflate'
   /nə-xʷ-puxw-t/ (action)
   + paxw 'to inflate' Sk
     paxwⁿ 'sail' Sk
     čxʷ-ṭ-m 'swell' Sq
     /puh, pəh 'blow, swell' Sq
     pu? 'to blow' Pg
     /pew, pu? 'to swell' Sh
     /puxw 'to swell up' Sh
     puxw 'to blow (at)' Sh
     peʔexʷ 'swell' Kl
     puxw 'blow with mouth' CdA
     pigʷ 'swell, breathe' CdA
/pač-ič/ 'waxberry' (*Symphoricarpos albus*)

/pāk%/ 'to float'
\[pā-ya?-k%-oŋ/ (descriptive)\]
\[pā-ŋk%-oŋ/ (continuative)\]
\[pēk%-oŋ 'float' Sk\]
\[pōpēk%-oŋ 'floating' Sk\]
\[pōpē%-k%-oŋ 'floating' Sg\]
\[pōpē%-k%-oŋ 'floating' Sn\]
\[pē%-k%-oŋ 'floating' Lm\]
\[pōk%-oŋ 'float' Lm\]
\[pēk%-tēn 'wood float' Cw\]
\[sēpēk%- 'float' Cw Ms\]
\[sēpēk%- 'float' Ch\]
\[pāk%/ 'float' Sq\]

/pawi%/ 'flounder' (*Platichthys stellatus*)
\[?es-pawo?-we?/ 'hunting for flounder'\]
\[pawai? 'black-dotted flounder' Sq\]

/pa?-at/ 'taste something'

/pix%/ 'to boil over'
(PS) *por 'overflow'
\[pix%/ (descriptive)\]
\[p-ŋy-ix%/ (continuative)\]

/pq%/ 'to race'
\[p-ŋ-??-q%-i/ (descriptive)\]
\[p-??-w-??-q%-i/ (continuative)\]
/\paw/- 'to cover with a substance (i.e., powder)
/s-x\-\pi\-q\-us-\enn/ 'mushroom, puffball (unidentified) (lit.: crow's face powder)

/\puq\-\enn/- 'to foam'
/s-\puq\-\enn/- 'foam'
+ spaq\-am 'foam' Cw Ms
spaq\-am 'foam' Ch
puq\-am 'to foam' Sq
spuq\-am 'foam' Sq

/\pu\-\cs/- 'cradle basket'
(PS) *paq 'hemp, string, Indian rope'
+ paq\-os 'basketry cradle' Sk
paq\-os 'cradle basket' Sk Lm
paq\-os 'cradle basket' Sg
paq\-os 'cradle basket' Sn
paq\-os 'cradle basket' Cw Ms
paq\-os 'cradle basket' Ch
paq\-os 'cradle' Sq
/q-/ 'to play'  
/q-q-/ (descriptive)  
/q-aʔ-x-q-/ (continuative)

/s-xʷ-q-q-aʔ-s/ 'a dangerous place'
/q-q-i-cən-s-ʔ-t/ 'nightmare'
+ qeys 'have a nightmare' Sh
qέʔis 'to dream' Kl

/qakʷ-/ 'to tire'  
/qakʷ-ʔ/ (descriptive)  
/q-qakʷ-ʔ/ (continuative)  
? + ʔəc 'fall short, be exhausted' Sq

/qam-/ 'to nurse'
(PS) *qam 'to nurse'
/s-qam-uʔ/ 'breast; mother's milk'
+ sqómaʔ 'breast' Cw Mə
sqóma 'breast' Ch
s-tlqʷimʔ 'bosom' Sq
q?em 'suck, take the breast' Sh

/qan-/ 'to steal'
/nə-s-qanʔ-/ (descriptive)  
/qa-qanʔ-/ (continuative)  
/qanʔ-ʔ-qanʔ-/ 'thief'
/s-qan-s/ 'that which has been stolen'
/qən-qanʔ-ʔ cis-iʔč/ 'lady fern' (Athyrium filix femina)
+ qanʔ-, qənʔ 'steal, cheat' Sq
/qaŋ-/ 'to swallow'
'one who eats too much'
× qonax 'throat, neck' Sq
× qos-qonax 'over-eaten' Sq
qem-n 'swallow' Sq
qm 'to swallow' Sh
qam 'swallow' Kl
qem 'swallow' CdA

/qaqən/ 'housepost'
(PS) *qaqn '(house)post'
× qeqn 'housepost' Sk
qeqn 'housepost' Cw Ms
qeqəl 'housepost' Ch

/qaḵ-/ 'to go up-sound'
/qaḵ-a-??-a-??/ 'up-sound'
× qaḵ 'be cloudy' Sq

/s-qawc/ 'potato' (Solanum tuberosum)
(PS) *s-qawc 'potato'
/qawc/ 'basket carried on one's back'
× sqéus 'potato' Sk
sqewó 'potato' Cw Ms Ch
sqawc 'potato' Sq
s-qigwc 'potato' CdA

/s-qaxa/ 'dog' (Canis familiaris)
/s-qaxa-?e-?q/ 'blue dragonfly' (Plathemis lybia)
× sqéxa? 'dog' Sk
/qay-əŋ-?/ 'eye'
?/qa?qayi-xəna/ 'fly' (Musca domestica)
+ qqq̓in̓ 'eyes' Sk
qq̓iəx̌nə? 'fly' Sk
q̓oləm 'eye' Cw Ms
q̓olóm 'eye' Ch
q̓lúm? 'eye' Sq

/qayukʷa-txʷ/ 'Indians of Vancouver Island, British Columbia'

/qayx-/ 'to lie'
/qay-a-x/ (descriptive)
/qa?-y-a-x ~ q-qa?-yx/ (continuative)
/qayx/ 'lie; liar'
+ q̓iəx̌ 'tell a lie' Sk

/s-qaʔqiʔ-uʔi-čs/ 'little finger'

/qaʔxʷ-iłč/ 'crabapple' (Pyrus fusca)
+ qox̌iłč 'crabapple tree' Sk
qʷuʔúp 'crabapple' Sq

/nə-xʷ-s-qaʔy-aʔ/ 'loudly'

/qaʔyəq-iłč/ 'wild rose' (Rosa nutkana)
+ q̓ıłq̓əp 'wild rose' Cw Ms Ch

/qəmana/ 'snail' (generic)

/qəw-/
/s-q-i-qəw-əc/ 'flea' (Ctenocephalides felis)
+ sqωqωéθ 'rabbit' Cw Ms
sqiρωέθ '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)
+ sqωqωéθ 'rabbit' Cw Ms
sqiρωέθ 'rabbit' Ch

/qč-/ /q-a-c-s/ 'cedar-bark cloth used for frontal bone deformation'
/q-e-q-e?-qač/ 'to tie-up hair'
+ čq'ap 'tie up hair in Indian fashion' Sq
qeč 'to weave' Sh
qeč 'braid, weave' CdA

/s-qeqs/ 'killdeer' (Charadrius vociferus)

/s-qe?aw?/ 'beaver' (Castor canadensis)
(PS) *s-qaláw? 'beaver'
+ sqί?u? 'beaver' Sk
sqoléw? 'beaver' Cw Ms
sqoláw 'beaver' Ch
sqláu? 'beaver' Sq
sqléu? 'beaver' Sh
sqalé?u 'beaver' K1

/qiyutn/ 'horse' (Equus caballus)
/s-qiʔukw's/ 'left arm/hand'
   † sʔeyʔiʔw's 'right(side)' 
   sʔeyʔiʔus 'right(side)'

/qn-/ 'be angry; to scold'
   /q-iʔ-n/ (descriptive)
   /q-eʔ-n/ (continuative)
   /q-qen-ən-t/ 'always angry; mean'

/qqʔ-/ 'to tie up'
   /q-iʔ-ʔ/ (descriptive)
   /q-eʔ-ʔ/ (continuative)
   /ʔes-q-eʔ-ʔ-ʔ/ (stative)

/qt-/ 'measure in a vertical direction'
   /s-xwʔ-qt-ay-eqʷ/ 'top of head'
   † ḥaqt-aʔ-qʷ-m 'be taller' Sq

/s-quma/ 'ratfish' (Hydrolagus colliei)

/qy-/ 
   /s-q-iʔ-y-ay-ṇxʷ/ 'tree' (generic)
   /s-q-iʔ-q-iʔ-y-ay-ṇxʷ/ 'forest'
   † sqiʔeʔnxʷ 'tree' Sk
   sqiʔeʔnxʷ 'trees' Sk
/qəcīčɛnt/ 'ribbon seaweed'

/qəč-qs/ 'silver salmon' (Oncorhynchus gorbuscha)

/qəčq/- 'to squeak'
   /q-a-č-i-q-ən-?/ (continuative)
   /s-xʷ-qəčq-ən-n-i?-kʷ-ən/ 'flying squirrel' (Glaucomys sabrinus)

/qəmayu?/ 'saturday'

/qən-/  
   /s-xʷ-q-a-qən-us-ən/ 'window'

/qəy-/ 'to roll; be spherical'
   (PS) *qəlx, q̓lax 'round'; *q̓laxən 'stockade'; *q̓ay(-m) 'build a structure, raise tent, camp'
   /ʔəs-xʷ-q̓ay?-kʷ/ 'round'
   /ʔəs-ʔi?-uʔi-s/ 'spherical'
   /ʔ/s-ʔi?-a-kʷ-ən/ 'knee'
   /q̓ay-axən/ 'fence'
   /ʔiʔ qa-ʔay-kʷ-sn/ (cf. Figure 9)

† q̓əlxəcətən 'stockade' Cw
q̓əlxən 'stockade' Ms
q̓ələxəl 'stockade' Ch
ʔqi 'tie, knot' Sq
q̓iáxn 'fence, stockade' Sq
q̓iáx 'intestines' Sq
q̓ələq 'be wound around' Sq
q̓ləxəd 'fence' Pg
q̓əlex 'make a circle' Sh
/θoyuθən/ 'slug'

/θə?caθəʔ/ 'finback whale' (Balaenoptera davidsoni)
+ sqaʔ-ičn 'back fin' Sq

/θac/-
/s-xʷ-qac-ʔ-i-c-ʔa-ʔyu/ 'spider' (generic)
/θ-ʔaʔ-y-ac/ 'starfish' (Asterias rubens)
+ qəʔtəqəcəla 'spider' Cw Ms
qəʔsqəcəl 'spider' Ch

/θəc-ʔəʔ/ 'ironwood' (Holodiscus discolor)

/θam/-
/θaʔ-ʔ-eʔ-amʔ/ 'lazy; not ambitious; low class'
+ sʔəʔqəex 'free person of slave blood' Cw Ms Ch

/θam-/ 'be blunt'
/?əʔ-θamʔ-ʔqs-ʔən/ 'blunt'

/θaməʔ/ 'turn (a canoe) to the right'

/θəʔ-
/θaʔ-ʔəʔ-iʔ/ 'girl'
/θəʔ-əʔ-ʔuʔʔiʔ/ 'pubescent female' (cf. TABLE III)
+ qəʔʔiʔ 'female teenager' Sk
qəməʔ 'adolescent virgin girl' Cw Ms
qəməʔ 'adolescent virgin girl' Ch
qəməj 'maiden' Sq
q\i aput 'garry oak' (*Quercus garryana*)

