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FUEGIAN AND CENTRAL SOUTH AMERICAN LANGUAGE RELATIONSHIPS ¹

BY MARY RITCHIE KEY AND CHRISTOS CLAIRIS

The languages of the Tierra del Fuego have been variously observed and recorded since 1520 by explorers, scientists, medical doctors, geographers, archaeologists, geologists, missionaries, and anthropologists. The Indian people have even been featured in a documentary by Jacques Cousteau. In spite of the extra-ordinary attention, which indeed is merited by these extra-ordinary people, there is little linguistic material published until recently.

Since most of the material available was gathered in earlier times the remarks are at times amusingly quaint. Skottsberg (1913, p. 581) reveals the difficulties of recording in this remote and bleak area. He says that his interpreter knew some Spanish "and spoke her own language fluently".

The Qawasqar language (known as Alacaluf) in particular has very little published material. There are several word lists — the early ones were compiled by Cooper (1917) and Lehmann-Nitsche (1919). Remarks on the sound system, based on the methodology available in the early 1900's, have been published by Borgatello, Gusinde, and Skottsberg. There is an amazing lack of grammatical material; Borgatello identified several morphemes. See Loukotka and Tovar for summaries and bibliography. Valory (1968) updated the summaries and history. The most recent recording of the language with linguistic methodology is the material gathered from 1971 to 1976 by Clairis. He made three expeditions to the Tierra del Fuego, totaling six months, under the auspices of the Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. In addition, informants were brought to Valparaíso for three months of study. Clairis' materials also include the generous gift of Emperaire's field notes, and these are invaluable in helping determine meaning. Most of the material is still in field notebooks and on tapes, but it promises to be a rich source of linguistic data in the future as analysis is undertaken. In this study we gave more attention to the Qawasqar language than the others because it is the least mentioned in recent classificatory statements. Also we had Clairis' materials and it seemed appropriate to take advantage of this opportunity.

The most complete Selk'nam materials are from Najlis, and these are extremely useful because of the grammatical notes provided. Thoroughly reliable linguistic studies are coming out of the universities of Chile and Argentina now, so the future of comparative studies across language families promises to be very bright.

The present article is a first step in treating these languages according to comparative principles. It is our purpose to set forth the work at this early stage in order to elicit revisions and additions. It is a slow and tedious process to find formulas for correspondences with such limited data and with differences in orthographies. In the first place it is difficult and seemingly impossible at times to find cognates, even though they might be there. Some of the word lists, supposedly for the same language, seem to be as different as distinct languages. Lack of speaking ability on the part of most of the investigators makes it difficult to assess the materials. The differences of the vocabulary items might be attributed to vocabulary variations rather than distinct languages. For example, in English various investigators might record several vocabulary items for the word 'dog': cur, pet, poodle, bitch, canine. The word lists made through the centuries are not consistently glossed. 'Man', for example, might be found under 'male, human being, person, husband' or the equivalent in Spanish, German, Italian, or French.

For a serious comparative study, one must know the distribution of the phonological contrasts, as well as the allophonic distribution. This information is what leads one to discover the patterns of split and merger and the realignment of allophones in their development. Yet none of these languages is sufficiently analyzed to give this information. In addition, it is essential to know the morphological segmentation in order to identify cognates in their simplest forms. This information is not available either. Nevertheless, we have proceeded on the assumption that these languages follow a general pattern found in related or neighboring South American languages, i. e. basic morphemes have a one-syllable shape. See Matteson, *et al.*, pp. 163-166; Wheeler, pp. 96-97; and Loos. Stems are constructed with two or more of the one-syllable morphemes. The order of the basic morphemes may be changed in the historical development, i. e. there may be metathesis on the morphological level as is found often enough on the phonological level in language change. Examples are replete throughout the Panoan and Tacanan studies (Shell; and Key, 1968 a). The morphological segmentation in our cognate list must be revised as more knowledge of the languages is published.

Since the difficulties are so great, thus augmenting the possibilities for error, we have chosen to stay very narrowly within semantic ranges. For the most part, we have chosen "cognates" with same, or almost the same meanings. Though we know in the history of language change, the semantic domains extend themselves, we have avoided at least some errors in the phonetic range by keeping the semantic range narrow.

For example, when we looked for 'tree' we did not spend a lot of time pursuing other possibly related vocabulary items: 'stump, house pole, pinetree, tall thing, canoe material, shadegiver, hammock-supporter, trail-maker, etc.'

