

SOUND SYMBOLIC WORDS IN SÉLIŠ-QL'ISPÉ

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Pre-publication copy; published 2023, in Darya Kavitskaya and Alan C.L. Yu, eds., *The life cycle of language: past, present, and future* (a Festschrift for Andrew Garrett), 173-197. Oxford University Press.

1. Introduction.

This paper is an analysis of sound-symbolic words in Séliš-QL'ispé (also known as Montana Salish, formerly known as Salish-Pend d'Oreille and, earlier, as Flathead), with a special focus on words with the shape $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$, a formation that is apparently shared by just one sister dialect (Spokane) but not by any other Salishan languages.* The great majority of the language's sound-symbolic constructions are onomatopoeic (noise) words ('snap', 'crackle', 'pop', 'gurgle', etc.). But a few represent now-you-see-it-now-you-don't sights, e.g. 'twinkle', and a few others represent particular kinds of movements. Examples of the various types are *c'ossss* 'the sound of a rattlesnake rattling', *mal'lvl'* 'a gurgling noise, as from bubbles', *p'aqqqq'* 'a bunch of little moving lights, for instance the sequins on a jingle-dress', and *x^wállll* 'shaking, shivering'.

My topic in this paper is whole sound-symbolic words, not sound symbolism in the form of phonological distortion for affect, as discussed, for instance, in most of the papers in Hinton et al., eds., 1994. Séliš-QL'ispé does also have affective sound symbolism, most regularly in diminutive constructions, which feature glottalization of most non-prefixal and non-inflectional resonant consonants (see Thomason forthcoming for details, and see Nichols 1971 for discussion of comparable features in other western Native North American languages). But these and other affective phonological distortions are unconnected to the sound-symbolic words discussed below.

The first thing that needs to be said about Séliš-QL'ispé (S-Q) sound-symbolic words, unfortunately, is that it isn't always easy to identify them with confidence. Two formations, $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ and total-reduplication words, are exclusively sound-symbolic.

But two other constructions, ‘plain’ sound-symbolic words and words with C(V)C reduplication plus the suffix *-ilš*, are used to form non-sound-symbolic as well as sound-symbolic words. In such formations, distinguishing sound-symbolic words per se from words for (for instance) a noise-making action sometimes seems to be impossible. It might be an easier task if I had more examples of noise words in texts, but I have very few. Almost all of my examples come from direct elicitations like ‘What’s your word for the sound of a ruffed grouse’s drumming?’.

Often speakers give a gloss that clearly indicates a noise word, even though the form of the word doesn’t seem obviously onomatopoeic. So, for instance, *i čép* ‘the sound of something soft, like a blanket, hitting the ground’ and *i l-č-čép* ‘it’s soft’ are both formed from the root *čép*,¹ and the difference in meaning is arbitrary; only the expanded form *i čépppp* ‘the sound of lots of soft things, like blankets, being put down’ is unambiguously marked formally as a noise word. (See below for a bit more explanation of the function of the stative particle *i*.) But sometimes the gloss is itself ambiguous; a typical example is *c’m’c’úm’lš* ‘mouse squeaking’, which may refer either to the action or to the noise itself, or perhaps to both. Examples of this sort suggest that the boundary between sound-symbolic words and regular vocabulary is fuzzy.

Of course it may be that some noise words are not sound-symbolic at all. I have not found a definition of sound symbolism in the literature that would make it possible to separate noise words that are sound-symbolic definitively from noise-related words that aren’t. A well-known definition of the world’s most famous sound-symbolic category is Doke’s characterization of the African ideophone as ‘a vivid representation of an idea in sound’ (1935:118, as cited in Childs 1994:179); this is itself a vivid characterization, but it doesn’t suggest a usable criterion for deciding whether a given word is sound-symbolic or not. More prosaic definitions can be found in dictionaries of linguistics, for instance this one from Trask 1997 (p. 203):

‘**sound symbolism** (also **phonaesthesia**) A relation between the sound of a word and its meaning which is not totally arbitrary, which shows some degree of **iconicity**. The most familiar type is **onomatopoeia**, but there are others.’

Trask’s definition of iconicity is also relevant here, because it includes sound-symbolic

formations other than imitations of sounds (1997:108):

'iconicity A direct connection between the form of a word and its meaning. The most familiar type is **onomatopoeia**, in which the sound of the word represents a non-linguistic sound with some directness: *boom, meow, clink, whiz*. But other types exist: for example, the light and fluttery sound of the Basque word *tximeleta* (roughly, chee-may-LAY-tah) seems to represent the light and fluttery appearance of the creature it denotes, a butterfly. Iconicity is not rare in languages, but its opposite, **arbitrariness**, is none the less the norm.'

These definitions provide a good characterization of the phenomenon of sound symbolism, but they don't offer criteria for distinguishing iconic from arbitrary words. Hinton et al. list some typical characteristics of sound symbolism, in particular reduplication, unusual segments and suprasegmentals, and specific semantic and pragmatic fields which 'crop up again and again for sound-symbolic vocabulary' (e.g. 'mimicry of environmental and internal sounds') (1994:9, 10). But they don't claim any of these features as criterial, and in fact they are not diagnostic. For instance, in some languages, including Séliš-Ql'ispé, at least some sound-symbolic words seem to be phonologically and/or morphosyntactically ordinary, so deviation from the language's canonical syllable structure, phonetic inventory, morphological composition, or other structural norms isn't a reliable criterion for membership in the category. Mimicry is itself difficult or impossible to define; *čép* doesn't strike me as particularly soft-sounding, for example, but it may well strike a Salish speaker, consciously or unconsciously, as soft-sounding. (I have not found it helpful to ask consultants for such judgments about onomatopoeia, but my experience may not be universal.)

In any case, although it is possible that there are valid criteria in the literature that I haven't discovered, I have included in this paper all promising candidates—all the noise words in my database, together with the few sight and movement words that clearly belong here—without trying to arrive at a formal set of criteria for establishing sound-symbolic status. I have 168 examples in all.

Formally, Séliš-Ql'ispé sound-symbolic words fall into four general categories that display varying degrees of embeddedness in the language's morphological and syntactic

structure and varying degrees of conventionalization. All these expressive lexical items reflect the two tribes' ecology in important ways, from local flora and fauna (e.g. ruffed grouse drumming) to cultural phenomena like the elaborate jingle-dresses worn at powwow celebrations.

After describing the four categories in §2, I will comment on their phonology and their degree of embeddedness in the language's morphological and syntactic structure (§3). In §4 I consider the question of productivity of the main processes by which the forms are derived and also their degree of conventionalization, primarily as indicated by the existence of cognate forms in Spokane, a dialect of the same unnamed language as Séliš-Ql'ispé, and Colville-Okanagan, a closely-related Southern Interior Salishan language. It isn't possible to trace the history of the language's sound-symbolic formations definitively, but I can make a few tentative historical comments. The main body of the paper concludes in §5 with brief remarks about Séliš-Ql'ispé sound symbolism as compared with sound-symbolic patterns elsewhere in the world, especially in the Americas. Finally, the Appendix contains all the examples that I have identified, together with all the sound-symbolic cognates in Spokane and Colville-Okanagan that I've found in dictionaries of Spokane (Carlson & Flett 1989) and Colville-Okanagan (Mattina 1987).

2. Categories of Séliš-Ql'ispé sound-symbolic words.

Séliš-Ql'ispé sound-symbolic words fall into four general categories. First, there are 35 'plain' forms—forms with no reduplication and no suffix *-ilš*—as illustrated in example 1. Some of these are simple roots. Others are morphologically complex, usually with an added lexical suffix (indicated by a preceding =). All the words in this category that I've found refer to noises, not sights or movements. All the noise words consisting of a simple root (with or without the demonstrative particle *i*) seem to denote a one-time noise (1a-e), but a very few of the morphologically complex forms have to do with continuous or repeated sounds (e.g. 1f).

- (1) a. *i láy'* 'sound of a car door closing'
- b. *i łáq^w* 'sound of a wet blanket shaking'
- c. *i łep'éc̣'* 'sound of a stick hitting something'
- d. *i páw* 'sound like sth cracking on a board or door slamming'
- e. *cíx^w-t* 'sound of glass smashing'
- f. *s-x̣^wóq^w=lqs* 'snore, sound of snoring'

The second category, with 52 examples, comprises words of the form $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$. When the instances of C_2 can be counted, most of the words have four of them; a few have only three. The instances can be counted when C_2 is an oral stop, an affricate, or a glottalized resonant, because each of these is pronounced separately in a consonant sequence. Fricatives and nonglottalized resonants other than /l/, however, are nonindividuated continuous sounds. (The phoneme /l/ is usually pronounced with a very brief stop onset; see Flemming et al. 2008:474.) I have more or less arbitrarily spelled the uncountable type with four instances of the C_2 . Some of these words are related to 'plain' forms, as with *i čép* and *i čépppp* above, or *i láy'* (1a above) and *i láy'iʔiʔiʔ* in 2a below.² Some of the forms in this category are also related to sound-symbolic words in *-ílš*, e.g. *i méllll* 'things going in and out of sight' and *mlméllš* 'you keep seeing it moving'.

