

Salish words for ‘black bear’ and ‘grizzly bear’¹

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Salish languages show a wide variety of names for ‘black bear’ and ‘grizzly bear.’ A number of these are doubtless of great antiquity and some of them may go back to Proto-Salish. However, reconstruction of the proto-forms seems problematic in light of inter-Salish and extra-Salish borrowing and of what appears to be rather massive taboo-driven lexical replacement.

1 Introduction

The homeland of the Salish-speaking people, which stretches from southern British Columbia into northern Washington, Idaho and Montana, and formerly also into part of the Oregon coastal area, falls within the range of two types of bear that are native to north America, the black bear (*Ursus americanus*) and the grizzly bear (*Ursus arctos horribilis*). In this article, we list the names of these bears in those Salish languages for which they have been recorded, and we try to trace their etymological history.

2 Individual languages

In this section, the words for ‘black bear’ and ‘grizzly bear’ are listed for each language, and, where applicable, for individual dialects. Dialects are indicated with a long dash under their respective languages. However, in the case of Kalispel and Flathead (listed under Spokane), the long dash indicates that these linguistic entities are part of a dialect continuum with Spokane, and not dialects of Spokane. Comments on details and provenance of the various forms are given in sections 3-5. In the table on pp. 2-3, words in the Amerindianist Phonetic Alphabet (APA) are sans-serif and roman, while the pre-APA forms are serif and roman. In the running text, however, APA words are serif and roman, while the pre-APA forms are serif and italic. Forms in the Amerindianist transcription are standardized and may in that respect deviate from the way in which they are transcribed in the original sources. (For example, the voiceless uvular fricative is written *χ*, also where the original

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source has x. Prefixes are marked with a following period, and suffixes with a preceding hyphen.)

<u>Language</u>	<u>Black Bear</u>	<u>Grizzly Bear</u>
Bella Coola	ʕa	nan
Comox		
—Sliammon	míʕaʔ	
—Island	míʕaʔ	ʕáwgas
Pentlatch	sʕʷəsəlqin	ʕáywas
Sechelt	s.čəʔxʷn	(1) máyukʷ (2) xaū'gyas, xaū'g'as
Squamish	míʕaʔ	(1) sʕəʔálm (2) s.kʷí-ʔačn (3) s.kʷíyəcən (spirit power name)
Halkomelem		
—Upriver	s.pé:θ	(1) ʕəyʕ'él's (2) kʷí:cəl
—Musqueam	s.péʔeθ	kʷ'əy-əcən
—Nanaimo		k'ə'yētsin
—Cowichan	s.péʔeθ	kʷ'əy-əcən
Nooksack	s.páʔac	(1) kʷíyačín, kʷíyíčín (2) q'əyíčən
Northern Straits		
—Songish	(1) s.péʔes (2) s.čəʔxʷʌn	k'ə'yētcin
—Lummi	s.čəʔxʷən	q'əy-əcən
—Saanich	nəqíx s.peʔəθ	kʷəyečən
—Samish	s.péʔes	kʷ'əyəcən '(mountain) lion'
Klallam	s.čkʷáy(ə)c	(1) kʷəyéʔčən (2) kʷəy-əc
Lushootseed		
—Skagit	s.páʔc	s.təbtábəl
—Snohomish	s.čəʔxʷəd	s.təbtábəl
—Southern	s.čəʔxʷəd	s.čátqʔəb
Twana	číʔwəʔ	s.čátqʔəb
Quinault	s.čəʔxʷən	
Lower Chehalis	čəʔxʷəh	xai.gō's 'lynx'