/\qatine\n/ 'area around the spine of a fish'
+ \qotmen\n 'fin' Cw Ms
  \qotme\n 'fin' Ch

/\qa\a\q-sm/ 'calf (body part)'
+ \qex\a\lshen 'calf' Cw
  \qex\alx\yen 'calf' Ms
  \qex\alx\yel 'calf' Ch

/\qax\w/-
/\qax\w-i\-\-\-\n/ 'to go west; go down-sound'
/\qax\w-a\-\-\-\-\-\n/ 'down-sound'

/\qa\q\u\q?/ 'skatefish' (*Raja ernacea*)
+ \q\-\qau 'skate' Sq

/n\o-x\w-\q\et/ 'Port Gamble, Washington'

/\qex/- 'become black'
/\q-i-x-i?/ 'becoming black'
/\qex-a\-\q-y-\-\-\-\-\-/ 'darkish'
/n\o-x\w-s-\qex/ 'Negro'
+ n\eqix 'black' Sk
  s-\q\-\q\-x-\ja?ul 'Negro' Sq
  \q\-\q\-iy, \q\-\q\-ey > q\-\q\-\q\-i\-y-t 'black' Sh
  \q\\-\qi 'black' Kl
  \q\\-\wed 'be black' CdA
/ʔeʔ/ 'intestine'  
+ ʔəʔəɣ 'intestine' Cw Ms  
ʔəʔəɣ 'intestine' Ch

/ʔit-/ 'be wide'  
(PS) *ƛəq 'stretch out, wide'; *ʔit 'hoist up, swing'  
/ʔiʔ caʔiʔʔaʔit/ 'morning'  
/čiʔawʔaʔit/ 'afternoon'  
/ʔiʔtınənəʔ/ 'lunchtime'  
/ʔiʔ qət-uc-ʔən/ 'off shore'  
+ ʔitə 'swing' Cw Ms  
ʔitə 'swing' Ch  
sqet 'split' Cw Ms Ch  
qet 'to hoist' Sh  
ציע 'split' CDA

/s-ʔix-ʔən/ 'east/west sides of a beach village'

/s-ʔixʷ/ 'west wind'  
+ ʔixʷ 'west wind' Sk

/s-xʷ-ʔiy-aʔ-ʔʔiʔ/ 'food box'  
/s-ʔiyuʔʔ/ 'stored food'

/ʔiʔuʔs-əŋ-ʔʔiʔ/ 'be left-handed'

/ʔəʔəmčən/ 'killer whale' (Orcinus rectipinna)  
+ ʔəʔəɬəɬəmčən 'killer whale' Cw Ms  
ʔəʔəɬəɬəməcəł 'killer whale' Ch
/ʔpə/- 'to gather together'
   /ʔəs-ʔ-a-p-ʔ/- 'group of people'
   + ṣəp- 'be together' Sk
   qəms 'be packed together' Sq

/ʔpəw/-
   /s-ʔpəw-ʔ?-aʔn-ʔ/- 'elbow'
   + ſəp̥ələʔən 'elbow' Ms
   ſəp̥ələʔəl 'elbow' Ch

/ʔukw/- 'digging stick'

/ʔumana/ 'trout' (generic)

/ʔuʔaʔkways/- 'eyebrow'
   + ʔiʔoʔ 'eyebrow' Sk

/ʔx/- 'to dig clams'
   /ʔx-ʔyuʔ/- (descriptive)
   /ʔ-aʔ-x-ʔyuʔ/- (continuative)
   /ʔx-ʔʔ-ʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔʔfieldname="p1261"
/qʷač/ 'day smelt' (Allosmerus elongatus)
kʷəč 'smelt' Sk
kʷəč- 'come to shore on waves' Sk

/qʷan-/'to call to'
/qʷon-í/ 'seagull' (Larus occidentalis)
+ qʷoní 'seagull' Cw
qʷolítoq 'seagull' Ms Ch
qʷənit 'call' CDA

/qʷaq/ 'rockweed' (Fucus vesiculosus)

/qʷay-/'speak'
(PS) *qʷəl 'speak (think)'
/qʷa-?-qʷi-?/ 'talkative'
/s-xʷ-qʷay-t-n/ 'voice'
/qu-qʷač-qʷa/ 'speaker for the chief of a village'
+ qʷəí 'to talk' Sk
sqʷəí 'language' Sk
qʷəl 'voice' Sg Sn Lm
qʷəl 'speak' Cw
šqʷələwən 'think, mind' Cw
qʷəyl 'speak' Ms
šqʷələwən 'think, mind' Ms
qʷəl 'speak' Ch
skʷələwəl 'think, mind' Ch
sqʷəltəl 'voice' Ch
šqʷəltən 'voice' Cw Ms
ʃqʷəl, qʷəl 'think, mind, speak' Sq
qʷəl 'to speak, talk' Sq
n-qʷəl-tən 'voice' Sq
s-qʷəl-ən 'mind, heart (spiritual), opinion' Sq
`qʷuqʷlut 'to talk' Sh
qʷeʔeʔl 'talk together' Sh
qʷel 'to speak, talk' Kl
qʷaʔqʷeʔl 'to speak, talk' CdA

/qʷay-/ 'turn pale'
/qʷay/ 'pale, yellow'
/s-qʷoʔ-qʷay-ʔ/ 'sun'
/qʷoʔ-qʷoy-ʔoʔ/ 'sunshine'
ʔ/qʷan/ 'daybreak'
† nəqʷéy 'yellow, pale' Sk Sg Sn
nəqʷéy ~ nəqʷoʔ 'yellow, pale' Lm
cqʷay 'green' Cw Ms
cqʷaʔy 'green' Ch

/qʷayʔqʷiyʔ/ 'beads'

/qʷaʔon/ 'mosquito' (Culex pipiens)
† kʷéʔn 'mosquito' Sk
qʷéʔn ~ qʷéʔn 'mosquito' Nst
qʷéʔn 'mosquito' Cw Ms
qʷéʔl 'mosquito' Ch
qʷanʔímač 'mosquito' Sq
qʷenímoqɬ 'mosquito' Sh
qʷənimoqɬ 'mosquito' Sh

/s-qʷəciʔyeʔ-ʔʔič/ 'western hemlock' (Tsuga heterophylla)

/qʷen-/ 'to have body hair'
/qʷ-ʔn-c-ʔen/ 'whiskers'
ʔ/qʷ-ʔn-uc-ʔen/ 'mustache'
ʔ/qʷ-ʔn-ʔn-ʔen-/ 'beard'
t k'insn 'beard' Sk
q'inaq's 'body hair' Sk
q'iiyowon 'beard' Cw Ms
q'inews 'hairy' Cw Ms
q'iliyowol 'beard' Ch
q'ilows 'hairy' Ch
\sqrt q'in 'be hairy' Sq
q'ep 'hairy' CDA

/q'eq'ac\ '/ 'tiny helldiver (unidentified)'

/q'eq'wa/-/ 'to go downriver'
/q'eq'wa-i?/ (descriptive)
/q'-?-q'-i?/ (continuative)
/q'-a-q'/ 'downriver'
/q'-aq'-axon/ 'downriver edge (of a village located on a river)'
  t tx'-wu'-wuqi 'be going downriver' Sq

/q'eq'es-/ 'to look through; peer in'
/q'eq'es/ (continuative)

/s-q'asqq/ 'robin' (Turdus migratorius)
  t k'ösqq 'robin' Sk
sk'q'q 'robin' Cw Ms Ch
s-k'q-aq 'robin' Sq

/q'ox'on/ 'hoof'
/qux'on/ 'deer hoof rattle'

/q'-q'ay's/ 'knife'
/qʷəʔ-/ 'to lock'
   /qʷəʔ-/ (descriptive)
   /qʷəʔ-u-ʔ/ (continuative)
   + qəp 'close, shut' Sq

/qʷixʷ/ 'move something out of the way'

/qʷɬayʔ/ 'drift log'
   + qʷɬiʔiʔ 'log' Sk
   qʷɬiʔiʔšn 'shoe' Sk
   qʷɬiʔɬyʔ 'log' Cw Ms
   qʷɬéʔɬ 'log' Ch
   qʷəɬ 'drift ashore' Sq

/qʷɬuʔiʔ/ 'blue camas' (Camassia quamash)
   + qʷɬóʔiʔ 'camas' Sk
   qʷɬáʔəl 'camas' Sg
   qʷɬáʔəl (?) 'camas' Sn
   qʷɬóʔəl (?) 'camas' Lm
   qʷléwe 'wild onion' Sh

/qʷu-/ 'be with; together with others'
   /n-s-qʷu-ʔn/ 'my companion'
   + s-qʷaʔ 'companion' Sk
   s-qʷuʔ 'companion, partner' Sq

/qʷu-/ 'be watery'
   /qʷ-ʔ-u-y-s/ 'juicy'
   /s-xʷ-qʷ-aʔ-t-nʔ/ 'fruit juice'
   /qʷuʔ-qʷ-aʔ/ 'small creek'
   /s-xʷ-qʷuʔ-ʔ-us/ 'tear'
   + qʷaʔ 'water' Sk
qáʔ 'water' Cw Ms
šqeqáʔqeq 'pond' Cw Ms
qáʔ 'water' Ch
šqeqáʔqeq 'pond' Ch
qʷu 'water' Sq
s-n-qʷuʔus 'tear' Sq

/s-qʷun-ičɛ/ 'red alder' (Alnus rubra)
+ skʷánətč 'alder' Sk
kʷl-úl-áʔ 'alder' Sq
kʷle-téλp 'alder' Sh

/qʷuʔi/ 'to die'
/qʷuʔaʔ/ 'dying'
+ qáʔqəy 'dead' Cw
qáʔqəy 'sickness' Ms
qáʔqəy 'sickness' Ch
qáʔqəy 'die' Cw Ms
qáʔqəy 'die' Ch
qʷuʔi 'die' Sq

/qʷuʔačukʷit/ 'hide clothing'
/qʷačt/ 'dolly varden' (Salvelinus malma)

/qʷaqʷśeqčen/ 'barn swallow' (Tyto alba)
  † qʷeqʷśeqčen 'barn swallow' Cw
  qʷeqʷśeqčen 'barn swallow' Ms
  qʷśeqčol 'barn swallow' Ch

/qʷay/ 'thick underbrush'
  † ʔqʷəl? 'underbrush' Cw Ms
      qʷəl 'be stunted' Sq

/qʷayəʔ/ 'ear'
  † qʷəinʔ 'ear' Sk
      qʷiʔnʔ 'ear' Cw Ms
      qʷəswəl 'ear' Ch
      qʷəlaʔn 'ear' Sq

/s-ʔʷaqʷəyic/ 'slave' ("just became a slave" AB)
/s-ʔʷ-ʔʷaqʷəyic/ 'slave' ("slave after quite a while" AB)
  † qʷčá- 'to die, kill' Sk
      skʷʔyəθ 'slave' Cw Ms
      skʷʔyəθ 'slave' Ch
      skʷənkʷon 'captive' Cw Ms
      skʷəlkʷol 'captive' Ch
      skʷiúc 'slave' Sq