At this stage the material does not permit a clear-cut presentation of correspondences between the languages. It may be that the linking languages are lost, (see discussion in Key, Chapter 1, in press a) or it may be that the study is not far enough along to give enough information to determine the development of the reflexes. Therefore we have proceeded from generalities gleaned from the comparative studies already published on supposedly related languages.

This is a necessary way to proceed when information is lacking. In fact, the work on Indo-European languages proceeded in this fashion, for example, the placing of Tokharian in the IE family, according to Pedersen (p. 245).

The generalities that we used as bases for our observations are those phonological changes and patterns that have been noted in the Chon, Panoan, and Tacanan comparative studies (Suárez, Shell, Key, 1968 a). Correspondences which occur in those language families appear to show up across other language families, assuming that the relationship posited between Chon and Pano-Tacanan is correct. Unsolved problems in these comparative studies also show up as residue in the Fuegian languages.

Fluctuation of phonemes is a phenomenon that occurs in Chama, a Tacanan language (Key, 1968 b, Key, in press, b). It has been seen that the patterns of fluctuation are related to the correspondences in the sister languages (Key, 1968 a, p. 45):

Fluctuation takes place in patterns; only certain exchanges are allowed. The phonemes must be similar in some way, either by point or manner of articulation...

At least some of the fluctuation /can/ be accounted for by borrowings from sister languages. ... Either the sounds involved are proved reflexes of a sister language or remain as unexplained residue in one of the sister languages. For example, the fluctuation between *k*, *x*, and *h* is listed. All three of these are reflexes in the sister languages of **x*. Fluctuation between *š*, *s*, and *h* is listed. All three of these are reflexes of **š* in the sister languages.

The Qawasqar and Chon languages exhibit a large number of examples of variations, fluctuations, and possible correspondences that follow these same patterns. Besides those listed in the paragraph above, there are many examples of *t* alternating with *k* (reflexes of Chama and Cavineña from Proto-Tacanan, Key, 1968 a, p. 35). There are examples of *m/n* in the Qawasqar/Chon materials, and in the Tacanan-speaking area of Bolivia, the Madidi River is called 'Nahihi' by the Cavineña (Tacanan) exhibiting regular correspondence of *d:h*. Throughout the Chon and Alacaluf materials there is dialect variation and alternation of *a* and *e* (Suárez, 1970, p. 39).

The phonological system of Qawasqar according Clairis is the following:

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>q</i>
	<i>t'</i>	<i>c'</i>	<i>q'</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>x</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		
	<i>l</i>		
	<i>r</i>		
	<i>y</i>		<i>w</i>
	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
	<i>a</i>		

The /*q*/ has front and back variants. Qawasqar appears to have a three-vowel system. The front vowel /*e*/ has several variants in the front high and mid range; the back vowel /*o*/ has high and mid variants; the low, central vowel /*a*/ has the least variation in articulation. In addition there is some centralization of vowels with an articulation approaching /*ə*/.

Najlis presents the following for Selk'nam :

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>
<i>p'</i>	<i>t'</i>			<i>k'</i>	<i>q'</i>
	(<i>s</i>)	(<i>ʃ</i>)	<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>				
	<i>l</i>				
	<i>r</i>				
	<i>y</i>		<i>ω</i>		

Selk'nam also has a three-vowel system : *e*, *o*, *a*. Note that the voiced and voiceless consonants of both of these systems are clearly demarcated by the consonant types — stops/fricatives on the one hand, and resonants/semi-vowels on the other.

The configuration of these phonological systems should be compared to the configuration of the Proto-Panoan (Shell), and Proto-Tacanan (Key, 1968 a) systems.

The comparative material suggested in the following lists will be presented from the point of view of Qawasqar. The Qawasqar phonemes are given, followed by the words which illustrate these sounds in the cognate lists. In a few cases where no Qawasqar form was available for cognates found in the Chon languages, the phoneme given is from one of the other languages. Since this study is tentative, the examples may or may not show real correspondences.