Upper Chehalis		
—Oakville	s.čátxʷh	(1) s.máə̃ (2) s.čátqʰm̄ (3) ʒiwóʔs ‘bobcat’
—Satsop	.stciʰtEhwun	
—Tenino	k·tʰʷun	χeʰwʷs
Cowlitz	s.čátxʷh	(1) wítaš (2) .sméʰc
Tillamook-Siletz		
Lillooet	míʒaʰ	s.ʒaʰáləm
Shuswap	(1) kn-keknm (2) s.kʷl-eqs	(1) s.km̄xís (2) kəknm-eʰp (taboo name for s.km̄xís) (3) s.t.kʷy-kʷəy ‘silvertip grizzly’
Thompson	s.péʔec	(1) səxʷ-súxʷ (2) s.t.kʷikʷy-éytxʷ ‘silvertip grizzly’
Columbian	míʒaʰ	s.təm̄táməl
Okanagan	s.kmxist	s.mǎ-ikh̄
Spokane	n.ʰám-qeʔ	s.mǎ-éy-čn
—Kalispel	n.ʰám-qeʔ	s.əm̄xéʔičən
—Flathead	n.ʰám-qeʔ	s.əm̄xé
Coeur d’Alene	n.ʰámqeʔ	s.maʒiʔčn

3 Comments

Comments are given for each language that is listed in section 2, in the order given there.

The Bella Coola (Nuxalk) data are from Nater 1977 and Nater 1990. As is indicated in the 1977 source, both ʒa and nan are borrowings from (northern) Wakashan (cf. Heiltsuk ʒa and nán). Peter Jacobs (p.c.) informs me that nan is the ceremonial rather than the colloquial form for ‘grizzly bear’ in Kwak’wala. Lincoln and Rath 1980 do indeed list a second root, gla-, for ‘grizzly bear’ in Northern Wakashan, but do not indicate whether this form, or nan, is the ceremonial or colloquial form.

The Comox data are from Kinkade 1991a, with the Sliammon form provided by John Davis, and the Island forms by Jan Timmers. The form míʒaʰ for ‘black bear’ is also attested for Squamish, Lillooet and Columbian, and is one of the two forms reconstructed by Kinkade for Proto-Salish, as *míʒaʰ. The form ʒáwgas is also attested (with variations) for Pentlatch, Sechelt, Lower

Chehalis, and the Oakville and Tenino dialects of Upper Chehalis. It goes back to one of the two forms reconstructed by Kinkade for Proto-Salish, as *ǰáywús.

The Pentlatch forms are kindly provided to me by Brent Galloway, while ǰáywas for ‘grizzly bear’ is also in Kinkade 1991a and is his retranscription of two earlier transcriptions by Boas (both provided by Kinkade). The form sǰwəsólqin for ‘black bear’ is unique to Pentlatch (although related to the Squamish word for ‘mountain goat,’ see below), but ǰáywas is related to forms in Comox, Sechelt, Lower Chehalis, and two dialects of Upper Chehalis (see preceding paragraph).

The Sechelt forms s.čǰ tx^wnand máyuk^w are from Timmers 1977, while *xaiǰ’gyas* and *xaiǰ’g-as* are from Kinkade 1991a, who credits a source indicated as ‘CV.’ The form s.čǰ tx^wn is also attested in the Songish and Lummi dialects of Northern Straits, in the Snohomish dialect of Lushootseed and the southern dialects of that language, and in Quinault, Lower Chehalis, Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz. The form máyuk^w is unique to Sechelt. For *xaiǰ’gyas* and *xaiǰ’g-as* and their cognates and Proto-Salish form see the section on Comox above.

The source of Squamish míǰal and sǰǰálám is Kuipers 1967, while s.k^wǰ-ǰačn is from Kuipers 1969 and commented on there as a ‘rarer synonym of sǰǰálálám.’ The form s.k^wǰyǰəčən is from Kinkade 1991a and provided to him by Bouchard and Kennedy. For the cognates and proto-form of míǰal see the section on Comox above. The form sǰǰálálám is also attested for Lillooet. The forms s.k^wǰ-ǰačn and s.k^wǰyǰəčən are also attested for Halkomelem (various dialects), Nooksack, Northern Straits (various dialects), Klallam, Shuswap and Thompson. Peter Jacobs has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that Squamish also has the form síǰ-sinǰ (literally ‘eldest sibling’) for grizzly bear, obviously a taboo term. (Kuipers 1967:304 mentions this term as well, but without the translation ‘eldest sibling,’ and with the stress unmarked.) Jacobs also informs me that the Pentlatch form for ‘black bear’ (sǰwəsólqin) is related to the Squamish word for ‘mountain goat,’ s.ǰ^wu-ǰ^wsól-ǰn (also listed in Kuipers 1967:371, without the nominalizer s and derived from ǰ^wəs ‘be fat’). Interestingly, Steve Egesdal informs me that among the Flathead “only the most spiritually able men would hunt grizzly (or mountain goat)” (e-mail, 13-04-2009), providing a grizzly/mountain goat relation that parallels the black bear/mountain goat relation in Squamish/Pentlatch.

