An Interlinear Analysis of Seven Kalispel Texts From Hans Vogt

Kelsi Camp

The University of Montana

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AN INTERLINEAR ANALYSIS OF SEVEN KALISPEL TEXTS FROM HANS VOGT

By

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B.A. University of Montana, Missoula, Montana, 2000

Thesis

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts
in Linguistics

The University of Montana
Missoula, MT

Summer 2007

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Dr. James Scott
Modern and Classical Languages and Literatures
This thesis is an interlinearization of seven Kalispel texts originally published in 1940 by Hans Vogt. The texts were published with sentence-by-sentence English translations but were not further analyzed by Vogt. Here, they are analyzed at the morpheme level, providing data for further research on the language and for language documentation and preservation purposes. The thesis includes an introductory section with background and methodology, the interlinearized texts, and a list of stems, affixes, and roots occurring in the texts.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the faculty, staff, and students of the Linguistics Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara. I am grateful for the experience of studying there for three years. I would also like to thank the faculty and students of the Linguistics Program at the University of Montana; Trace Stone, for the initial project-specific Toolbox setup; and Jeanie Castillo, for her organizational and moral support. Finally, Tony Mattina was an invaluable resource with his extensive knowledge of Interior Salishan languages and incredible patience, and this project would have been impossible without him. I am very fortunate to have been able to come back to Montana to study with him.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ii

Acknowledgments iii

List of Abbreviations v

Charts of Symbols vi

1.0 Introduction 1
  1.1 Background 1
  1.2 Methods 4
  1.3 Project Significance 6

2.0 Texts 7
  2.1 Text II 7
  2.2 Text III 18
  2.3 Text IV 27
  2.4 Text V 42
  2.5 Text VI 71
  2.6 Text VII 75
  2.7 Text VIII 88

3.0 List of Forms 104
  3.1 Stems 104
  3.2 Affixes 120
    3.2.1 Prefixes 120
    3.2.2 Suffixes 121
    3.2.3 Lexical Affixes 123
    3.2.4 Infixes 125
  3.3 List of Roots 126

References 139
### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>actual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTIP</td>
<td>antipassive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CISLOC</td>
<td>cislocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLL</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuative</td>
</tr>
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<td>CUST</td>
<td>customary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
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<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
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<td>INCH</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
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<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTERR</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANS</td>
<td>transitive subject</td>
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</table>
## CHARTS OF SYMBOLS (CONSONANTS ONLY)

### Table 1: Vogt’s orthography (from Vogt 1940a:11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Spirants</th>
<th>Affricates</th>
<th>Sonants</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glottalized</td>
<td>non-glottalized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>c</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>č</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>č̣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>č̣̣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>č̣</td>
<td>ĺ</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-palatals</td>
<td>k̃</td>
<td>k̃</td>
<td>x̃</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-palatals</td>
<td>ɻ̂</td>
<td>q̂</td>
<td>ɻ̂</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the sonants may occur glottalized m w n y l.

### Table 2: Updated orthography (arranged after Vogt)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Spirants</th>
<th>Affricates</th>
<th>Sonants</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glottalized</td>
<td>non-glottalized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>c</td>
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<td>č</td>
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<td>č̣̣</td>
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<td>Laterals</td>
<td>č</td>
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<td>l</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid-palatals</td>
<td>k̃</td>
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<td>x̃</td>
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<td>Post-palatals</td>
<td>ɻ̂</td>
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<td>ɻ̂</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Glottalized sonants ɻ̂ w ċ y l

* Non-glottalized č is not phonemic.

---

1 Vogt does not list the glottal stop (his symbol ź) as a phoneme in his chart. In this study it is represented by the glottal stop symbol ʔ.
1.0 INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents an interlinear analysis of seven texts originally published in Hans Vogt’s (1940a) grammar of the Kalispel language. Kalispel is a Southern Interior Salish language in a dialect continuum with Flathead and Spokan that traditionally stretched through Eastern Washington, Northern Idaho, and Western Montana. In 1997 there were 200 speakers – all older adults – on the Kalispel Reservation in Washington and the Flathead Reservation in Montana (Gordon 2005). This thesis assumes a familiarity with Salishan languages and is not intended to provide a grammatical overview of the Kalispel language; for such, see Carlson’s (1972) grammar of Spokan, in addition to Vogt (1940a).

Section 2 of this thesis contains the interlinearized texts, and section 3 lists the stems that appear in the texts with glosses, roots, alternate forms, and any additional notes. That is followed by a list of affixes and, finally, a list of roots.

1.1 Background

Hans Vogt, a Norwegian linguist who had studied Armenian, Georgian, and other European and Caucasian languages in France and Norway, came to the United States in 1937 to spend a year studying with Edward Sapir and Leslie Spier at Yale University (Bergsland 1989). That summer, Vogt spent eleven weeks on the Kalispel Reservation in Pend Oreille County, Washington, collecting data for a reference grammar of the Kalispel language. During the last month of his stay on the reservation, he collected traditional and personal tales from an 85-year-old man called One-Eyed Tom, a prestigious storyteller. A monolingual speaker of Kalispel, One-Eyed Tom was “almost totally blind and rather deaf, but mentally still alert” (Vogt 1940a:8). Vogt also worked with a
bilingual teenager, Joe Abrahamson, who initially repeated One-Eyed Tom word for word while Vogt transcribed One-Eyed Tom’s Kalispel and Abrahamson’s English translation on the spot – there were apparently no audio recordings made. Vogt would also later check the texts and translations again with Abrahamson.

The collected texts – nineteen in all – included traditional animal stories and personal stories presumably from One-Eyed Tom’s life, and were published with the grammar and a dictionary (Vogt 1940a). The texts were arranged with the original Kalispel printed on one page and the sentence-by-sentence English translation printed on the facing page, as shown in Figure 1:

**Figure 1: Scanned image of pages 80-81 of Vogt 1940a**

---

**KALISPEL TEXTS**

(1) bë’it itëm, këmt’ ści’ëth bë’cëth* u së’cmu ënæwëx’ëi’i szëmkëx. këmt’ cëmkël më pë’lëm bë’cëth* bë’cmt’ ënæwëx sa’itt* çëmt’ itëm bë’cëth*.

(2) ënæwëx cëmt’ itëm bë’cëth* ënæwëx’ëi’i’itëm bë’cëth* u ënæwëx’ëi’i’itëm bë’cëth*.

(3) ënæwëx’ëi’i’i’i itëm bë’cëth* ënæwëx’ëi’i’itëm bë’cëth* ënæwëx’ëi’i’i’itëm bë’cëth*.

(4) ënæwëx’ëi’i’i’i itëm bë’cëth* ënæwëx’ëi’i’i’i’i’itëm bë’cëth* ënæwëx’ëi’i’i’i’i’itëm bë’cëth*.

**TRANSLATION**

The translation is based on the free translation given me by Joe Abrahamson and on the grammatical analysis of the text. I have tried to use the words and expressions of my interpreter and to keep the translation as close to the text as possible without too much variation in the rules of English grammar. I have often left some of the Kalispel conjunctions untranslated and Aid.

Be sure that the text is written in clear and understandable language.
Vogt labeled the stories with Roman numerals and divided them into seemingly-arbitrary numbered units of a few sentences each. Figures 2 and 3 show a closer view of the beginning of Text II.

II.

(1) esgêli ulinêvu u shâ: esêmmûngû ûlinê'ê ûçaxî ûquyêc. êçêmmû ûçina sqalômixû (sqalômixû?). êçêmmû ûlinêpoqûcût, yessalûnu ûlêqirûcût.
(2) cîntûm ûçû sqalômixû u aqestênum. cûtû ûçû sqalômixû: gaqstîtêcî ușapûcût. kucûntûm: xu, xêmmûcât. êçêmmûcût u gëxûti ûlêqirêcût. (3) hoi qêlêçû, gëxûti u qêqapûs, kîi qêkêcût, qêpêšêmûn, qêxâtûm xêmmûcût. xêlt ûlêqirêcût u qêxêmûcût îmomûntûm. (4) qêdûçû ûlêqêçû qêxêmûs u kênu ûlêqûs. sâxêcû u îlêqêmûs xêlt ûlêqirûcûcûqêcê (gaqstîtêcêqûcê) ûnînûmlît îlêqirêcê. (5) hoi xêqêcê, kênu qêlêçû. kênu kêtis ûlêqîmûcût înuvêcêmû khûvêcê. hoi çüt îlêqirûcûcût îlêqêçû xêqêpû. (6) hoi xêqêcêcît înuvêcêmû xêqêpû. îsê qêpêspû, kênu çüt u qêxêmûcût qêqapûtsû, kucûntûm xu. îsê bêcîqû bêcîqûcût mîyê bêcîqûcût mîyê. (7) têçêmûcût u çêmûcût u çêmûcût, îlêmûpûmûnî êçêmûcêcê.

Figure 2: Detail of part of Text II (Vogt 1940a:80)

II.

(1) My father and my mother lived. My father was blind as I am.
A man called on us. He said to my parents: I am coming after Quiquiscus.
(2) They said to the man: What are you going to do with him? The man said: We'll get some fish. They said to him: Well, get ready. I got ready, and we went to his canoe. (3) We paddled, we went and we pulled ashore. We walked, we had an axe, we got some pitch-wood. We got very much and we carried it back on our backs. (4) We went back to where the fire-place was going to be, and he fixed it. He split and tied together in bundles all our pitch-wood, which he put in our canoe. (5) The night came, we paddled. He took his spear and speared in the water after fish. When we had come straight opposite to our place (?), the morning came. (2) He divided the fish, we drifted along. Just as the sun came up over the hills, my friend said to me: You shall lie down over there. I'll lie down over here. (7) He lay down and I lay down and fell asleep. I felt as if (?) I was walking, I saw a dish lying. The dish was very

Figure 3: Detail of part of the English translation of Text II (Vogt 1940a:81)
Figure 2 shows the Kalispel text, and Figure 3 shows the corresponding English translation. The English translations, for the most part, line up with the original Kalispel text sentence by sentence. Vogt did not analyze the texts any further than this.

After his year in the United States, Vogt returned to Europe, where he resumed his work on Caucasian and European languages (see Bergsland 1989). With the exception of a short comparative study of Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Coeur d’Alene (1940b), Vogt produced no other works on Kalispel or Salishan languages.

### 1.2 Methods

Of the nineteen texts published with Vogt’s grammar, I analyzed seven of them – texts II through VIII (Vogt 1940a:80-93). (Text I had been analyzed by another student.) The texts were interlinearized using Field Linguist’s Toolbox, a shareware program distributed by SIL International. First, the Kalispel text was entered into the program along with the English translation. The text was entered as it appears in Vogt with only minor orthographic changes – Vogt’s superscript ʌ was changed to w; Vogt’s sub-dot and super-dot, indicating glottalized consonants, were changed to ’; and Vogt’s glottal stop ’ was changed to the glottal stop symbol ʔ. Orthographic changes include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vogt</th>
<th>current</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m̃ (and similar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ſ</td>
<td>ſ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cu</td>
<td>ĺ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A sentence from the fifth section of text II, for example, which originally appeared in Vogt (1940a:80) as hói kuku'éc, kʰémt qe'laáp, was initially transcribed as:
This text line was then updated more significantly to reflect current orthographic and word-division practices. Vogt did not indicate rounding of velar and post-velar consonants before or after rounded vowels, and many morphemes that Vogt wrote as prefixes are now considered clitics or free words. The text in (1), then, was retranscribed as follows:

(2) hóy k"ukʷuʔ éc, k"émt qeʔ laáp.

The i in hói was changed to its non-syllabic counterpart y, unrounded k in kukuʔ éc was changed to k", and the proclitic qeʔ appears as a separate word. The sentence in (2) now reflects current word-division and orthographic practices and is ready to be analyzed at the morpheme level.

To highlight the grammar of the language, this study focuses on inflectional rather than derivational morphology. Inflectional affixes are indicated by a hyphen (-) and are analyzed in the morpheme line. Derivational and word-formation morphemes are marked with a plus sign (+) but are not labeled or further analyzed in the interlinearization. Segmentable parts of words may have historical significance, and many derivational affixes are very productive with transparent meanings (such as epɬ- ‘have’ and eɬ- ‘again, back’), but they are nevertheless left unanalyzed here. Lexical affixes (referred to by Vogt as “field-suffixes” [1940a:51]) are indicated with a double hyphen (=). For practical purposes, clitics appear as separate words in this analysis. Segments that I do not know how to analyze are marked with a question mark (?) or asterisks (**). Glosses for forms were primarily found in the dictionary included at the end of the Vogt grammar.

---

2 The exceptions are the transitivizers, derivational suffixes that are marked with a hyphen and individually identified in the interlinearization.
and in the Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.), or, in the many cases where no glosses could be found, were suggested by Dr. Anthony Mattina.

An interlinearization project such as this is a never-ending learning process; analyses are chosen based on the knowledge the researcher has at the time, and, as that knowledge grows, better analyses are often found that supersede the previous analyses. There will undoubtedly be many instances of this in my interlinearization of the texts presented here, not to mention mistakes, but I hope that, overall, this analysis presents an accurate reflection of the grammar of the Kalispel language.

1.3 Project Significance

These texts, as far as I know, have not been subject to any large-scale interlinearization before this project. Interlinear analyses of texts are valuable for language documentation and linguistic analysis, providing researchers with data for syntactic, pragmatic, and other grammatical studies. These texts also provide historical and cultural information and, presented here in a continuous format with a current orthography, may prove useful to current speakers of Kalispel and those involved in language revitalization projects, as they could be used to create language teaching materials. Because derivational and word-formation affixes are not separately analyzed, the resulting interlinearization may be easier to read and more accessible to non-linguists.

It is my hope that the remaining unanalyzed Vogt texts will be interlinearized and, along with the texts from this study, will aid future work on the Kalispel language.
2.0 TEXTS

The interlinearized texts are presented in this section, labeled with Vogt’s Roman numerals and internal numbering system (II.001 indicates the first section of the second text). The first line is the Kalispel text as it appears in Vogt with minor necessary orthographic changes, as described in the introduction. The second line is the updated Kalispel with current orthographic and word-division practices. The third line shows the Kalispel analyzed into stems and inflectional affixes, with the next line giving glosses for those. This is followed by a line giving the English translation of the Kalispel sentence or clause.

2.1 Text II

II.001

esqéi uɬinlʔéu u skúi.
esqéy uɬinlʔéu u sk"uy
es+qéy3 uɬ4= hin- lʔéu u s+k"uy
people.live COLL= 1SG.POSS- father and mother

My father and my mother lived.

esčinamqín ɬuʔinlʔéuʔ ečaxí tquyeʔé.
esčinamqín ɬuʔ inlʔéu ečaxí t q"uyeʔé
es- čnm=qin ɬuʔ hin- lʔéu ec+ʔaxí t q"uyeʔé
ACT- blind ART 1SG.POSS- father like OBL 1SG

My father was blind as I am.

---

3 This form, a stylized story opener (see also texts IV, V, VII, and VIII), is analyzed here as a lexicalized unit.
4 The collective-possessive sequence here is unexpected, possibly an instance of a derivational morpheme (the lexical prefix uɬ= ‘COLL’) occurring outside of an inflectional morpheme (hin– ‘1SG.POSS’). For another occurrence of the collective prefix, see V.013.
číʔcantəm tčíná sqaltəmíxʷ (tsqaltəmíxʷ)?
číʔcantəm t číná6 t sqaltəmíxʷ
čiʔc7 -nt -m t č=naqs t s+qlt+mixʷ
arrive.PL -TR -PASS OBL one.person OBL man

A man called on us.
cúntəm ɬuʔinp/apostrophesupnospox/haceknospút
cúntəm ɬuʔ inp/apostrophesupnospox/haceknosp/wsuperút
cu -nt -m ɬuʔ hin- ɬuʔq/wsuperiq/wsuperiscú.
cu -nt -m ɬuʔ hin- ɬuʔq/wsuperiq/wsuperiscú.

He said to my parents:

yesxalítəm ɬuʔq/wsuperiq/wsuperiscú.
yesxalítəm8 ɬuʔq/wsuperiq/wsuperiscú.