/qʷətʃ/. 'Queets, Washington'
/sq\w^\w\w/ 'head'
/sq\w^\w\m/ 'forehead'
+ sq\w\w\m? 'head' Sk
sq\w\w\m? 'head' Sg Sn
sq\w\w\m(?) 'head' Lm
sq\w\w\w\wols 'head' Cw Ms
sq\w\w\w\wols 'head' Ch

/q\w^\w\w\w/ 'nooding onion' (Allium cernuum)

/q\w\w\w\w/ 'to roast, barbecue; ripen'
(PS) *q\w\w\w al 'berry, pick berries'
/q\w\w\w\w\w/ (descriptive)
/q\w\w\w\w\w\w\w/ (continuative)
+ q\w\w\w i 'to cook' Sk
q\w\w\w i\w 'ashes' Sk
?\w\w\w\w\w\w\wyo?\w\w 'it's cooked' Sk
q\w\w\wyo 'cooked' Sk
?\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\wyo?\w\w 'it's cooked' Sg
sq\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w 'barbecue on a stick' Sg
sq\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w 'it's cooked' Sn
q\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w 'barbecued' Sn
?\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w 'it's cooked' Lm
q\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w 'barbecue' Lm
q\w\w\w\w\w\w\w\w 'barbecue' Cw Ms
q\w\w\w\w\w\w\w 'barbecue' Ch
q\w\w\w\w\w\w\w 'ripe, cooked' Sq
q\w\w\w\w\w\w 'to be cooked' Pg
q\w\w\w\w\w 'to roast' Sh
q\w\w\w\w\w 'cook, burn' CdA

/q\w\w\w\w\w/ 'to dance'
(PS) *q\w\w\w\w 'rock, shake, sway'; *q\w\w\w\w\wix 'dance'
/q\w\w\w\w/ (descriptive)
/qʷiʔ-eʔ-əš/ (continuative)
/s-ʔʷəγəš/ (nominal)
ʔ/s-xʷ-ʔʷəč-xuŋ-ən/ 'cricket' (Gryllus domesticus)
+ kʷéix 'shake' Sk
+ ʔʷiʔiš 'to dance' Sk
+ ʔʷəyʔíləš 'secular dancing' Cw
+ ʔʷəyʔíləxɪ 'secular dancing' Ms
+ ʔʷəyʔílɪxɪ 'secular dancing' Ch
+ ʔʷíilš 'dance' Sq
+ ʔʷíilx 'to dance' (American dances) Sh
+ ʔʷəyʔəməncut 'dance' (American dances) Kl
+ ʔʷəyʔ 'bounce, dance' CdA

/qʷən/ 'root' (generic) (cf. /ʔʷəč/)
+ ʔʷən 'root' Sk

/qʷču/- 'to beat up'
/qʷuč/- (descriptive)
/qʷ-əʔ-ču/- (continuative)
+ ʔʷča- 'beat up' Sk
+ ʔʷaʔ-ʔʷáʔəx 'shy, nervous, wild' Sq

/s-ʔʷiʔyay-ŋxʷ/ 'trailing wild blackberry' (Rubus ursinus)

/qʷ-ʔʷənʔʔ/ 'bull kelp' (Nereocystis luetkeana)
+ ʔʷumʔ 'kelp' Sq
/sakʷ-/ 
/saʔ-·saқʷ-η/ 'speech, language'

/sakʷq/ 'carrot' (Daucus carota)
+ sékʷəq 'wild carrot' Sk
  šéwəq 'carrot' Cw
  x'yewəq 'carrot' Ms
  x'yəwəq 'carrot' Ch
  šáwəq 'carrot' Sq

/saplin/ 'bread, flour' < Chinook Jargon
+ səplín 'bread' Sq

/saqʷəŋ/ 'sugar' < English sugar
+ sóqʷəŋ 'sweet' Sk Lm
  sáqʷəŋ 'sweet' Sg
  əqʷəŋ 'sweet' Sn
  šúkʷa 'sugar' Sq
  súkʷe 'sugar' Sh

/sat-/ 'to lift something'
  /s-sat/ (descriptive)
  /s-aʔ-at/ (continuative)

/sax-əŋʔ-ʔ/ 'bitter'
+ səx 'bitter, strong' Sq
  sájam 'sour, bitter' Sq

/s-xʷ-s-iʔ-say-ηʔ-/ 'whale (unidentified)'
/sa?-sa?nuwa?/ 'hermit crab' (*Pagurus sp.*) (cf. /naw-/)

(sa?sa?nuwa?)

/sa?si?ta?n-itč/ 'western white pine' (*Pinus monticola*)

/sa?-sus-t/ 'trail, way'
(PS) *xwal 'trail (door)'

† saʔ 'door, path' Sk
soʔ 'way' Sk Lm
saʔ 'way' Sg Sm
šę́j 'trail' Cw
x̣ų́j 'trail' Ms
x̣ų́j 'trail' Ch
šuáj 'trail; door' Sq
šagʷəł 'road' Pg
x̣uxuwéyəł 'trail' Sh
šuʔšúwéł 'road' Kl
šagʷəł '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)
† səməxʷ 'to stop' Sk

/sənakʷ/ 'sleeping companion'

/səntiʔ/ 'sunday' < English *sunday*

/səʔ-ʔən/ 'animal snare'
/nə-səʔčən ~ nə-səʔč-uʔiʔ/ 'my younger sibling'
+ səčálʔɬ 'non-adult younger sibling' Sg Sn
səčółʔɬ 'non-adult younger sibling' Lm

sintcǐqwuxtakeqwâ’itc 'self-heal' (Prunella vulgaris)

/nə-siʔ-uʔiʔ/ 'my oldest child'
+ sínł 'senior line of children or cousins, elder children' Sq

/siy-/
/siy-ʔiʔ/ 'heavy'
+ sóʔ 'heavy' Sk

/nə-siʔaʔ/ 'my grandparent'
(PS) *sil(-aʔ?) 'grandparent'
/nə-siʔaʔ-ʔiʔ/ 'my parent-in-law'
+ síʔ(ʔ)iʔ?’ 'grandparent' Sk
síʔ1ə 'grandparent' Cw
síʔ1ə 'grandparent' Ch
síʔ1 'grandparent' Sq
sleʔ 'grandfather' Sh
síleʔ 'mother's father' Kl

/siʔaʔ-ʔən/ 'widow, widower'
+ syéʔʔən 'widow, widower' Cw Ms
syéʔənl 'widow, widower' Ch
siʔʔətn 'widow(er)'Sq

/siʔi/ 'soul'
+ šxʷəlí 'soul' Cw Ms
šxʷəlí ~ sxʷ’ayəlχʷ 'soul' Ch
s-?’li 'dream, vision, guardian spirit' Sq
s-?’áä-nexʷ 'life, spirit' Sq
šá?iu 'corpse; lie dead; screech owl; co-wife' Sq

/siʔam ~ siyam/ 'high class; rich'
/s-siʔam/ 'village chief'
+ siʔem? 'head-man' Sk
siʔem? 'upper class person' Cw Ms
siyɛ-m 'upper class person' Ch
s-i-ám? 'chief' Sq

/siʔatn/ 'hair'
+ siʔetn 'hair' Sk
šɛʔitn 'hair' Cw

/siʔyə-iيط/ 'fireweed' (Epilobium angustifolium)

/skw̱u-/'to bathe, swim'
/skw̱u-/ (descriptive)
/suḵ-/ (continuative)
+ sáḵ- 'take a bath' Sk
šəšḵ-óm 'bath' Cw
xʷəx̌əḵ-om 'bath' Ms
xʷəx̌əḵ-ám 'bath' Ch
ʃšuḵ 'bathe' Sq
ucḵ 'bathe, swim' CDA

snanáqwúltc 'orange honeysuckle' (Lonicera ciliosa)

/?st-/'to paddle'
/?-i-st/ (descriptive)
/?-eʔ-st/ (continuative)
/stɔ-/ 'to lay down; fall; drop'
   /stɔ-/ (descriptive)
   /stə-/ (continuative)

/sutɕ/ 'east wind'

/suwo-ci-s-n/ 'ring'

/su?--/ 'to swell'
   /su?--/ (descriptive)
   /s-ə?-yû-/ (continuative)

/na-s-xʷ-suʔkʷx/ 'my step-parent'

*/sw/ 'to smell'
   /su-s-/ (descriptive)
   /su-ʔ-/ (continuative)
   /su-ʃ-ən-/ (nominal)
   † sumʔ 'to smell, give off odor' Sq
   suʔ 'to smell something' Kl

swuxkiá'ants 'rattlesnake plantain' (*Peranium decipiens*)

/ sxʷ-/ 'to wade'
   /s-iʔ-xʷ-/ (descriptive)
   /s-eʔ-xʷ-/ (continuative)

*/sy/ 'to be scared'
   /s-əʔ-siʔ-/ (descriptive)
   /s-əʔ-siʔ-siʔ-/ (continuative)
+ sí?- 'be afraid' Sk
sóy?soy? 'fear (be afraid)' Cw Ms
sí·sì· 'fear (be afraid)' Ch
si-síl-íüs 'get scared, become afraid' Sq

/nə-sʔkwí'is/ 'my co-parent-in-law'
+ skʷíuas 'co-parent-in-law' Sq
s-tá·m-ílgʷás 'relative' CdA
/s-xʷ-šaʔ/ 'blanket'

/šam/ 'dried berries'

/šaw-/ 'to grow'
   /šaw-iʔ/ (descriptive)
   /šaʔ-w-iʔ/ (continuative)
   /s-š-i-w-iʔ/ 'adult' (cf. TABLE III)
   /šuʔ-uʔ-ʔ-em/ 'bushes' (generic)
   + čís- 'to grow' Sk
     šóuai 'grow' Sq
     stawʔxʷλ 'child(ren)' Sq
     twit 'to grow up' Sh
     tɛu 'little' K1
     łtotsʷit 'young, unmarried man' K1
     titʷit 'youth, young boy' CDA

/šayuxʷ-/ 'to steam'
   /šayuxʷ-/ (descriptive)
   /šayuʔ-xʷ-/ (continuative)
   /s-šayuxʷ-əŋ/ (nominal)

/šaʔpiconʔ/ 'hill with steep slopes'

/šaʔšuʔławit/ 'mountain beaver' (Aplodontia rufa)

/səxʷa/ 'urine; to urinate (female)'
   + səxʷa 'urine' Cw Ms Ch
   sóxʷaʔ 'urine' Sq
/šəʔɛʔn/ 'littleneck clam' (Venerupis staminea)

/šɛ-ʔ/ 'to pull'
/šɛ-ʔ/ (descriptive)
/šɛʔ-ʔ/ (continuative)
+ cókʷ-'n tug, pull' Sq
ckʷ- 'to pull' Sh
*ckʷ- 'to drag' Kl
cekʷ-'drag, pull' CdA

/šɛʔ-ʔ/ 'to club something'
/šɛʔ-ʔ/ (descriptive)
/š-i-šɛʔ-ʔ/ (continuative)
/šɛ-aʔ-ʔ-/ 'club'
+ šɛʔ-ʔ-'to hit with an object' Sk
citɛ 'club' Sk

/šepən/ 'knife'
+ šıpən 'knife' Sk
šóptən 'knife' Cs

/šiwa/ 'penis; to urinate (male)'
+ šolə 'penis' Cw
xYalə 'penis' Ms
xYe1ə 'penis' Ch