- p* in sets : cloud, cook, dark, duck, meat, night₃, pretty, quiet, sit, spear, stranger.
- t* in sets : after, angry, back, basket₄, blood, clay, cut₁, divide, drink, eye, feather, finger, fly, foot, girl, hit, house, kiss, knee₂, knot, know, milk, mouth, mushroom, navel, no, pain, palm, path, push, sing, slime, some, star, stomach₁, stranger, sun, sweet, tall, thrush, tongue, trash, water, wet, yellow.
- q* in sets : albatross, back, blood, canoe, cheek, clay, cloud, continuous aspect, cook, cut₁, dance, dream, duck, eat, eye, feather, foot, forest, girl, head, hit, house, how much ? knee₂, knee₃, knot, know, laugh, lie, live, man, mouth, mushroom, navel, night₁, odor, path, say, sea gull, shoulder, sing, skin, sleep, slime, some, spear, stomach₁, stomach₂, tail, tall, thing, thrush, tongue, tree₁, tree₂, wash, well.
- ʔ* in sets : forehead, yes₁.
- f* in sets : canoe, clay, drink, kiss, mouth.
- s* in sets : angry, bad, basket₃, blood, breath, cheek, clay, cloud, continuous aspect, cut₁, divide, dream, drink, eat, eye, feather, forehead, forest, hard, head, hit, how much ? kiss, knee₃, left/right, live, man, mouth, navel, one, pain, palm, push, sea urchin, slime, some, spear, star, stomach₁, stranger, sun, sweet, tail, tall, thrush, tree₂, walk₁, walk₂, wash, water, wet.
- x* in sets : ash, back, bone, come, dead one, die, give, laugh, old, shoulder, spear, thing, trash, tree₁, well.
- m* in sets : ash, blood, boat, Chilean, dead one, knee₃, milk, sleep, stomach₁, sweet, wet.

- n* in sets : blood, boat, brother-in-law, dead one, die, give, laugh, left/right, man, milk, navel, nose, old, shoulder, stomach₁, wet.
- l* in sets : albatross, before, brother-in-law, cloud, fly, forehead, hair, head, knee₂, lie, live, look for, nose, pain, pretty, sea gull, star, tongue, trash, water, yellow.
- r* in sets : back, bad, bone, cave, cut₁, dance, dream, eat, feather, finger, forehead, girl, meat, mushroom, nose, old, path, rock, spear, thing, thrush, tree₁.
- y* in sets : after, albatross, basket₄, before, boat, breath, brother-in-law, canoe, cave, Chilean, die, duck, know, look for, meat, mouth, path, rock, say, sea urchin, sing, yes₂.
- ω* in sets : before, brother-in-law, cave, dance, eat, finger, forest, hard, hit, night₁, no, odor, palm, say, sea urchin, skin, stomach₂, stranger, sun, thrush, walk₁, wash.
- e* in sets : boat, canoe, cheek, Chilean, cloud, come, cook, cut₁, dream, drink, eye, feather, finger, girl, give, hard, head, how much ? kiss, knee₂, knot, know, laugh, lie, man, meat, mushroom, navel, night₁, odor, pain, palm, path, pretty, push, quiet, say, sea urchin, sing, sleep, star, stranger, sun, sweet, thrush, tree₂, walk₂, yes₁.
- o* in sets : back, basket₄, breath, brother-in-law, cheek, dark, dream, forehead, nose, one, sea gull, shoulder, slime, some, water, yellow.
- a* in sets : albatross, angry, ash, back, bad, basket₃, basket₄, before, blood, bone, breath, brother-in-law, canoe, Chilean, cloud, cut₁, dance, dark, dead one, die, divide, drink, eye, finger, fly, foot, forest, girl, give, hair, hard, head, hit, house, how much ? kiss, knee₃, knot, know, laugh, left/right, live, look for, man, mouth, night₁, night₃, no, odor, old, path, pretty, rock, say, sea gull, sea urchin, sing, sit, skin, sleep, slime, some, spear, stomach₁, stomach₂, sun, tall, thing, tongue, trash, tree₁, walk₁, wash, water, well, wet, yellow, yes₂.

WORD LISTS

It seems useful to continue the format used in the comparative Tacanan study (Key, 1968 a), since it has been subsequently used, and the comparative files of various scholars would profit from an established precedent. Therefore we are using an alphabetical order of simple English forms, with cross-referencing. South American studies which use this format for comparative purposes are : Durbin and Seijas, 1973 ; Huttar, 1972 ; Matteson, *et al.*, 1972 ; Suárez, 1973. See discussion in Key, Chapter I, (in press a). In addition to the English gloss, we are sometimes adding a Spanish gloss when the work is ambiguous in meaning. For example, "clay (barro)", "divide (repartir)", "fly (mosca)".

In 1926 Tonelli included in his Ona-Selk'nam study, a comparative word list of Ona and Alacaluf, with about 100 cognates, most of which we also consider to be cognate. We have not changed the orthographies of already published

works. The numbers following the entries correspond to the numbers in the Tacanan study (Key, 1968 a). For example, night₁ and night₃.