I am coming after Quiquiscu.

11.002

cúntəm yé sqaltəmíxʷ u aqsesčénəm.
cúntəm yé sqaltəmíxʷ u aqsesčénəm.
cu -nt -m ye s+qlt+mixʷ u han- qs- es- ěn+m
say -TR -PASS this man and 2SG.POSS- FUT- ACT- do.what.INTR

They said to the man: What are you going to do with him?

---

5 Parenthetical forms such as this represent “probable conjectures” on Vogt’s part (1940a:80) and were apparently not in the original utterances.
6 This is an example of truncation, a well-known feature of Kalispel, where material is lost after the stressed vowel. Other examples in these texts include the name qʷiʔiʷscú (qʷy+qʷy+scut) and nté ‘think’ (nt=els). See Vogt note 26 (1940a:17).
7 The plural infix -ʔ- is not segmented here or elsewhere.
8 The realization of the possessive and actual prefixes here (yes-) is homophonous to, for example, forms in v.021, ‘He was watching’, which do not contain the first person possessive prefix.
9 The surface form of the first person singular possessive prefix here (y-) is different from the underlying form (hin-). Variant forms are listed in section 3.2 with their underlying forms.
The man said:

qaqstiिव९' ti suुुधॉ uळ.
qa qstिव९ t suुुधॉ uळ
qe? qस- tiव९ -i t s-वे +व९
1PL.INTR FUT- obtain -FUT OBL fish

We'll get some fish.

k*ucुुंतम: x*ु़, खचमांचुृत.।
k*u cu -nt -m x*u खच+मन+चुृ -़
1SG.OBJ say -TR -PASS all.right ready -SG.INTR.IMP

They said to me\textsuperscript{10}. Well, get ready.

činखचमांचुृ उ qे?xुिः ु़ा?चखिये?s.
čin खचमांचुृ उ qे? x*ु़ y ु़ा? c खिये?s
cn खच+मन+चुृ उ qे? x*uय y ु़ा? c खिये? -s
t1SG.INTR ready and 1PL.INTR go ART to bark.canoe -3POSS

I got ready, and we went to his canoe.

II.003

hोि qे?िलाप, qे?xुिः u qे?qछुृ
hोि qे? िलाप, qे? x*ु़ y u qे? c qqुृ
then 1PL.INTR paddle 1PL.INTR go and 1PL.INTR land

We paddled, we went and we pulled ashore.

\textsuperscript{10} Vogt has the translation as "They said to him..." (1940a:81), corrected here to reflect the first person object of the Kalispel.
We walked, we had an axe,

```
qe? tIx"am t sƛƛúk"e?
qe? tix"+m t s+ƛ+ƛúk"+e?
```

we got some pitch-wood.

```
Xuʔıt ɬuʔ sctix hóy qeʔ tk/wsuperʔut qeʔ epɬšiləmín
X"uʔıt ɬuʔ qeʔ sc+tix hóy qeʔ tk/wsuperʔut qeʔ epɬšiləmín
```

We got very much

```
u qe? e‡k"a‡q"étəməntəm
u qe? e‡q"+‡q"ét+nt -m
```

and we carried it back on our backs.

II.004

```
qе?e‡i?áp ɬulšéy u qе?eso·lús
qе? e‡i?áp ɬu li šéy u qе? eso·lús
qе? e‡+y?áp ɬu li šéy u qе? es=wl=úús
```

We went back to where the fire-place was going to be,

```
u k"émət kúlis.
```

and he fixed it.
sáxʷis u ičilc̓əntəs xuʔít ɬuʔ qa qɬs/lambdabar/commasuprightnosp/lambdabar/commasuprightnospúk/commasuprightnosp/wsuper+eʔ ɬuʔ np/apostrophesupnospənntés
ɬuʔ qa qɬs/lambdabar/commasuprightnosp/lambdabar/commasuprightnospúk/commasuprightnosp/wsuper+eʔ ɬuʔ np/apostrophesupnospənntés
ɬulqestx/haceknosp/wsuper+tox/haceknosp/wsuper+t lšéyu/apostrophesupnospu x/haceknospa/halflengthlíp.

He split and tied together in bundles all our pitch-wood, which he put in our canoe.

11.005

hói kukuʔéc, kʷémt qeʔlaáp.

The night came, we paddled.

kʷémt kʷéis ɬuʔmínis u nɬuʔétum kʷúʔtsuwegʔu. ɬuʔmínis
and.then take -TR -3TRANS ART spear -3POSS

He took his spear and speared in the water after fish.

hói pút ɬuʔmínis lšéyu šaʔlip.

When we had come straight opposite to our place (?), the morning came.

11 This instance of preposition l and deictic šéyu is an example of multiple words functioning as a single unit, marked here and elsewhere with an underscore (_).
hóí xʷq̓éʔusís ṣuʔéʔuɬ.

hóy xʷq̓éʔusís ṣuʔéʔuɬ
hóy xʷq̓éʔusís ṣuʔéʔuɬ
then divide ṣuʔéʔuɬ

He divided the fish,

išeʔ qeʔpəl/commasuprightnospíp
išeʔ qeʔ pəl/commasuprightnosp+ip
DEM 1PL.INTR drift.along

we drifted along.

kʷémt pút u qsc̕eʔčəmí sp̕ənáí, kucúís yé tisəlá:
and.then just and FUT- rise.CISLOC -FUT sun 1SG.OBJ say -TR -3TRANS

Just as the sun came up over the hills, my friend said to me:

təl/commasuprightnospcíʔ mkʷctk/commasuprightnosp/commasuprightnospəncút miyé təl/commasuprightnospəʔé mčintk/commasuprightnospəncú

You shall lie down over there, I'll lie down over here.

12 Question marks in parentheses in the translations indicate Vogt’s doubts about the translation (1940a:81).
13 There appears to be a typesetting error here in Vogt (1940a:80), with the space (and apparently the dot and stress mark) for an i, although the character is not there. The form is listed in Vogt’s dictionary as pəl̓ (156), so I have added the i here.
He lay down and I lay down and fell asleep.

I felt as if (?) I was walking.

I saw a dish lying.

The dish was very far from here.

Oh, I hesitated.

---

14 The prefix l- in this form is unexplained.
Oh, I want to step over in this direction.

I made a step, then I went down (in the water).

My friend woke up.

I had disappeared from the canoe.

The canoe was moving.

My friend looked around.
There was some movement in the water.

He thought I had drowned,

and just in front of him I came up again.

Then he grabbed me by the hair before (I went down again).

I looked at him from the water and stuck out my tongue.

---

15 The inchoative infix –ʔ– is not segmented here or elsewhere.

16 The initial character here is not clear in the original Vogt. It is analyzed as an l here by analogy with II.004 and II.005, although it could possibly be meant to be a t.
I was not awake, and when I had stuck out my tongue, I woke up.

and then I got scared, and tried to get up in the canoe again.

When I had got up in the canoe, he paddled as hard as he could to their house.

I felt very cold.
Then we came back to their house, and I warmed myself.

That's the end.
2.2 Text III

One year, I was still a kid.

Then I did not know how to dance.

I heard there was going to be a dance.

My parents heard it and said to me:

You shall not go, you are too crazy,
you might do some foolish things in front of all the people.

Then I thought: I wish I could see it, and then I stole away.

When the night fell,

I joined all the people who were going.

I went in and saw crowds of people.

---

*šin,* analyzed as the root here, is identical to and probably cognate with the lexical suffix =šn ‘foot’
I was glad when I saw this long house.

The people danced and said to me:

Go and dance.

Then I danced, I had not learnt it.

I got tired, sat down; fell over and fell asleep.
As they were going to dance, they woke me up because everyone has to be awake.

I got up, I walked around in the room, I was the blue-jack.

I did not know that I did it dreaming.
When I woke up, I wanted to go out, but they said to me: No.

Then when they had finished, I wanted to go out, but they said to me: No.

They said to me: They'll leave when they have eaten.

I sat down,
food was prepared and the people ate.

When they had eaten, they gave me much food to take home (?).
My parents asked me:

**ćəčēŋ u kʷesəlcíʔi?**

ćə čēŋ u kʷ esəlcíʔi
cj. to where and 2SG.INTR CONT- in.here -CONT

Where have you been?

III.009

hóí cún:

hóy cún

hoy cu -n
then say -1SG.TRAN

I said:

**ćəšəʔi u činesxúi čestəfqamí.**

ćə šəʔi u čin esxʷúi č č estəfqamí
cj. to that and 1SG.INTR CONT- go -CONT to CONT- dance -CONT

I was going to the dance.

hóí kucúis ɬuʔtinféu:

hóy kʷu cuis ɬuʔ t inféu

My father said to me:
If I ask and hear from someone that you have done crazy things,

\[ \text{m} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} \text{c} 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šéýu hóí.
šéýu hóy
šéyu hoy
DEM stop

That's the end.
2.3 Text IV

IV.001

yeʔesqéi.
yéʔesqéy
yees+qéy
thisthere.is.a.house

There was a house.

epɬčičiyéʔ.
epɬčičiyéʔ
epɬ+čy+čiy=éʔ
have.a.grandmother

He had a grandmother.

hói kʷémt tənkʷá nqʷənhəmis 4uʔčičiyéʔs 4uʔƛʷəl xé s póx póxút.
hóy kʷémt t nkʷá nqʷənhəmis 4uʔčičiyéʔs
hoy kʷermt t nkʷ=asqt n+qʷən+mí –s 4uʔčiyor=éʔ –s
thenand.thenOBLonedaypity-3TRANSARTgrandmother-3POSS
4uʔƛʷəl xé s póx póxút
4uʔƛʷí xé s+ póx póxút
ARTbecausenownow

One day he pitied his grandmother, because she was now very old.

cúis yeʔčičiyéʔs:
cúis yeʔčičiyéʔs
cu –nt –s yečy+čiy=éʔ –s
say-TR-3TRANSthisgrandmother-3POSS

He said to her:

hói činxʷíst.
hóy čin xʷíst
hoy čn xʷíst
then1SG.INTRwalk

I'll go.
Then the next morning he got ready,

and said to his grandmother:

I'll get someone to help you.

Then the young man walked away.

He came to an open field where people were gathering camas.
The young man sat down.

While they were digging,

he looked around and saw someone and said:

The one with the red shirt is going to be my wife.

He went,

many people were working. He came up to her, she talked to him
cúntəm:
cúntəm
cu -nt -m
say -TR -PASS

and said:

éxʷ, təʔé u kʷesxʷstaluísi.
INTJ OBL here and 2SG.INTR CONT- walk.around -CONT

Hallo, so you are walking around here?

cúis: é *** kuyescuwétəm kʷiqsəmʔém.
cuísn é*** kʷyescuwétəm kʷ
cu -nt -s é kʷ hin- es- ćwet+m kʷ
say -TR -3TRANS yes 2SG.INTR 1SG.POSS- ACT- go.after.INTR 2SG.INTR

iqsəmʔém
hin- qɬ- s+m+ʔem
1SG.POSS- to.be- woman

He answered: Yes, I come for you, you are going to be my wife.

IV.005

hói ʔácxstəm ʔiʔé ts̕c̕xcúts u cún séuntəm:
hóy ʔácxstəm ʔiʔé t s̕c̕xcúts u cún
hoy ʔac̕x -st -m ʔiʔé t s+xc+Əc+ut -s u əu -n
then look -TR -PASS this OBL companions -3POSS and say -1SG.TRANS

séuntəm
sew -nt -m
ask -TR -PASS

Her companions watched them and said to her and asked her:

---

20 The form here may be a false start for the passive form cúntəm.
What is that young man saying to you?

cúis: kuʔescúnams: kuyescúwétəm kʷiqsəmʔém.

cúis  kʷu  ?escúnams  kʷ
cu  -nt  -s  kʷu  es-  cu+n+m  -s  kʷ
say  -TR  -3TRANS  1SG.OBJ  ACT-  say  -3POSS  2SG.INTR

yescúwétəm  kʷ  iqʔəmsəm
hin-  es-  ɬwet+m  kʷ  hin-  q^t-  s+m+ʔem
1SG.POSS-  ACT-  go.after.INTR  2SG.INTR  1SG.POSS-  to.be-  woman

She said: He tells me: I come for you, you are going to be my wife.

xʷaʔxeʔe?]iʔé  səx̂cəxútəs  ?iʔé  semʔém.

xʷaʔxeʔeʔéy  ʔiʔé  səx̂cəxútəs  ʔiʔé  semʔém
xʷa+ʔxeʔeʔ+éy  ʔiʔé  səx̂cəx+uʔt  -s  ʔiʔé  s+m+ʔem
laugh  this companions  -3POSS  this  woman

The woman's companions laughed,

čxʷaʔxeʔeyəmíntəm  ʔiʔé  ɬtəwít.

čxʷaʔxeʔeyəmíntəm  ʔiʔé  ɬtəwít
č+əxʷa+ʔxeʔeʔ+éy+mín  -nt  -m  ʔiʔé  ɬ+t+tw+it
laugh.PL  -TR  -PASS  this  young.boy

they laughed at the young man.

IV.006

cúntəm  ʔiʔé  tsəfəxaláxts  səmʔém:
cúntəm  ʔiʔé  t  səfəxaláxts  səmʔém
cu  -nt  -m  ʔiʔé  t  sə+fxa+fáxt  -s  s+m+ʔem
say  -TR  -PASS  this  OBL  friends  -3POSS  woman

The woman's friends said to her:
Go and follow him and then after a short while, turn back.

The[nn] she followed him a little while, and the woman's companions said to her:

Do you really believe him and go home with him?(?)

They said to her:
Turn back. But then the young man grabbed the woman and held her tight.

They went up to him and tried to take his hands off her,

I say: You are going to be my wife.

She said: No, I have a husband -- a man-eater.
cúis yé tɬtətəwít:
cúis yé t ɬtətəwít
cu -nt -s ye t ɬ+t+təw+it
say -TR -3TRANS this OBL young.boy

The young man said to her:

suwét ɬuʔasqaltəmíxʷ?
suwét ɬuʔ asqaltəmíxʷ
swet ɬuʔ han- s+qlt+mixʷ
who ART 2SG.POSS- man

Who is your husband?

iv.009

cúntəm: ɬé stəlɬəlá ɬuʔisqaltəmíxʷ.
cúntəm ɬé stəlɬəlá ɬuʔ isqaltəmíxʷ
cu -nt -m ɬé s+tl+tl=aʔ+m ɬuʔ hin- s+qlt+mixʷ
say -TR -PASS already thunder ART 1SG.POSS- man

She said to him: The thunder is already my husband.

hahá-stəm, kʷəšéʔ tá kʷepəqaltəmíxʷ.
hahá stəm kʷəšéʔ tá kʷ epsqaltəmíxʷ
hahá stəm kʷəšéʔ tá kʷ epɬ+s+qlt+mixʷ
laugh -TR -PASS that NEG 2SG.INTR have.a.husband

He laughed, no, you have no husband.

cúntəm: tá, ném kʷxíl.
cúntəm tá ném kʷ xíl
cu -nt -m tá nem kʷ xíl
say -TR -PASS NEG PART 2SG.INTR dead

She said: No, you might die.

cúis: kʷəšéʔ tá kʷepəqaltəmíxʷ.
cúis kʷəšéʔ tá kʷ epsqaltəmíxʷ
cu -nt -s kʷəšéʔ tá kʷ epɬ+s+qlt+mixʷ
say -TR -3TRANS that NEG 2SG.INTR have.a.husband

He said: No, you have no husband.
Another woman stood over there.

He started holding her still tighter.

Then she said:

Let me go now, you might die.

He said: No,
kʷémt: tá kʷepsqaltəmíxʷ21.

and.then NEG 2SG.INTR have.a.husband

you have no husband.

iv.011

The other woman who stood over there, she said:

pppuwá, pppuwá
pppuwá pppuwá
pppuwá pppuwá
pppooa pppooa

pppooa, pppooa

Look, you are being told on already.

And as the woman finished talking:

21 The form for ‘have a husband’ here is recorded with xʷ but all other instances have xʷ.
weetseen, weetseen, and the sky darkened.