/šiyč/ 'skin'
/šiy-c/ 'animal flesh'
/siy-ay-i-č/ 'cedar board, wall mat'
+ sʔiixʷ 'cedar-plank' Sk
šəlākʷ 'round' Cw
šiıyəqʷ 'meat' Ch
šič 'be all around' Sq
šiʔúk 'round, compact' Sq
sispî 'skin' Sh
šelč 'turn around' Kl
sip-ây? 'be buckskin' CdA
šelč 'circle' CDA

/stə-/ 'to walk'
/stə-/ (descriptive)
/stə-/ (continuative)
*/t-/ 'to lean'
  */əs-t-iʔ-aʔ-s/ (stative)
  /t ʔi/ 'lean it!'
  + ʔleʔ 'to lean' Sh
      čleʔ 'to lean against' Kl

*/ʔt-/ 'to sleep'
(PS) *ʔit 'sleep'
  */ʔ-ʔt-ʔ/ (descriptive)
  */ʔ-e-ʔt-ʔ/ (continuative)
  + ʔit- 'to sleep' Sk
    ítæ 'sleep' Cw Ms
    íʔtæ 'sleep' Ch
    ?itut 'to sleep' Sq
    ítut 'to sleep' Pg
    ?itx, ?etix 'to sleep' Sh
    ?itš 'to sleep' Kl
    it 'sleep' CDA

/s-tac-kʷ-ʔ/ 'lower back'
/s-tci-kʷ-n/ 'upper back'
  + stésk' (ə)ˤ 'back' Sk
    stéskʷoʔ 'back' Sg Sn
    stéʔskʷəʔ 'back' Lm
    sJúqəʔəʔ 'back (of body)' Cw Ms Ch
    taʔ > s-taj-č 'back (of body)' Sq
    (s-)taj-č 'back (of house), space behind' Sq

/taj-ːn/ 'back of head/neck'
  + téčsn 'back of neck' Sk
    tópsəm 'neck' Cw Ms
    têpsəm 'neck' Ch
/talə/ 'money; round object'
/s-xʷ-tala-has/ 'eye glasses'
† tāla 'money' Sk

/t-u-tam-iʔ/ 'lukewarm (water)'

/nə-tan/ 'my mother'
† tén 'mother' Sk
tén 'mother' Cw Ms
té·l 'mother' Ch
təʔ? 'mother' Sq

/taŋ-/ 'be evening'
/taŋ-ənʔ-/ 'evening'
/təŋin-əŋ/ 'dinnertime'
† təŋnʔ 'evening' Sk
təŋnʔ 'evening' Sn
tənamtn 'measure, time' Sq
tənʔiʔ? 'disappear; get out of sight' Sq

/s-tayəxʷən/ 'pheasant' (Phasianus colchicus)

/s-tay-ŋxʷ/ 'plant medicine'
† tuiʔt 'medicine' Sq

/taʔ-taʔci-ŋuxʷ/ 'animal' (generic)

/s-taʔčən/ 'wolf' (Canis lupis)
/s-taʔčən-uʔiʔ/ 'coyote' (Canis latrans)
† stəqóʔioʔ 'wolf' Sk
stqáyə 'wolf' Cw Ms
stoqâyé 'wolf' Ch
mélmsïye 'wolf' Sh

/s-xʷ-taʔyiʔ-ayn/ 'square'

/təki/ 'turkey' < English turkey

/təmʔaʔ/ 'ochre, Indian paint'
  + tóməʔ 'ochre' Cw Ms
tóməʔ 'ochre' Ch
tóməʔ 'ochre' Ch
tomilxʷ 'autumn' Ch
tomł 'red paint' Sq

/təŋ-/ 'to braid hair'
  /təŋ-s-a-ʔʔ-n-ŋ/ (descriptive)
  /təŋ-ʔ-ʔən-ʔ-s-n/ (continuative)
  /ʔəs-ʔən-ʔ-s-n/ (stative)

/s-xʷ-təq-təq-m-ʔ/ 'spider'
(PS) *taq 'pin down'
  + təq 'hold something on something' Sh
taq 'touch, cover with hand' CdA

/təqʷ-/ 'be hot'
  /təqʷ-ən/ 'hot'

/təqʷtəqʷ/ 'red snapper' (family Lutjanidae) < Chinook Jargon

/s-təqʷ/ 'river wind'
*/təm/
/nə-s-xʷ-tu-nəq/ 'my older sibling'
/nə-s-t-i-kʷ-ən/ 'my sibling's child, second cousin'
?s-tu-ʔ-i-kʷ-ən/ 'blood'
+ stíkn 'sibling's child' Sk
stíwən 'sibling's child' Cw Ms
stíwəl 'sibling's child' Ch
s-tunx 'nephew, niece (of male)' Sh
+ ? mítḵye 'blood' Sh

//tɬə/- 'to fish with a spear (from land)'
/tɬə-/ (descriptive)
/təč-/ (continuative)
/tɬ-əyuʔ?/ (instrumental)
/təč-iʔuʔ/ 'spear'
+ təčtən 'stabbed' Sk
təčən 'spear' Sk

/tɬcə-/ 'be near the beach (on land or water)'
/s-xʷ-tčc-eʔ-n-nə/ 'Dungeness, Washington'

/s-teʔxʷ/ 'spear shaft'

/ti/ 'tea' < English tea
/s-xʷ-ti-háy/ 'teapot'
+ šxʷtihéiə 'teapot' Sk

/tinəqsən/ 'mallard duck' (Anas platyrhynchos platyrhynchos)
+ tinəqsən 'mallard' Cw Ms
təl̓əqsəl 'mallard' Ch
timʔáqs-n 'turn around' Sq
/tintən/ 'bell'

† tin-tin 'to ring' Sq

tiʔʷ-n-s, s-tiʔʷ-sts 'to turn loose (horses); to ring (a bell)' Sh

/s-tiqiw/ 'horse' (*Equus caballus*)

† stʔiqiu 'horse' Sk

s-taʔiqiʔ 'horse' Sq

/tiʔʷ-/ 'to spit'

(PS) *pitxʷ, *poxʷ 'to spit'

/tiʔʷ-ic/ 'tongue'

† tixʷoqiq 'tongue' Sk
tóxʷʔoqiq 'tongue' Cw Ms Ch

poxʷ-n 'spit' Sq

moq-álxʷcal 'tongue' Sq

ptiʔʷ 'to spit' Sh
tiʔʷeʔck 'tongue' Sh
tiʔʷcč 'tongue' Kl

pitaʔʷ 'spit' Kl

tiʔʷcč 'tongue' CdA

pitaʔʷ 'spit' CdA

/tiʔeʔiʔ/ 'name of an aboriginal village on Indian Creek, Washington'

//tɪ-/ 'lie down'

/tɪ-/ 'lie on face'

† deʔi 'lie down' CDA

//tqə-/ 'to close'

/tqə-/ (descriptive)

/nə-xʷ-tqə-/
/tɔ-ʔ-q-/ (continuative)
/nə-xʷ-tə-ʔ-q-/
/?əs-xʷ-t-a-ʔ-t/ (stative)
   † tq̓ə- 'be closed' Sk
      (n-)q̓əʔ-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' K1
   taq 'touch, cover with hand' CdA

∀/tq̓-/ 'to raid'
   /tq̓-/ (descriptive)
   /tq̓-ʔ/ (durative)
      † t̓eq̓ 'raided' Sk

/tq̓ʷikʷs-əʔ/ 'packed up'
   † ?əst̓óqʷəʔ 'tightened' Sk
      t̓áqʷəʔ 'tight' Sg
      stáqʷəʔ 'tightened' Sn
      t̓óqʷəʔ 'tight' Lm

∀/təs-/ 'to approach, be near'
/?əs-t-a-s-ʔ-t/ (stative)
   † t̓əs 'arrived' Sk
      ?əst̓əsəʔ 'near, having approached' Sk Lm
      ?əst̓əsəʔ 'near, having approached' Sg
      stəsəʔ 'near, having approached' Sn

∀/tʃə-/ 'to comb'
   /t-ʔ-s-əʔ-ʔ-kʷ-əʔ/ (continuative)
   /tʃ-əʔ-ʔ-kʷ-əʔ/ 'comb'
/tuq̓ʷ/- 'to cough'
/tuq̓ʷ/- (descriptive)
/tuʔʔ-ʔʷ/- (continuative)

/s-tuʔwiʔ/ 'river'
/s-tuʔ-təʔ-wiʔ/ 'creek'
/s-stəʔ-aʔʔʔ s-tuʔwiʔ/ 'waterfall' (cf. /stəʔ-/)  
† stáʔiuʔ 'river' Sk  
staʔlə̝ʔ 'river' Cw Ms  
staʔtlə̝ʔ 'creek' Cw Ms  
staʔlə́ʔ 'river' Ch  
staʔtlə̝ʔ 'creek' Ch  
s-taq̓ʷ 'water, river' Sq  
cwex 'creek' Sh

/*tw/ 'to buy'
/t-əʔ-kʷ-ʔ-s/ (descriptive)
/t-əʔ-ʔ-ʔ-ʔ-w-s/ (continuative)  
† tagʷ 'to buy' Pg  
tew-m 'to buy' Sh  
téu 'to buy' Kl  
təgʷ 'buy, reach' CDA

/*tw/ 'to go across' > /tuyʔiʔ/ 'going across'
tui 'go across a body of water' Sq  
təwš 'go across' CDA  
təwš '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-xʷ-ti-t-ay-əqʷ/ 'head of a river'

/tay-/ 'go upriver'
/taʔ-ʔiʔ/ (continuative)

/tač-i/ 'come'
/ˈta-/ 'be flat'
/ʔəs-ˈta-ʔ-ə/ (stative)
/ˈta-n-ən-ʔ/ 'wall'

/ˈtakʷ-/  
/s-xʷ-ˈta-ˈtakʷ-ən-ʔ/ ~ nə-s-xʷ-ˈta-ˈtakʷ-ən-ʔ/ 'bee' (generic)  
† tɛt̚kʷən 'bee' Sk

/ˈtakʷi/ 'go across' (cf. */ ty/*)  
(PS) *ˈtəq̚ 'cross over'
/nə-xʷ-ˈtəkʷay-ən-ʔ/ 'Freshwater Bay, Washington'
/ˈtə-ʔ-ən-ʔ-əkʷay-s/ 'shellfish that move from place to place'  
† təq̚ ɛ-ələc 'shortcut on water' Cw  
təq̚, təq̚ 'across, transverse' Sq  
təq̚-əjʔəč 'cut across' Sq  
təjəq-ı 'to move (from one place to another)' Sq  
ʔs-t-qʷic 'to shift, move from place' Sh

/ˈtamuxʷ-ʔič̌/ 'gooseberry' (Ribes divaricatum)