The Qawasqar-Alacaluf data are from : Borgatello ; Clairis ; Cooper ; Lehmann-Nitsche ; Tonelli. The Chon data are from : Beauvoir ; Cooper ; Lehmann-Nitsche ; Najlis ; Schuller ; Suárez, Swadesh ; Tonelli. The Tacanan data are from : Key. The Panoan data are from : d'Ans ; d'Ans and Van den Eynde ; Key, 1968 a ; Loos ; Shell.

The word lists contain examples from the following languages :

Qawasqar (= Alacaluf)

Qa : Qawasqar

Chon

Chon : Chon

Ona : Ona

Selk : Selk'nam

Te : Tehuelche

Mosetene

Mosetene : Mosetene

Tacanan

*T : Proto-Tacanan

Cav : Cavineña

Chm : Chama

Huar : Huarayo

Rey : Reyesano

Tac : Tacana

Panoan

*P : Proto-Panoan

Ama : Amahuaca

Chan : Chaninahua

Chc : Chacobo

Cp : Capanahua

Cshb : Cashibo

Mar : Marinahua

Yam : Yaminahua

after : Qa *yat*. Selk *jòwnn*. Cav *hadya-aco* ; Tac *dacočo, sočo*.

albatross : Qa *kail* (Tonelli). Selk *qajl*.

angry : Qa *atas*. Selk *tol-ca?*. Chc *caša*.

ash : Qa *ayma(q)xas*. Chm *kwaki-maxo*. Ama *či?i-mapo*.

back : Qa *qyotqar* (cintura). Ona *keten, keit* (Tonelli). Chm *ehakaxa* ; Huar *exataxa*. *P *ka?ti*.

bad : Qa *asar*. Cav *a'si-kau'si-ke* ; Rey *ema-saj*. Yam *čá?a*.

basket₃ : Qa *c'epas*. Chm *ešaha* ; Tac *etsaihi*.

basket₄ : Qa *tayo*. Selk *ta?jjòw*.

before : Qa *yalaw*. Selk *lajlòw, laòw*. Chm *yáwaho*.

blood : Qa *qstan(q)-se*. Ona *sam*. *T *ami*. *P *imi*.

boat (barco) : See also canoe. Qa *ye'mase*. Selk *jènj* (canoe).

bone : Qa *(q)xar*. Ona *ko* ; Selk *q'o?*. *P *-poš[V]ko* (ankle).

breath : Qa *awsyehes*. Selk *xòxè*. *šexa-/wosi-*.

brother-in-law : Qa *wojelqs*. Selk *wa-j, wahrn*. Ama *wono-ca?*.

canoe : Qa *qayef*. Tac *kwaba*.

cave : Qa *yarawa*. Tac *rara*.

cheek : Qa *koš, kočè* (Tonelli). Chm *e-šemo*.

chilean : Qa *yema*. Ama *hama-wó?*.

clay (barro) : Qa *cafes*. Selk *t'à-?*.

cloud : Qa *qyeplas*. Ona *pala*.

come : Selk *xe-nn*. Cav *he-*.

continuous aspect : Qa *-sq-*. Ona, Te *-šk'*. Cp *-ska*.

cook : Qa *peyqonaq, pekyo*. Cav *sa'pa-* ; Tac *dapa-ke*.

cut₁ : Qa *ceratqaps*. Selk *t'ejqe* (c. in portions) ; *ahcer*. *T *šiki-*. *P *ša?ti-*.

dance : Qa *wareq*. Selk *wexè*.

dark (oscuro) : See also night. Qa *ai-oulapou* (night-Hyades). Selk *p'är*. *T *apo-*.

dead one : Qa *xanana*. Selk *jàn* ; Te *xám-*. Tac *mano-i-čeno*. *P *mawa-* (to die) ; Ama *na?a*.

die : Qa *yexanar*. Selk *jàn*. Chm *mano-yo-*.

divide (repartir) : Qa *cas*. Selk *šhaje [šaje]*.

dream : Qa *yeqsar*. Selk *š-k'ohr*.

drink (beber) : Qa *cefas*. Ona *ce-ten* ; Selk *šejn*. *T *ici-*. *P *ši?a-*.

duck : Qa *qayep*. Selk *qahn*.

eat : Qa *qewas* (hambre), *(q)a'sage*. Selk *qär* (hambre). Cav *ara-*.

eye : Qa *tas ~ tés*. Ona *?ó-ter* ; Selk *o(h)tr* ; Te *'òtel*. Chm *e-ko-xa* ; Tac *e-to-a*.