$k"émt túnəm: má šéyu ɬuʔisqaltəmíx".$

$k"émt túnəm má šéyu ɬuʔisqaltəmíx$.

$k"émt cu -nt -m ma šéyu ɬuʔisqaltəmíx$.

$k"émt cu -nt -m ma šéyu ɬuʔisqaltəmíx$.

$k"émt cu -nt -m ma šéyu ɬuʔisqaltəmíx$.

$k"émt cu -nt -m ma šéyu ɬuʔisqaltəmíx$.

She said: Look, that is my husband.

d and.then say -TR -PASS INTJ DEM ART 1SG.POSS- man.

Yes, laugh and he said.

Oh, he laughed and said:

No, you have no husband.

Then all of a sudden, as the thunder came straight over their heads,

he roared.
She said: Let me go now, please,

kömi: /lambdabar/commasuprightnospé míʔ kup/lambdabar/commasuprightnospéčstəmənt,  
say -TR -PASS now FUT 1SG.OBJ let.go -TR

cuntəm /lambdabar/commasuprightnospé míʔ kup/lambdabar/commasuprightnospéčstəmənt

you might die.

tá qspəčstəməncən,  
tá qspəčstəməncən

I won't let you go,

təmá k"iqsəmʔém.  
təmá k" iqsmʔém

tma k" hin= qɬ- s+mʔem

because you are going to be my wife.

čxʷtəpəmíntəm tståʔəláʔm 4iʔé sxʷəfətqs.  
čxʷtəpəmíntəm tståʔəláʔm 4iʔé sxʷəfətqs  
č+xʷt'+p+min -nt -m t s+tl+tl=aʔ+m 4iʔé s+xʷf=ət=qs

The thunder fell upon the rabbit.

IV.013

4iʔé ččiʔtəmíntəm u təncqsəm ičiliyálsəm.  
4iʔé ččiʔtəmíntəm u təncqsəm ičiliyálsəm

As he came quite close, the rabbit looked up at him, with eyes wide open.
The thunder stopped and got scared, turned around, and fell upon him for the second time.

As he came close up to him, again the rabbit looked up at him, with eyes wide open, and the thunder got scared.

The thunder stopped there and said to the young man:

Go, have pity on me,
Kue+x"ičaɬt isəɬm?έm.
k"u e+x"ičaɬt isəɬm
k"u e+x"ič ɬt hin- s+m+ʔem
1SG.OBJ give.back -TR 1SG.Poss- woman

Give me my wife back!

K"4úʔ ɬ̓š̓éy u k"qʷəŋ/qʷənšcín,
K" 4úʔ ɬ̓š̓éy k" qʷəŋ/qʷənšcín
K" 4uʔ ɬ̓š̓éy k" q"ň + q"ň + s = cın
2SG.INTR ART PART then 2SG.INTR ask.for.pity

If you had asked for pity at once,

Šéʔ kuné u e+x"ičəɬcan.
Šéʔ k"uné u e+x"ičəɬcan
Šéʔi k"uné u e+x"ič -ɬt -s -n
that CONJ and give.back -TR -2SG.OBJ -1SG.TRANS

I should have given her back to you.

IV.015

K"émt cúntəm:
K"émt cúntəm
K"emt cu -nt -m
and.then say -TR -PAS

The thunder said to him:

Šéʔ inxaménč, kuaqeʔe+x"ičəɬtam.
Šéʔ inxaménč k"u aqeʔe+x"ičəɬtam
Šéʔi hin- xam=ɛnč k"u han- qeʔ- e+x"ič -ɬt -m
that 1SG.Poss- love 1SG.INTR 2SG.Poss- FUT- give.back -TR -ANTIP

I love her, you must give her back to me.

Šéʔu cúti yé ɬ̓təʔwít:
Šéʔu cúti yé ɬ̓təʔwít
Šéʔu cú+t+i ye ɬ̓t+tw+it
DEM he.said this young.boy

Then the young man said:
há··· kuntá néxʷ iqɬəxamé.
há··· kʷuntá néxʷ iqɬəxamé
ha kʷuntá néxʷ hin- qɬ- xam=énč
ha perhaps(?) also 1SG.POSS- to.be- love

Ha! perhaps I'll love her too!
There was a house.

They heard about a pow-wow.

In one house there were only men.

The one said to the other:

Make a canoe for us!

---

22 The form for ‘powwow’, occurring in a position normally occupied by nouns, is analyzed here and throughout as a noun lexicalized with verbal affixes still attached. An occurrence in v.008, however, is analyzed as a verbal form.

23 The i in this word is possibly an intransitive stem-forming suffix +$m$, underlying /kʰúl+m−š/ realized as [kʰútš].
His friend asked: What are we going to do?

He said: We'll go to the pow-wow.

Then he made a canoe.

After a few days, he had the canoe all ready.

They set it on the water.
It was mighty fine.

cúntəm yé ṭsəłá̱x̣ts ulčé人身 u qaqsʔaƛ̣íli.
cúntəm yé ṭsəłá̱x̣ts u ḷ če人身 u
cu -nṭ -ṃ ye ṭ ṣ+fa̱x̣ṭ -ṣ u ḷ če人身 u
say -TṚ -PASS this OBL friend -3POSS and LOC where and

qa̱ qsʔaƛ̣íli
qeʔ̣ qṣ-ʔaƛ̣íḷ̣ -i
1PL.INTR FUT- do -FUT

His friend asked him: How are we going to do?

ṭamá̱ lesʔústi u esiyapqíni (?)
ṭamá̱ ḷ esʔústiṭ u esiyapqíni
ṭma̱ ḷ eṣ-ʔuṣ+ṭ -i̱ u eṣ+ya\+p=qí̱ṇ+i
INTERR LOC CONT- dive -CONT and powwow

Isn't this a pow-wow with diving contest?

v.003

wéʔúst,
wéʔúst
weʔuṣ+t
although dive

He dived,

ilttʃəṇē u e+teʔékʷ,
ilttʃəṇē u e+teʔékʷ
iḷ+ṭ+ṭʃəṇē u e+teʔékʷ
in.a.short.while and resurface.INCH

after a short while he came up again
and said to his friend: We'll cheat.

Make a hole in (the bottom of) our canoe.

He made a hole in their canoe.

Then they measured the hole, so that he could breathe when he stuck his head through the hole.
k"ént wiʔs4x"antés u x"Xim u e+t\@\#n\$e\_\$ús (?).
k"ént wiʔs4x"antés u x"Xim u
k"emt wý+s +4x w -nt -es u x"Xim+m u
and.then finish.hole -TR -3TRANS and whittle.INTR and
e+t\@\#n\$e\_\$ús
e+t\@\#n\$e\_\$ús -nt -s
stick.in.again -TR -3TRANS

He finished it, whittled a stick and stuck it in the hole.

hói esčqali? k"út u laáp.
hói esčqali? k"út u laáp
hoy es+č+l iʔ hói esčqali? k"út u laáp
then lake big and paddle

There was a big lake, and they went along in the canoe.

v.005

esčxoép u tšéyu šiyú?.
esčxoép u tšéyu šiyú?
es+č+x"y ép u tšéyu šyú?
bend.in.water? and OBL DEM pass.by.PL

The lake turns and there they passed by.

\$u\$ e+č+e\$iʔ t 4i\$é lesčxoép u wí\$čam ec\$a\$xí tsqéli\$x? ?emút.
\$u\$ e+č+e\$iʔ t 4i\$é lesčxoép u wí\$čam
\$u\$ e+č+e\$iʔ t 4i\$é lesčxoép u wí\$čam
ART near this LOC bend.in.water? and see.PL.INTR

eča\$xí t sqéli\$x? ?emút
eča\$xí t sqéli\$x? ?emút
like OBL man sit

As they came closer to it, they saw someone sitting who looked like a man.

súx"is yé tčíná:
súx"is yé t číná
sux" -nt -s ye t č=naqs
know -TR -3TRANS this OBL one.person

One of them recognized him:
Oh, he looks like coyote.

The other one said to him: Don't pay any attention to him, he might get us into trouble.

They passed exactly opposite the place where coyote was sitting.
Where are you going, where are you going?

v.007

Where are you going, where are you going?

We are going to the pow-wow.

Oh, that's fine, I'll go with you.

They said to him: If you have got red paint.

He said: I have got some red paint.

If you have got white clay.
I have got some white clay.

They went up to him.

They paddled (on again),

got to a turn of the lake,

came in sight, there the pow-wow was going to be held.

---

24 The final –n in this form is unexpected and unexplained.
Coyote said to his friends:

Now let us camp here.

They camped.

The next morning,

he said to one of them: Come!

He went up to him and sat down.

25 The original translation in Vogt reads “Coyote said to this friends”, a minor typographical error that is corrected here.
He fixed him,

hói t iyúcəman kúfís yé spqín.

then OBL red.paint work -TR -3TRANS this head

fixed the head with red paint.

kʷémt 4uʔwiʔstés:

and.then ART finish -TR -3TRANS

When he had finished it:

hayó··· suiʔwiʔnumti.

oh.my beautiful

Oh, how he looks fine!

hói xalítsis yé činá.

then ask -TR -3TRANS this one.person

Then he called the other one,
fixed him beautifully with the white clay and with black.

v.010

When he had finished, he made his friends sit down.

They both looked very beautiful.

Then he took his own brown paint

---

26 Vogt neglects to mark stress on this word (1940a:86) but by analogy with the occurrence in v.009 I am marking it on the last syllable.
kʷémt npu'ciméčstəmis u nsiux̱ sts tséu kʷ u iilkʷis yé sču'čuwáxis u skʷəxúš.

kʷémt npu'ciméčstəmis u
kʷemt n+p=čn=éčst+m -nt -s u
and.then in.palm.of.hand -TR -3TRANS and

nsíxʷuʔsts t séu kʷ u
n+si̥xʷ+uʔ -st -s t sew+=kʷ u
pour -TR -3TRANS OBL water and

yílkʷis yé sču'čuwáxis u skʷəxúš
yílkʷ -nt -s ye s+čw+čw=aχn -s u s+kʷχ=us
rub -TR -3TRANS this arms -3POSS and face

scattered it out in the palm of his hand, mixed it with water and rubbed his arms and face with it.

v.011

4uʔkúlis, cúis yé sałšbalaxts:

4uʔ kʷúlis cúis yé sałšbalaxts
4uʔ kʷúl -nt -s cu -nt -s ye s+ša+šalxt -s
ART work -TR -3TRANS say -TR -3TRANS this friends -3POSS

Doing so, he said to his friends:

šéʔi 4uʔquyeʔé inkʷənčstamís tan.
šéʔi 4uʔ qʷuyeʔé inkʷənčstamís tan
šéʔi 4uʔ qʷuyeʔé hin- kʷn=čst+mist+(t)n
that ART 1SG 1SG.POSS- try.by.hand

This is my fixing.

cúis yé sałšbalaxts:
cúis yé sałšbalaxts
cu -nt -s ye s+ša+šalxt -s
say -TR -3TRANS this friends -3POSS

He said to his friends:
We will start this custom for the generations to come.

When it gets more people, they shall do as we have done now, when they gather for gambling and some people camp.

They paddled along

and just as the sun had mounted a little on the sky, they got in sight.

They saw them coming.

---

27 Vogt’s conjecture is analyzed here.
He said to them: there is the camp,

Then they told their names.

The wood-pecker with his friends - the wood-duck and coyote - came in order to gamble, all three of them.
The two men - the wood-pecker and the wood-duck - were very much envied and admired.

They pulled ashore, went ashore and sat down.

Somebody said: The wood-pecker shall be matched against the moose.

The wood-duck was told
to be matched against the elk.

Coyote was told:

We will match you against the buck.

Coyote said: No.

They said: All right then, against the caribou.

He said: No.
Coyote said: We will gamble with the buffalo-cow as stake.

They talked it over and said:

Oh, that's too good food.

They said: It's all right for him,
When we beat them,

\[
\text{mqe?púlstəm ɬuʔsənč/commasuprightnospəl/commasuprightnospé,}
\]

\[
m \text{ qe? puls } \text{ -st } \text{ -m } \text{ ɬuʔ s+nč/commasuprightnospəl/commasuprightnospé}
\]

\[
\text{FUT 1PL.TRANS kill } \text{ -TR } \text{ -1PL.TRANS ART coyote}
\]

we'll kill coyote

\[
\text{mtšéʔi mqe?cq/apostrophesupnospamíntəm cí senčafé,}
\]

\[
m \text{ t } \text{ šéʔi m qe? } \text{ cq/amíntəm cí senčafé}
\]

\[
m \text{ t } \text{ šéʔi m qe? } \text{ cq+min } \text{ -nt } \text{ -m } \text{ cí? } \text{ s+n+čl=ep}
\]

\[
\text{FUT OBL that FUT 1PL.TRANS throw.away } \text{ -TR } \text{ -1PL.TRANS that.one coyote}
\]

and throw away this coyote

\[
\text{mčəmí cí sałxaláxts mqéʔiʔntəm.}
\]

\[
m \text{ čmi cí? } \text{ s+ľxa/fáxt } \text{ -s m qe? } \text{ ?iɛɛnt } \text{ -nt } \text{ -m}
\]

\[
\text{FUT only that.one friends } \text{-3POSS FUT 1PL.TRANS eat } \text{ -TR } \text{ -1PL.TRANS}
\]

and eat only his friends.

\[
cú: xú, \text{ Xe } \text{ šéʔi } \text{ Xé } \text{ tq"ayaq"ái mqe?tšilšéʔustəm cí sančafé.}
\]

\[
cú x"ú Xé šéʔi Xé t q"ayaq"ay m qe?
\]

\[
cu x"u Xe šéʔi Xe t q"y+q"ay m qe?
\]

say all.right then that then OBL buffalo FUT 1PL.TRANS

\[
tšilšéʔustəm cí sančafé
\]

\[
tš+iš=éws -st -m cí? s+n+čl=ep
\]

oppose -TR -1PL.TRANS that.one coyote

They said: All right, we'll match this coyote against the buffalo.
cú: xú... xú

cú xʷú

cu xʷu

say all.right

He said: All right.

sqaléʔu ɬuʔqɬʔeutúʔsc.

s + qal = éw ɬuʔqɬ-ʔewt = úʔs - s

beaver ART to.be- their.opponent -3POSS

The beaver was going to be their opponent in the contest.

ɬu l nihéʔusəm u esənc/commasuprightnospəlétk/wsuper ʔesél luk/commasuprightnosp/wsuper

ART LOC middle.of.water and pole.in.water two stick.of.wood

In the middle of the water two poles were stuck.

lšéy/apostrophesupnospu esʔusʔúst.

LOC DEM dive.PL

There they used to dive.

hói xúʔui ɬiʔé lešəncálétkʷ.

hóy xʷúʔuy ɬiʔé l esəncálétkʷ

then go.PL this LOC pole.in.water

They went out to the poles in the water.
The wood-pecker said:

pan iqe?esamim mqe?šxip,

but 1sg.poss fut act know.intr fut 1pl.intr lose

But I want to know for sure when we get beat,

k"émmt ye lsčsáxams 4i?é lesəncqétk" mčinesč+cqétk".

k"émmt ye l scsaxams 4i?é l esəncqétk" and.then this loc near -3poss this loc pole.in.water

m čin esč+cqétk".

m čn es+č+q=etk"

FUT 1sg.intr cust on.water

so I'll be sitting here in the boat, close to the poles in the water.

hóí xuʔui ?usʔúʔst.

hóy xsʔúʔuy ?usʔúʔst

hoy xsʔúʔuy ?usʔ+ʔúʔs+t

then go.pl dive.pl

They went and dived.

k"émmt u ṭəŋk“álq” 4uʔsqaléʔu u ṭəŋk“álq” 4uʔttq“éneʔ.

k"émmt u l nk“álq” 4uʔ sqaléʔu u l

k"émmt u l nk“=alq” 4uʔ s+qal=éw u l and.then and loc one.pole art beaver and loc

nk“álq” 4uʔ ttq“éneʔ?

nk“=alq” 4uʔ ttq“éneʔ?

one.pole art wood.duck

There was one pole for the beaver, and one for the wood-duck.
As soon as they had dived, they were watched in the water from the boat.