/ˈtan-/ 'be in a row; lined up; be among'  
/ʔəs-ˈta-ʔ-n-ə/ (stative)  
/ʔəs-ˈta-ʔ-n-kʷ/ (stative) (< [ʔəs-ˈta-ʔ-ən-kʷ]; /n/ > [ə])  
progressive assimilation in peripherality
† ˈtən- 'be in line' Sk Sn  
ˈtənʔuʔ 'disappear, get out of sight' Sq  
tən 'stand in line' CDA
/taŋ-/ 'to flood'
  /taŋ-/ (descriptive)
  /taʔ-ŋ-ʔəŋ-ʔ/ (continuative)
  /ʔəs-s-ʔ-ŋ-taʔ-ʔ/ 'rising tide'
    təŋ- 'submerged; come in (tide)' Sk

/s-staqaʔ/ 'liver'

/taqʷ/- 'stuck (in mud)'
  /t-i-taqʷ/- (continuative)
  /ʔəs-s-ʔ-ɪ-i-taqʷ-iʔ ~ /s-ɪ-t-ɪ-i-taqʷ-iʔ-aqʷ-iʔ/ (static)
    ʔəqʷ-ʔɪqʷ 'muddy' Sq
    ʔəwkʷ 'get stuck in the mud' Sq
    cpeq '(get) stuck' Sh
    s-əqʷ-ʔɪqʷ 'dirty, muddy (of water)' Sh
    čàp q 'adhere' CDA

/taqʷəm-ỉič/ 'thimbleberry' (Rubus parviflorus)
  /nə-ʔəqʷəm/ 'my thimbleberry, (hypocoristic)'
    s-ʔáqʷ-əm 'thimbleberry, red cap' Sq

/taw-/ 'be bright; spotted'
  /t-i-taʔ-ʔ-w-i/ 'bright'
  /taʔ-ʔaw-us-nʔa/ 'star'
  /t-i-taʔ-yiq/ 'spotted'
    kʷásən 'star' Cw
    ʔətaʔ 'bright; light' Sq
    kʷúsən 'star' Sq
    čúasad 'star' Pğ
    ə-s-kʷusählt 'star' Sh
    λkʷkúšem 'star' Kļ
    kʷel 'bright, hot' CDA
/ˈlawi?/ 'arm'
   + ˈteiui? 'arm' Sk
   ˈtɛlɔw- 'arm' Cw Ms
   ˈtɛlɔw- 'arm' Ch
   tɑxn-tn '(upper) arm' Sq

/ˈtayamit/ 'put on something'

/s-ˈtayaq/ 'sand cooking'

/ˈtayɔq-/ 'be drenched; soaking wet'
   /ˈtayɔq-/ (descriptive)
   /t-ʔ-iʔ-ˈtayɔq/ (continuative)

/s-ˈtayuʔ/ 'severe storm'

/ˈtaʔs-/ 'be separated (from a group)'
   /ˈtaʔs-eʔ-/ (descriptive)
   /ˈtaʔ-ˈtaʔs-/ (continuative)

/ˈtɔɬomənʔ/ 'barbecue stake'
(PS) *ˈtɔq 'prop up, support'
   + ˈtɑʔʔ? 'barbecue stake' Cw Ms

/ˈtɔʔˈiʔuʔ/ 'to dig roots, bulbs'
(<?/ˈtɔʔˈ/ 'to break', */ʔyʔw/ 'outer surface')
(PS) *ˈtəʔw/ 'break'
   + ʔiʔˈɛls 'dig' Cw Ms
   ʔiʔˈɛʔs 'dig' Ch
   ˈtakw-, ˈtəʔw 'dig' Sq
   ˈtəʔw-ˈam-ɬəx 'root' (generic) Sq
   ˈtəʔ-em 'dug up, uncover' Sh
/ˈtəm-/ 'be overripe'

/s-ˈtəm-/ 'overripe'
  +  tən?in? 'raw, unripe' Sq

/s-ˈtəməč/ 'shag' (Phalacrocorax carbo)

/tə-ˈtəm-?/ 'bewicks wren' (Thryomanes bewickii) or
  'winter wren' (Troglodytes troglodytes)

/tən-/ 'go toward shore'
  /tən-/ (descriptive)
  /ˈtə-ˈtən-?/ (continuative)

/tənsu?e?č/ 'linded chiton' (Lepidochitona lineata)

/s-ˈtəx/ 'branch of a river'

/tə?qe?wən/ 'minnow' (Phoxinus phoxinus)

/təʊ-/ 'to break'

/təc-ˈs-nət/ 'midnight'
  +  təs 'broken' Sk
  təq? 'break' Sq
  /ˈcət/ 'center' Sh
  (s-)x-ˈcət-ews 'midnight' Sh
  təl 'break off' CDA

/?əs-ˈtə-ˈtə-ə-ən-?/ 'corner'
/te?/- 'to sing; pray'
/ťiyom/ 'to sing, (descriptive)'
/t-ťe?-yəm/ 'to sing, (continuative)'
/s-ťe·yəm/ 'song'

/te?-we?ič/ 'pray, (descriptive)'
/t-ťe?we?ič/ 'pray, (continuative)'
/s-ťe?we?ič haw?txʷ/ 'church'
/s-ťe?we?ič hu?ikʷt/ 'prayer clothes'
       +  tii- 'sing' Sk
       tīləm 'sing' Cw Ms
       tiʔiləm 'sing' Ch
       s-ị́ọ́-an 'song' Sq
       ọ́cin 'sing' Sh

/tıqus/ 'black bass' (genus Micropterus)
/s-tıxʷac/ 'octopus' (Octopus apollyon)
(PS) *tıx 'open up, branch out'
       +  stolxʷč 'devilfish' Sq
       ? tọx 'open, branch out' Sq
       ? tıx 'to open, spread out' K1

/tıqʷ-itč/ 'strawberry' (Fragaria virginiana, F. vesca, F. chiloensis)
/nə-tıyuqʷ/ 'my strawberry (hypocoristic)'
       +  sciʔyɛʔ 'strawberry' Cw Ms
       sciʔyɛ 'strawberry' Ch
       tkitqeq 'strawberry' Sh
       qitqəm 'strawberry' K1
''tkʷ-/' to choke'
   /tɨ-ɨ-ə?-kʷ-ən-?-s/ (continuative)

''tq-/' to sharpen'
   /tq-axən/ 'sharp edge'

''tqə?-iʃč/ 'salal'
   +  təqə? 'salalberry' Sk
      təqə 'salalberry' Cw Ms
      təqə 'salalberry' Ch
      təqa? 'salalberry' Sq

''tqə-/ 'to land'
   /tqə-/ (descriptive)
   /tə?-q-/ (continuative)
   /tqə-ən-?/ 'airplane'

''tukʷ-/' to go home'
   /tukʷ-/ (descriptive)
   /tu-ʔukʷ-/ (continuative)
   +  təkʷ 'go home' Sk
      tútəkʷ 'be going home' Sq

''tuʔeʔeqʷ/ 'small, white-tipped mussel (unidentified)'
\( /\text{i}^-/ \) 'to like, want'
\( /s^-\text{i}?/ \) (descriptive)
\( /s^-\text{e}?/ \) (continuative)

\( /\text{a}^-\text{c}/ \) 'belly'
\[ + \lambda\text{ē}s \ 'stomach' \ Sk \]
\( \text{ŋ}\text{ə}1? \ 'stomach' \ Sq \)

\( /\text{a}^-\text{c}?/ \) 'be deep'
\[ + x\text{w}\lambda\text{c}ɔn \ 'deep soup plate' \ Sk \]
\( ? \text{nì?c} \ 'be out in deep water; high sea' \ Sq \)

\( /\text{a}^-\text{q}^-\text{iq}-\text{e}\text{n}/ \) 'shiny'
\[ + *\text{ũq}m \ 'be shiny' \ Sq \]

\( /s^-x^-\text{a}^-\text{lap}/ \) 'cooking pot'

\( /\text{a}^-\text{t}-\text{e}/ \) 'salt'
\( /\text{a}^-\text{ta}-\text{t}c/ \) 'saltwater'
\( /\text{e}\text{q} / \text{a}^-\text{t}c/ \) 'ocean'
\[ + \text{̃}\text{ẽ}ls \ 'saltwater' \ Sk \]
\[ \text{̃}\text{ẽ}lsɔ \ 'saltwater' \ Sg \ Sn \]
\[ \text{̃}\text{ẽ}ls \ 'saltwater' \ Lm \]
\[ \text{̃}\text{ẽ}ŋ \ 'salty' \ Nst \]
\[ \text{̃}\text{ẽ}töm \ 'salt' \ Cw \ Ms \]
\[ \text{̃}\text{ẽ}töm \ Ch \]
\[ \text{̃}\text{ā}lm \ 'salt; saltwater' \ Sq \]
/šəməkʷ/ 'salmon roe'
  + s-šəməkʷ 'salmon eggs preserved for winter use' Sq

/shənəq/ 'to potlatch'
/s-šə?-ənəq/ 'potlatch'
/šə?-šə?-ənəq/ 'give a potlatch'
/s-šə?-ənəq-aw?-?txʷ/ 'potlatch house'
  + šəʔənəq 'potlatch' Sk
  + šənəq 'potlatch' Cw
  + šəʔələq 'potlatch' Cw
  + šəʔənəq 'potlatch' Sq
  + šənəq-áʔ-txʷ 'potlatch house' Sq

/shə?-əpt/ 'butterfly' (generic)

/šəkwəxən/ 'goose' (Branta canadensis)
  + šəkʷəxən 'goose' Sk Lm
  + šəkʷə(ə)xən 'goose' Sg Sn
  + šəukʷəxən 'goose' Sq

/shəw/
/s-šəw-ən-ʔ/ 'earring'
  + šəʔəwən 'earring' Sg
  + səʔúciím 'earring' Sq

/shəxʷšəxʷ/ 'razor clam' (Siliqua patula) < Chinook Jargon
  + šəxʷəxʷ 'oyster' Sk
  + šəxʷ-əxʷ 'oyster' Sq
  + šəxʷ 'hard, strong' Sq
/əy-/ 'to add to; again; another'
/kʰa ʔ-iʔ-ay-/ 'middle age' (cf. TABLE III)
  + ʔéʔ 'again' Sk
  ʔiʔ 'excessive, difficult' Sq

/əyq-/ 'to trap, catch'
/əy-a-ʔ-son/ 'spider'
  + ʔəiq 'get trapped, caught' Sq

/əcamʔ/ 'giant horse clam' (Schizothaerus nuttalli)

/əem/
/ne-xʷ-s-əem/ 'Clallam people'

/əeʔəqʷ/ 'pileated woodpecker' (Dryocopus pileatus)

/ə-əʔways/ 'Clallam Bay, Washington'

/əc-/ 'to troll'
/əc-u-/ (descriptive)
/ə-aʔ-c-uʔ/ (descriptive)
/əʔ-c-u/ (continuative)
/ə-aʔ-aʔ-c-uʔ/ (continuative)
/əc-(ə)t-n/ 'fishing line'

/əm-/ 'be well; just right'
/?æs-ə-u-əmʔ-/ (stative)