feather : Qa *terq-terq* ; *seter, šetre* (Tonelli). Ona *shitrroh* ; Selk *sèètr*.

finger : Qa *terwa* (also hand). Ona *terr* ; Selk *tè-r*. *P *mütoti*.

fly (mosca) : Qa *qematala*. Selk *te?-l* (mosquito). Cav *di(?)i* ; Chm *?di?* (mosquito).

foot : Qa *qat* ; *alika* (Empereur). Chon *kel* ; Selk *?aj* ; TeSouth *kauj*.

forehead : Qa *os-* (Tonelli). Selk *?ohsr/?ohsl*. Chm *e-koxanee* (in front of).

forest : Qa *qsqawa*. Selk *h-ersqn/seršqn*.

girl : Qa *karke* (Tonelli). Ona *karke-n* (Tonelli) ; *télken* ; Selk *t'elqn*.

give : Qa *xeno*. Selk *je-nn*. *P *?inq-*.

hair : Qa *al* (grey hair). Ona *áliq* ; Selk *-?a-*.

hard : Qa *səwe?e*. Ona *só're* ; Selk *?oc'ece*. *P *čoriši*.

head : Qa *iak-a-lu-s* (Tonelli). Selk *ahle* ; TeNorth *yagueje*. *T *e-iyoxa*.

hit (golpear) : Qa *caqaws*. Selk *šaqe, šax*. Chm *xakwea-sexaki-*. Mar *kušáwī*.

house : Qa *at, ata*. Selk *ka-wj*. Chm *e'ki?* ; Huar *eti*. Ama *hati/tapa's*.

how much? : Qa *aqwesqa*. Tac *kekwa*.

kiss : Qa *caf'cana*. Selk *cèt'e*.

knee₂ : Qa *t'eltel* ; Ona *kerren* (knee cap) ; *kacerkre* (Swadesh) ; *teer, ter* (Tonelli).

*P *rq-*.

knee₃ : Qa *(q)sqames*. Selk *q'ahcj*.

knot (slipknot) (lazo) : Qa *tay*. Selk *te?j*. Chm *wakahé*.

- know (saber) : Qa *ayget* (no sé). Selk *ajker*. Chm *kwa?a* (no sé).
 laugh : Qa *xaneqsta*. Selk *ankè?nn* (broma).
 left/right : Qa *asan-tereq*. Selk *?anjik* (left). *T *ćani* (left); Chm *šani* (left/right).
 lie (mentira) : Qa *lek* (Tonelli). Selk *le-qe*.
 live : Qa *qsqal*. Selk *-ka-* (uncertain). Cav *čača*; Chm *aha/eše*. Ama *ha-*.
 look for : Qa *yelay*. Selk *whàjn?*. Ama *wona-kí*.
 → man : Qa *aqsenas*. Ona *č'ón*; Selk *conn, ?onn*. Huar *ešóhi*. *P *oni*; Ama *honi?*.
 meat : Qa *yeper*. Selk *jèpr*. Cav *e'rami*. Ama *yapa nami?*.
 milk : Selk *cèt'n*. Cav *atso-na*. *P *šoma*.
 mouth : Qa *afqstay ~ ofqstay*. Ona *kasken*. Selk *kàšqn*. *T *e-kaca*. Ama *kíšá*.
 mushroom : Qa *ter* (Tonelli). Ona *yòken*; Selk *te-hr*. Tac *keriri*.
 navel : Qa *qcena*. Cav *so?o*; Tac *co* (irregular). Chan *toitišpi*; Yam *tó?i*.
 night₁ : Qa *aqyawe*. Selk *xèank'n*. Cav *meta*; Chm *meka-xe*.
 night₃ : Qa *yaqapcewe*. Tac *apo-daso* (dark).
 no : Qa *gotaw*. Selk *taw*.
 nose : Qa *nos*. Ona *ul*; Selk *ow-l*; TeSouth *or*.
 odor (bad) : Qa *k-wače* (Tonelli). Selk *wàčè*. Cav *wanida*; Chm *-šiyè*. Ama *pisi-*.
 — old : Qa *arzana*. Selk *q'ar'na?* (old woman). *T *ano* (grandmother).
 one : Qa *taqso*. Selk *sèos*.
 pain : Qa *celces*. Selk *càlxe*. Yam *isì-ì*.
 palm (of hand) : Qa *terwa-cewe*. Selk *ce-jj*.
 path (camino) : Qa *tar(e)yo ~ ter(e)yo*. Selk *terj* (flat sandy place). Cav *ekari*.
 pretty : Qa *laip* (also good). Selk *olèj-cè*.
 push : Qa *a'cegyas*. Chan *pitsi*; Mar *pìtsikiwì*.
 quiet (tranquilo) : Qa *taryepsqa*. Selk *pe*.
 rock : Qa *yar* (Tonelli). Ona *yarr*; Selk *jahr*.
 say : Qa *yeqwa*. Selk *q'aw, je-r*. *T *a-*. Cshb *ka-ti*.
 sea gull : Qa *golawq*. Selk *ko'le?n*.
 sea urchin : Qa *awetar, yaaftas*. Selk *aq'èš, ?e(?)òw*.
 shoulder : Qa *taqzon*. Selk *k'òjjn*. Chm *ebeyozo*. Ama *paštonko?*.
 sing : Qa *yeqtal* (also dance). Selk *jewèj*.
 — sit : Qa *pap*. Ona *pen*; Selk *pe*.
 skin (also bark) : Qa *qawes*. Ona *kal-pen*; Selk *ha-l*. Ama *šaka'*.
 sleep : Qa (*t*)*game*; *aqyawe* (night). *T *tawi-*.
 slime (lapa) : Qa *tsaqo*. Selk *šòwjj*.
 some : Qa *taqso*. Selk *ta?c/ka?c, ha?c*. Ama *tošó?*.
 spear (lanza) : Qa *apareqso, qeraxana, qeraxa-na*. Ama *hanši?*; Mar *arapon-tašo*.
 — star : Qa *celesewe*. Selk *telu, celj-amš* (estrella de mer). *P *wištima*.
 Stomach₁ : Qa *qacen*. Ona *kat*; Selk *q'ál'*. Chm *see* (intestine); Tac *etsama* (intestine).
 stomach₂ : Qa (panza) *aqaw*. Selk *hàw* (buche, craw).