He (i.e. the wood-pecker) saw the wood-duck coming swimming towards him carefully.

He took out the plug

and the wood-duck stuck his head up in the hole, and held it there.

The pole in the water belonging to the beaver moved.
After a little while (?), the duck when down again,

and then move -TR -3TRANS this 3SG

When he had moved it, he came up again

and stuck his head again through the hole in their canoe.

It was noon, and nobody had come up to the surface.

---

28 Here the prefix ep- ‘have’ is attached to a stem that is formed with the prefix es- ‘ACTUAL’. ep- in this case is similar in meaning to ‘there is’.
A little while after noon (?), bubbles appeared,

\[ \text{npuʔétkum sqaléu.} \]
\[ \text{npuʔétkʻum sqaléu} \]
\[ \text{n+puʔ=étkʻ+m s+qal=éw} \]
\[ \text{fart.in.water beaver} \]

the beaver had farted in the water.

\[ \text{v.021} \]

\[ \text{4ulsxčín u 4uʔsančalé,} \]
\[ \text{4u l sxčín u 4uʔ sančalé} \]
\[ \text{4uʔ l sx=čín u 4uʔ s+n+čl=ep} \]
\[ \text{ART LOC shore and ART coyote} \]

On the shore was coyote,

\[ \text{wičis 4iʔé npuʔétkum sqaléu} \]
\[ \text{wičis 4iʔé npuʔétkʻum sqaléu} \]
\[ \text{n+puʔ=étkʻ+m s+qal=éw} \]
\[ \text{fart.in.water beaver} \]

he saw that the beaver had farted in the water

\[ \text{u čoʔšim, cú: hoi npuʔétkum.} \]
\[ \text{u čoʔšim cú hoy npuʔétkʻum} \]
\[ \text{u čoš+ím cu hoy n+puʔ=étkʻ+m} \]
\[ \text{and he.shouted say then fart.in.water} \]

shouted and said: Now he farted.

\[ \text{cúti: čeʔ tčeʔståqənpuʔétkum} \]
\[ \text{cúti čeʔ t čeʔståq sənpuʔétkʻum} \]
\[ \text{cú+t+i čeʔ t čeʔståq sənpuʔétkʻum} \]
\[ \text{he.said yet OBL three FUT- fart.in.water} \]

He said: He'll fart in the water three more times,
mɛ̃tkʷkʷétkʷ.
m ɕ̪tkʷkʷétkʷ
m ɕ̪+tkʷ+kʷ=έtkʷ

FUT come.to.surface.of.water

and then he'll come up.

cúti ɬuʔsənčəfɛ:
cúti ɬuʔsənčəfɛ
cú+ɬuʔs+n+č=ep
he.said ART coyote

Coyote said:

sisiyús ɬuʔttqʷéneʔ,
sisiyús ɬuʔttqʷéneʔ
si+siy=ús ɬuʔttqʷéneʔ
smart ART wood.duck

The duck is good,

éxʷ ñʷaʔsʔitši.
éxʷ ñʷaʔsʔitši
exʷ ñʷaʔsʔitši
INTJ maybe CONT- sleep -CONT

he must be sleeping!

hóy kʷémt yesʔáčəx sənčəfɛ u imál.
hóy kʷémt yesʔáčəx
hoy kʷémt i es- ʔačx s+n+čl=ep u i maf
then and.then PART ACT- look coyote and PART bubble

Coyote was watching, and it bubbled.

áʔiʔesél sʔpuʔúm,
áʔiʔesél sʔpuʔúm
ayʔesél sʔpuʔúm
oh two fart

Oh, he farted for the second time,
čéʔ taʔesél qsʔuʔúm.
čéʔ  t ʔesél qsʔuʔúm
čeʔ  t ʔesél qs- puʔ+úm
yet  OBL  two  FUT- fart

he'll fart two more times.

kʷémt  yesʔáčəx,  yesʔáčəx,
kʷémt  yesʔáčəx  yesʔáčəx
kʷém i  es- ʔačəx  i  es- ʔačəx
and.then  PART  ACT- look  PART  ACT- look

He was watching, watching,

tá sʔasíp u yeʔmáf
tá sʔasíp  u  yeʔmáf
tá_ s+ʔasíp  u  i  e4+máf
not.long  and  PART  bubble.again

and very soon it bubbled again.

u  čéʔ  tənkúʔ  qsʔuʔúm  u  mčtkʷkʷétkʷ.
u  čéʔ  t  nkʷúʔ  qsʔuʔúm  u  m  čtkʷkʷétkʷ
u  čeʔ  t  nkʷuʔ  qs- puʔ+úm  u  m  čt+tkʷ+kʷ=etkʷ
and yet  OBL  one  FUT- fart  and  FUT  come.to.surface.of.water

- He'll fart once more, and then he'll come up.

v.022

kʷémt  yesʔáčəx  sʔčəfə
kʷémt  yesʔáčəx  sʔčəfə
kʷém i  es- ʔačəx  s+n+č=ep
and.then  PART  ACT- look  coyote

Coyote was watching,

xʷəl  čéʔ  tənkúʔ  qsʔuʔúm  mčtkʷkʷétkʷ.
xʷəl  čéʔ  t  nkʷúʔ  qsʔuʔúm  m  čtkʷkʷétkʷ
xʷl  čeʔ  t  nkʷuʔ  qs- puʔ+úm  m  čt+tkʷ+kʷ=etkʷ
because  yet  OBL  one  FUT- fart  FUT  come.to.surface.of.water

because he should fart once more and then come up.

66
A short while after, as the coyote was watching,

u imál u k'emít čo·ším sančále:

and PART bubble and and.then he.shouted coyote

it bubbled and he shouted:

šéyu č+tk"k"étk" sqalé?u.

DEM come.to.surface.of.water beaver

Now the beaver came up!

ntəltəqapəncú, čo·ším:

jump.around he.shouted

He jumped around and shouted:

i··· qe?šχəpá.

INTJ 1PL.INTR win.PL

We won the game!

v.023

Then the animals they had won, were lined up in front of them, the moose,
mooose and cow.elk
the elk and the buffalo.

The elk and the buffalo.

Then coyote cut the buffalo's head off,

then and.then cut.off.head -TR -PASS buffalo OBL coyote

the wood-duck cut the elk's head off,

then and.then cut.off.head -TR -PASS cow.elk OBL wood.duck

and the wood-pecker cut the moose's head off.

v.024

Then stones were thrown on the fire,
they threw their food on the stones and cooked it.

tá sqásíp u piyáq.

A short while after, it was all cooked.

They took it out of the fire,

coyote put the buffalo over to his side,

the wood-duck put the elk over to his side,
and the wood-pecker put the moose over to his side.

Then they ate.

They ate and died from too much greasy food.

That's the end.
There sat a rabbit.

The rabbit was eating grass.

The rabbit heard something and looked back.

Ha ha, the lynx had come quite close to him already.

Then he thought: Now I am dead.
nté: hói pañ iqsčescínam.
nté hoy pañ iqsčescínam
nt=els hoy pń hin– qs– čes=cín+m
think then but 1SG.POSS– FUT– bad.mouth

He thought: But I'll call him names.

VI.002

kʷémt cús ʉʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ:

kʷémt cúis ʉʔ t sqʷáqʷciʔ
kʷémt cu –nt –s ʉʔ t s+qʷá+qʷc=iʔ
and.then say -TR -3TRANS ART OBL cotton.tail.rabbit

Then the rabbit said to him:

nmqúps.
nmqʷúps
n+mqʷ=ups
big.rump

Big-rump!

yestəʔáčəx ʉʔé sqʷáqʷciʔ,
yestəʔáčəx ʉʔé sqʷáqʷciʔ
i es– t+ʔacx ʉʔé s+qʷá+qʷc=iʔ
PART ACT– look.over.at this cotton.tail.rabbit

The rabbit was looking at him from his place,

yesčescínams u čxʷtəpəmíntam.
yesčescínams u čxʷtəpəmíntam
i es– čes=cín+m –s u č+xʷt+p+min –nt –m
PART ACT– bad.mouth -3TRANS and jump.on -TR -PASS

was calling him names and (the lynx) ran upon him.

ʉʔe’estəʔáčəx u kʷémt xʷtíp ʉʔsqʷáqʷciʔ
ʉʔe’estəʔáčəx u kʷémt xʷtíp ʉʔ sqʷáqʷciʔ
ʉʔe’estəʔáčəx u kʷémt xʷtíp ʉʔ sqʷáqʷciʔ
ʉʔe’es– t+ʔacx u kʷermt xʷtíp ʉʔ s+qʷá+qʷc=iʔ
this ACT– look.over.at and and.then run ART cotton.tail.rabbit

He was watching and then the rabbit ran.
in between his legs in his lap

The lynx made a grab,

and then he just pinched off his own penis.

Then he (the lynx) died.

Then the rabbit was watching, he (the lynx) died,
and he laughed and he ran away.

loc est úk w sənqəcú.
loc ciʔ est úk w sənqəcú

There the lynx lay.

šéʔi 4uʔxʷtíp 4uʔsqʷáqʷciʔ.
šéʔi 4uʔ xʷtíp 4uʔ sqʷáqʷciʔ

Then the rabbit ran away.

hói nčəʔixʷá.
hóy nčəʔixʷá
hoy nčəʔixʷ=áp=lqs
then finish.story

That's the end.
Some people lived.

Some animals\textsuperscript{29} -- man-eaters -- came to the camp and put up their tents.

They said to the people:

\begin{verbatim}
kuqs\v{c}x\v{c}c\v{a}m\v{i}.
k\textsuperscript{w}u \quad qs\v{c}x\v{c}c\v{a}m\v{i}
k\textsuperscript{w}u \quad qs- \quad \check{x}c+\check{x}c+i?m \quad -i
\end{verbatim}

Let us gamble.

They said: All right, let us play stick-game.

\textsuperscript{29} The plural is in the translation, but does not seem to be in the Kalispel, here or throughout this story.
These animals were very good gamblers.

They sat down, made their bets,

and played.

They made their bets

and played again.
The man-eaters were thinking:

When they have lost all their goods,

all their things --

the name of these people was their Goods --

the man-eaters thought:
When we have won all their goods,

we'll win them too.

Then they lost all their things.

A man arrived.

They said: This is the one who now is going to play.
The name of this man who now was going to play, was Sleepy-Boy (So JA).

They had nowhere on the earth seen this young man.

he was very good-looking.
When the night came, they played.

The young man was going to lose.

as the luck changed and Sleepy-Boy started to beat them.
made their bets again.

xúí qsškilipami ṭatawít.

The young man was going to lose,

še? pačúsam.

The luck changed,

kʷemt xúi,

and won the game.

hói cúti 4u?na·isqélixʷtən --

Then the man-eaters said --
mi·pänúis, mi·pänúis yé təna·'isqélixʷtən
miy·pänúis       miy·pänúis       yé
miy+p+nú -nt -s miy+p+nú -nt -s ye
find.out          -TR  -3TRANS find.out     -TR  -3TRANS this

tə na·'isqélixʷtən
 t n+ʔi+n+s+qét=ixʷ+tn
OBL man.eater

the man-eaters understood, they understood

tá pi·stém qsšλípənúis --
tá pi·stém       qsšλípənúis
ta·piʔstém    qs-   ʃX+ip+nú -nt -s
never         FUT- win     -TR  -3TRANS

that they would never beat him --

VII.006

hói kʷémt cúti ʰiʔé na·'isqélixʷtən:
hóy  kʷémt       cúti       ʰiʔé          na·'isqélixʷtən
hoy  kʷemt       cú+t+i      ʰiʔé       n+ʔi+n+s+qét=ixʷ+tn
then and.then they.said this man.eater

these man-eaters said:

hói qeʔhoyəhó.
hóy qe?       hoyəhó
hoy qe?       hoy+hóy
then 1PL.INTR stop

Let us quit!

né ʔe+kukuʔéc, mqeʔe+cəlalqʷəm.
né ʔe+kʷkʷʔéc m qeʔ e+cəlalqʷəm
ne e+kl+qʷʔéc m qeʔ e+cl=əlqʷ+m
COND tomorrow.night FUT 1PL.INTR play.stick.game.again.INTR

We'll play again to-morrow night.
They went to sleep.

The next morning the animals moved away.

The name of these man-eaters was ʔaxʷ?axʷiyaná.

They got scared and ran away.

Then Sleepy-Boy called the people together.
They gathered.

All right, take back your things,

you certainly know your own things,

take them back.

Then they all took back their things.
Now you have been thinking what to do with me.

I am the Sweat-Lodge.

I'll tell you:

All your things are going to be my things.

If someone fixes me,

my fire, that will be my payment.
If someone likes me,

hóí kʷémt šéʔi šáménčs yetəłíxʷá ṣuʔsəlāqí.

then and.then that love -3TRANS today ART sweat.lodge

That's why people to-day like the Sweat-Lodge.

And to-day,

u wíčtəm ṣuʔsqélixʷ č̱xsíčə?,

and see -TR -PASS ART people well.dressed

you may sometime see people well-dressed,
and then today, because not very often to the Sweat-Lodge, my garments are miserable.

That's the end.
2.7 Text VIII

VIII.001

A married couple lived in a house.

escústəm sənqəcú ɬuʔ sqaltəmíxʷ.
escústəm sənqəcú ɬuʔ sqaltəmíxʷ
es-cu-st -m s+n+qc=uɬ ɬuʔ s+qlt+mixʷ
CUST- say -CUST -PASS lynx ART man

The man was called lynx.

hóy tixʷsxʷsíxult.
hóy tixʷsxʷsíxult
hoy tixʷ+síxʷ=ít
then have.a.child

They got a son.

cúis ɬiʔé nóxʷənxʷs: čiqsƛuʔƛuʔúsi.
cúis ɬiʔé nóxʷənxʷs: čiqsƛuʔƛuʔúsi
cu -nt -s ɬiʔé nóxʷ+nxʷ -s čn qs- xeʔ+xeʔ=ús -i
say -TR -TRANS this wife -3POSS lSG.INTR FUT- look.around -FUT

He said to his wife: I'll go and look around.

cúntəm: xuíš tqsqεʔèms.
cúntəm xuíš tqsqεʔèms
cu -nt -m xʷ uy -ʂ t qɨ- s+qeʔ+m -s
say -TR -PASS go -SG.INTR.IMP OBL to.be- milk -3POSS

She said to him: Go and get some milk for him.
The husband walked away, went to a salmon-place, arrived, made a house.

When the evening came, he shouted,calling the salmon.
The salmon came upstream.

-- Where are you, salmon?

They came up into the ?

and then upstream

and he rushed at them,

they escaped,
He did his best and caught one little salmon.

He went home, divided it into two small parts,

and ate one.

The next morning

he ate the other part, and that was all.
hói nkúʔ səmƛúp.

hóy nkúʔ səmƛúp
hoy nkúʔ s+mƛúp
then one winter

Then one winter,

kʷemt 'xe poxtís (rec. -íls).
kʷemt 'xe poxtís
ekʷemt 'xe pˌxt+ifís
and then already grew up

(his son) had grown up already.

cúis yé skúis:
cúis yé skúis
cu -nt -s ye s+kʷuy -s
say -TR -3TRANS this mother -3POSS

He said to his mother:

tá činepɬléu.
tá čin epɬléu
ta čn epɬ+ɬéu
NEG 1SG.INTR have a father

I have no father.

cúntəm: kʷepɬléu,
cúntəm kʷ epɬléu
cu -nt -m kʷ epɬ+ɬéu
say -TR -PASS 2SG.INTR have a father

He was told: You have a father,

kʷestixʷštams taqspqēm,
kʷ estixʷštams t aqspqēm
kʷ es-tixʷ-št -m -s t han-q- s+q+m
2SG.INTR ACT-obtain -TR -2SG.OBJ -3TRANS OBL 2SG.PROSS to.be milk

he is getting some milk for you.
méyeʔtəm ɬuʔtskūi.
méyeʔtəm ɬuʔ t skʷúy
méye ɬuʔ t s+kʷuy
tell -TR -PASS ART OBL mother

So he was told by his mother.