/ənq-ʔiʔč/ 'yew wood' (Taxus brevifolia)
/ənq-ʔiʔč-qs-ən/ 'beak'
\(\lambda\bar{a}p-\) /'to cover something'\\n/s-\(\lambda\bar{a}p-i?-n-\tilde{c}/ 'bird's tail'\\n\text{+} \ s\lambda\ddot{o}\ddot{i}?sna\ddot{e}\ddot{c} 'tail' Sk\\n\ s\lambda\ddot{o}\ddot{e}\ddot{y}sna\ddot{e}\ddot{c} 'tail' Cw\\n\ s\ddot{a}\ddot{p}\ddot{e}\ddot{l}?q\ddot{e}n 'feather' Cw Ms\\n\ s\ddot{a}\ddot{p}\ddot{e}\ddot{t} 'cover' Cw Ms Ch\\n\ s\ddot{z}\ddot{\acute{o}}\ddot{p}\ddot{e}\ddot{t} 'tail' Ms\\n\ s\ddot{z}\ddot{\acute{o}}\ddot{p}\ddot{e}\ddot{l}?e\ddot{c} 'tail' Ch\\n\ s\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{p}\ddot{e}\ddot{t} 'feather' Ch\\n\ \lambda\ddot{a}p 'cover, clothes' Sq\\n? \ \ddot{c}\ddot{e}\ddot{p}\ddot{d} 'adhere' CDA

\(\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}q-\) /'be long'\\n/\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}q-\ddot{\ddot{\acute{a}}}n/ 'shoe'\\n/\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}q-t/ 'long'\\n\text{+} \ \lambda\ddot{\acute{e}}qt 'long' Sk Sg\\n\ \lambda\ddot{\acute{o}}\ddot{q}\ddot{\ddot{a}}n 'moccasin' Sk Sg\\n\ \lambda\ddot{\acute{e}}qt 'long' Cw\\n\ s\ddot{\ddot{z}}\ddot{\dot{\ddot{a}}}\ddot{q}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\acute{e}}}n} 'moccasin' Cw\\n\ s\ddot{\ddot{z}}\ddot{\dot{\ddot{a}}}\ddot{q}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\acute{e}}}x}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\acute{e}}}n} 'moccasin' Ms\\n\ s\ddot{\ddot{z}}\ddot{\dot{\ddot{a}}}\ddot{q}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\acute{e}}}x}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\acute{e}}}l} 'moccasin' Ch\\n\ \lambda\ddot{a}qt 'long (space, time)' Sq

\(\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}c\ddot{a}-\ddot{\ddot{a}}n/ 'belt'

\(\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}\ddot{\acute{c}}-\) /'disappear, sink'\\n/\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}\ddot{\acute{c}}-i?-/ (descriptive)\\n/\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}\ddot{\acute{c}}-a-\ddot{\acute{c}}-e?-/ (continuative)\\n/\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}\ddot{\acute{c}}-i/ 'down'\\n/\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}\ddot{\acute{c}}/ 'deep'\\n/s-\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}\ddot{\acute{c}}-uc-\ddot{\ddot{\acute{a}}}n/ 'chin, lower lip'\\n/\lambda\ddot{\acute{a}}\ddot{\acute{c}}-a-\ddot{\acute{a}}?u-\ddot{\ddot{\acute{a}}}i/ 'under' (cf. */hw?/)]
\text{+} \ s\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{\dot{p}}\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{i}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\acute{e}}}n} 'lower lip' Cw Ms\\n\ s\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{\dot{p}}\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\acute{e}}}y}\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\acute{e}}}l} 'lower lip' Ch
/šeq-/ 'be nearby'
/š-a-šeq-ʔ-q-exw/ 'close by'
+ ʔiq 'arrive' Sq

/šeqən/ 'tendon'
+ šimōn 'tendon' Cw Ms
šeqiməl 'tendon' Ch

/šiť/ 'a high place'

/s-šišaʔqət/ 'low-status child'
+ šiλ(a)laʔqət 'a child of lower status' Sk
šišaʔqət 'child' (preadolescent) Cw Ms
šišaʔqəl 'child' (preadolescent) Ch

/šiyaʔčayx/ 'wild lily of the valley' (Maianthemum dilatatum)

/s-šiʔuʔəm/ 'yellow clam; cockle' (Cardium corbis)

/šiʔx(u)yʔ-s-ič/ 'bog cranberry' (Vaccinium oxycoccus)

/škʷ-/ 'to hold, take hold, grab'
/škʷo-/ (descriptive)
/šokʷ-/ (continuative)
+ škʷen 'take (hold of)'

/škʷic/ 'having an unfulfilled desire'

/škʷin-/ 'to marry'
/škʷinʔkʷayn/ (?)
/škʷin-kʷi/ (?)
\(\lambda\ddot{k}^w\theta-\) 'to extinguish'
\(\lambda\ddot{k}^w\theta-\) (descriptive)
\(\lambda\ddot{\omega}k^w\) (continuative)
  + \(\lambda\ddot{k}^w\) 'it's extinguished' Sk

\(\lambda\ddot{\omega}\lambda^w-\) 'become green'
\(\ddot{\omega}n(\dddot{\omega}^w-)\lambda\ddot{\omega}\) 'green'
\(\lambda\ddot{\omega}iy-s\) 'light green'
\(\lambda\ddot{\omega}iy?\) 'becoming green'
  + \(\ddot{\omega}s-\ddot{\omega}is\) 'green, pale' Sq

\(s-x^w-\lambda\ddot{\omega}no?ye?k^w\ddot{\omega}n?\) 'detachable spear point'

\(\lambda\ddot{q}-\) 'to drum'
\(\dddot{\lambda}-a-\ddot{q}-u?y-a-\ddot{q}-s-\eta-?\) 'drumming stick'
\(s-x^w-\lambda^w-a-\lambda\ddot{\omega}q-u?y-a-\ddot{q}-s-n-?\) 'grasshopper' (generic)
  + \(\ddot{\omega}qt-\ddot{\omega}qt-\ddot{\omega}n\) 'long-legged' Sq

\(s-\ddot{\lambda}\ddot{q}a?e?\) 'feather, wing'
  + \(s\ddot{\lambda}\ddot{q}ye(-)\)n 'wing' Cw·Ms
    \(s\ddot{\lambda}\ddot{q}ye\cdot l\) 'wing' Ch

\(\ddot{\lambda}\ddot{q}^w\theta-\) 'to adhere, stick'
\(\ddot{\lambda}-a-\ddot{q}^w-\ddot{\lambda}\ddot{q}^w\) 'sticky'
\(\ddot{\lambda}\ddot{q}^w-\ddot{\ddot{\lambda}}\) (durative)
\(\ddot{\omega}s-\ddot{\lambda}\ddot{q}^w-\ddot{\ddot{\lambda}}\) (stative)
  + \(\lambda\ddot{q}^w\) 'stuck' Sk

\(\ddot{\lambda}sant\) 'Port Crescent, Washington'
/̌tə-/
/̌tə-ʔʔ-a-ʔ-s/ 'palm of hand'
/̌tə-ʔ-səʔ/ 'foot, sole of foot'

/̌utaʔ/ 'wooden pan'

/̌uʔə/ 'bear grass' (Xerophyllum tenax)

/̌uʔəʔa/ 'small'
/̌aʔuʔəʔa/ 'tiny'

+ λůλοʔ 'small' Sk

/̌uʔiʔqs/ '(storage) box'
/̌-i-ʔuy-(o)qs/ 'Tongue Point, Washington'

+ λάιʔqs 'coffin, box' Sk

/̌wʔayʔ/ 'chum salmon' (Oncorhynchus keta)

/̌ʔjack/ 'island'

+ λčeʔs 'island' Sk
 ḳčėʔs 'island' Ms
 ḳčéʔs 'island' Ch
 skʷcaʔs 'island' Sq
 qiltč 'island' CDA
\[\text{giant chiton} \quad \text{(Cryptochiton stelleri)}\]

\[\text{small crab} \quad \text{(Cancer oregonensis)}\]

\[\text{to stretch something}\]
\[\text{(descriptive)}\]
\[\text{(continuative)}\]
\[\text{(stative)}\]

\[\text{sibling, cousin}\]
\[\text{(PS)} \quad \text{brood (1)}\]
\[\text{sibling of same sex}\]
\[\text{cousin}\]

\[\text{to go to}\]
\[\text{(descriptive)}\]
\[\text{(continuative)}\]

\[\text{canoe}\]
\[\text{canoe with fancy ends}\]

\[\text{youngest (child)}\]
/wači/? 'perch' (Perca flavescens)

/s-wačp/ 'fire drill'
  +  šölçap 'fire drill' Cw
  sxʃölçap 'fire drill' Ms
  sxʃölçǝs 'fire drill' Ch

/nǝ-s-waʔ?-iʔ/ 'my spouse's sibling (of my sex); my sibling's spouse (of my sex)'
  +  skʷiʔǝw? 'spouse's parent; wife's brother' Cw Ms
  skʷiʔǝw 'spouse's parent; wife's brother' Ch

/waʔwǝʔšelʔeʔ/ 'helldiver' (Podiceps cristatus)

/wǝnaxʷ/ 'true, real'
  +  yanaxʷ 'true' Sq
  gwunixʷ 'be true' CdA

/weq/- 'to yawn'
/weq-s/ (descriptive)
/w-i-weq-s/ (continuative)
  +  wéqs 'yawn' Sk
  hehw 'to yawn' Sh

/wǝsǝy-/ 'to bark'
/wǝsǝy-ǝs/ (descriptive)
/w-ǝʔ-wǝsǝy?-s/ (continuative)
  +  uǝxǝt 'frog' Sn
  wih 'bark' CDA
/swəʔqəʔ/ 'adult man'
/swiʔ-ʔ-q-uʔiʔ/ 'prepubescent boy' (cf. TABLE III)
/swεʔwəʔ/ 'teenage boy' (cf. TABLE III)
/nəʔ-sweʔqəʔ/ 'my husband'
	+ suʔqáʔeʔ 'boy' Sk
səʔiʔqəʔ 'man' Sk
swéʔqε 'man' Cw Ms
swiʔw1əʔ 'teenage boy' Cw Ms
swóʔqε 'man' Ch
swiʔw1əθ 'teenage boy' Ch
s-ʔiʔqa 'man' Sq
s-ʔiʔqa-úł 'boy' Sq
s-ʔiʔqáʔ-ʔ1-us 'youth, young man' Sq
s-ʔiʔqa-ʔ1 'become a man' Sq

/nəʔ-s-wiʔaʔ/ 'my child'

wúʔcinútc 'cascara' (Rhamnus purshiana)

*/-(w)yəʔ/ 'affectionate diminutive'
/xa-/'be sick'
 /xa-ɪ/ (durative)
  + x jurisdictions /'to be ill' Sk

/xáápu?/ 'basket grass (unidentified)'

/xač-/'be dry'
(PS) *kixʷ, x'ikʷ 'dry'
 /xa-ʔ-č-n/ 'dry'
 /s-xač-aqʷ/ 'smoked halibut head'
  + xêč-'be dry' Sk
      či?xʷ 'dry' Sq
      xew-t 'dry' Sh
      x'ikwm 'to dry' Sh
      sx'ik 'dried salmon' Sh
      xaM 'dry' Sl

/s-xana?/ 'leg'
 /xanâʔ-sn-?/ (cf. Figure 9)
 /nəču xana/ 'one foot (measurement)'
  + sxónə? 'foot' Sk
      s-xən? 'foot, leg' Sq

/s-xakwá/ 'fish spine'
  + sxöʔwə 'fish backbone' Cw Ms
      sxəwə 'fish backbone' Ch