- stranger : Qa *pescewe*. Tac *metsehi*.
 sun : Qa *eswalceleg*. Te *šéwen*. *T *iceti*. *P *?oši* (moon).
 — sweet : Qa *melceqstaqxareqs*. Selk *ma-ce, meacn*.
 — tail : Qa *qsow*. Ona *?óše*; Selk *k?oš/?oš*. Mosetene *oši* (Suárez).
 tall : Qa *qstas/t'as*. Selk *k'oš*.
 thing : Qa : *-qzar, -kar* (noun suffix, Tonelli). Selk *qà-r*. Chm *akiana*; Tac *aikwana*.
 thrush (tordo) : Qa *qeyeqceqworaq*. Selk (*k*)*cèhwràn*. Tac *čiku*.
 tongue : Qa *qalaqtes*. Ona *cal*; Selk *ca-l*; Te *t'ál*; TeSouth *tal* (Schuller).
 trash (basura) : Qa *xalzas*. Selk *talpàn*.
 tree₁ : Qa *qzar*. Selk *kar* (coals); Selk *xà-hwq'* (firewood); Te *qàrò*. *T *ka-ti* (firewood). *P *ka[a]ro* (firewood).
 tree₂ : Qa *qse* (also branch, leaf). Ona *áku* (dead, fallen tree), *wínshi*; Selk *q'è-l* (branch), *wèjncj*. *T *aki*; Chm *akwi*. Ama *hii*; Chc *hiwi*.
 ugly : See bad.
 walk₁ : Qa *as*. Ona *wask*; Selk *wa-x* (trail). *P *ba?i*; Ama *wa?i?*.
 walk₂ : Selk *cee-*. *T *aše-*.
 wash : Qa *aqwas ~ aqwos*. Selk *?òcè?*; Te *č'áx*. Cav *otsa-*; Chm *šakwa-*. *P *čoka-*.
 — water : Qa *aqcolay*. Ona *choon/con*; Selk *còhwn*.
 well : Qa *qawaxsa ~ qawaksa*. Selk *q'á*.
 wet : Qa *camsna*. Cav *naka-*; Chm *šepa-, -čoe*; Tac *tsabi-*. Chc *čaaša*; Mar *mbtšanda*.
 yellow : Qa *tal'el/t'ey, t'el*. Ona *tor, tol* (Tonelli); Selk *t'ohl*. *tóši*.
 yes₁ : Selk *èè?*. Chm *e?e*; Tac *e?e*.
 yes₂ : Qa *ayaw*. Selk *hàj*.

NOTES

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