The Upriver Halkomelem forms are from Galloway 2009. The form s.pé:θ for ‘black bear’ is also attested for the Musqueam and Cowichan dialects, for the Songish, Saanich and Samish dialects of Northern Straits, for the Skagit dialect of Lushootseed, for Nooksack and for Thompson. The form ǰəyǰéls for ‘grizzly bear’ seems to be limited to Upriver Halkomelem, while k^wtcəl is related to other Halkomelem dialects and to the languages listed in the Squamish section above. Galloway also lists s.ǰǰ:ylmət and s.ǰǰ:ylmət for respectively ‘male black bear with white chest spot’ and ‘female black bear with white chest spot,’ c.k^wím s.pé:θ or c.k^wím-ǰqəl s.pé:θ for ‘brown bear,’ cǰəwəy:ləs for ‘brown bear with a white chest,’ yǰq^w-íl-mət or s.yǰq^w-íl-mət^w for ‘male grizzly bear’ and yǰq^w-íl-mət-ǰlèt for ‘female grizzly bear,’ but none of these seem to

have etymological relations with any of the forms for ‘black bear’ or ‘grizzly bear’ in the other Salish languages.

The Musqueam and Cowichan forms for ‘black bear’ are from Kuipers 2002. For their etyma elsewhere see the note on Upriver Halkomelem above. The Musqueam, Nanaimo and Cowichan forms for ‘grizzly’ are all from Kinkade 1991a, with the original sources given there. All three forms are related to Squamish s.k^wíʔačn and the etyma referenced there.

The Nooksack forms s.páʔac and k^wíyačín, k^wíyíčín are from Galloway 2008, while q̣^wəyíčən for ‘grizzly bear’ is from Kinkade 1991a. The form s.páʔac is related to the etyma referenced under Upriver Halkomelem, while k^wíyačín, k^wíyíčín and q̣^wəyíčən are related to Squamish s.k^wíʔačn and s.k^wíyəcən and their cognates. The presence of q̣^w instead of k^w in q̣^wəyíčən is puzzling (as it is in the Lummi form).

As for Northern Straits, the Songish form spēʔes for ‘black bear’ is from Kuipers 2002, while s.čét^xwʌn (and k^oʔyētcin for ‘grizzly’) are from Kinkade 1991a, which is also the source of the Lummi forms for both bears. The Saanich forms are from Montler 1991 (the word nəqíx̣ in Saanich nəqíx̣ s.peʔəθ means ‘black’), and the Samish forms from Galloway 1990. The Songish form s.péʔes and its Saanich and Samish cognates are related to the etyma listed under Upriver Halkomelem, while Songish s.čét^xwʌn and Lummi s.čét^xwən are related to the cognates given in the Sechelt section. The forms for ‘grizzly bear’ in all four Northern Straits dialects are related to the cognates in the Squamish section, with unexpected q̣^w in the Lummi form (see also Nooksack above). The semantic shift in Samish from ‘grizzly’ to ‘(mountain) lion’ is similar to the shift to ‘lynx’ in Lower Chehalis and to ‘bobcat’ in one form in the Oakville dialect of Upper Chehalis.