/xa-xas-čayeq/ 'California quail' (*Lophortyx californicus*)
/xatup/ 'salmon (unidentified)'

/xať/ 'rough, windy, stormy'
  + xéť 'rough, windy, stormy' Nst
  xéť 'blow hard' Cw Ms
  xéť 'blow hard' Ch

/xawʔwəs/ 'new'
  + xewʔs 'new' Cw Ms
  xewʔs 'new' Ch

/xax-/ 'to be in a prone position (on the back)' /ʔəs-xaʔ-ʔ-x-ʔ/ (stative)

/xay-/ 'be thin'
  /x-eʔ-ʔ-x-eʔ-ʔ-ay-č/ 'thin'
  /x-aʔ-ʔ-x-uʔ-ʔ-eʔ-ʔ-η/ 'shallow'

/s-xayʔkʷiʔeč/ 'foothills'

/xayukʷs/ 'raccoon' (Procyon lotor)
  + sxayokʷes 'raccoon' Cw

/s-xaʔanuxʷ/ 'bullfrog' (Rana catesbeiana)
  + sxəʔénəxʷ 'frog' Sk
  xʷə-xʷmʔəlut 'big frog' Sq

/xaʔec/ 'magic of changing'
  /ʔiʔ xiʔxaʔic sanʔenəqʷ/ 'Transformer, Great Man'
  + xéʔiʔs 'Transformer' Sk
  xéʔls 'World Changer' Cw Ms
/xaʔiʔɪ(h)acs/ 'mole' (*Scapanus townsendi*)

/xaʔniʔtiʔ/ 'to growl'

/xənʔxaʔniʔtiʔ/ 'secret society'

+ xînm 'to growl' Sq

/xaʔs-/ 'be bad'

/xaʔsʔan-ən/ 'evil; very bad'

/s-xaʔs çaŋ/ 'north wind'

/xaʔsayqč/ 'bad smell/taste'

+ sxeʔəs 'bad' Sk

/xaʔ-xaʔyəʔiʔč/ 'chipmunk' (*Eutamias townsendi*)

+ xəxpícan 'chipmunk' Cw Ms
cicəpyáʔol 'chipmunk' Ch

/xəč-/ 'be smart, intelligent'

/č-xəč-ŋ-n/ 'smart'

+ xéč 'to know' Sk Sn

/ʃəč 'remember' Sq

/xənʔaʔaʔ/ 'do something continually'

/xənʔ-ʔ-ə-ʔ/ 'always, all the time'

/?uʔ x-aʔ-ʔ-nʔ/ 'all, everything'

/xənʔawxʷ-/ 'to say'

/xənʔawxʷ-/ (descriptive)

/xənʔ-ʔ-aʔawxʷ/ (continuative)
/nə-xʷ-xənʔənəq/ 'mixing many different things together'

/ʃəχ-\ / 'to crack, split, break'
/s-ʃəχ-ʔn/ 'fishtail'
† sxəʔşn 'fishtail' Cw
s-ʃəχ-ʔn 'fishtail' Sq

/xəʔ-/ 'to write'
/xəʔ-ʔ-əyuʔ/ (instrumental, continuative)
/xəʔ-ʔ/ 'mark'
† xóʔ- 'write' Sk
xəʔ? 'write' Sq
ʔiʔemʔ 'write, draw' Sh

/xəʔčəʔcaʔis/ 'ling cod roe'

/s-xcaʔiʔ/ 'hay'
/s-xcaʔyaʔnəqʷ/ 'grass'
† s-tyέʔ 'hay' Sh
s-ʔtedeʔ 'hay, grass, fodder' CdA

/ʃəχ-/ 'be bashful, ashamed; blush'
/x-i-č-iʔ/ 'blush ("awful shame on the face" AB)'
/x-eʔ-č-iʔ/ (continuative)
† √ʔix, ʔəx 'shame' Sq
√čex 'ashamed' Sh
xiw 'shameful' CDA
xič 'strange' CDA

/xəʔč-aʔč/ 'western red cedar' (Thuja plicata)
(PS) *xčay 'log'
/x-aʔy-čaʔ-č/ 'name of an aboriginal village in the Marine Drive area, Port Angeles, Washington'
/xči-/ 'to scratch'
  /xči-/ (descriptive)
  /xič-/ (continuative)
  /xi-ʔ-ʔ-ay-s/ 'climbing' (animal)

/xec/ 'unripe, green'

/xi-/ 'to scrape'
(PS) *sax 'scrape'
  /ʔ-ix-/ (descriptive)
  /ʔ-a-ʔ-xi-/ (continuative)
    + īxət 'scrape' Cw
      xóyət 'scrape' Ms
      xčyət 'scrape' Ch

/xiŋə/ 'olive shell'

/xixw/ 'large sea urchin'

/xiʔamcen/ 'dying something'

//xŋ/- 'to pull (hair)'
  /x-iʔ-ŋ-a-ŋʷ/ (descriptive)
  /x-a-ʔ-ŋ-e-ʔqʷ/ (continuative)

/xpayʔ/ 'cut, dried cedar'
  + xpə'y 'red cedar' (as material) Cw Ms
  xpá'y 'red cedar' (as material) Ch
  xp-aiʔ 'cedar' Sq

xuwi xuq'a 'red-flowering currant' (Ribes sanguineum)
/xʷa-/ 'to dislike'
/s-xʷa-ʔ-t-n/ (descriptive)
/s-xʷa-ʔ-t-nʔ/ (continuative)
† xʷətín? 'dislike' Sk

/s-xʷa-ʔs-ən/ 'sharp point'

/xʷač-xʷč/ 'small plant resembling "frog leaves"(?)' 

/xʷakʷ-/ 'act mischievously, crazily'
/s-xʷakʷ-i/ (descriptive)
/s-xʷa-xʷakʷ-i/ (continuative)
† ʔəsxʷəxʷé(?)xʷʔtən 'drunk' Sk
ʔəsxʷéʔxʷʔkʷ 'crazy' Sk
ʔəsxʷéʔxʷəkʷ 'crazy, silly' Sg
ʔəsxʷəxʷéʔxʷʔtən 'drunk' Sg
sxʷəxʷékʷʔtən 'he's drunk' Sŋ
sxʷéʔxʷəkʷ 'misbehaving' Sŋ
xʷkʷɛtən 'gone crazy' Sŋ
ʔəsxʷəxʷəkʷʔtən 'drunk' Lm
ʔəsxʷəʔxʷkʷ 'silly, foolish' Lm
xʷakʷi 'get drunk' Sq

/xʷanitəm/ 'White man'
† xʷənítm 'White man' Sk
xʷənítəm 'White man' Cw Ms
xʷəlítəm 'White man' Ch
xʷəlítən 'White person' Sq
/xʷaʔ-/ 'to rest'
   /ʔəs-xʷaʔ-ʔ/ (stative)

/xʷas-/ 'to shake'
   /xʷ-i-s/ (descriptive)
   /xʷ-eʔ-s/ (continuative)
   /xʷas-iy-an-ʔuxʷ/ 'autumn'
      həylənxʷ 'autumn' Cw Ms

/xʷatukʷ-ən/ 'flame'
      ?íʔqʷm 'flame, spark' Sq
      tʔikʷ 'fire' Sh

/s-xʷaʔs/ 'puberty'
      xʷəʔəs 'girl's puberty' Cw
      əʔəʔəxʷ 'girl's puberty' Ch Ms

/xʷawawaxʷaʔ/ 'light (in weight)'

/s-xʷawəʔən/ 'swan' (Cygnus Olor)
      ŝxʷəʔən 'swan' Cw Ms
      sxʷəʔəqəl 'swan' Ch

/xʷaʔ-ʔ/ 'to taper; become narrow'
   /xʷa-xʷaʔ-ʔ/ 'narrow'
   /ʔəs-xʷaʔ-ʔəʔ/ 'narrow base'
   /s-xʷiʔ-ʔuc-ən/ 'narrow mouth; tapered; Dry Creek, Washington'
   /s-xʷaʔ-ʔəs/ 'feather duster' (Eudistylia polymorpha)
   /əʔəs-xʷaʔ-ʔʔs/ 'artificially deformed skull'
/xʷayukʷnʔ/ 'snore'
  † ?əsxʷóyʔət 'awake' Sk
  ?əsxʷáyət 'awake' Sg
  sxʷáy(ʔ)ət 'awake' Sn
  ?əsxʷéyʔət ~ ?əsxʷóʔət 'awake' Lm
  ʔəwqʷl-əqs 'to snore' Sh
  hər 'snore' CDA

/s-xʷaʔauktʷ/ 'loon' (Gavia immer elasson)

/s-xʷaʔxənʔaʔam/ 'insects' (generic)

/s-xʷaʔxʷəʔ/ 'snake' (generic)

/xʷaʔxʷiʔəʃ/ 'hermit thrush' (Hylocichla guttata)

/xʷaʔxʷtčiʔiʔ/ 'hummingbird' (Selasphorus rufus)
  † tič-tič.níš 'hummingbird' Sq
  *xʷéne > xʷéxʷne 'hummingbird' Sh
  ḥxʷxʷəní 'hummingbird' Kl

/xʷəm-/ 'to be hungry'
  /xʷəm-/ (descriptive)
  /xʷ-əʔ-əm/ (continuative)
  † xʷiʔ-ús 'be very hungry' Sq

/s-xʷəŋčaytnʔ/ 'brain'
  † šmočqn 'brain' Sk
  s-moč-alqn 'brain' Sq
  s-čm-qin 'brain' Sh
/xʷəŋxʷ/ 'group of related people'
/sʔ-xʷəŋxʷ-awʔtxʷ/ 'long-house'
  + ?úxʷumíxʷ 'village (houses and inhabitants)' Sv

/s-xʷəyə'nʔ/ 'side of head'
  + sxʔyəs 'head' Cw Ms
  sxəyəs 'head' Ch

/s-xʷəʔtəxʷ/ 'jellyfish' (class Scyphozoa)

/xʷč-/ 'to stop, forbid, prevent'
/xʷ-a-č/ (descriptive)
/xʷ-ə-xʷč/ (continuative)
  + xʷéč 'stop raining' Sk Sg Lm
  xʷéʔ-sən 'stop raining' Sn
  xʷəč 'stop raining' Sq
  əčxʷ 'stop pursuing' CDA

/xʷəč-/ 'to stagger, stumble'
/xʷč-/ (descriptive)
/xʷ-əč- xʷ-a-č-/ (continuative)
/?əs-xʷəč-iʔ-s/ (stative)
  + əs 'to lie, lie down' Sh

/xʷə-č-/ 'be between'
/?əs-xʷ-a-ʔə-č-ə/ (stative)
  + xʷəčəʔi? 'interspace, space between' Sq

/xʷeʔləm/ 'rope'
  + xʷiʔləm (?) 'rope' Sk
  xʷəyʔləm? 'rope' Cw Ms
  xʷəyʔləm 'rope' Ch
  xʷiliʔm 'rope' St
/\textit{xw_\textsuperscript{iq}w_\textsuperscript{e}q_\textsuperscript{w}\text{\textcopyright}n}/ 'woman's kerchief'

/s-x\textit{wi}ki/ 'mountain sheep'