As the glosses of *i čépppp* and *i láy'iʔiʔiʔ* suggest, this formation is associated with such concepts as plurality, continuous action, and repeated action. But not always, or at least not specifically in every instance: words like those in 2b-e don't seem to involve plurality or continuous or repeated action necessarily. Still, all the words in this category refer to a noise of some duration, as the examples in 2 show. This makes the meaning difference between this formation and the *-ílš* formation unpredictable, since both involve durative actions or states. Example 2 illustrates this category and contains all three of its

‘sight’ words and both of its ‘movement’ words.

- (2) a. i láy’i?i?i? ‘persistent rattling noise’
- b. i c’áxxx ‘sound of frying food’
- c. i k^wíččč ‘creaking sound of a tree starting to fall’
- d. i x^wáuuu ‘the noise the wind makes’
- e. i cússss ‘rustling noise when you walk in dry leaves’
- f. i cík^wk^wk^w ‘little shiny things sparkling like stars winking’
- g. i méllll ‘things going in and out of sight’
- h. i p’áq’q’q’q’ ‘a bunch of little moving lights’
- i. i múk^wk^wk^w ‘moving fast invisibly’
- j. x^wállll ‘shaking, shivering’

Almost all the words in the third category, which is almost as common as the second (51 examples), have the form C₁(V)C₂-C₁VC₂-*ílš* (including variant forms of this suffix, -*álš* and -*lš*); examples are given in 3. Only three words in this category deviate from the usual pattern in that they lack the prefixed reduplication: *c’iŋ^wlš* ‘it’s squealing’, *łák^wlš* ‘slapping noise’, and *k^w’ł-x^wił’lš* ‘the noise made by a large animal moving through brush; crackling’.

Like the second category, this one indicates durative noises, often with a sense of plurality or repeated action (see the examples in 3). Unlike the second category, however, this formation is not confined to sound-symbolic words; it also has the more general

function of indicating durative actions or states, e.g. *pupéw-lš* ‘breathe’ and *q^wn’q^wn’ílš* ‘he’s having a hard time’. Moreover, the reduplication pattern in this formation is by no means confined to onomatopoeic words and words with comparable meanings: it is one of the language’s most common distributive plural formations. This category includes one sight word (3g) and five movement words (e.g. 3g-h).

Some of the forms in this category correspond to forms in other categories, sometimes with slight differences in meaning but with no clear pattern of semantic differentiation: compare, for instance, *mk^wmúk^wlš* ‘moving around invisibly’ with *i múk^wk^wk^wk^w* ‘moving fast invisibly’ (faster than *mk^wmúk^wlš*), and compare also 3d below (the prefix *k^w’l-* means ‘under’) with *i x^wiǰǰǰǰ* ‘the noise of cracking sticks, the sound of a large animal moving through the brush’. Several of the words in this category correspond to noise words in Spokane, but, interestingly, none of the Spokane words has the suffix *-ílš*; see 3b, for instance.

s-w'ar'ák'=xn 'frog'). And some words have total reduplication, with each vowel stressed; examples are given in 4. This last type also occurs in both Spokane and Colville-Okanagan (e.g. 4a).

- (4) a. *cácácácá* 'hollering noise, when you're getting beaten up'
 (cf. Spok. *cácácá* 'wailing sound, sound of a tantrum, pitiful')
 (cf. Colv.-Ok. *caɪ-caɪ-cáɪ* 'holler, cry')
- b. *i púmpúmpúmpúm* 'sound of a drum'
- c. *t'áɬt'áɬt'áɬ* 'a sound of something flopping around or slapping'
- d. *líwlíwlíw* 'sound of water dripping into buckets'
 (cf. Spok. *líwlíwlíw* 'sound of continuous ringing of bells')
- e. *ɬák^wɬák^wɬák^wɬák^w* 'sound of wet moccasins slapping the floor'
 (cf. Spok. *ɬáp'ɬáp'ɬáp'ɬáp'* 'sound of feet slapping the floor')
- f. *šícšícšíc* 'shuffling sound'
- g. *(i)yác'yác'yác'yác'* 'creaky sound when you walk on fresh snow'

3. The structure of Séliš-Ql'ispé sound-symbolic words.

Phonologically, there is nothing especially startling about any of these S-Q words—except for the two (possibly paralinguistic) forms *x^wšššš* 'the sound an arrow makes flying by' and *pšpsps* 'a farting sound', which lack a vocoid vowel. All the words in the 'plain' and *-ɬš* categories, in fact, are perfectly ordinary S-Q words, phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically; they are structurally indistinguishable, as far as I can tell, from non-sound-symbolic words.

The distribution of root-initial consonants in the sound-symbolic words as a group, including all four categories, is somewhat skewed in several respects, however. First, several phonemes are more common as C_1 in these words than one would expect given their modest numbers as root-initial consonants in the general lexicon. The most striking of these are /l/ (C_1 in 14 sound-symbolic words), /x^w/ (12 words), and /x̣^w/ (16 words). Also, the two labialized pharyngeal consonants, /ʕ^w/ and /ʕ'^w/, occur as initials in a total of ten sound-symbolic words, but as initials in only 8 other words (and even some of these eight others have glosses that might suggest sound symbolism). The language's most common root-initial consonants are the labials /p/ (99 roots) and /m/ (95 roots); /p/ occurs as C_1 in 17 sound-symbolic words—more than any other phoneme—but /m/ in only 7. The next two most common root-initial consonants are /t'/ (89 roots) and /t/ (85 roots); /t'/ is root-initial in 14 sound-symbolic words, while /t/ appears as C_1 in only four. The dorsal stops—/k^w/, /k'^w/, /q/, /q'/, /q^w/, and /q'^w/—are all well represented as root-initial consonants in the general vocabulary but almost entirely absent as C_1 in sound-symbolic words; all but /k'^w/, however, are fairly common as C_2 in these words.

There are a number of interesting phonological features in the second and fourth categories, $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ and the 'reduplication, no -*ilš'* category. The most striking of these features is the $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ formation itself: like other Salishan languages, S-Q has several productive reduplication processes, but none involves more than two or at most three identical consonants in a row. This makes the four-consonant sequences in this category remarkable. (They do not, however, violate any general syllable-structure rules, because there is in principle no limit on the number of consonants that can occur in sequence in a monosyllabic S-Q word: there are seven obstruents in a row, for instance, in the onset of *sx^wčšt'sqá* 'a person whose job it is to take care of stock, a shepherd', and similarly complex forms are rather easy to find.)

Another striking feature of this formation concerns glottalization: almost always, when the root's C_2 is a glottalized oral stop or affricate, all but the final instance of the C_2 is deglottalized in the sound-symbolic word. The few exceptions to this generalization occur when, as in example 5d below, the only elder who provided the form idiosyncratically glottalized all the stops in sequence (though she deglottalized, as other elders did, in

numerous other forms). Deglottalization is not unique to this formation in S-Q; it affects all but the last of two or more glottalized oral stops or affricates in sequence elsewhere in the language too, for instance in unstressed derivatives of the root *t'úk^w* 'like *tk^w'ntés* 'he put one thing down'. But deglottalization is on especially prominent display in $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ forms, thanks to the large number of identical deglottalized stops or affricates in sequence. It's also noteworthy that if the C_2 is a glottalized lateral affricate /*χ*'/, as in *i x^wiχχχχ* 'the noise of cracking sticks' and *i x^wóχχχ* 'the sound of hard things crunching together', deglottalization produces a nonglottalized lateral affricate—a phone that occurs in the language only as a result of the deglottalization rule. Note that only oral stops and affricates undergo deglottalization: glottalized resonant consonants, for example the four instances of /*l*'/ in *mal'λλ'* 'a gurgling noise, as from bubbles', always retain glottalization in sequences of more than one glottalized segment.

All the other examples I've found of words in this category with a glottalized stop or affricate C_2 are given in 5 (a-g), together with three examples showing that deglottalization does not affect glottalized resonants (5h-j). I've included Spokane cognates, where possible; note that Spokane does not undergo this deglottalization process.