The Klallam forms s.čk^wáy(ə)c and k^wəyéʔčən are from Montler 2000, while k^wəy-əč is from Kinkade 1991a (who credits ‘MSF’). The form s.čk^wáy(ə)c for ‘black bear’ does not seem to have cognates in other Salish languages, while the two forms for ‘grizzly bear’ are attested for in the languages given in the Squamish section above.

The source of all Lushootseed forms given above is Hess 1976. The Skagit form s.páʔc for ‘black bear’ is also attested for Upriver Halkomelem and the languages listed in that section, while s.čə tx^wəd is related to Sechelt and the languages listed there. The form s.təbtáʔəl for ‘grizzly bear’ is also attested for Columbian, while s.čátqʔəb has cognates in Twana and the Oakville dialect of Upper Chehalis.

The Twana forms were kindly provided to me by Nile Thompson. The form cīʔwəl for ‘black bear’ seems to have no cognates in Salish, while s.čátqʔəb has reflexes in Southern Lushootseed and the Oakville dialect of Upper Chehalis.

The Quinalt form for ‘black bear’ is from Kinkade 1991a (who credits ‘JAG,’ i.e., Gibson 1964). It is related to the Sechelt form and further cognates listed there. At this point I do not have the Quinalt form for ‘grizzly bear.’

Kinkade 1991a is also the source for the Lower Chehalis items. The form for ‘black bear’ is related to the Sechelt form and to etyma in the languages

listed there, while *xai.gō's* 'grizzly bear' (with a semantic shift to 'lynx') is related to Island Comox and forms in the languages listed there.

The Upper Chehalis forms are all from Kinkade 1991a and 1991b.

The forms for 'black bear' are all related to each other (with the Tenino dialect maintaining the original *k) and to forms in the languages listed in the Sechelt section. Of the forms for 'grizzly,' the Oakville form *s.mōš* is related to in Cowlitz *.smē'c*, while *s.čátqlm* is related to forms in Southern Lushootseed and Twana, and *xiwóʔs* (with a semantic shift to 'bobcat') and Tenino *χé'wv's* are related to Comox *ǰáwgas* and the etyma referenced there.

The Cowlitz forms are all from Kinkade 1991a and 2004. The form *s.čó txʷn* for 'black bear' is related to Sechelt *s.čó txʷn* and to the other forms referenced there. Of the forms for 'grizzly,' *wít'as* does not seem to have any Salish etyma, while *.smē'c* is related to Upper Chehalis (Oakville dialect) *s.mōš*

At this point in time I do not have access to any Tillamook-Siletz forms. Since Kinkade 1991a does not list them, we may presume that, whatever they are, they do not go back to any of the Proto-Salish forms that Kinkade reconstructs.

The Lillooet forms are from my own research. The form *míxal* for 'black bear' is related to the Comox, Squamish and Columbian forms, while *s.ǰaláləm* for 'grizzly' is unique to Squamish and Lillooet.

The Shuswap forms are from Kuipers 1974. The form *kn-keknm* for 'black bear' is unique to Shuswap, though possibly related to *ken-m* 'to do what/something' (as noted by Kuipers) and in that case probably originally used as an evasive taboo term. It is also related to *keknm-elp*, the taboo term for 'grizzly,' which Kuipers notes as recorded for the Deadman's Creek dialect. The form *s-kʷl-eqs* translated as 'brown bear' (a type of black bear) and recorded for Deadman's Creek and Kamloops only. Kuipers analyzes this form as derived from $\sqrt{k}^{w'al}$ 'yellow, green' (and *-eqs* presumably 'animal skin (?),' Kuipers 1974:67), the meaning 'yellow' obviously referring to the light brown (cinnamon) colour of this bear's fur. Kuipers also notes that the full form is the origin of the place name Squilax (for which also see Akrigg and Akrigg 1986:286). The form *skmǰís* is related to the Okanagan word for 'black bear,' *s.kmǰist*, while *s.t.kʷy-kʷey* is related to Squamish *s.kʷíʔačn* and etyma in the languages listed there.