VIII.005

hói xúi ɬiʔé ɬtətəwít.
hói xʷúy ɬiʔé ɬtətəwít
hoy xʷuy ɬiʔé ɬtətəwít
then go this young.boy

The young man went.

hói čícis.
hói čícis
hoy číc -nt -s
then arrive -TR -3TRANS

He arrived to his father's place.

cúis: yó . . . təʔé u kʷesxʷstaluísi.
cúis yó təʔé u kʷesxʷstaluísi
cu -nt -s yo təʔé u kʷesxʷstaluísi
say -TR -3TRANS so OBL here and 2SG.INTR CONT walk.around -CONT

He said to him: So you are walking around here.

hói kʷémt kúfsts (rec. kúfsts) tqscaʔíhs ɬiʔesčiccis.
hói kʷémt kʷúfsts t qscaʔíhs ɬiʔesčiccis
hoy kʷémt kʷúf̓ st -št -s t qʷsc+ʔíhs ɬiʔesčiccis
then and.then work -TR -3TRANS OBL to.be food -3POSS this

sčiccis
s+čic+c+n -s
guest -3POSS

He prepared some food for his guest.
He did not say:

šéʔi ɬuʔk/wsuperséʔ.
šéʔi ɬuʔ k/wsuperu asq/wsuperséʔ
šéʔi ɬuʔ k/wsuperu han- s+q/wsupers=eʔ
that ART 1SG.OBJ 2SG.POSS- son

I am your son.

ɬuʔč/commasuprightnospelux/wsuper, cúis yé tɬtətətw/apostrophesupnospít:
ɬuʔ č/commasuprightnospelux/wsuper cúis yé t ɬ+t+tw/apostrophesupnosp+it
evening say -TR -3TRANS this OBL young.boy

In the evening the boy said:

xúiš k"iqeʔesʔácəxəm.
x"úiš k"iqeʔesʔácəxəm
x"uy -š k" hin- qeʔ- es- ʔacəx+m
go -SG.INTR.IMP 2SG.INTR 1SG.POSS- FUT- ACT- look.INTR

Go, I'll be watching you.

Go, I'll be watching you.

They went down to the river,

hói wéʔ: k"eʔčéŋ, səm⁣tič.
hói wéʔ k" eʔčéŋ səm⁣tič
hoi weʔ k" eʔ+čéŋ s+m⁣=ič
then shout 2SG.INTR where salmon

he shouted: Where are you, salmon?
The salmon came upstream into the ?

As soon as he stopped shouting,

it splashed in the water by the salmon coming upstream.

He ran upon them,

they escaped.

---

31 Another possible analysis of this form is a compound of ċw ‘quiet, empty, gone’ and weʔ ‘shout’ with an inchoative suffix –p. This form also occurs in VIII.009.
He (i.e. the son) thought:

My father is really poor,

because he is all wet and has got only one little fish.

As they had come home again, the young man said to him:

I should like to look at your hands.
He looked at his hands:

\[4u?\text{es?áćəx̣̖sts} \, 4u?\text{wé} \, k\text{"isqélix"} \, 4u?\text{səmɬíč},\]
\[4u?\text{es-} \, 6ač̣̃x \, -st \, -s \, 4u?\text{we} \, k\text{"in+s+qél=ix"}\]

\[4u\text{ l} \, 6əmɬíč\]
\[4u\text{ l} \, 6+m=ɨč\]

when he had been watching him, trying to catch the salmon,

\[\text{"šéʔi "aháqw"} --\]
\[\text{"šéʔi "aháqw"}\]
\[\text{"šéʔi "aháqw"}\]

they slipped through:

\[?áćəxẹ̖sts \, 4u?\text{čélsc}:\]
\[?áćəxẹ̖sts \, 4u? \, 6čélsc\]
\[6ač̣̃x \, -t \, -s \, 4u? \, 6čeḷ̃ \, -s\]

he looked at his hands:

\[\text{yó\text{"m, tā lčẹ́n mqeʔecáx́i } mkúnl (?)}\]
\[\text{yó\text{"m tā l } 6čẹ́n m } qeʔecáx́i m k\text{"unél}\]
\[\text{yom } \text{ta l } 6čẹ́n m } qeʔ-ec\text{ʔax́i } m k\text{"en=éľ}\]

so \text{NEG LOC where FUT FUT- like FUT catch}\n
He is never likely to catch any fish.

---

\[32\text{ -s is the underlying form of the third person possessive, and the expected form here. \text{"c} is expected after -s and -t; see Vogt note 33 (1940a:19).}\]
The young man went out, whittled some pitch-wood,

siyéɬts ɬuʔčélšc.

He went in again,

and fixed it putting each on his (i.e. his father's) fingers.

As he got this gadget, he longed eagerly for the evening.
In the evening, they went down to the water.

He shouted: Where are you, salmon?

As so[on] as he stopped shouting, it splashed in the water,

he jumped on them as they passed and grabbed them,

held them tight and threw them ashore.

As they came home again, he said:
I am your son.

Then he knew him.

The son said to him:

What is in your mind?

Will you go back to your wife?

The father said to his son:
No, it is up to you to decide.

Then the son said:

I'll bring your wife here.

This is going to be your country.

His son went back.

He came home and she said to him:
Did you find your father?

Get ready,

I am fetching you, you shall go to your husband.

He took her with him,
they went and arrived.

As soon as they arrived he said to them:

This is going to be your country forever.

And they still live there to-day.

That's the end.
3.0 LIST OF FORMS

This section presents the list of forms that occur in the texts. Section 3.1 contains the list of stems, 3.2 contains the lists of affixes, and 3.3 lists stems arranged by root.

3.1 Stems

This section presents the list of stems that occur in the texts. The stems are listed in alphabetical order, followed by the English gloss, the root (if found), unanalyzed forms (i.e. the way the forms appear in the texts) and allomorphs, and any comments. Stress is indicated in multisyllabic stems.

anwiʔ 2SG; √anwiʔ; anwi, anuí

aʔ+x=x=tɕ+m work pl intr; √ʔaʔil; aʔxaʔtəčím

ay oh; áy

caq placed; √caq; cq, cáq

ci this; cí; deictic

ciʔ here; that one; √ciʔ; ciʔ; cí; Vogt note 203 (1940b:69)

ciʔtxʷ house pl; √cicxʷ; cícxʷ

clić 3SG; √clić; cáníc

cliʔć 3PL; √clić; cáníć, câníʔć, cliʔć

cq+q=us land; √cq; cqquś

cq+q=uʔs land pl; √cq; cqquʔś

cu say; √cuw; cú

cu+n+m say; √cuw; cúnam

cu+t say; √cuw; cút

cú+t+i he/she/they said; √cuw; cúti; intransitive form

cúʔ+t+i say pl; √cuw; cúʔti

c+cliʔš camp pl; √cliš; ccliʔš

c+Χéč=qin+m stick head through; √Χeč; cΧáčqanam

c+Χeʔč+m rise CISLOC; √Χeč; cΧeʔčam; cislocative infix

c+Χl+p stop; √Χl̥; cΧl̥p

c+n+tyeš crawl towards; √tyeš; cântiyēš

c+tkʰʷ+nct lie down; √tukʰ; ctkʰʷnctū
čet +tp+p standing up PL; √tp; ćtapp; reduplication of second root consonant

če+xuy come; √xuy; cxúy

če+?úk”u bring; √?úk”u; ća?úk”u

če?éš bashful; √češ

čić pinch; √čić; čip

čl=alq” stick game; √čl; ćalálq”

čl=alq”+m play stick game INTR; √čl; ćalálq”əm

čn+m tight; √čan; ćanəm; with stem formative +m

čn+op tight; √čan; ćanóp

čn+p+ma tight; √čan; ćanpəmá

čq+m throw; √čaq; čqam

čq+mín throw away; √čaq; čqamín

čs+ip all gone; √čs; ćasip

čs+p+nu all used up; √čs; ćaspanú

čwet go after; √čwet; ćuwét

čwet+m go after INTR; √čwet; ćuwétam

čelš hand; √čelš; čelš

čen do what; √čeñ; čen

čen+m do what INTR; √čeñ; čenm, čenm, čenəm

čeñ where; √čeñ; čen; Vogt note 65 (1940a:28)

čeñ+èš three; √čeñ+èš; čeñ+èš

čić arrive; √čić; čić

čitlus”á_n+tè KW=qín past noon; √tox”;
čita+ x”á ntè”qín

čić arrive PL; √čić; čić

čić+èk” go through

čt+çq=ètk” on water; √çq; čtçqëtk”

čt+çq=ëtk” onto water PL; √çq;
čtçqëtk”

čt+nìk”=ètk” movement on water;
čtëniìk”ètk”

čt+q”tlš+illš jump on; čtq”itšilš

čt+tk”+k”=ètk” come to surface of water; √tek”;
čttk”kt”ètk”

čt+yìx”m=ús be cold all over; √yix”m;
čtix”mús

čmi only; √čmiš; čamí

čn ISG INTR; čin-, čan-, či, čə-, či-, čn-, čis-, čin, k”u; allomorph k”u occurs in double possessed forms

čn=ìqìn blind; √čnm; čanəmqín, činəmqín

češ+ím he shouted; √češ; ćošim, ćošim
čq”+q”=čst+m=4tumš behave foolishly in a crowd;
čq”q”čstam+źumš
čy+čiý=é? grandmother; /čy; ččiýé?
č+cm+p=els sick from greasy food;
√čim; ččampé; see Vogt camp-
č+če?+če?čé?č s three people; /ččččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
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č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
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č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
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č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
č+či?t+mín go near to; /čččč; ččččč
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\( \text{č+ʔitn+nk}^{w}=\text{é+tče?} \) *eat one; \( \sqrt{ʔitn} \);
\( \text{č+tk}^{w}=\text{é+tče?} \)

\( \text{é} \) *yes; é···*

\( \text{ec+ʔačl} \) *like; \( \sqrt{ʔačl} \); ečači, ečači, ečači

\( \text{ecínt+m} \) *say what INTR; \( \sqrt{ecínt} \);
\( \text{ečíntam} \)

\( \text{et+c+Xčc=qin+m} \) *stick head through again INTR; \( \sqrt{Xčc} \); ečXčćqanam

\( \text{et+c+plč=ús} \) *turn back; \( \sqrt{plč} \);
\( \text{etcpalčú} \)

\( \text{et+c+plč=ús+m} \) *turn back INTR;
\( \sqrt{plč} \); ečpálčús, ečpálčúsi

\( \text{et+c+xúy} \) *come again; \( \sqrt{xúy} \);
\( \text{ečxúy} \)

\( \text{et+cl=álq}^{w+m} \) *play stick game again INTR; \( \sqrt{cl} \); ečaláqlqam

\( \text{et+c+čt+mín} \) *get close again; \( \sqrt{čt} \);
\( \text{etčtamiń} \)

\( \text{et+č+šín} \) *follow back; \( \sqrt{šín} \); ečšín,
\( \text{etčšín} \)

\( \text{et+č+šín+ín} \) *follow back INTR; \( \sqrt{šín} \);
\( \text{etčšíním} \)

\( \text{et+c+xút+p+mín} \) *jump on again;
\( \sqrt{xút} \); ečxútápamín

\( \text{et+c?+čt} \) *back from short distance;
\( \sqrt{čt} \); eččtččt

\( \text{et+éli} \) *try again; \( \sqrt{éli} \); etéli

\( \text{et+es+t+n+ʔačx=étk}^{w+m} \) *look back in water; \( \sqrt{ʔačx} \);
\( \text{etestanʔačxétk}^{w}um \)

\( \text{et+hóy} \) *finish again; \( \sqrt{hóy} \); ethóy

\( \text{et+yʔáp} \) *go back; \( \sqrt{yaʔ} \); etiʔąp

\( \text{et+k}^{w+k}ʔéc \) *tomorrow night; \( \sqrt{k}^{w}ec \);
\( \text{ʔet+k}^{w}ʔéc \)

\( \text{et+k}^{w}t+čic \) *manage to arrive again;
\( \sqrt{k}^{w}t, \sqrt{čic} \); etk\(^{w}atčic

\( \text{et+mál} \) *bubble again; \( \sqrt{ml} \) bleed, flow;
\( \text{etmál} \)

\( \text{et+n+plś} \) *reenter; \( \sqrt{plś} \); etnplś

\( \text{et+n+qaXip} \) *get back in canoe;
\( \text{etnqaXip} \)

\( \text{et+n+qaXip+mí} \) *get back in canoe;
\( \text{etnqaXipamí} \)

\( \text{et+n+ʔú4x}^{w} \) *go back in; \( \sqrt{ʔú4x}^{w} \);
\( \text{etnʔú4x}^{w} \)

\( \text{et+n+ʔús+miʔ} \) *dive again; \( \sqrt{ʔús} \);
\( \text{etnoósamiʔ} \)

\( \text{et+q}^{w}ʔéc \) *warm again; \( \sqrt{q}^{w}ec \); etq\(^{w}uʔéc

\( \text{et+q}^{w}t+čí \) *carry back on back; \( \sqrt{q}^{w}t \);
\( \text{etq}^{w}atčí \)

\( \text{et+q}^{w}t+q}^{w}étt+m \) *carry back PL on back;
\( \sqrt{q}^{w}t \); etk\(^{w}atq}^{w}éttam

\( \text{et+q}^{w}m=ép+m \) *leave again suddenly;
\( \sqrt{q}^{w}m \); etq\(^{w}omépam

\( \text{et+q}^{w}ūm \) *take back; \( \sqrt{q}^{w}um \); etq\(^{w}uʔm
**ET**+**šišč+mn+cút** turn self around;
√šč; eščiščamancút

**ET**+**t+čl=áľqw** play stick game again;
√čl; eťčalálqʷ; the **t**- is unanalyzed

**ET**+teščkʷ resurface **INCH**; √̄tekʷ;
eteščkʷ; inchoative infix -ʔ-

**ET**+tuľkʷ+št+wěxʷ place bet again
**RECP**; √tuľkʷ; eťtuľkʷoštuwěxʷ

**ET**+xʷič give back; √xʷičš; eťxʷič, eťxʷiča

**ET**+xʷúy go back; √xʷúy; eťxʷúy, eťxʷúi

**ET**+yáʔp arrive again **PL**; √yaʔ; eťiʔáʔp

**ET**+žľn eat again; √žľn; eťžľh

**ET**+n+ğeʔ=ús stick in again; √ğeʔ;
etőnğeʔ=ús

**EPT**+c+cčľš have camps; √čľš;
P匈ccčľš

**EPT**+čy+čľy=éʔ have a grandmother;
√čy; eþčščiyęʔ

**EPT**+es+ččć=qní+m head showing
**INTR**; √ččć; eþesččćqnám; eþ- ‘have’ prefix on stem
es+ččć=qní+m, lexicalized with prefix es- ‘actual’