- (5) a. *i k^w'ičččč'* 'the creaking sound a tree makes as it begins to fall'
 (cf. Spok. *k^w'ič'č'č'* 'sound of a falling tree')
- b. *i lóq^wq^wq^wq^w* 'the sound of a stomach growling'
- c. *i p'ácccc'* 'a chipmunk noise; the noise of diarrhea and farting'
 (cf. Spokane *p'ác'c'c'* 'sound of flatus and diarrhea simultaneously')
- d. *i p'áq'q'q'q'* 'a bunch of little moving lights'
 (cf. Spok. *hi p'aq'q'q'q'* 'sound of tinder-dry grass burning')
- e. *p'átttt'* 'sound of a cow pie plopping, of a cow pooping'
 (cf. Spok. *p'at't't'* 'sound of a cow pooping')
- f. *i x^wíqqq'* 'the sound of cracking'
- g. *i yíqqqq'* 'a creaking noise'
 (cf. Spokane *yíq'q'q'* 'sound of lots of creaking bones')
- h. *i láy'i?i?i?* 'a rattling noise'
- i. *i mál'l'l'l'* 'a gurgling noise'
- j. *i t'íl'l'l'l'* 'the sound of tearing'

Another point worth mentioning about this category, though it is not an oddity of any kind, is that a regular phonological rule vocalizes a vocoid consonant phoneme when it is not next to a vowel phoneme. Nonglottalized vocoid consonants are uncomplicated: *i lúuuuu* 'the sound of ringing' (the root is *lúw*) and *i x^wáuuuu* 'the noise the wind makes' (root *x^wáw*), for example. In the form *i lóoooo* 'the sound of rain hitting', the first

unstressed *o* was originally / Υ^w /; the last three are regular vocalizations of the labialized pharyngeal (and in fact one elder pronounced the word *i* $l\acute{o}\Upsilon^w\Upsilon^w\Upsilon^w\Upsilon^w$). A glottalized vocoid consonant regularly vocalizes as vowel plus glottal stop in S-Q, and /y'/ does so three times in 5h.

The only other noteworthy phonological feature of sound-symbolic words is in the fourth category: forms with total reduplication have one stress per syllable, unlike ordinary words in the language, which have only one stress per word (and in which unstressed vowels generally disappear); examples are given above in (4). Of course it is possible that these forms should be treated not as complex lexical units, but as sequences of several repeated words, as in an English sentence like *That was a very very very weird movie*. I am provisionally analyzing them as single words because the speakers seem to treat them as units—not just S-Q speakers, but apparently also Spokane and Colville-Okanagan speakers, given the spelling of the Spokane examples in Carlson & Flett 1989 and one Colville-Okanagan example (4a above). (In the other Colville-Okanagan example I've found, however, the syllables are spelled as four different words: *p'əs p'əs p'əs p'əs* 'Coyote's call to his helpers'.) If the S-Q examples are single words, then the stress pattern is remarkable, a clear identifier of a sound-symbolic word.

As noted at the beginning of this section, all examples of 'plain' and *-ilš* noise words are phonologically and morphosyntactically ordinary: they display no differences at all from non-onomatopoeic words, aside from skewing in the distribution of their root-initial consonants. Therefore, although the examples in each of these two categories belong to a single lexical subclass by virtue of their semantic unity, it is not yet clear whether they constitute a single structural subclass or not.

The situation is different with the $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ and total-reduplication formations. Syntactically, these are interjections. When I asked consultants for a sentence using *i púłłłł* 'splash!', for instance, they gave me *N'em i púłłłł sqlew súps n'e čłsp'étk^wm* 'The beaver's tail will go splashhhhhh when he hits the water on purpose' (lit. 'will splashhhhhh beaver his.tail when he.hits.on.water')

Both of these formations are also inert morphologically, as far as I can tell, except for the presence of a preceding demonstrative particle *i*, which carries a stative (though not

necessarily a durative) meaning—and which occurs also with some ‘plain’ forms, but never with a form that has the suffix *-ílš*. Roughly half of the words of the $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ and total-reduplication types have roots that are unique to these formations in my data. Although at least some of these exclusively sound-symbolic roots probably do occur in non-sound-symbolic formations as well, some of them are likely to be exclusively sound-symbolic in fact. Examples are *i č’áx^wx^wx^wx^w* ‘a knocking noise’, *i hámmmm* ‘a buzzing noise’, *i k^wásss* ‘hissing noise of water or grease on something hot’, *i lóq^wq^wq^wq^w* ‘the noise of a stomach growling’, *i x^wáuuuu* ‘the noise the wind makes, and *cácácá’a* ‘hollering’.

The remaining roots in words of these two types occur in other formations as well, sometimes including other sound-symbolic formations. So, for instance, three different sound-symbolic words are formed from the root *mél*: *i mél* ‘the sight of something moving, you just see it and it disappears’, *i méllll* ‘a bunch of things—you’re not too sure what they are—going in and out of sight’, and *mlmélłš* ‘it keeps moving, showing and then disappearing, you keep seeing it moving’. In cases where the root occurs in formations other than sound-symbolic ones, its morphosyntactic behavior is identical to that of any other root. An example is the root *xwép* ‘spread’, which occurs in two sound-symbolic formations—*i x^wép* ‘the sound of something like a blanket being spread’ and *x^wépppp* ‘the sound of a bunch of blankets being spread’—and in all ordinary contexts as well, e.g. *x^wépn* ‘I spread it (a blanket or some similar flexible thing)’.

4. Productivity and conventionalization of Séliš-Ql’ispé sound-symbolic words.

Productivity is hard to judge for S-Q sound-symbolic words, partly because of the limitations of my data; it is quite possible that some noise words my consultants gave me were neologisms. The two phonologically odd words, *i x^wšššš* ‘the sound of an arrow flying by’ and *pspsps* ‘a farting sound’, seemed to be new thoughts for them, for instance, and at least a few of the $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ words may have been invented on the spot too. I do have definite evidence that the *-ílš* formation, at least, is productive: when I asked for a word for the lowing of a bull or the mooing of a cow, one elder jokingly said that it could be *mumúwlš* ‘the sound of mooing’—and then assured me hastily that it’s not a REAL

Salish word. Of course it isn't; but the fact that it could be formed as a joke shows that the formation itself is alive. In fact, the suffix *-ilš* is very widely used in S-Q in general, so it is not surprising if it is as productive in this semantic domain as it is in other domains.

The question of conventionalization is easier to address, both because the same words turned up in different sessions in different years—indicating that they were part of the lexicon and not one-time inventions—and because many of the words are either precisely cognate with noise words in Spokane and occasionally in Colville-Okanagan or related to other noise words in those languages. The complete list of cognates and related noise words is in the Appendix; here are a few examples:

- (6) a. cíx^wt ‘the sound of glass smashing’
 Spok. cíx^w ‘sound of fine glass smashing’
- b. i čép ‘sound of something soft, like a blanket, hitting the ground’
 Spok. čep ‘soft; sound of something soft hitting the ground’
- c. i láy’ ‘a noise like the sound of car door closing’
 Spok. lay’ ‘a single tinny sound, like a tin pan hitting the floor’
- d. i láy’i?i?i? ‘a rattling noise, like a wagon going along’
 Spok. láy’i?i? ‘sound of many tin objects hitting the floor’
- e. i c’áxxx ‘the sound of frying food’
 Spok. c’áxxx ‘sound of frying food’
- f. t’ált’ált’ált ‘a clapping sound’
 Spok. t’áltt’áltt ‘sound of a galloping horse’
- g. cécécáá ‘hollering’
 Spok. cécécá ‘wailing sound’
 Colv.-Ok. caʃ-caʃ-caʃ ‘holler, cry’
- h. líwuuu ‘the sound of ringing’
 Spok. líwíwíwíwíw ‘the sound of continuous ringing of bells’
- i. su?suw’ílš ‘the sound of whispering’
 Spok. sú?sú?sú? ‘the sound of whispering’

The existence of cognates and related forms makes it overwhelmingly likely that the words have a history stretching back over several to many generations. There are other

possibilities: a noise word could have been borrowed from one of the other languages, or the same sound-symbolic word could have been invented in two or even all three of the languages. But cognacy seems more likely than borrowing and much more likely than accidental similarity. Most of the cognates I have are from the ‘plain’ and $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ categories, and most are precisely cognate with Spokane forms. (In fact, my systematic search for S-Q noise words began when I noticed one or two matchings between S-Q and Spokane $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ forms; I then used the list of words under ‘sounds’ in Carlson & Flett 1989 as a jumping-off point for my own elicitation of noise words.) The most interesting thing about these cognates is the evidence they provide for the history and stability of the $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ formation, which is exclusively sound-symbolic, phonologically unusual even within the Salishan family, and outside the normal morphosyntactic system. Even if some of the forms in this category are recent innovations, the evidence indicates that, once formed, a $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ word is easily integrated into the language’s lexicon.