The Thompson forms are from Thompson and Thompson 1996. The form *s-péʔec* for 'black bear' is related to Upriver Halkomelem and etyma referenced there, while *s.t.kʷikʷyéytxʷ* for 'silvertip grizzly' has cognates referenced in the Squamish section. The form *səxʷ-súxʷ* is unique to Thompson and is tentatively linked by Thompson and Thompson to $\sqrt{súxʷ}$ 'secret/mysterious.'

Of the Columbian forms (both from Kinkade 1981), *míxal* is related to Comox and etyma referenced in that section, while *s.təmítáməl* is related to Skagit and Snohomish *s.təbtáβəl*.

The Okanagan forms are both from Mattina 1987, with *s.kmǰist* being related to Shuswap *s.kmǰís* 'grizzly,' and *s.mǰ-ikn* to forms in Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead, and Coeur d'Alene. Mattina 1987:314 also lists *kiʔlávnaʔ*

for ‘male grizzly bear,’ the source of the name of the town Kelowna. It does not seem to have etyma in other Salish languages, although (as mentioned to me by John Lyon) it may be related to the Kutenai form for ‘grizzly bear,’ which Boas 1918:364 lists as *kláwla*.

The source of the Spokane forms is Carlson and Flett 1989, while the Kalispel forms are from Vogt 1940, and the Flathead forms for ‘black bear’ and ‘grizzly’ are from Rockwell 2008 and Flathead Culture Committee 1977 respectively. The Spokane and Kalispel forms for ‘black bear’ are related to Coeur d’Alene, while the forms for ‘grizzly’ in these dialects, and in Flathead, are related to Okanagan, and to Coeur d’Alene.

The Coeur d’Alene forms are retranscribed from Reichard 1939. The form for ‘black bear’ is related to the Spokane and Kalispel forms, while the form for ‘grizzly’ is also attested for Okanagan and Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead.

4 Etymologies and diffusion

As the data in section 2, and their discussion in section 3, indicate, there is a bewildering variety of forms for the two types of bear in Salish, with a rather large number being limited to just one or two languages. Two factors account for this variety: (1) borrowing, and (2) taboo replacement. As for the first factor, the Bella Coola forms are obviously borrowed from Wakashan (as mentioned in section 3) and they can immediately be excused from any attempt to include them in the Proto-Salish reconstruction of the forms for ‘black bear’ and ‘grizzly.’ As for the second factor, Shuswap *kəknm-ɛp* and Squamish *síʔ-sinʔ* are explicitly recognized as taboo terms for ‘grizzly,’ while *kn-keknm* for ‘black bear’ probably also falls in that category. There are also many cases where it is not clear which of the two factors apply. For example, if Squamish *sʔəlálm* and Lillooet *s.ʔaláləm* do not go back to a Proto-Salish form that is now lost in the other languages, are they borrowed from a now lost substratum or do they go back to a now irtraceable taboo form? Reconstructing the Proto-Salish forms for ‘black bear’ and grizzly bear’ seems therefore a rather daunting undertaking.

Nevertheless, and as indicated in section 3, Kinkade 1991a reconstructs two forms for each type of bear. We will discuss them here in turn.

For one of the forms of ‘black bear’ Kinkade sets up **míxal*, attested for both dialects of Comox, and for Squamish, Lillooet and Columbian. Kuipers 2002:70 concurs in reconstructing **míxal*, but also points out a possible connection to the Okanagan, Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead and Coeur d’Alene forms for ‘grizzly,’ with reference to (Colville) Okanagan *vmx̄* ‘to stoop.’ The Okanagan etc. forms then would refer to the grizzly’s head being lowered in relation to the hump on its back (*-ikn̄*, *-éy-čn̄*, etc.). In the case of the black bear the lowering is less pronounced but still noticeable. With regard to the possible connection between bear names and ‘stooping,’ Kuipers also mentions Squamish *(ʔə)sqʷúqʷus* ‘sneak, have head lowered between shoulders’ and *qʷúqʷusam* ‘porcupine.’