**EPT**+lľėu have a father; √lľew; eþľľėu

**EPT**+s+čłt+t have clay; √čłt; epsčłt

**EPT**+s+mlt=íč place that has salmon;
√mlt; epsámčič

**EPT**+s+pľus decide; √pľus; epšpľus;
have mind

**EPT**+s+qlt+mixʷ have a husband;
√qlt; epšqltamićʷ, epsqltamićʷ;
̄xʷ in IV.010

**EPT**+šľ+mín have axe; √šľ;
epššľamín, epššľamín

**EPT**+yúč+mn have red paint; √yúć;
epšyúčamán

es+č+ğl+ř lake; √ğl; esčğläř;
lexicalized form with continuing affixes es- and –i

es+č+ššy=ép bend in water?;
esčššyép; meaning unclear

es+č+ššy=ép+n bend in water?;
esčššyép; meaning unclear; –n is unexpected and unanalyzeable

es+n+cl=étšʷ pole in water; √čš;
esančšétšʷ,esančšetšʷ

es+n+yʔ+áp forever; √yaʔ; esančšáp

es+ğéy there is a house, people live,
camp; √ğéy; esğéy, ?esğéy

es=wl=ús fireplace; √wl; esoľús

es+yáʔ every; √yaʔ; esiyáʔ
es+ya+p=qín+i *powwow; √yaʔ; esiyapqíni, esiyapqíni; lexicalized form with continuative affixes es- and -i

es+ʔus+ʔus+t *dive PL; √ʔus; esʔusʔúst

ex" *INTJ; éx"

eʔ+ći *where; eʔći; Vogt note 203 (1940a:69)

eʔ+čeń *where; eʔčeń

ha ha; hά, hά•

ha *INTERR; a-

hayó oh my; √hayó; hayó•

ha+há laugh; hahά, hahά

hoy then, stop, finished; √hoy; hói, hoi, hóy

hoy+hóy stop; √hoy; hoyʔhó

i *PART; y-, i--; Vogt note 217 (1940a:73)

i• *INTJ; i•

il+t+tšéňé *in a short while; īltšéňé; Vogt dictionary has barred l

iše? *DEM; deictic

k“ *2SG INTR; k“-, k“ə, k“ə-

k“enìt and then; k“ént, k“énìt; Vogt note 146 (1940a:50)

k“em take, grab, catch; √k“en; k“é, k“én

k“en=él *take, grab, catch; √k“en; k“unél

k“en+nú *manage to catch; √k“en; k“unnú

k“il=lqs *red shirt; √k“il; k“illéq

k“in+s+qé=lx“ *grab person; √k“en, √qel; k“isqélix“; compound

k“miʔ *OPT; k“umiʔ

k“tun+t *big; √k“tun; k“túnt

k“u *ISG OBJ; k“u-, k“-

k“uné *CONJ; k“une; k“uné u introduces a hypothetical clause (Vogt note 211 [1940a:71])

k“untá perhaps(?); Vogt uncertain about gloss

k“+k“ʔec *get dark; √k“ec; k“uk“uʔéc

k“en=čst+míst *get ready; √k“en; k“enčstamist

k“inš=ásqí *several days; √k“inš; k“inšá

k“n+q“om+í *leave suddenly; √k“m, √q“m; k“ə+nq“omí

k“q+čic manage to arrive; √k“q, √čic; k“ə+čic

k“q+čeʔéc *appear; √k“q, √čeć; k“ə+čeć

k“q+čeʔéc+č *appear; √k“q, √čeć; reduplication of second root consonant

109
\( k^n+pa?x \) deliberate, figure out; \( \sqrt{k^n}, \sqrt{pa?}; k^n+pa?x \)

\( k^n+ta?l \) make rites; \( \sqrt{k^n}, \sqrt{ta?}; k^n+ta?l \)

\( k^n+yem+m \) hesitate; \( \sqrt{k^n}, \sqrt{yem}; k^n+iyem+m \)

\( k^n=\text{č}st+\text{m}ist+(t)n \) try by hand; \( \sqrt{k^n}en; k^n\text{č}st\text{m}ist\text{t}n \)

\( k^nu \) but; \( k^n\text{ú} \)

\( k^nuf \) work, create; \( \sqrt{k^n uf}; k^nuf \)

\( k^nuf+m \) work INTR; \( \sqrt{k^n uf}; k^nufm \)

\( k^n+\text{š}e? \) that; \( k^n\text{š}e? \)

I LOC; l-, aI-, la-; Vogt note 191
(1940a:66)

\( l\text{á}p \) paddle, travel by boat; \( \sqrt{lap} \)

\( l\text{č}+\text{I}č \) tie PL; \( \sqrt{lč}; lčIč \)

\( lem+t \) glad; \( \sqrt{lem}; lémt \)

\( lk^n+u+t \) it is far; \( \sqrt{lk^n u}; lk^nut \)

\( luk^n \) stick of wood; \( \sqrt{luk^n}; lúk^n \)

\( l\text{ā}e\)u father (male speaking); \( \sqrt{l\text{ā}e}; l\text{ā}eu, l\text{ā}eu?, l\text{ā}u \)

\( l\text{č}l\text{č} \) in here; \( \sqrt{\text{č}l}; \text{č}l\text{č}; \text{č}l\text{č} \); an example of a phrase being treated as a stem

\( l\_\text{š}eyu \) then; \( l\text{š}eyu; LOC + DEM \)

\( ɬaháq^n \) slippery

\( ɬáq^n+I\text{š} \) sit down; \( \sqrt{ɬaq}; ɬáq^I\text{š} \)

\( 4\text{aq}+q \) sit down INCH; \( \sqrt{4\text{aq}}; 4\text{aq}q \)
inchoative reduplication of second root consonant

\( 4\text{aq}^n+m=úle?x^n \) come into open space; \( \sqrt{4\text{aq}^n}; 4\text{aq}^n\text{om}úle?x^n \)

\( 4\text{a}¿q+q \) sit down PL; \( \sqrt{4\text{aq}}; 4\text{a}¿qq \)
glottal stop plural, inchoative reduplication of second root consonant

\( 4\text{č} \) whip; \( \sqrt{4\text{či}c} \)

\( 4i\text{I}e \) this; \( 4i\text{I}e, 4i?; Vogt note 208 \)
(1940a:70)

\( 4i\text{I}e\text{t}+\text{x}^n\text{I}e \) today; \( \sqrt{4\text{x}^n\text{e}?}; 4i\text{I}e\text{t}e\text{x}^n\text{I}a \)

\( 4u? \) ART; \( 4u, 4u--; Vogt notes 205-208 \)
(1940a:69-70)

\( 4u? \) there; \( 4u? \)

\( 4u?+m\text{I}n+\text{tn} \) spear; \( \sqrt{4u?}; 4u?\text{mint}, 4u?\text{mint} \)

\( 4\text{č}^n \) hole; \( \sqrt{4\text{č}^n}; 4\text{č}^n \)

\( 4+k^n+\text{č}yúm=e? \) small; \( \sqrt{k^n\text{y}um}; 4k^n\text{č}yúme? \)

\( 4+t+t\text{w}+\text{it} \) young boy; \( \sqrt{tew}; 4\text{t}t\text{aw}it, 4\text{t}t\text{aw}it \)

\( 4+t+t\text{w}+\text{it} \) young boy; \( \sqrt{tew}; 4\text{t}t\text{aw}it, 4\text{t}t\text{aw}it \)

\( 4+t+t\text{w}+\text{it} \) young boy; \( \sqrt{tew}; 4\text{t}t\text{aw}it, 4\text{t}t\text{aw}it \)

\( 4+i\text{I}t\text{t} \) eat DIM; \( \sqrt{i\text{I}t\text{t}}; 4i\text{I}t\text{t}; C1 \)
reduplication with laryngealization of resonants

\( \text{Xe} \) already, now, then; \( \text{Xe} \)

\( \text{Xe}+\text{Xe}=?\text{ús} \) look around; \( \sqrt{\text{Xe}?}; \text{Xu}\text{Xu}\text{ús} \)
Xeʔ+Xeʔ=ús+m look around INTR; √Xeʔ; XuʔXuʔúsam

Xil dead, motionless; √Xil; Xil

Xiyéʔ bark canoe; √Xyeʔ

Xxʷup win; √Xxʷup; Xexʷúp

Xxʷuʔp win PL; √Xxʷup; Xexʷúʔp

Xxʷuʔp+m win PL INTR; √Xxʷup; Xexʷúʔpam

X+Xčǐm=qin stick head up; √Xeč; Xčǐm=qin

X+Xeč=cn+m stick out tongue; √Xeč; Xčečcanam

m FUT; am-, m-; Vogt note 213 (1940a:72)

ma INTJ; má

mal bubble; √ml bleed, flow; máł

maʔw take off PL, break PL; √maʔw

méye tell; √meyeʔ; méyeʔ; root √my has stems with several allomorphs

meʔ=čst=mɨ+ls brother people; √meʔ; meʔčstamɨls

mi$t too, very; √mi$t; mɨ$t

miy know; √miy; mi, mii, miʔ, mí

miy+m know INTR; √miy; mím

miy+p+nú find out; √miy; miyanú

miʔ FUT; miʔ

ml+txʷ+mɨʔ flow straight; √ml, √toʔxʷ; mltxʷomíʔ

n in; n-; Vogt note 130 (1940a:46)

naʔás get wet; √nas; naʔás

ncάʔxʷ=áp=lqs finish story; ncʔixʷá; a stylized ending to a story; end of story VII has xʷ

ne COND; né; conditional

nem PART; ném; Vogt note 213 (1940a:72)

nexʷ also; √nexʷ; néxʷ

nkʷuʔ one; √nkʷuʔ; nkʷuʔ

nkʷ=alqʷ one pole; √nkʷuʔ; nkʷalqʷ

nkʷ=asqʷ one day; √nkʷuʔ; nkʷá

nkʷ=etxʷ one house; √nkʷuʔ; nkʷetxʷ

noxʷ+nxʷ wife; √noxʷ; nōxʷənxʷ; Vogt records front xʷ

nplesʔ 2PL; √nplesʔ; npalé

nt=els think; √nt; nté

ntěʔš go ashore PL

nxʷ+nxʷ=ewš married couple; √noxʷ; nōxʷənxʷus; Vogt records front xʷ

n+ćt=úus+m look up; √ćt; nćusam

n+či+íš upstream; √či; nčiš

n+ihé=ewš+m middle of water; nihéusam
n+íš+ilš down in; níšilš

n+kʷuX=ús unplug; √kʷuX; nkʷuXus

n+te?=ús+m turn back INTR; √te?; nte?úsam

n=4u?=étkʷ+m spear in water; √4u?; n+4u?étkʷum

n+ṭxʷp+m=ép=uʔsčn escape below thighs; √ṭxʷup; n+ṭxʷpámépuʔsčan

n+t+ṣq=ewe divide into small parts; n+t+ṣqέus

n+čI=eṭk drown; √čI; nčlétkʷ

n+miy+ép+m told on; √miy; anmiyépam

n+mn+an+ín=ṭp (placename); nmənanínṭp; unknown meaning; lexical suffix =ṭp ‘tree’

n+ṃqʷ=ups big rump; √moqʷ; nṃqʷ’ups

n+nič=s cut off head; √nič; nničas

n+p̣qu=čn=éčst+m in palm of hand; np̣qućinéčstam

n+pin lay in; √pin; n⇌an; long cylindrical objects

n+p̣u?=étkʷ+m fart in water; √p̣u?; ṇp̣u?étkʷum

n+qʷṇn+min pity; √qʷiṇ; nqʷaŋnɐm, nqʷaŋnɐmín

n+šíxʷ+uʔ pour; √šíx”; nsíxʷuʔ

n+ṭf+ṭq=ap+ncút jump around; √ṭq; ntaʔɬqapaʔncú; Spokane √trq

n+ṭxʷ=qín noon; √ṭxʷ; nṭxʷqín

n+wnexʷ=éne believe; √wnexʷ; nunnexʷéne

n+xʷst=élčə walk in the room; √xʷist; nxʷstélčə?

n+xẹ be afraid; √xẹ; nxẹ

n+čI+mín get scared; √čI; nčelaman

n+ʔI+n+s+qél=ixʷ man-eater; √ʔI+n, √qel; naʰisqélixʷ, naʔisqélixʷ

n+ʔI+n+s+qél=ixʷ+tn man-eater; √ʔI+n, √qel; naʰisqélixʷtæn; instrumental –tn suffix

n+ʔu+xʷ go in; √ʔu+xʷ; nʔu+xʷ

o oh; ó’, ó’

olqʷ+š+scút+n helper; √olqʷ; olqʷšscútæn

oʔy+ncút laugh; √hoʔ; oʔyincú, oʔyancút

p 2PL INTR; proclitic

pf+ịp drift along; √pf; pəfip; Vogt’s glottalization of the 1 might be indicating plural

pXẹ=čst+m let go; √pX; pXéčstam; transitive stem

p̣n but; p̣n

pppuwá pppooa (a sound)
ps+ap scared; √pas; psáp

puls kill; √puls; púls

put just, exactly the measure; √put; pút; Vogt note 216 (1940a:73)

pút_i still; pút i; Vogt note 216 (1940a:73)

pw=els=čn buck; √pw; puwéčan

pw+pew+lš breathe; √pew; pu·pélš

pxw+mn+cut disperse; √pxw; 
pux*omancút, pux*omancú

pilč=ús+m turn back INTR; √pilč; 
\pilčúsam

pum tan color; √pum; púm

puʔ+úm fart; √puʔ; puʔúm

pxw+íš grew up; √pxwut; pox*tíš

pxwut parent; √pxwut; pox*wút

pxw+pxwut parents; √pxwut; 
pox*pox*út

pyaq cooked, ripe; √paq; píąq

qaluwét+m step INTR; √qlwet; 
qaluwétəm; Vogt does not record 
glottalized I

qeys dream; √qeys; qéʔis

qe? 1PL POSS; qa-, qe-, qa, qe

qe? 1PL INTR; qa-, qeʔ-, qé-, qeʔ, qa; 
Vogt note 54 (1940a:24)

qe? 1PL TRANS; qa; 1PL subject qe? with
-m (Carlson 1972:39, 80, 86)

qe?nplé? 1PL; √qe?nplé?; qe?npəlé

qiʔ wake up; √qiʔ; qíʔ

qiʔ+qʔ+t awake; √qiʔ; qiʔqə+t

qiʔ+t awake; √qiʔ; qiʔt, qiʔt

qmin lay; √qmin; qam

qp=étće? dish; √qp; qapętće?

qs+tam definitely not; √tam; qstám

qs+ʔiʔn food; √ʔiʔn; qsəʔiʔt; lexicalized 
form consisting of prefix qs- ‘FUTURE’ and ʔiʔn ‘eat’