Finally, I have found just one example that seems to illustrate a feature of sound-symbolic words that is common in some other languages—namely, a failure to undergo regular sound changes. The general topic has been addressed repeatedly in the literature; Mithun comments, for instance, that ‘Expressive vocabulary, particularly exclamations, seems highly resistant to replacement in Iroquoian languages’ (1982:55). For whatever reason, the phenomenon is not prominent in Séliš-Ql’ispé. The only irregular sound change that seems likely to be due to sound symbolism is in *uláqlq* ‘the sound of little frogs singing’ (and in its Spokane cognate *?uráq?uráq* ‘sound of a frog croaking in the early spring’).

Etymologically, this word had /k/ or /k’/, as shown by the partly cognate forms in other Interior Salishan languages: Colville-Okanagan *s-w’ar’ák’=xn* ‘frog’, Columbian *wark* ‘frog’, Coeur d’Alene *warč* ‘frog’, Lillooet *wəlik* ‘sound of frog’, and Thompson River Salish *wlák’ze* ‘tree toad’ (the last four forms are from Kuipers 2002:192). Séliš-Ql’ispé and Spokane, as dialects of a palatalizing Southern Interior Salishan language, would be expected to have /č/ in their ‘croak’ words: like Coeur d’Alene, but unlike the other languages with cognate forms, they underwent a change that replaced all non-labialized

velar obstruents with alveopalatals. The fact that they instead replaced an original /k/ with /q/ suggests that palatalization was blocked because of the expressive nature of the word ‘croak’—perhaps (to speculate) because dorsal stops seem closer to croaking sounds than alveopalatal affricates seem. Other S-Q words also show irregular developments of dorsal obstruents, including replacements of velar by uvular stops (Thomason 2016), but this is the only word that suggests a sound-symbolic motive.

5. Conclusion: sound-symbolic words in Séliš-Ql’ispé and in other languages.

I have not searched the literature systematically for material to compare with my Séliš-Ql’ispé data, but a few comments can be made about the place of S-Q sound-symbolic words in the cross-linguistic context of sound symbolism. All but a handful of my examples are noise words, and these are an exact match for two of the common characteristics of sound symbolism mentioned by Hinton et al. (1994:9-10, and see §1 above): they are based on ‘mimicry of environmental and internal sounds’, and three of the four categories involve some sort of reduplication. But the words, as we saw above, do not have any unique phonological features, unlike sound-symbolic words in many other languages.

Not surprisingly, given their imitative and iconic nature, the S-Q forms with total reduplication belong to a type of sound-symbolic expression that is found in a great many languages around the world. Here are three typical examples: the word for ‘insistent rapping on the door’ is *kpuk-kpuk-kpuk* in the African language Kisi (Childs 1994:190); *kap! kap! (kap!)* is ‘the sound of a grizzly bear clacking its teeth’ in the Algonquian language Meskwaki (Fox) (Lucy Thomason, p.c. 1999); and the word for ‘a fish’s tail flopping on the ground is *polpolpol...*’ in the Australian language Yir-Yoront (Alpher 1994:173). It’s worth noting that in many languages such forms can be extended at will, as Alpher notes for this and similar Yir-Yoront forms; this feature contrasts with S-Q words with total reduplication, where total reduplication is limited to three or four instances (and likewise in the Spokane and Colville-Okanagan cognates).

I have not found any close matches between the S-Q $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$ formation and sound-symbolic words in other languages—especially as the S-Q formation seems to be conventionally limited to three or four instances of the C_2 . There are, however, numerous

examples of repetition of a final syllable or VC half-syllable elsewhere. Pomo, for instance, has forms like /kililililil/ ‘rumbling, thundering, roaring’, and the final VC may be ‘alternated indefinitely to indicate prolongation, pulsation,...’ (Oswalt 1973:180). Indefinitely long final CV repetition also occurs (or occurred) in Lower Chinook (Boas 1911:636), e.g. [hálelelelelele] ‘noise of flight of an arrow’. Interestingly, though, one of the most similar formations I’ve found occurs in Nez Perce, whose speakers have had close contacts with S-Q speakers for hundreds of years. These contacts are reflected in extensive lexical transfer (Pharris & Thomason 2005), and there is apparently mutual or one-way structural interference as well. Nez Perce, like Pomo, has VC reduplication, but the few forms I’ve seen have only two or three repetitions, as in S-Q: *yóxoxxox* ‘tumbling out of Coyote’s excrement-children’, *t’ákakak* ‘west wind’, *c’álalal* ‘katydid’ (Aoki 1994:16).

Probably the main conclusion that should be drawn at this point is that a great deal of work is still needed on the identification and analysis of sound-symbolic words in S-Q, and on S-Q sound symbolism more generally. And in a broader context, a comparative study of sound-symbolic words in Salishan languages is likely to be rewarding.

APPENDIX

Below are all the examples of sound-symbolic words that I have identified so far in Séliš-Ql’ispé. The entries also include the Spokane and Colville-Okanagan cognates that I’ve collected from Carlson & Flett 1989 and Mattina 1987, respectively. In most cases there is no direct cognate for a S-Q form; sometimes Spokane or even Colville-Okanagan has a sound-symbolic word in a different formation, but sometimes the cognate forms may not be sound-symbolic. The entries in this Appendix are organized according to the formation categories: first the ‘plain’ forms with no reduplication and no suffix *-ilš*, then words of the form $C_1VC_2C_2C_2(C_2)$, then forms with prefixed reduplication plus the suffix *-ilš*, and finally forms with reduplication but without *-ilš*. In spite of my attempt to avoid uncertain forms, some of the words below may not be sound-symbolic forms at all—they may, for instance, refer to the action of making the noise rather than to the noise itself.

Similarly, this list no doubt omits some sound-symbolic words that I've overlooked because the glosses I have do not clearly indicate their sound-symbolic status.

1. 'Plain' forms (35 examples):

- *cíx^w-t* 'the sound of glass smashing'; Spokane *cíx^w* 'sound of fine glass smashing'.
- *n-cʔíš* 'sound of water burning on the outside of a kettle; also, when the water is starting to heat up'. (Cf. *i-es-ncíš-m* 'I'm heating it up'.)
- *c'al'é*, *c'aal'é* 'rattle made of deer rawhide with rocks inside'. This may not be a noise word itself, but cf. the Spokane noise word *c'al'* 'sound made by falling sticks or spurs. Cf. also Colville *c'aʔ-tán* 'rattle (of snake)'.
- *c'íip'ana* 'the sound a chickadee makes'.
- *i čép* 'the sound of something soft, like a blanket, hitting the ground'. Compare *i čépppp* below. Spokane *čep* 'soft; sound of something soft hitting the ground'.
- *es-čoš-mí* 'yelling/sounds made while dancing (a specific type of sound made while doing traditional dances)'. This may not be a noise word per se; cf. *čn čošmí* 'I made that noise (i.e. that special noise)', and also Spokane *čoš(í)* 'shout'. Compare *čočošíš* below.
- *ʔ-č-č'áx^w* 'a little knocking sound' (with a diminutive prefix *ʔ-* and diminutive C₁-reduplication). See *i č'áx^wx^wx^wx^w* below, and cf. Spokane *č'ax^w* 'knocking sound'.
- *i ík^w* 'the sound of a branch scraping'. Compare *i ilíík^w* 'the sound of branches scraping, or of a horse or buffalo wallowing in dust or mud, or some similar sound'.³
- *i láy'* 'a noise like the sound of car door closing'. Compare *i láy'iʔiʔiʔ* below. Spokane *lay'* 'a single tinny sound, like a tin pan hitting the floor' (and *láy'iʔiʔ* 'sound of many tin objects hitting the floor').

- *łák^w* ‘a slapping noise, the slapping noise of wet moccasins, lap up (water)’. Cf. *i* *łáq^w* ‘the sound you make when you shake a wet blanket’. Compare *łák^włš* and *łák^włák^włák^włák^w*. Spokane *łak^w* ‘slapping noise’, *łak^w* ‘it made a slapping noise’.
- *i* *łáq^w* ‘the sound you make when you shake a wet blanket’. Cf. *łák^w* ‘a slapping noise’, which may be related to this form by a sound-symbolic velar/uvular alternation (see e.g. Kuipers 1981:325). Compare *łq^włáq^włš* and *łáq^włáq^włáq^w*.
- *i* *łep’éc’* ‘the sound of a stick hitting something’. Spokane *łep’éc’* ‘sound of a flat, heavy object hitting a flat surface’.
- *ł’áw* ‘the sound of stepping or falling in the mud’. Compare the non-sound-symbolic uses of this root, e.g. *i* *ł’awáčłex^w* ‘muddy ground’, and cf. Spokane *hi* *ł’áł’w’č’* ‘it’s muddy’.
- *i* *mél* ‘the sight of something moving, you just see it and it disappears’. Compare *mlmélłš* and *i* *mélłll* below. Spokane *hi* *mél* ‘it appears and then disappears in front of you as when you are watching someone walk through trees’.
- *i* *páw* ‘the sound of anything cracking on a board, or a door slamming, or some similar sound’. Compare *pupáwłš*.
- *púł* ‘the sound of hitting something hard, a hard, cracking sound’.
- *n-p’íq^w=ps* ‘the sound of a fart, or of a motorcycle’.
- *n-tt’lq^w=ó(ps)* ‘the sound of a motorcycle: ripping sound from the back end’.
- *i* *t’apáx^w* ‘the sound of something hitting the water; something making that sound’. Spokane *t’apáx^w* ‘sound of a huge splash when a heavy object hits the water’.
- *i* *t’áq^w* ‘a bursting noise, the sound of a fire cracking or a balloon bursting’. Compare *i* *t’áq^wq^wq^wq^w* and *es-t’t’q^wál’q^w(o)m’m’* ‘the sound of trees bursting from extreme cold (when the moisture in the trees freezes and the trees pop – it sounds like a rifle shot)’.