/x\textit{wi}y-'/ 'to go down'
  /x\textit{wi}y-/ (descriptive)
  /x\textit{w}-e?_e?-y-/ (continuative)
  \texttt{\textdagger} yux\textsuperscript{w} 'descend' Sh

/s-x\textit{wi}?xayu?a\textsuperscript{cin}/ 'lizard' (generic)

/s-x\textit{wi}?ye?-i\textsuperscript{it\acute{c}}/ 'willow' (\textit{Salix sitchensis})
  \texttt{\textdagger} \textit{xw}\textsuperscript{e}le?e\textsuperscript{fp} 'willow' Cw Ms
  \textit{xw}\textsuperscript{e}le\cdot e\textsuperscript{fp} 'willow' Ch

\textit{\sqrt{xw}}\textsuperscript{k}\textsuperscript{w}_\omega-/ 'to fade; lose color'
  /\textit{\textalpha}_\textsuperscript{en(e?-)}x\textsuperscript{w}-i\textsuperscript{k}\textsuperscript{w}/ 'gray'
  /x\textsuperscript{w}-i\textsuperscript{k}\textsuperscript{w}-i?/ 'becoming gray'
  /\textit{\textalpha}_\textsuperscript{en}e?-x\textsuperscript{k}\textsuperscript{w}-ays/ 'grayish'
  \texttt{\textdagger} \textit{xw}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{k}\textsuperscript{w}-x\textsuperscript{w}\textsuperscript{ik}\textsuperscript{w} 'grey' Sq

\textit{\sqrt{xw}}\textsuperscript{k}\textsuperscript{w}_\omega-/ 'to drag'
  /x\textsuperscript{w}\textsuperscript{k}\textsuperscript{w}_\omega-/ (descriptive)
  /x\textsuperscript{w}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{k}\textsuperscript{w}-/ (continuative)
  \texttt{\textdagger} \textit{\textalpha}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{sxw}\textsuperscript{ok}\textsuperscript{w}\texttt{t} '(all) pulled (up already)' Sk
  \textit{\textalpha}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{sxw}\textsuperscript{ak}\textsuperscript{w}\texttt{t} '(all) pulled (up already)' Sg
  \textit{\textalpha}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{sxw}\textsuperscript{ak}\textsuperscript{w}\texttt{t} '(all) pulled (up already)' Sn
  \textit{\textalpha}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{sxw}\textsuperscript{ok}\textsuperscript{w}\texttt{t} '(all) pulled (up already)' Lm
  x\textsuperscript{w}\textsuperscript{ok}\textsuperscript{w}t 'pull' Nst
  x\textsuperscript{w}\textsuperscript{uk}\textsuperscript{w}-n 'pull, drag' Sq
I/xw kw -/ 'to poke'

(PS) *λu? 'touch, poke, wound'
/xw-u-kw-ωn-?/ 'needle (for weaving)'
/s-xw-kw-c-i-t-n-?/ 'fork'
+ ćew kw 'poke' CDA

I/xw kw- / 'to cover something'
/xw-i-kw-c-n/ (descriptive)
/xw-i-?-k-?-c-t/ (continuative)

I/xw n- / 'to curse'
/xw-a-xwωn-i-t-i?/ (descriptive)
/xw-a-?-xwωn-i-t-i?/ (continuative)
/s-xw-a-xwωn-?/ 'one who curses continually'
/s-xw-i-n-xw n/ 'scalloped' (Pecten caurinus; Chlamys hericia; Hinnites giganteus)

I/xw pč- / 'to spawn'
/xw-p-a-č-ωn/ 'spawning salmon'
/s-xw pč/ 'old salmon; old man (as a derogatory term of reference)'

I/xw t- / 'to jump'
/xw-i-t/ (descriptive)
/xw-e?-t/ (continuative)

I/xw tɔq/ 'fell through'
+ xwɔ- 'fall' Sk

/s-xw utmɔc/ 'marten' (Martes americana)
/xʷuŋ-ən-ʔ/ 'neck'
   + xʷán 'throat'.Sk

/xʼuy-/ 'to sell'
   /s-xʼuy-əm/ (descriptive)
   /s?xʷu-ʔ-y-əm/ (continuative)

/xʼuʔqʷ/ 'merganser duck' (Mergus merganser)
   + xʷaʔqʷ 'sawbill' Cw
   xʷuhqʷ 'loon' Sq

/xʼy-/ 'to wrap' (cf. /yxʷ-/)
   /ʔəs-xʷ-a-y-q/ (stative)
\(\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{'to weave'}}\)

\(\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{uc-n-?}}\) (descriptive)

\(\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{a-?-uc-n-?}}\) (continuative)

\(s-\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{ayu-?}}\) 'net'

\(s\chi^w\text{óyə} 'reef net' Sk\)

\(s\chi^w\text{álo} 'reef net' Sg Sn\)

\(s\chi^w\text{ólə} 'reef net' Lm\)

swółtən 'net' (generic) Cw Ms

swółtəl 'net' (generic) Ch

\(\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{'to leak'}}\)

\(\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{i-\chi^w}}\) (descriptive)

\(\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{e-?-\chi^w}}\) (continuative)

\(/s-\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{asəm-iič}}\) 'soapberry' (*Shepherdia canadensis*)

(PS) \(\text{*\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{us}} 'to foam'}}\)

\(s\chi^w\text{'esəm 'soapberry' Nst}\)

\(s\chi^w\text{'esəm 'soapberry' Cw Ms}\)

\(s\chi^w\text{'wsəm 'soapberry' Ch}\)

\(\chi^w\text{'os 'be fat' Sq}\)

\(\chi^w\text{'ús-um 'prepare soapberries' Sq}\)

\(s\chi^w\text{asb 'soapberry' Pg}\)

\(\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{us 'foam'} Sh}\)

\(s-\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{úsəm 'soapberry'} CdA}\)

\(/s-\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{axwun-}}\) 'rufous-sided towhee' (*Pipilo erythrophthalmus*)

\(/s-\sqrt[\chi^w]{\text{a?i}}\) 'night toilet'
/χʷočt/ 'bullhead (unidentified)'
  + sxʷiʔač 'fish similar but larger than a bullhead' Sq

/χʷn/- 'to weep'
  /χʷn-?/ (descriptive)
  /χʷ-oʔ-әn-?/ (continuative)
  /χʷ-a-χʷn-?/ 'spoiled child'
    + χʷa- 'to cry' Sk
    χʷon 'cry' Sk Lm
    χʷan 'cry' Sg Sn
    xe'm 'cry' Cw Ms
    xe'm 'cry' Ch
    xəhm 'cry' Sq

/χʷqʷ/- 'to rub'
  /χʷ-i-qʷ/ (descriptive)
  /χʷ-eʔ-qʷ/ (continuative)
  + s-χʷə-χʷqʷičn 'spider' Sq
    s-χʷqʷičn 'net, spider' Sq

/χʷqʷ/-
  /χʷ-ay-qʷ/- 'to drift, (descriptive)'
  /χʷ-oʔ-ʔqʷ-eʔ/- 'to drift, (continuative)'
  /χʷ-oʔ-χʷ-ay-ʔqʷ/ 'drift unintentionally'

/χʷ-u-ʔqʷ-a-t/ 'to pole, (action)'
/χʷ-u-ʔqʷ-ən/ 'to pole, (process)'
/χʷ-u-ʔ-η-ət/ 'paddle'
    + χʷəʔət 'paddle' Sk
    sxʷọʔwən 'pole' Cw Ms
    sxʷọʔwəl 'pole' Ch
    s-χʷúqʷ-tn 'canoe pole' Sq
    χʷúqʷ-cut 'to pole up (in a canoe)' Sq
    χʷääqʷ 'grind meal' CdA
/yanuwəs/ 'heart'

/s-xʷ-yayixamus/ 'red dragonfly' (Plathemis lybia)

/yəčt/ 'arrow'
  + ióčt 'arrow' Sk

*/yc/
  /yəc-us/ 'to tell, (descriptive)'
  /y-a-ʔ-c-us/ 'to tell, (continuative)'
  + iós- 'tell, report' Sk
  ióč-m 'tell, report' Sq
  s-ióč-m 'news report, information' Sq

/?/čy-/ 'to yell'
  /č-i-ʔ-y-eʔ-ʔ-/ (descriptive)
  /č-a-ʔ-y-eʔ-ʔ-/ (continuative)
  + /cú 'say, tell' Sq
  *cú 'to say, tell' Kl
  cun 'point, show' CdA

/yčə-/ 'to fill'
  /yčə-/ (descriptive)
  /yəč-/ (continuative)
  /ʔəs-y-a-č-ʔ/ (stative)
  + ʔəsλέčət 'full' Sg
  slé'ət 'full' Sn
  ʔəsλέčət 'full' Lm
/səlìč/ 'fill' Cw Ms
/səlìč/ 'fill' Ch
jač 'be full' Sq
s-i-ìč 'full' Sq

/ye?xa?m-iìč/ 'Hood Canal blue huckleberry' (Vaccinium spp.)

/ye?/ 'far'

*xóta 'far' Sq

*/yó/. 'to fall down'
/č-a-ó/ (descriptive)
/č-a-ʔ-ʔ-yó/ (continuative)
/s-č-a-ó-s/ (nominal)

+ iaj 'fall down' Sq

/yuk/ 'oldest (child)'

*/(ʔ)yw/ 'outer surface'
/yəkʷ-ʔ/ 'rib'

+ lókʷəx 'rib' Sg Sn
lókʷx 'rib' Sm
lówóx 'rib' Cw Ms
lwóx 'rib' Ch
lə̱x 'rib' Sq

/s-ʔw-ʔ/ 'cedar bark'

+ čiʔun 'dance a power dance' Sk
slówóy 'cedar bark' (inner) Cw Ms
slówóy 'cedar bark' (inner) Ch
slóuai? 'cedar bark' Sq
/yəʔ(ʔ) 'spiritual power' Sq
/š-č-i-kʷ-s/ 'right arm/hand'
+ šeyiw's 'right(side)' Cw Ms
šeyiús 'right(side)' Ch
čih 'right(hand)' CDA
čiy 'right(side)' CDA

/s?i?ikʷ-t/ 'outer surface (of an object)'
/s?iyukʷ-t/ 'canoe sides'
/s?iyukʷ-t/ 'load in a canoe'

/čkʷ-/- 'sting; shoot, hunt'
/čkʷ-u-/- 'sting' (descriptive)
/č-ə?()-kʷ-u-/- 'sting' (continuative)
/čkʷ-əyu?/- 'hunt, shoot' (descriptive)
/č-ə?()-kʷ-əyu?/- 'hunt, shoot' (continuative)
/?əs-č-u-?()-u-kʷ/- 'wounded'
+ kʷóləšt 'shoot' Cw
kʷóləxṭ 'shoot' Ms
kʷələxṭ 'shoot' Ch
čhé'wə 'hunt' Cw Ms Ch
kʷóləš 'shoot, sting' Sq

/*yx/ 'to spear something'
/čə-yx-/ (descriptive)
/čə-y-?()-x-/ (continuative)
/?yəč-t/ 'arrow'

/yxʷ-/- 'to untie, unwrap' (cf. /xʷy-/-)
(PS) *yəɣ 'tie, tight'
/yxʷ-a?-nəxʷ/ (descriptive)
/yxʷ-a?-s/ (continuative)