qam+qam+lš discuss PL; √qm; 
qamqamiš

qey build a house; √qey; qéi, qéy

q"am+q"m+t wonderful; √q"am; 
q"ámq"umt

q"ásq"i bluejay; √q"ásq"iʔ; q"ásq"i

q"ay blue; √q"ay; q"áy

q"ew+w crazy; √q"ew; q"éuu; 
inchoative reduplication of second 
root consonant

q"il cheat; √q"il; q"íl

q"im̂m anxious for, in a hurry; √q"im; 
q"ím̂m

q"l+q"el talk; √q"el; q"əlq"éł
q”l+q”el+t talk INTR; √q”el; q”əlq”élt
q”l=eʔp blacken PL; √q”l; q”əféʔp
q”m+lʔp die PL; √q”m; q”omíʔp
q”n+q”in+t poor, pitiful; √q”in; q”əŋq”int
q”n+q”n+s=cin ask for pity; √q”in; q”əŋq”əŋscin
q”uyeʔé 1SG; √q”uyʔe; k”uyʔé
q”y+q”y+scut Quiquiscu (name); q”lq”iscú
q”ay black; √q”ay; q”áy
q”m=ep+m leave suddenly; √q”m; q”omépəm
q”y+q”ay buffalo; √q”ay; q”əyáq”áy
q”y+q”ay+s’tma buffalo cow; √q”ay; q”əyáq”əyastamá
saʔx split wood; √saʔx; sáx
sc+tlx gathered stuff; √tlx”; sctlx
sc+ʔiʔn food; √ʔin; scəʔíʔi, scəʔíʔn
sew ask; √sew; séu, suɾ
sew=k water; √sew; séuʔk
séw=neʔ hear something; √sew; séuneʔ
talk PL; √sew; sewnuʔmt
si+siy=úš smart; √sy; sisiyús
sux know, understand, recognize; √sux”; súx”; Vogt records ̥x consistently
sux=meʔ measure; √sux”; súx”əmeʔ
súʔit cold; √sul; súʔit
swet who; √swet; suwét
sx+slx=lt child; √six”; sx”síx”ult
śx=cin shore; √saχ; śxčin
syen count; √syen; siyɛ, siyén
s+c+χx”uʔp win PL; √χx”up; scxex”uʔp
s+cic+c+n guest; √cic; scíčci; reduplication of second root consonant
s+čt+tx”=éneʔ straight above PL; √čt, √tox”; scčttx”éʔneʔ?
s+čw+ćw=aʔn arms; √čw; sćuʔcwáksi
s+č+saχ+m near; √saχ; sćśaχam
s+či+t clay; √či”, sći+t
s+čut half; √čut; sćút
s+k”es+t name; √k”es; sk”ést
s+k”ax=us face; √k”ax; sk”əXús
s+k”s+k”eʔs+t name PL; √k”es; sk”sk”éʔst
| s+k"uy | mother (male speaking); √k"uy; sk"uí, sk"úy |
| s+láq+i | sweat lodge; √laq; saláqi |
| s+laxt | friend; √laž; salá, sła, sláxt, saláxt |
| s+fxa+láxt | friends; √laž; safžaláxt |
| s+4+k"+k"yúm=eʔ | child; √k"yum; s+k"oýúme? |
| s+X+Xúk"+eʔ | pitch wood; √Xuk"; sXúk"eʔ |
| s+m+=ič | salmon; √m+; samtič, samtič |
| s+mx"+up | winter; √mx"; sámx"úp |
| s+m+ʔem | woman; √ʔem; sám?ém, semʔém |
| s+néč=4čeʔ | cow elk; √neč; sánéč+tčeʔ, sanečtčeʔ |
| s+n+wiʔis | early morning; √wis; sanṭuʔis; nuis |
| s+n+čl=ep | coyote; √čl; sančalé, sančalép |
| s+n+qc=ut+ | lynx; √qc; sanqacú |
| s+n+št=etk" | stand in water; √št; sanšt étk" |
| s+pѣ=qĩn | head; √pѣ; spѣqĩ, spѣq in |
| s+pw=ai=qn | red-headed woodpecker; √pw; spuwáłqan |
| s+pl=gus | heart, mind, personality; √pus; spuʔús |
| s+pl̓+ni | sun; √paq; spʔani |
| s+pl̓+úm | fart; √puʔ; spuʔúm |
| s+pł̓+m+pl̓+ut | parents, old; √pł̓+ut; spl̓poł̓poł̓út |
| s+qal=éw | beaver; √qł; sqalęʔu |
| s+qam+n=Isčút | goods; √qam; sqamanalscút |
| s+qé=lxw | people, man; √qel; sqélíx" |
| s+qeʔ+m | milk; √qeʔ; sqeʔém |
| s+qlt+mix" | man; √qel; sqáltamíx" |
| s+ql+qlt+mix" | men; √qel; sqáltamíx" |
| s+q"á+q"c=iʔ | cotton tail rabbit; √q"ec; sq"áq"cʔiʔ; Vogt's definition |
| s+q"s=eʔ | son; √q"s; sq"séʔ |
| s+séw=neʔ | hear something; √sew; sséseneʔ; the prefix s+ is unanalyzable |
| s+šèňś | stone; √šèňš; ššeňš |
| s+teʔ | thing; √tem; stéʔ |
| s+ti+†+m | boat; √ti; stíšam, stilam |
| s+ti+h+m | boat PL; √ti+; stíš+am |
| s+tlf+em | dance; √tlf; stälqém; Spokane √trq |
s+txʷ+toxʷ+t straight; √toxʷ;
stxʷtóxʷt
s+tye caribou; √tyaʔ; stiyé
s+tł+tl=aʔ+m thunder; √tl; stáltalá, stáltaláʔm
s+túl=lxʷ ground; √tl; túlixʷ, stúlixʷ, stúlixʷu
s+wíy+numt+i beautiful; √wý;
swíʔnumti
s+wl=ši fire; √wl; soʔfši
s+wup=úleʔxʷ grass; √wup; supúleʔxʷ
s+wý+wíy+numt+i beautiful; √wý;
suíʔnumti
s+we+wí fish; √wewí; suwéʔuí
s+xʷf=ot=qs prairie rabbit; √xʷf;
sxʷafóqs; Vogt's definition
s+šas=lsqs moose; √šes; ššásalqs
s+šc+šc+ut companions; √šc;
šščút
s+šʷeʔíl camas in ground; √šʷeʔíl;
sšʷeʔíl
s+šʷi+šʷi+4+t+twít Sleepy Boy (name); sšʷišʷi+iṭatawít,
sšʷišʷi+iṭatawít
s+ʔačx look; √ʔačx; sʔaćax; s+ prefix possibly ‘intent’
šéyu DEM; šéyu, šéyu, šéyu
šéʔi that; šeʔi, šeʔi, šeʔ
šíʔ make it stand; √šíʔ; ší
šX+ip lose; √šX; ššíp
šX+ip=áʔq win; √šX; ššapá, ššapáʔq
šX+ip+m lose INTR; √šX; ššipam
šX+ip+nú win; √šX; ššipanú
šX+ip+núʔ win PL; √šX; ššipanúʔ
ššy=us+m look around; √ššy; ššúsam
šýus+t pass; √šýus; šiyúst, šiyú
šýuʔ pass by PL; √šýus; šiyúʔ
t OBL; ta–, te–, tɑ; Vogt note 195-199 (1940a:67-68)
ta NEG; √ta; tá, táʔ, taʔ, taʔa, taʔa–
tam not; √tam
taʔ piʔstéʔm never; tá piʔstéʔm
táʔs+qásíp not long; √qásíʔ; tá sqásíp
tčeʔy penis; √tčeʔy; tčeʔi
těš+ilš stand up; √tešilš; téšilš
teʔ+s+téʔm possession; √tem; teʔstéʔm; Vogt note 64 (1940a:27-28)
tixʷ obtain; √tixʷ; tixʷ, tixʷ; recorded in Vogt with źʷ consistently
tixʷ+4+kʷúf+mn get tool; √tixʷ,
√kʷuf; tixʷ+kʷúfamun
tixʷ+m obtain INTR; √tixʷ; tixʷam, tixʷam; intransitive stem
tixʷ+sxʷ+śixʷ=lt have a child; /tixʷ, /śixʷ; tixʷsxʷśixʷult

tixʷ+s+qél=ixʷ get people; /tixʷ, /qel; tixʷsqélíxʷ

tkʷʔut walk; /tkʷʔu; tkʷuʔut

tf from: taf-, taf; movement from a place, Vogt note 193 (1940a:66-67)

tfq+em dance INTR; /tfq; tafqam, tafqém, tafqé; Spokane /trq

tma INTERR; þámá; “interrogative particle where affirmative answer is expected” (Vogt 1940a:168)

tš+ilš=éws oppose; tšilšéʔús, tšilšéʔus

tfqʷéneʔ wood duck; tťqʷéneʔ, tťqʷéné

tuʔ crowd; /tuʔ; túʔ

tšʷ+tošʷ+ t straight; /tošʷ; tšʷtónšʷt

t+n+çn=aws=q grab by hair; /čn; tančanáʔusq

t+wič see coming; /wič; twič

t+wiʔč see coming PL; /wič; twič

t+ʔacx look over at; /ʔacx; taʔácaʔx

téyeʔ bad; /téyeʔ; téyeʔ

tkʷ+ncut lie down; /tukʷ; tkʷəncút, tkʷəncú

ťloqʷ run away, escape, gush; /ťloqʷ; talóqʷ

ťukʷ lie down, fall over; /ťukʷ; tůkʷ
tukʷ+št+wéxʷ place bet RECP; /tukʷ; tkʷəštúwéxʷ

u and

u=t+s+pw=áł=qn red-headed woodpecker and group; /pw; ñtspuwálqan; collective lexical prefix

we although, to no avail, in vain; wé

weʔ shout; /weʔ; wéʔ

wič see; /wič; uič, wič

wič+m see INTR; /wič; wičam

wis=šn long; /wis; wisšan

wiʔč+m see PL INTR; /wič; wiʔčam

wý finish; /wý; uʔɪ−, wiʔ−, wíʔ−
wý=cin weetseen (finish talking); /wý; wicín;
wý=ečst finish; /wý; uyéčst

wý+s+ʔel+ʔín finish eating; /wý, /ʔín; wiʔselfín; -s− compound connector with reduplication of second root

wý+s+iʔum finish moving; /wiʔy; wiʔsíʔum

wý+s+țiʔxʷ finish hole; /wýy, /țiʔxʷ; wiʔs+țiʔxʷ
wý+s+x+Xeč=cn+m stuck out tongue;√wiý, √Xeč; uiʔsXečcanam

wý+s+q"l+q"el+t finish talking; √wiý, q"el; wiʔsqaʔlq"el; intransitive stem

x"ič give; √x"ici; x"ič

x"ist walk; √x"ist; x"ist, x"st, x"stə

x"Xm whittle INTR; √x"X; x"Xim

x"st+lwis walk around; √x"ist; x"staluis

x"tip run; √x"t; x"tip

x"t+iš get up; √x"t; x"tilš

x"u all right; x"ú

x"uX all right; x"úX

x"umíʔ OPT; x"umíʔ; optative particle, related to k"umí

x"uy go; √x"uy; x"úy, x"uí, x"ui, x"ú

x"uíuy go PL; √x"uy; x"uíuy

x"y+x"uy go PL; √x"uy; x"ix"uíy, x"ixúi, x"ixú

x"y+x"ey=úʔ animal; √x"ey; x"iʔx"eyúf, x"iʔx"eyúf

x"ʔít much; x"ʔít, x"eʔít, x"uʔít, x"uʔít

xalíp morning; √xal; xalíp, xalíp

xalít ask, invite; √xlít; xalít

xalít+m ask INTR; √xlít; xalítam

xam=énč love; √xm; xamé

xam=éʔnč love PL; √xm; xaméʔnč

xAA+m pay; √xAA;xAAaman

xc+mn+cut ready; √xc; xcamancút

xc+num+tn clothing; √xc; xcánúmtan

xc+Xc+lʔm gamble PL; √xc; xcxcimí, xcxcami

xeʔn forbid; √xeʔn

xi lest; xi; often occurs with ne

xiʔné maybe; xiʔné; “meaning is uncertain” (Vogt 1940a:20)

xí_ne lest; xí né

x"a maybe; √x"a; x"á

x"a+x"eʔ+éy laugh; √x"ey; x"aX"eʔéi

x"f because, for; √xf; x"af

x"q"=ews divide; √x"q; x"q"eʔus

yap=qíŋ powwow; √yaʔ; yapqíŋ, yapqíŋ; verbal form

yaʔaʔ+m+ʔIš gather PL; √yaʔ; iyapaʔ, iyapaʔ; Vogt unsure of transcription

ye this; ýé
yeʔé this; ýé, yeʔe; Vogt note 201 (1940a:68-69)
yilkʷ rub; √yilkʷ
yʔum move
yiʔuʔ move
yo so; ýó
yom so; ýó·m, ýó·m
yoóxʷ sound of running water
yoʔ learn; √yoʔ
yoʰ+yoʰ+scút hard; √yoʔ; yo·yo·scút
yuč+mµ red paint; √yuč; ýúčamän, iyúčamän, ýúčami
yʔaʔp arrive PL; √yaʔ; iʔáʔp
ýe₄+ýe₄+á today; √ýe₄₄eʔ; yet₄₄e₄₄á
ʔačx look; √ʔačx; ʔáčx, ʔáčxe
ʔačx+m look INTR; √ʔačx; ʔačxm, ʔáčxam
ʔaw+ʔá+ʔaw say aloud PL; √ʔaw;
ʔauʔáʔau
ʔaw+ʔá+ʔaw say aloud PL; √ʔaw;
ʔauʔáʔau
ʔax+ʔax+iʔənäh(? name of a tribe);
ʔaxʷʔaxʷiʔənäh, ʔaxʷʔaxʷiʔənäh
ʔašxʷ+ʔašxʷ+iʔənäh(? name of a tribe);
ʔašxʷʔašxʷiʔənäh, ʔašxʷʔašxʷiʔənäh
ʔayxʷ+t get tired; √ʔayxʷ; ʔaixʷt
ʔe here; √ʔe; aʔe, ʔe; Vogt note 203 (1940a:69)
ʔec+s+wís stand SG; √wis; ʔecsuiš
ʔel+iʔn eat PL; √iʔn; eliʔn, ʔelʔn
ʔemút sit, be home; √ʔemút; ʔemut
ʔenwén+m sense INTR; √ʔenwén;
enuwënäm
ʔesél two; √ʔesél; esél
ʔet+iʔtš sleep PL; √ʔitš; etiʔtš
ʔewt=úʔs their opponent; √ʔewt;
ʔeutúʔs
ʔiʔn eat; √ʔiʔn; ʔiʔn, ʔiʔn
ʔimš move camp; √ʔimš; ʔimš
ʔitš sleep; √ʔitš; ʔitš, ʔits
ʔiʔn eat PL; √ʔiʔn; ʔiʔn
ʔócqe? go out; √ʔócqe?
ʔóʔlqʷeʔ go PL down to the river;
√ʔóʔlqʷeʔ; ʔóʔlqʷeʔ
ʔus+t dive; √ʔus; ʔúst
ʔus+ʔúʔs+t dive PL; √ʔus; ʔusʔúʔst
ʔuʔs+t dive PL; √ʔus; ʔúʔst
3.2 Affixes

This section lists the affixes that occur in the texts. Section 3.2.1 contains prefixes, 3.2.2 contains suffixes, 3.2.3 contains lexical affixes, and 3.2.4 contains infixes. For the entries in each section, the affix is listed in alphabetical order and is followed by its English gloss and then allomorphs and comments, if applicable.

3.2.1 Prefixes

Seven prefixes listed in this section (c-, č-, čɬ-, eɬ-, epɬ-, ɬ-, and s-) ‘NOMINALIZER’) are derivational and, as such, are not analyzed separately in the texts, but they are listed here with the inflectional prefixes due to their frequency and transparent meanings.

- **c-** to
- **č-** person (with numerals)
- **čɬ-** on
- **eɬ-** back, again
- **epɬ-** POSS; ep-; Vogt note 146 (1940a:50)
- **es-** CUST; ?asə-, ?asi-; with -st transitivizer
- **es-** ACT
- **han-** 2SG POSS; an-, a-
- **hin-** 1SG POSS; in-, i-, y-
- **ɬ-** DIM
- **qeʔʔ-** FUT; qes-
- **q-** to be; q-, qs-
- **qs-** FUT; qsa-, q-
- **s-** NOM; sa-
- **s-** CUST; sa-, si-
3.2.2 Suffixes

Nine of the suffixes listed in this section (-ilš, -lwis, -ɬtumš, -min, -mist, -nun, -(t)n, -um, and -wexw) are derivational and, as such, are not analyzed separately in the texts, but they are listed here with the inflectional suffixes due to their frequency and transparent meanings. As mentioned in the introduction, the transitivizers (-t, -nt, -st, and -št) are derivational but are analyzed separately throughout this thesis.

-\textit{em} 1\textsc{pl} \textsc{trans}; -ēm; strong form of 1\textsc{pl} \textsc{trans} suffix

-\textit{em} \textsc{pass}; -ēm; strong form of \textsc{passive} suffix

-\textit{en} 1\textsc{sg} \textsc{trans}; -ēn; strong form of 1\textsc{sg} \textsc{trans} suffix

-\textit{ep} 2\textsc{pl} \textsc{trans}; -ēp; strong form of 2\textsc{pl} \textsc{trans} suffix

-\textit{es} 3\textsc{trans}; -ēs; number not specified; strong form of 3\textsc{trans} suffix

-\textit{eʔs} 3\textsc{pl} \textsc{trans}; -ēʔs

-\textit{l} \textsc{cont}; with es- prefix

-\textit{i} \textsc{fut}

-\textit{ilš} \textit{motion}

-\textit{lms} 2\textsc{pl} \textsc{obj}; -ɬulams

-\textit{ls} 1\textsc{pl} \textsc{obj}

-\textit{lwis} \textit{around}; -luís

-\textit{4t} \textsc{tr}; -ē, -ət, -t; possessor applicative transitivizer

-\textit{4tumš} \textit{person}; people; -tūmš

-\textit{m} 1\textsc{pl} \textsc{trans}

-\textit{m} 2\textsc{sg} \textsc{obj}; -əm; occurs after -st transitivizer

-\textit{m} \textsc{antip}; -əm

-\textit{m} \textsc{pass}; -əm

-\textit{min} \textsc{instr}; -mí, -mi, -əmí

-\textit{mist} \textsc{intr refl}

-\textit{mp} 2\textsc{pl} \textsc{poss}

-\textit{n} 1\textsc{sg} \textsc{trans}; -ən

-\textit{nt} \textsc{tr}; -ant, -ən, -n, -t, -i, -í

-\textit{nun} \textit{success}; -ənú, -nu

-\textit{p} 2\textsc{pl} \textsc{trans}; -əp

-\textit{s} 2\textsc{sg} \textsc{obj}; -c
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>3 PL OBJ; -eʔs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>3 POSS; -c; number not specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>3 SG OBJ; -tes, -tés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>3 TRANS; -es; number not specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>2 SG OBJ; -cí; strong form of 2 SG OBJ suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>TR; -t; causative transitivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>CUST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-š</td>
<td>2 PL TRA/glyph817S occurs after -m (e.g. -št-m-t TR-2OBJ-1PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-š</td>
<td>TR; -ašt, -t; benefactive transitivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>1 PL TRANS;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(t)n</td>
<td>INST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-um</td>
<td>into; verb forming suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wex</td>
<td>RECIP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-x</td>
<td>2 SG TRANS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.3 Lexical Affixes

The first three lexical affixes listed here are prefixes; the rest are suffixes. Glosses for lexical affixes are listed when they could be found, but many lexical affixes do not have clear meanings. Vogt (1940a) refers to these as “field-suffixes” and lists them, with notes and examples, on pages 51-56.