- *t'iq^w*, *i t'iq^w* ‘a smashing sound, as of bugs or cherries or anything that makes such a noise when smashed’. Spokane *t'iq^w* ‘small bursting sound, such as that of a louse being smashed between the fingernails; sound of a small-gauge shotgun’. (Cf. Colville *t'iq^w-t* ‘burst, explode’, *t'q^w-q^w-iq^w* ‘shot, explosion’—but it’s not clear whether these Colville words refer to the noises or to the making of the noises, and it’s also not clear whether the Colville cognate belongs with this entry or the preceding one.)
- *t'móq^w* ‘the sound of something you pull off, like hair from your head, or pull out, as when you pull a root out of the ground’. Spokane *t'amáq^w* ‘sound of a big root being pulled out of the ground’.
- *t'w'áq* ‘the sound of a string or rope breaking’; but this word is also used to refer to the breaking, not only to the sound of breaking. Spokane *t'awáq* ‘sound of a sudden snapping of string or rope’. Colv.-Ok. *t'w'qa-m* ‘break a rope or string’ is apparently not a noise word.
- *es-x^wancó* ‘a deer snorting; the sound of a deer snorting’. (Also transcribed as *es-x^woncó*.) Cf. *x^wax^wancó* ‘a deer snorted more than once’, Colv.-Ok. *x^wn-cfat* ‘snort of an animal’, and Colv.-Ok. *x^wən* ‘noisy or roaring sound’.
- *i x^wép* ‘the sound of something like a blanket being spread’. Compare *x^wépppp* below, and cf. *x^wépn* ‘I spread it (a blanket or some similar thing)’. Spokane *x^wep* ‘to lay out, to spread out flat; sound of spreading out a blanket or table cloth’. (Cf. Colv.-Ok. *x^wip-m* ‘spread out’—not a noise word.)
- *i xéλ'* ‘a crunching, biting noise, a gnawing sound; chewing your fingernails’. (Cf. *xλ'xλ'ilš* below, and cf. Spokane *xλ'(i)* ‘chew, eat’.)
- *x^wáq^w* ‘a grinding sound’. See *i x^wáq^wq^wq^wq^w* ‘sound of grinding/sharpening’, and cf. *x^wáq^wn* ‘I ground it up, I sharpened it’. Spokane *x^wáq^w* ‘a grinding sound’.
- *i x^wiλ'*, *i x^wéyλ'* ‘a breaking sound; the sound of a knuckle cracking’. See below: *i x^wiλλλλ'* and *k^w't-x^wiλ'łš*. Spokane *x^wiλ'* ‘sound of cracking sticks, such as kindling being broken up’.

- *i x^wíq* ‘a cracking noise, as when a tree begins to fall’. Compare *i x^wíqqq* below.
- *x^wíq^w* ‘the sound of something being poked (not necessarily a loud sharp sound)’. Compare *x^wq^wx^wíq^wlš*. Spokane *x^wíq^w* ‘sound of a stick being poked around in a jar or can’.
- *x^wóλ* ‘a crackling noise, a crunching sound’, *x^woλ’éne?* ‘a crackling noise; cracklins, what’s left over from rendering grease, noisy when you chew it’. Compare *i x^wóλλλ* and *x^wλ’x^wóλ’lš*, below.
- *s-x^wóq^w=lqs* ‘the sound of snoring, a snore’ (=lqs is a lexical suffix, perhaps meaning ‘nose’. Cf. *es-x^wóq^w=lqs-i* ‘she’s snoring’.) Compare *x^wq^wx^wóq^wlš*. Spokane *x^wóq^w* ‘sound a pig makes, sound of snoring’. Cf. Colv.-Ok. *x^waq^w=lqs-m* ‘snore’ (apparently the action, not the noise).
- *n-yol=qn* ‘a big deep voice’.
- *Ƴay-ím* ‘a growl’. (But this refers to the action, not to the actual sound.)
- *Ƴ^wox^w* ‘a slapping sound, the sound of berries hitting canvas; water being poured; sound of a leaking faucet’. See *i Ƴ^wóx^wx^wx^wx^w* below. Spokane *Ƴ^wox^w* ‘sound of rushing water or water being poured’.

2. C₁VC₂C₂C₂(C₂) words (52 examples):

- *i cík^wk^wk^wk^w* ‘little shiny things sparkling, such as sequins on a jingle-dress, sparks flying up, or stars winking’.
- *i cínnnn* ‘the sound of humming, just the noise’.
- *i cússss* ‘rustling noise when you walk in dry brush, or pushing through brush’. Cf. *čn cscúslš* ‘I walked through dry brush or leaves, rustling’, and Colv.-Ok. *n-cus-cs=cn* ‘purple aster, Aster conspicuus’—which, according to one of Mattina’s consultants, is derived from a word meaning a rattling noise.

- *i c'áxxxx* ‘the sound of frying food’. Cf. *čn esc'áxi* ‘I’m frying something’. Spokane *c'áxxxx* ‘sound of frying food’.
- *i c'óssss* ‘rattling noise, as of rattlesnakes rattling or deer-hoof staffs rattling’. Cf. *c'ós-m-i-s* ‘he rattled it’. Compare *c'sc'óslš*.
- *i čépppp* ‘the sound of a lot of blankets being put down (or a similar sound)’. Compare *i čép*.
- *i č'áx^wx^wx^w* ‘a knocking sound—woodpecker noise, sound of carpenters hammering, sound of knocking as of a salt cellar being set down sharply on a table’. See *č'x^wč'x^walš* below. Spokane *č'ax^w* ‘knocking sound’ and *č'x^wx^wáx^w* ‘he started making a knock-knocking sound’.
- *i hámmmm* ‘a buzzing sound, e.g. the sound of a motor, or of bees or flies buzzing’. Spokane *ham* ‘droning sound, sound of a motor, sound of a fly’.
- *híiip* ‘the sound of a ruffed grouse drumming’. This word fits into this category if—as is possible—its underlying form is *hiyyyy* and *-p* is a suffix; but *es-híp-i* ‘a ruffed grouse is drumming’ suggests that the stop may be part of the root.
- *i k^wássss* ‘the hissing sound of steam, when you pour water on something hot; the sound of grease dripping continuously on a fire’. Compare *k^wask^was* below. Spokane *k^wassss* ‘sound of fat frying’, and cf. also Spokane *k^w'sss* ‘sound of something scorching and shriveling up’.
- *i k^wíčččč'* ‘the creaking sound a tree makes when it’s beginning to fall’. Spokane *k^wíč'č'č'* ‘sound of a falling tree’, and cf. Spokane *k^wecéč* ‘sound of a tree falling, breaking other tree limbs as it goes’.
- *i láy'íi?i?* ‘a rattling noise, like a wagon going along’—the same noise as with *i láy'* above, only continuous. Compare also *c-l'íl'iy'alš* and *láy'láy'láy'láy'*. Spokane *láy'íi?i?* ‘sound of many tin objects hitting the floor’.