Kuipers's suggestion is also supported by the fact that *al* in *míxal* may be an old suffix, possibly related to *-əlp* in Shuswap *kəknm-əlp* or to the Lillooet 'compound connector' *-əl-* in, for example, *ləp-əl-kʷúnaʔ* 'buried (and cured) salmon eggs' (*√ləp-* to bury; *kʷúnaʔ* 'salmon eggs'). However, if **míxal* does refer to the stooped profile of the black bear, we would have a description of its appearance that is characteristic of taboo terms, and as such **míxal* is probably not the earliest Proto-Salish form for 'black bear.' (In the same way, Okanagan *s.m̄x-ik̄n* 'grizzly' and its Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead and Coeur d'Alene cognates, are probably also taboo terms.)

Finally, Kinkade (1995:34) suggests that *míxal* may be a loan from Lillooet into Comox and Squamish, rather than be a Proto-Salish form, and he comments that "The fact that both Lillooet and Columbian have cognates here suggests that the form is old in Interior Salish."

The other Proto-Salish form reconstructed by Kinkade for 'black bear' is **s.kə́txʷaṅ* with **s.čə́txʷənas* as the Proto-Central Salish form, attested for Sechelt, the Songish and Lummi dialects of Northern Straits, and Snohomish and the southern dialects of Lushootseed, and **s.kə́txʷaṅ* (identical to the Proto-Salish form) as the Proto-Tsamosan Salish form, attested for all languages in that branch, viz., Quinault, Lower Chehalis, Upper Chehalis, and Cowlitz. Kuipers 2002:140 reconstructs **s.kə́txʷn* as the Proto-Coast-Salish form, but lists only the Sechelt, Lushootseed and (Oakville) Upper Chehalis forms.

There seems to be a minor problem with the Songish form *s.čə́txʷaṅ* in that it is the only one that has a glottalized *t* instead of plain *t*. However, as Kuipers (2002:237) points out, Mitchell 1968, which is the source of this item, contains some possible recording errors, and this is doubtless one of them.

A more serious problem with **s.kə́txʷaṅ* (**s.kə́txʷn*) is that it is only attested for the Coast and Tsamosan branches of Salish. The linguistic difference between these two branches (and their probable difference in time depth) is indeed substantial, but their geographic contiguity, plus the fact that both fall within the Northwest Coast culture area (Driver 1969:570, Map 2) makes diffusion a strong possibility, and therefore calls reconstruction of **s.kə́txʷaṅ* (**s.kə́txʷn*) as the proto-form for all of Salish into question.

The first Proto-Salish form reconstructed by Kinkade for 'grizzly bear' is **x̣aywús*, attested for Island Comox, Pentlatch, as an older form for Sechelt, for Lower Chehalis (where it means 'lynx'), one form in Oakville Upper Chehalis (where it means 'bobcat'), and Tenino Upper Chehalis. Kuipers 2002, however, does not have this or a similar reconstruction for 'grizzly bear,' and it is indeed a matter of Salish etymological concern that this item, like **s.kə́txʷaṅ* and its reflexes, is limited to the Coast Salish and Tsamosan branches.

Kinkade reconstructs **kʷayá* as the second Proto-Salish form for 'grizzly bear,' attested for Squamish, all dialects of Halkomelem, Nooksack, all dialects of Northern Straits, Klallam, Shuswap and Thompson. However, Kinkade gives this form a question mark, and this reconstruction is indeed problematic in that it competes with an alternate form given in Kuipers 2002:51, viz., **kʷəy* 'frosty, grizzly.' This reconstruction, and certainly its two-fold meaning, makes eminent sense in that in most cases where reflexes of **kʷəy* are

attested in terms for the grizzly, they combine with the suffix for ‘back’ (*-ik(n) in Kuipers 2002:204), the entire complex then referring to the fact that “Grizzlies often show a whitish wash over the shoulders, which is rare in black bears” (Cowan and Guiguet n.d.:290). Where the suffix for ‘back’ is lacking, viz., in the third Shuswap form and the second Thompson form, the form refers to ‘silvertip grizzly,’ i.e., whitish hairtips which are found in a number of grizzlies and gives them the appearance from which they derive their name (cf. Cowan and Guiguet n.d.:295).