- *i líqqqq* ‘the noise of a lot of threads breaking. e.g. a shirt coming unraveled when you tear it’. Spokane *líqqqq* ‘sound of many threads breaking simultaneously’, and cf. Spokane *liq* ‘sound of breaking thread or string’.
- *i líwuuu* ‘the sound of ringing, as of a bell, or a tin plate hitting the floor and bouncing around, or coins falling on the floor, or even your ear (when your ears are ringing)’. Cf. Spokane *líwlíwlíwlíw* ‘the sound of continuous ringing of bells’.
- *i lóq^wq^wq^wq^w* ‘the sound of a stomach growling’. Compare *lq^wlóq^wlš* below, and cf. Spokane *lq^wq^wáq^w* ‘sound of a great amount of water in the stomach’.
- *i lóx^wx^wx^wx^w* ‘the sound of wagon wheels rolling’. See above, *lx^wlx^wílš* ‘the sound of crumpling paper, the sound of a mouse moving around, anything rattling’, and cf. Spokane *lx^wx^wóx^w* ‘sound of many hard-soled shoes on a floor’.
- *i lóŋ^wŋ^wŋ^wŋ^w* ‘the sound of a stomach growling’. Cf. Spokane *s-n-l’aŋ^w-m’n’=ŋ=én’č* ‘growling stomach’ (with what looks like affective glottalization of the resonant consonants in the suffixes).
- *i lóoooo* ‘the sound of rain hitting, coming down’. Cf. Spokane *lo* ‘sound of a steady rain’.
- *i λ’óq^wq^wq^wq^w* ‘the sound of knuckles cracking’. Cf. *q^w’óq^wm* ‘he cracked his knuckles’. Cf. also Spokane *λ’oq^w(ú)* ‘poke; sound of a popping joint’ and Colv.-Ok. *n-λ’q^w=úps* ‘spank’, which is not a noise word (though it might of course be sound-symbolic).
- *i λ’óx^wx^wx^wx^w* ‘the sound of something round (e.g. marbles or huckleberries) rolling around’. Cf. Spokane *λ’x^wx^wx^wóx^w* ‘sound of round objects falling into a container’.
- *i mál’l’l’l’* ‘a gurgling noise, as from bubbles or foam’. Spokane *mal’l’l’(l’)* ‘sound of a gurgling stomach or brook, sound of liquid gurgling in a bottle as one drinks without stopping’.

- *i méllll* ‘a bunch of things—you’re not too sure what they are—going in and out of vision (e.g. watching through a picket fence and seeing a bunch of horses go by)’. Compare *i mél* above and *mlméllš* below.
- *i múk^wk^wk^wk^w* ‘moving fast invisibly (e.g. tossing and turning in bed)’. Compare *mk^wmúk^wlš* ‘moving around invisibly, but not moving as fast as *i múk^wk^wk^wk^w*’.
- *i nářřři* ‘the sound of a dog growling’
- *i pámmmm* ‘the buzzing sound in your head when you’re drunk (light-headed); clattering sound, like banging pots and pans’. Compare *pmpmá(lš?)* below.
- *i pátttt* ‘the sound of gurgling (as of boiling water)’. Spokane *pátttt* ‘sound of gurgling or bubbling, expelling air from diarrhea’, and cf. Spokane *pátpátpát* ‘bubbling sound of a boiling pot’.
- *i púłłłł* ‘a big splash, the sound of a tree or something else big falling into the water; the slap of a beaver’s tail in water’ (as in the sentence *N’em i púłłłł sglew súps n’e čłsp’étk^wm* ‘The beaver’s tail will go splashhhhh when he hits the water on purpose’ (lit. ‘will splashhhhh beaver his.tail when he.hits.on.water’). Compare *płpúłłš*, and cf. Spokane *puł* ‘splash, sound of a splash’ and Colv.-Ok. *s-płuł* ‘spray’.
- *i p’ácccc* ‘a chipmunk noise; the noise of diarrhea and farting’. Spokane *p’ác’c’c* ‘sound of flatus and diarrhea simultaneously’.
- *i p’áq’q’q’q’* ‘a bunch of little moving lights, like sequins on a jingle-dress or vest, or Christmas tree lights, or the lights of a city that you see winking when you’re moving close to the city, or the sparks you see when grass is burning’. (One elder commented that the longer the word is, the shinier the sight is—but on all repeats the elders gave only this one form.) Spokane *hi p’aq’q’q’q’* ‘sound of tinder-dry grass burning’.
- *p’átttt* ‘a cow is pooping, the sound of a cow pooping’. Spokane *p’at’t’t* ‘sound of cow pies hitting the ground’.

- *q'éyɬɬɬ* ‘the sound of water falling, sound of a waterfall’. Cf. the Pend d’Oreille place name *N-q'éyɬ-k^wu-m* ‘place of the sound of water falling’, the falls near the mouth of the Swan River in Bigfork, MT.
- *i sáyiii* ‘the sound of the breeze in trees’. Spokane *i sáy, sáyyyy* ‘the sound of voices’.
- *i soɣ^wɣ^wɣ^wɣ^w* ‘the sound of really hard rain’.
- *hoy tallll* ‘the sound of rope or string coming unwrapped’.
- *i t'ák^wk^wk^wk^w* ‘wood popping (firecrackers, or wood in a fire)’. See the following entry: these two forms might be related by a sound-symbolic velar/uvular alternation (see e.g. Kuipers 1981:325). And cf. Spokane *t'ak^w* ‘sound of breaking loose, sound of bursting (e.g. balloon)’.
- *i t'áq^wq^wq^wq^w* ‘the sound of a fire crackling, the sound of popping wood, of firecrackers popping’. See the previous entry; and see also *i t'áq^w* above—just one pop.
- *i t'íl'íl'íl'* ‘the sound of tearing, ripping’. Cf. *t'ít'íl'-i-s* ‘he tore his shirt’. Spokane *t'íl'íl'íl'* ‘sound of yardage being torn apart’, and cf. Colv.-Ok. *t'l'á-m* ‘tear open’.
- *x^wállll* ‘shaking, shivering’. Compare *x^wlx^walí(lš)*.
- *i x^wáwuuu* ‘the noise the wind makes’.
- *i x^wépppp* ‘the sound of a bunch of blankets being spread’. Compare *i x^wép* above.
- *x^wšššš* ‘the sound an arrow makes flying by’.
- *x^wúllll* ‘sound of wings flapping (a bunch of birds took off all at once)’ Compare *x^wlx^wúllš*.
- *xíqqqq* ‘a cracking sound (as when trees are falling over)’ Cf. Spokane *xíq* ‘rub; rasping or rubbing sound’, and Colv.-Ok. *c-xk-xk-ilx* ‘make noise rubbing’ (the Colv.-Ok. suffix *-ilx* is cognate with Sélis-Ql’ispé *-ilš*).

- *i x^wáq^wq^wq^wq^w* 'sound of grinding/sharpening'. See *x^wáq^w* 'a grinding sound', and cf. Spokane *x^waq^w* 'to grind; grinding sound'.
- *i x^wíx^wx^wx^w*, *i x^wéy^wx^wx^wx^w* 'the noise of cracking sticks, the sound of a large animal moving through the brush'. Compare *i x^wix^w*, *i x^wéy^w* above and *k^w't-x^wx^w'x^wix^w'lš* below. Spokane *x^wix^w'x^w'x^w* 'sound of cracking sticks', and cf. Spokane *č't-x^wix^w'-i-s* 'he broke sticks to represent objects of value to be gambled at a stick game' and Colv.-Ok. *x^wix^w'-nt* 'break things'.
- *i x^wíqqq* 'the sound of cracking'. Compare *i x^wíq* above.
- *i x^wóx^wx^w* 'the sound of hard things (e.g. rocks) crushing or crunching together'. Compare *x^wóx^w* above and *x^wx^w'x^wóx^w'lš* below.
- *i yáxxx* 'the sound of lightning'.
- *i yíqqqq* 'a creaking noise, like the noise made by dry trees rubbing together or a creaking floor'. Compare *iq'yíq'lš* below. Cf. *yiqqq'lex^w* 'earthquake' (with a lexical suffix = *úlex^w* 'earth'). Spokane *yíq'q'q* 'sound of lots of creaking bones'; cf. also Spokane *yiq* 'sound of creaking bones, sound of creaking timbers' and Colv.-Ok. *n-yq'=ísk'it=m* 'jump and groan'.
- *i Γ^wóH^wH^w* 'sound of water falling'
- *i Γ^wóx^wx^wx^wx^w* 'the sound of roaring water or of loudly running water, the sound of a toilet flushing'. Compare *Γ^wox^w* above.
- *i Γ^wúx^wx^wx^wx^w*, *i úx^wx^wx^wx^w* 'the noise of a fire crackling'.

3. Words with C(V)C- reduplication and -íłš (51 examples):

- *c-cncn'íłš* 'the distant noise of thunder coming, or any noise you hear coming, like a car; he's mumbling, saying things under his breath, talking to himself, scolding

himself; the sound of people talking over there (mumbling, you can't hear the words)'. Colv.-Ok. *cncnilx* 'roar, thunder'.

- *c'íΓ^w 'lš* 'it's squealing'. This word may refer to the action and not the sound itself, so possibly it doesn't belong here. It is one of only three unreduplicated (possible) noise word with this suffix that I've found. This is in any case a singular form; see the plural form below. Cf. Spokane *c'íΓ^w* 'squeaky sound of a bird or mouse'.
- *c'm'c'úm 'lš* 'the sound of a mouse squeaking'.
- *c'oΓ^w 'c'íΓ^w 'lš* 'they're squealing (pigs, babies, baby birds, etc.)'. Cf. the singular *c'íΓ^w 'lš* just above.
- *c'sc'óslš* 'the sound of bones rattling'. Compare *i c'óssss*, and cf. *c'ós-m-i-s* 'he rattled it'.
- *čočoš'ílš* 'sound of hollering'. Cf. *es-čoš-mí* 'hollering/yelling while dancing'. The root /čoš/ was almost certainly originally either /č'íΓ^wš/ or /č'íΓ^w/; cf. the Colv.-Ok. root *kíΓ^w*, as in *kaíΓ^w-ám* 'yell, holler'.
- *č'á^wč'á^w 'álš* 'a knocking or pounding sound, the sound of teeth chattering, or hammering nails—anything knocking'. The suffix *-álš* is a variant of *-ílš*. Compare *i č'á^wx^wx^wx^w* above.
- *ehehéylš* 'sound of moaning and groaning'. Cf. *es-ehehéylš-i* 's/he is moaning and groaning'.
- *hahahálš* 'sound of laughter'. Cf. *ḡḡḡḡílš* 'laughing hard, laughing all the time'.
- *haΓ^whaΓ^w 'álš*, *hawhawálš* 'the sound of hollering, scolding'. Cf. *es-haΓ^whaΓ^w 'álš-i*, *es-hawhawálš-i* 's/he is bawling someone out'.
- *iΓ^w 'íΓ^w 'lš* 'something trembling, shaking, moving rapidly back and forth'.

- $lq^w lóq^w lš$ ‘a stomach is gurgling, there’s a lot of water in it making noise’. Compare i $lóq^w q^w q^w q^w$ above. Cf. Spokane $lq^w q^w áq^w$ ‘sound of a great amount of water in the stomach’.
- $lulíwłš$ ‘bell ringing; the sound of throwing your pots and pans (when you’re not feeling like doing dishes)’. Compare above: i $lúuuuu$ ‘the sound of a bell ringing’ and i $lúwłwłwłwłw$ ‘the sound of water dripping into buckets (under a leaky roof)’. Cf. Spokane $lúwłwłwłwłw$ ‘the sound of continuous ringing of bells’.
- $lulwłš$ ‘the sound of hoofs – hooped animals running’.
- $lx^w lx^w ilš$ ‘the sound of crumpling paper, the sound of a mouse moving around, anything rattling’. Compare i $lóx^w x^w x^w x^w$ above.
- $c-l'il'iy'alš$ ‘rattle, a rattling noise’. Compare i $láy'$ and i $láy'i?i?i?$ above, and $láy'láy'láy'láy'$ below. Spokane $láy'i?i?$ ‘sound of many tin objects hitting the floor’.
- $łák^w lš$ ‘slapping noise; make a slapping noise with wet moccasins’. Compare $łák^w$ above and $łák^w łák^w łák^w łák^w$ below, and cf. $łq^w łáq^w lš$ ‘the sound of a dog’s tongue lapping water’.
- $łc'łúc'łš$ ‘sound of a person fighting through underbrush, sound of many branches snapping back into place’.
- $łp'łóp'łš$ ‘the sound of sniffing after someone has been crying’.
- $łq^w łáq^w lš$ ‘the sound of a dog’s tongue lapping water’. Compare $łáq^w łáq^w łáq^w$, and cf. $łák^w lš$ ‘slapping noise’ above.
- $ł'q^w ł'óq^w lš$ ‘the sound of creaking bones, creaking joints’.
- $mk^w múk^w lš$ ‘moving around invisibly (e.g. under a blanket, tossing and turning)’. (Not moving as fast as i $múk^w k^w k^w k^w$, above.)

- *mlméllš* ‘it keeps moving, showing and then disappearing, you keep seeing it moving’. Compare *i mél* and *i méllll* above.
- *mumáwlš*, *m’um’áw’lš* ‘the sound of meowing’. The second form, which has affective glottalization of the non-suffixal resonant consonants, is said to be used if the sound is really loud.
- *ohoŋ^wohóŋ^wlš* ‘he keeps coughing continuously’. Cf. Spokane *hec-hoʔhóŋ-i* ‘a cough (from a cold)’ and Colv.-Ok. *s-ŋ’áhaŋ* ‘catch cold’.
- *ŋ-oŋ^wsoŋ^wsí* ‘sound the little birds make’. I include this form here because on the hypothesis that it’s truncated from *ŋ-oŋ^wsoŋ^wsílš*. This root is unattested elsewhere in my data; it is most probably /ŋ^ws/, with, in the sound-symbolic word, phonetically predictable [o] vowels and diminutive glottalization of the resonant pharyngeal consonant (as well as a diminutive prefix *ŋ-*).
- *plpállš* ‘stagger, staggering’.
- *płpúłłš* ‘the sound of an elk or other animal walking in water; the sound of a kid playing in the water’. Compare *i púłłłł* above.
- *pmpmá* ‘making a lot of noise, as with pots and pans’; this truncated form probably originally ended in *-álš*, which is why it’s included in this section. Compare *i pámmmm* above.
- *pmpmílš* ‘the sound of a drum’. (Some elders use this instead of *i púmpúmpúmpúm* below.)
- *pqpáqlš* ‘when a whitetail runs away and you see the tail going like that [waves hand back and forth], the tail going in and out of sight’.
- *ptptálš* ‘the sound of splatting when something soft (rotten fruit, cow pies, etc.) hits the ground’. Compare *pátttt* above, and cf. also *ptát* ‘something soft (like loose excrement) fell out’; also Spokane *pátpátpát* ‘bubbling sound of a boiling pot’.

- *pupáwlš* ‘making a cracking or slamming sound’. Compare *i páw* above.
- *pupuwálš* ‘sound of drumming’. Compare *pu^{ŋw}á^{ŋw}* below, and cf. Colv.-Ok. *pu-pw-ŋálx* ‘make noise’ (and *pw-mín* ‘a drum’).
- *suʔsuw’ílš* ‘the sound of whispering’. Cf. Spokane *súʔsúʔsúʔ* ‘sound of whispering’.
- *tstsálš* ‘sound of howling (by a wolf, or loud noise made by people or other animals)’. Cf. *es-tstsáʔlš-i* ‘they’re making noise’.
- *es-t’k^wt’á(k^wlš)* ‘the sound of crackling wood’. Same as (variant form of) *t’k^wt’á(k^wlš)?* Cf. Spokane *t’ak^w* ‘sound of breaking loose, sound of bursting (e.g. balloon)’.
- *t’k^wt’á(k^wlš)* ‘the sound made when water is poured on hot rocks, or when you burn a certain kind of wood, a popping sound, or the sound of firecrackers. Same as (variant form of) *es-t’k^wt’á(k^wlš)?*
- *t’m’t’m’álš* ‘smacking (as in smacking the lips); a smacking noise, a slurpy noise’.
- *uhewílš* ‘a dog keeps barking continuously’. (Noise word?) Compare *uhéwhéw* below.
- *ʔuw’əw’ílš, ʔuʔəwʔílš* ‘making noise hollering for help, the sound of a person shouting’.
- *wl’wél’lš* ‘stagger, staggering’.
- *x^wl^walí(lš)* ‘shaking, shivering’ Compare *x^wálll* ‘shaking, shivering’, and cf. Spokane *x^wrx^wrílš* ‘the shakes, tremors’ and Colv.-Ok. *x^wárəlx* ‘shivering’.
- *x^wl^wúllš* ‘a bird is flapping around’ (sound of a bird flapping around?). Compare *x^wúlll*.
- *ʔaxaxáílš* ‘laughing hard, laughing all the time’ (sound of laughing?). (The root was originally *ʔáŋ*.) Cf. *hahahálš* ‘sound of laughter’.

- $x\lambda'x\lambda'il\check{s}$ 'a chewing noise, the sound of chewing (e.g. the sound of a dog chewing a bone or a person chewing hard candy or a worm chewing on wood)'. Compare *i xéλ'* above.
- $xpxípl\check{s}$ 'the sound of gnawing'.
- $k^w'ł-x^w\lambda'x^w\lambda'ł\check{s}$ 'the noise made by a large animal moving through brush, crackling'. Compare *i x^w\lambda'* and *i x^w\lambda\lambda\lambda'* above.
- $x^w\lambda'x^w\lambda'ł\check{s}$ 'the sound when you eat dry cereal without milk, or when a mouse is crunching, or eating chokecherries back when they pounded it (seeds and all)'. Compare $x^w\lambda'$ and *i x^w\lambda\lambda\lambda'* above.
- $x^wq^w'x^w\lambda'q^w\lambda'ł\check{s}$ 'the sound of a stick poking around'. Compare $x^w\lambda'q^w$ above.
- $iq'yíq'ł\check{s}$ 'it's squeaky'. Compare *i yíqqq'* above, and Spokane $yíq'q'q'$ 'sound of lots of creaking bones'.