If the forms that Kinkade lists under *kʷayá indeed go back to *kʷəy (instead of *kʷayá) and as such refer to the appearance of the grizzly (i.e., either its over-all grizzly-whitish appearance, or the white wash over its shoulders), these forms too, like s.m̄x-ik̄i in Okanagan, are probably taboo forms and as such unlikely candidates for Proto-Salish provenance.

As is noted above, the second Nooksack form and the Lummi form for ‘grizzly’ have ǰʷ where the other dialects and languages have kʷ (in those forms that derive from *kʷayá or *kʷəy). The presence of ǰʷ could be due to misrecordings, but the fact that the Nooksack form was recorded by Laurence Thompson and the Lummi form by Melville Jacobs (identified as ‘LCT’ and ‘MJ’ by Kinkade) makes this unlikely. Salish velar-uvular correspondences, though rare, do occur (as in *x/ǰam ‘dry,’ Kuipers 2002:118). It is also quite well possible that the forms with ǰʷ are old borrowings from those dialects that have kʷ, with the latter misheard as ǰʷ. In this connection one may think of Lillooet kʷúnaʔ ‘salmon roe’ and cognates in Upriver Halkomelem, Lower Chehalis, Thompson and Shuswap, with Lillooet and Upriver Halkomelem showing kʷ and the others ǰʷ (for details see Kinkade 1995:44). These forms are likely borrowed from Athapaskan ǰu:nʔ ‘roe’ (Krauss 1985:485), with now extinct Nicola being the most probable source.

In addition to the two proto-forms for ‘bear’ given by Kinkade, Kuipers 2002:222 also reconstructs *s.paʔc as the proto-form for the items in Halkomelem, Songish, Saanich, Samish, Skagit and Thompson (under ‘Local Coast Salish, Lillooet, Thompson Elements’). Kinkade 1995:35 lists this item as a borrowing from Coast Salish into Thompson, through Chilliwack (Upriver) Halkomelem.

Kuipers 2002:225 reconstructs *sʷəlm for the shared Squamish-Lillooet term for ‘grizzly’ (also under ‘Local Coast Salish, Lillooet, Thompson Elements’). Kinkade 1995:40 lists this item as a borrowing between these two languages, with the direction of the borrowing being unclear. Kuipers 1967:291 suggests a possible connection between the Squamish item and ʷl̄al, l̄al ‘food, livelihood; breath,’ or (less probable, according to Kuipers) s.ʷəl̄qm ‘monster.’ If either of these connections holds, Squamish must be the source of this shared Squamish-Lillooet item, since Lillooet has no plausible internal etyma that would parallel those in Squamish.

Kuipers also notes that ʷl̄al always has the shape l̄al-m when it occurs as a suffix. This leaves open the intriguing possibility that the element ʷəlm in sʷəlm is a borrowing from Wakashan (as in Bella Coola), the whole complex then meaning something like ‘food from a bear,’ used as a hunter’s taboo.

Kinkade 1995:41 classes the Skagit and Snohomish term for ‘grizzly bear,’ s.tə̀tábəl and its Columbian counterpart s.tə̀ntáməl as a borrowing between these two languages, with the direction of the borrowing being unclear. It is quite well possible that the common ancestor of both forms goes back to Proto-Salish *s-tam ‘what?, something’ (Kuipers 2002:104), in which case we would have yet another taboo term.

There are also items that are shared between contiguous languages and that are not commented on by Kinkade or Kuipers, because these items are clearly local developments and cannot be plausibly reconstructed for Proto-Salish, nor are they examples of the type of transmontane borrowing that is discussed in Kinkade 1995.

In the first place, there is Southern Lushootseed s.čátqləb which has cognates in Twana and in the Oakville dialect of Upper Chehalis. The etymology of this item is unclear.

Another item is Oakville Upper Chehalis s.məʃ which is related to Cowlitz .smé ‘c, the latter recorded by Boas and obviously phonetically identical or near-identical to the Oakville form. No etymological history can be established for this pair.

Shuswap s.km̄xís for ‘grizzly’ is related to Okanagan s.km̄xíst for ‘black bear,’ as noted above. Again, the etymological history of these items is unclear.

The element qeʔ in Spokane-Kalispel n.lám-qeʔ and Coeur d’Alene n.lámqeʔ for ‘black bear’ may be an old suffix for ‘head’ (cf. Proto-Salish -qin, Kuipers 2002:208), but beyond this highly speculative possibility nothing else is clear etymologically.

For Okanagan s.m̄x-ikn̄ ‘grizzly’ and its counterparts in Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead and Coeur d’Alene see the discussion above, under s.m̄x-ikn̄.

The remaining forms, such as Sechelt máyuk^w or Twana c̄iʔwəl are limited to one language each, and their etymological history is at this moment untraceable or, as in the case of Shuswap s-k^{wl}-eqs, the etymology is strictly language-internal.

5 Conclusions

A few concluding remarks are in order on the multitude of terms for ‘black bear’ and ‘grizzly.’ In the first place, and as observed repeatedly above, this rich variety is probably largely due to taboo replacement. In this connection one may mention the replacement of Proto-Indo-European **arktos* ‘bear’ with terms that either mean ‘brown’ (e.g., English *bear*) or ‘honey-eater’ (Russian *medvedʹ*) in a number of its daughter languages (Arlotto 1972:201). Such taboo forms are either evasive, as in Shuswap kn-keknm or (probably) Columbian s.tə̀ntáməl and its Skagit and Snohomish cognates, or they are descriptive, like Okanagan s.m̄x-ikn̄ and its Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead and Coeur d’Alene cognates. Borrowings such as the Bella Coola forms λ̄a and nan may also be taboo-driven.

In the second place, and as Steve Egesdal (p.c.) points out correctly, there is no reason why black bears and grizzlies need to be treated together in an article like this, in spite of their obvious similarity and their close biological relationship. After all, from a traditional Salish cosmological and taxonomical view, they are probably not more closely related than say, coyotes and wolves, of which the former hold a much more prominent place in (Interior) Salish cosmology and mythology. In the same way, grizzlies are generally credited with greater spiritual power than black bears, and their awesome strength is universally recognized and respected. As Teit remarks with regard to the Thompson (Nlaka'pamux), "To kill black bear or cougar was considered no great feat; but the hunter who had killed, single-handed, grisly and especially silver-tip bear, was highly respected for his courage; and for this reason many young men hunted the grisly" (Teit 1900:249). There is of course, some lexical overlap between black bears and grizzlies, as shown by Okanagan s.kmxist and Shuswap s.km̓xís, Shuswap kn-kek̓nm and kək̓nm-ɛlp and possibly Comox (Squamish, Lillooet, Columbian) m̓x̌aɫ and Okanagan s.m̓x̌-ik̓n̓ (plus cognates in Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead and Coeur d'Alene). However, this argument loses strength in light of the fact that the Samish, Lower Chehalis and one of the Oakville Upper Chehalis terms for grizzly refer to various felines, proving that there is no pre-established lexical link between terms for black bear and grizzly. It is precisely the point of this article to show that such a link does not exist, and that what the terms for black bear and grizzly have in common is actually a complex pattern of lexical divergences, due to borrowing from a non-Salish source or, perhaps, a now lost non-Salish substratum, with new formations, probably as a result of tabooing, also playing a major role in the rich variety of terms for these two animals.

6 Dedication

This paper is dedicated to Brent Galloway, on the occasion of his retirement from First Nations University of Canada, after many years of service to the study and preservation of Salish languages, and to honour the recent publication of his massive two-volume dictionary of Upriver Halkomelem. I hope that my paper reflects at least some of Brent's unstinting commitment to scrupulous scholarship and meticulous linguistic analysis. Where I have faltered in my paper, I have done so on my own accord, but where I have succeeded it is because I have been led by Brent's inspiring example.

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