4. Forms with reduplication but without $-il\check{s}$ (30 examples):

- $cácácá$ 'hollering (maybe for help) when you're getting beaten up'. Spokane $cácácá$ 'wailing sound, sound of a tantrum, pitiful' and Colv.-Ok. $ca\check{r}-ca\check{r}-cá\check{r}$ 'holler, cry'. Presumably the S-Q and Spokane forms originally had a final pharyngeal consonant.
- $ł-c'sc'sqán'e\check{r}$ 'the sound chickadees make, a kind of singing' (with a diminutive prefix $ł-$). Cf. $c'sqán'e\check{r}$ 'chickadee' and Spokane $c'sqáqn'e\check{r}$ 'chickadee'.
- *i ilłk^w* 'the sound of branches scraping, or of a horse or buffalo wallowing in dust or mud, or some similar sound'. Compare the singular *i ilłk^w* above.
- k^wask^was 'sound of grease dripping on the fire'. Compare *i k^wássss* above.
- $es-n-c-k^włk^w'é$ 'sound of groaning, moaning in pain'.

- *lalacín; lalalalalala* ‘women making a high-pitched noise’.
- *láy’láy’láy’láy’* ‘rattling noise’. Compare *c-l’íl’iy’alš*, *i láy’i?i?i?*, and *i láy’* above. Cf. Spokane *láy’i?i?* ‘sound of many tin objects hitting the floor’.
- *i líwlíwlíwlíw* ‘the sound of water dripping into buckets (under a leaky roof)’. Compare *lulíwlš* and *i líwuuu*. Spokane *líwlíwlíwlíw* ‘the sound of continuous ringing of bells’.
- *łák^włák^włák^włák^w* ‘the noise of wet moccasins slapping on the floor or ground’. Compare *łák^w* and *łák^wlš* above.
- *łáq^włáq^włáq^w* ‘lap lap lap’ (an animal’s tongue goes lap lap lap while drinking water). Compare *łq^włáq^wlš* above.
- *s-n-m’lm’álq^w* echo, echoing sound.
- *c-pmmím* ‘the sound of thunder coming’. (Some elders reject this word, using *cncnílš* instead.) Compare *i púmpúmpúmpúm* below and *i páw* and *pupáwlš* above.
- *pspsps* ‘a farting sound’.
- *i púmpúmpúmpúm* ‘the sound of a drum (big or little)’. (Some elders reject this word, instead using *pmpmílš* ‘the sound of a drum’.) This word may be related to the root *páw* ‘clunk, crack, slam (as, the sound of a door slamming or a drumbeat)’, where the Séliš-Ql’ispé word for ‘a drum’ is entered: *pu-mín*. But *páw* clearly has no C₂ *m*; compare *i páw* ‘the sound of a door slamming’ and *pupáwlš* ‘making a cracking or slamming sound’, both of which appear under other headings in this Appendix. Cf. Spokane *pum* ‘sound of drum beat’, *pum-ín-tn* ‘a drum’; Colville *pumín* ‘a drum’.
- *puŕ^wáŕ^w* ‘the sound of a drum’. Compare *pupuwálš*, *i páw*, and *pupáwlš* above.
- *es-ščíč=šn-i* ‘shuffling’. (Noise word?) Cf. Colv.-Ok. *c-xk-xk-ílx* ‘there’s a rubbing noise’.

- *šičšičšičšič* ‘shuffling sound (the noise you make when you don’t lift your feet off the ground)’.
- *es-tk^wtk^w-m’í* ‘the noise a wild chicken makes, a wild chicken is making noise’. Cf. *tutututututu* ‘the noise made by a male wild chicken during mating season’, and cf. Lillooet *ták^wx^wa?* ‘sound a grouse makes’ and Shuswap *tək^wtək^wəlí* ‘sound of the blue grouse’ (the Lillooet and Shuswap forms are from Kuipers 2002:103).
- *tutututututu* ‘the noise made by a male wild chicken during mating season’. Cf. *es-tk^wtk^w-m’í* ‘a wild chicken making noise’.
- *i t’áłt’áłt’áł* ‘the sound of anything flopping around on the ground, like a fish out of water; the sound of slapping, as at mosquitoes’; also *t’áłt’áłt’áł* ‘a clapping sound, anything that’s making a noise like that’. Cf. *k^w t’łt’łt’áłš* ‘you’re slapping at mosquitoes’. Spokane *t’áłłt’áłł* ‘sound of a galloping horse’.)
- *es-t’t’q^wál’q^w(o)m’m’* ‘the sound of trees bursting from extreme cold (when the moisture in the trees freezes and the trees pop – it sounds like a rifle shot)’. Compare *i t’áq^w* and *i t’áq^wq^wq^wq^w* above.
- *uhéwhéw* ‘it’s howling’. (Noise word?) Compare *uhewílš* above, and cf. Spokane *wéhwhéhwhéh* ‘sound of barking’ and Colv.-Ok. *wah-wáh-m* ‘bark, holler’.
- *uláqlq* ‘the noise of little frogs singing’. Cf. Spokane *?uráq?uráq* ‘sound of a frog croaking in the early spring’; cf. also Colv.-Ok. *s-w’ar’ák’=xn* ‘frog’, which clearly is not a noise word, though it is apparently sound-symbolic.
- *x^wax^wancó*, *es-Γ^woΓ^won’có* ‘a deer snorted more than once’. Compare *es-x^wancó* (also transcribed as *es-x^woncó*).
- *x^wíwx^wu* ‘a kind of bird that lives in the mountains; the name imitates the sound the bird makes’ (the elders didn’t know what kind of bird it is). Spokane *x^wíwx^wu* ‘oriole; American redstart’. Cf. Colv.-Ok. *x^ww*, as in *x^wíw-m* ‘whistle’.

- *s-x^wúpx^wx^w* ‘the sound a flying squirrel makes when it’s flying’. Cf. *s-x^wúpx^wp*, *s-x^wúx^wpx^wp* ‘flying squirrel’, and cf. Spokane *s-x^wúpx^wup* ‘flying squirrel’ and Shuswap *s-x^wupx^wəp* ‘screech owl’.
- *xáwxáw* ‘crunching snow or ice; the sound made when you eat snow or ice’ (example from Mengarini et al. 1977-79). Spokane *xáwxáwxáw* ‘sound of chewing’, and cf. also Spokane *xaw* ‘sound of biting into something’.
- *x^wc’x^wó* ‘city pigeon (rock dove)’. This may not be a sound-symbolic word; I include it here because an elder commented that the name is ‘probably from the sound they make’. The form is truncated from an original full form *x^wc’x^wóc’*.
- *x^wq^wx^wó?oq^wlš* ‘a pig’s grunting’. Compare *s-x^wóq^w’lqs* above. Spokane *x^wóq^w’* ‘sound a pig makes, sound of snoring’. Cf. Colv.-Ok. *x^waq^w’=lqs-m* ‘snore’ (apparently the action, not the noise).
- *iyác’yác’yác’yác’* ‘the sound of walking on fresh snow (**not** powdery snow); a creaky sound’.

FOOTNOTES

* As always, I am immensely grateful to the Séliš-Ql’ispé Culture Committee of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, St. Ignatius, MT, for their generous support of my work on Séliš-Ql’ispé since 1981. I am also grateful to the Culture Committee and its Council of Elders for permission to publish this paper. During the period when I collected most of the data for this paper I was working with an extraordinarily knowledgeable and dedicated group of elders, most consistently Harriet Whitworth, Dorothy Felsman, John Peter Paul, Agnes Paul, Felicite Sapiye McDonald, Louis Adams, Josephine Quequesah, Noel Pichette, Michael Durglo, Margaret Finley, and Alice Camel. Sadly, they are all gone now. But I will never forget the great debt of gratitude that I owe them.

I wish to dedicate this paper to Andrew Garrett, a scholar for whom I have long had the greatest respect. Andrew and I share several core research interests, most centrally

historical linguistics and the documentation of languages of small communities; this paper focuses on the latter area.

¹ The word *i łččép* is a diminutive form, with the diminutive prefix *ł-* and reduplication of the first root consonant. In this and many of the other examples in this paper, the *i* is a demonstrative particle (or perhaps even a demonstrative root) with stative meaning; it is one of two alternative markers of a construction usually translated into English as adjectival.

² The form *i láy'í?i?i?* contains three instances of the regular vocalization of *y'* when not next to a vowel; the underlying form is */lay'y'y'y'/*.

³ The laterals spelled *ł* in these words are phonetically voiceless approximant *l* sounds—that is, allophones of */l/*—not voiceless fricative *[ɬ]* sounds as in */ɬ/*. I've spelled them with *ł* because that is the conventional spelling for all voiceless lateral continuants in the language. The convention is non-ideal, since it conceals the phonemic distinction between */l/* and */ɬ/*, and at least some elders hear the difference between *[l]* and *[ɬ]*; but it doesn't lead to serious confusion.

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