č= person

n= often used in combination with =etk" ‘water’

u4= collective; Vogt note 138 (1940a:48)

=alqs shirt, clothes; -lqs, -qs

=alq" long object, tree, pole

=af

=a4q fruit, berry, race, game

=ap

=asqt day, heaven

=axn arm, wing

=aʔ

=cn mouth, lips, tongue, speech, food;
  -cin

=čn

=čst hand, finger, work; -čsta,
  -ečst

=élcʔ room, body; -é4čʔ, -4čʔ

=elp cover; -eʔlp

=els

=elt offspring; -lt

=etxʷ skin, hide

=enč stomach, wall

=éneʔ ear; -ne?

=ep below, bottom of something; -e, -eʔp

=etkʷ water; -eʔtkʷ, -kʷ

=ews middle; -eʔus, -aws

=eʔ

=ićeʔ all around

=ič

=ičn back

=ixʷ people

=iʔ
=lscut clothing

=tp tree

=ttumš people

=meʔ people

=mt to the extreme

=neʔ?

=ot

=qin head; -q, -qiʔ

=s head

=ši

=šn foot

=tč

=ulexʷ land, earth, ground; -uleʔxʷ

=ut to the extreme

=ups tail, rump

=us eye, face, fire; -s, -uʔs

=usčn thigh; -uʔsč

=wl
3.2.4 Infixes

This section lists infixes found in the data. –s– is a compound stem connector – technically not an infix – but is listed here for convenience.

–s– COMP

–ʔ– INCH

–ʔ– PL
3.3 List of Roots

Stems whose roots could be determined are listed in this section, arranged by root.

The roots are arranged in alphabetical order and given glosses. The stems for which I could not determine roots are not listed in this section. Glosses for roots were taken, for the most part, from the Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.), but for many roots no gloss could be determined.

√caq put, placed
   caq placed

√cil/commasuprightnospcil/commasuprightnospcil/commasuprightnospšš šš camp
   c+ciʔ↓il/commasuprightnospš camp PL
   ep+i+c+ciʔ↓il/commasuprightnospš have camps

√cim oily, greasy
   č+cm+p=els sick from greasy food

√citx/wsuper/wsuper /wsuper/wsuper house
   citx/wsuper house
   ciʔtx/wsuper house PL

√ciʔ that one
   ciʔ here, that one
   l_cıʔ in here

√cniɬc
   cniɬc 3SG
   cniʔlc 3PL

√cq
   cq+q=us land
   cq+q=uʔs land PL
   č+i+cq=ētkʷ on water
   č+i+cq=ēʔtkʷ onto water PL
   n+cq=us+m look up

√cuw say
   cu say
   cu+n+m say
   cu+t say
   cú+t+i he/she/they said
   cúʔ+t+i say PL

√čan tight
   čn+m tight
   čn+op tight
   čn+p+ma tight

√caq throw
   čq+m throw
   čq+min throw away

√češ bashful
   čeʔeš bashful

√čil stand PL
   ċl=alqʷ stick game
   ċl=alqʷ+m play stick game INTR
   e+i+čl=ālqʷ+m play stick game again INTR
   e+i+t+čl=ālqʷ play stick game again
   es+n+čl=ētkʷ pole in water
√čip pinch
čip pinch

√čs used up, consumed
čs+ip all gone
čs+p+nu all used up

√čwet go after
čwet go after
čwet+m go after INTR

√č? n+či+íš upstream

√čelš hand
čelš hand

√čen where, which
čen do what
čen+m do what INTR
čen where

√če?řés three
č+če?+če?ře?s three people
če?řés three

√čic arrive
čic arrive
či?c arrive PL
či?+čic manage to arrive
again
kʷּ4+čic manage to arrive
s+čic+c+n guest

√čić s+čić+třxʷ=éne? straight above PL

√čmiš only, just
čmi only

√čnmi blind
čnmi=qin blind

√čň grab, touch
t+n+čn=aws=q grab by hair

√čoš shout
čoš+im he shouted

√čw s+čw+čw=aňn arms

√čý čy+čy=éʔ grandmother
ep†+čy+čy=éʔ have a
grandmother

√če če? yet

√čes bad, evil
čes=cín+m bad mouth

√čič epi+s+čičt have clay
s+čičt clay

√čit get close
č+če?íʔt near
č+čiʔt+min go near to
čiʔ+čeʔt near, short distance
e†+č+čiʔt+min get close again
e†+čʔ+čʔt back from short
distance

√čĺ s+n+čĺ=ep coyote

√čluxʷ disappear
čluxʷ evening
čluxʷ+m become evening
√čut half
s+čut half

√čuw empty, quiet, gone
čuw absent
čw+s+qél=ixʔ go to gamble
čw+s+qéʔl=ixʔ go to gamble PL
čw+up stop shouting

√ečínt
ečínt+m say what INTR

√hayó
hayó oh my

√hoy finished, all done, completed
e⁺ʰóy finish again
hoy then, stop, finished
hoy+hóy stop

√hoý
oý+ncút laugh

√kʷec night, dark
e⁺⁺kʷ+kwʷɛc tomorrow night
kʷ+kwʷɛc get dark

√kʷen take, grab
kʷen take, grab, catch
kʷen=él take, grab, catch
kʷen+nú manage to catch
kʷin+s+qél=ixʷ grab person

√kʷes name
s+kʷes+t name
s+kʷs+kʷeʔs+t name PL

√kʷil red, heat
kʷil=lqs red shirt

√kʷslip
s+kʷ=us face

√kʷtun big
kʷtun+t big

√kʷen
kʷen=čst+míst get ready

√kʷeɲ try, test, choose
kʷn=čst+míst+(t)n try by hand

√kʷinš several
kʷinš=ásqť several days

√kʷ4
e⁺⁺kʷ⁴+čić manage to arrive again
kʷ⁴+čić manage to arrive
kʷ⁴+xeʔéč appear
kʷ⁴+xeʔéč+č appear
k⁴+paʔx deliberate
k⁴+tal make rites
k⁴+yem+m hesitate
k⁴+n+q⁴om+i leave suddenly

√kʷappear, come out, come off
n+kʷuλ=ús unplug

√kʷul work, create
kʷul work, create
kʷul+m work INTR
tix⁴⁺⁺kʷúl+m get tool

√kʷuy
s+kʷuy mother

√kʷyum young, small
4⁺⁺kʷ+kʷyum=eʔ small
s+4⁺⁺kʷ+kʷyum=eʔ child
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laáp</td>
<td>paddle, travel by boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laq</td>
<td>bury, peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lem</td>
<td>glad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lič</td>
<td>tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lkʷu</td>
<td>far away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lukʷ</td>
<td>stick of wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l?ew</td>
<td>(man’s) father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faš</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aq</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqʷ</td>
<td>show, be visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eʔ</td>
<td>close to, next to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ćič</td>
<td>thrash, whip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ć</td>
<td>whip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4ošʷ</td>
<td>opened, hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4uʔ</td>
<td>stab, pierce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4tšʷ</td>
<td>now, today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4šʷu</td>
<td>escape, dash out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4šec</td>
<td>show, be visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4aqʷ</td>
<td>show, be visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4eʔ</td>
<td>close to, next to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ćič</td>
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<td>4š</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ćič</td>
<td>thrash, whip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- laáp: paddle, travel by boat
- laq: bury, peel
- lem: glad
- lič: tie
- lkʷu: far away
- lukʷ: stick of wood
- l?ew: (man’s) father
- faš: friend
- aq: sit
- aqʷ: show, be visible
- eʔ: close to, next to
- ćič: thrash, whip
- ć: whip
- 4ošʷ: opened, hole
- 4uʔ: stab, pierce
- 4tšʷ: now, today
- 4šʷu: escape, dash out
- 4šec: show, be visible
- 4šʔ: close to, next to
- ćič: thrash, whip
- ć: whip

129
√x^"up
x^"up win
x^"u?p win PL
x^"u?p+m win PL INTR
s+c+x^"u?p win PL

√ye? canoe
Xiyé? bark canoe

√maw break, take apart
maʔw take off PL, break PL

√me? bother, pester
meʔ=éčst=mṭ+ls bother people

√mṭ very, a lot, extreme
mṭ too, very

√miy know, tell, repeat
miy know
miy+m know INTR
miy+p+nú find out
n+miy+ép+m told on

√mł bleed, flow
eṭ+mal bubble again
mal bubble
ml+tx^w+miʔ flow straight

√mṭ epṭ+s+mṭ=ič place that has
salmon
s+mṭ=ič salmon

√moq^w mountain
n+mq^w=ups big rump

√mł snow
s+mł+up winter

√meye? show, tell, teach
méye tell

√nas wet
naʔás get wet

√neč
s+néč=čeʔ cow elk

√nex^w also
nex^w also

√nič cut
n+nič=s cut off head

√nk^u? one, once
nk^w=alq^w one pole
nk^w=asqt one day
nk^w=eṭx^w one house
nk^u? one

√noł^w
noł^w+nł^w wife
nł^w+nł^w=eś married couple

√nplehmp you PL
npleʔ 2PL

√nt
nt=els think

√pas amazed, speechless
ps+ap scared

√pał smart, wise
k^wṭ+paʔł deliberate

√pew inflate, swell
pw+pew+lš breathe
√pilš enter
eël+n+pilš reenter

√pk* throw rocks
es+č+pk*=ičň

√pl float, drift in water
pl+ip drift along

√p+ thick, dense
s+p=qin head

√p* kill, fight
puls kill

√pus
ept+s+pʔús decide
s+pʔus heart, mind, personality

√put put just

√pw buck
s+pw=al=qn red-headed woodpecker
uɬ=s+pw= ál=qn red-headed woodpecker and group

√p* distribute, dole out
p*+mn+cut disperse

√paq shiny, sparkly
s+paq+ni sun

√pajaq ripe, baked, bread
pajaq cooked, ripe

√pilč turned around, turned over
e+č+pilč=ús turn back
e+č+pilč=ús+m turn back INTR
pilč=ús+m turn back INTR

√p* bare, uncovered, exposed
č+p*Xe=čst+min let go of
p*Xe=čst+m let go

√p* long cylindrical objects on the ground
n+pin lay in

√pum tan (color)
pum tan (color)

√pu? stink, fart
n+pu?=étkw+m fart in water
pu?+úm fart
s+pu?+úm fart

√p*ut mature, old, wise
p*+p*w*ut parents
p*+iʔs grew up
p*ut parent
s+p*ut parents, old

√qam goods
s+qam=nālscút

√qc shrink
s+n+qc=ut lynx

√qel body, mass
čw+s+qel=ix go to gamble
čw+s+qel=ix go to gamble PL
ep+t+s+qlt+mix have a husband
kʷin+s+qel=ix grab person
n+ʔin+s+qel=ix man-eater
n+ʔin+s+qel=ix+tn man-eater
s+qlt+mix men
s+qlt+mix man
tix+s+qel=ix get people
s+qel=ix people, man
√qeys dream
qeys dream

√qe? suck, nurse
s+qe?+m milk

√qe?nplé? we
qe?nplé? 1PL

√qi+ awaken
qi+ wake up
qi+t+q+t awake
qi+t awake

√qi stand on, step on
qaluwét+m step INTR

√qmin lay something down
qmin lay

√qp
qp=é+tce? dish

√qey live, have camp set up
es+qey there is a house, people live, camp
qey build a house

√qe? pinched, squeezed, crowded
č+qe?=él+s+m pay attention
e+t+n+q+e?=ús stick in again

√qil
es+č+t+q+l+i? lake

√qam swallow, gulp
qam+qam+ilš discuss PL

√qsípi? a long time, a long time ago
tá_s+qasíp not long

√q*am wonderful
q*am+q*+m+t wonderful

√q*ásq’i? bluejay
q*ásqwi bluejay

√q*ay blue, green
q*ay blue

√q*ec warm
e+q*?éc warm again
s+q*’á+q*’c=i? cotton tail rabbit

√q*el talk, give a speech
q*+q*el talk
q*+q*el+t talk INTR
wy+s+q*+q*el+t finish talking

√q*ew drunk, crazy, senseless
q*ew+w crazy

√q*il cheat
q*il cheat

√q*im always in a hurry
q*im anxious for, in a hurry

√q*ih ugly, poor, pitiful
n+q*‘n+min pity
q*‘n+q*‘n+i+t poor, pitiful
q*‘n+q*‘n+s=cin ask for pity

√q*íl
q*íl=e?p blacken PL

√q*ím die PL
q*ím+i?p die PL
\(\sqrt{q^w}s\)
\(s + q^w s = e\? son\)

\(\sqrt{q^w}uyʔe I, me\)
\(q^w uyeʔé 1SG\)

\(\sqrt{q^w}ay\) black
\(q^w ay\) black
\(q^w y + q^w ay\) buffalo
\(q^w y + q^w ay + stmá\) buffalo cow

\(\sqrt{q^w}et\) carried on the back
\(e\? + q^w t + či\) carry back on back
\(e\? + q^w t + q^w ét + m\) carry back PL on back

\(\sqrt{q^w}m\)
\(e\? + q^w m = ép + m\) leave again suddenly
\(k^w n + q^w om + í\) leave suddenly
\(q^w m = ép + m\) leave suddenly

\(\sqrt{q^w}um\) take, grab
\(e\? + q^w um\) take back

\(\sqrt{s}ax\) near
\(s + č + sāx + m\) near
\(sāx = cin\) shore

\(\sqrt{s}ax^w\) split in little pieces
\(sāx^w\) split wood

\(\sqrt{sew}\) ask
\(sew\) ask
\(sēw = ne\?\) hear something
\(sew + núʔmt\) ask information
\(s + séw = ne\?\) hear something

\(\sqrt{sew}t\)
\(sew\? t = k^w\) water

\(\sqrt{sic\ new,\ right\ now}\)
\(sic\ finally,\ new\)

\(\sqrt{six^w}\) pour
\(n + six^w + uʔ\) pour
\(sx^w + six^w = ꩠt\) child
\(tix^w + sx^w + six^w = ꩠt\) have a child

\(\sqrt{sul}\) cold
\(sūʔit\) cold

\(\sqrt{sux^w}\) know, understand, recognize
\(sux^w\) know, understand, recognize
\(súx^w = meʔ\) measure

\(\sqrt{swet}\) who
\(swet\) who

\(\sqrt{sy}\) smart, able, industrious
\(si + siy = ús\) smart

\(\sqrt{syen}\) count out loud
\(syen\) count

\(\sqrt{šeňš}\) stone
\(s + šeňš\) stone

\(\sqrt{šin}\) accompany
\(č + šin\) follow
\(č + šin + min\) go with
\(e\? + č + šin\) follow back
\(e\? + č + šin + ím\) follow back INTR

\(\sqrt{šič}\) stand upright
\(s + n + št = ≷tk^w\) stand in water
\(šič\) make it stand

\(\sqrt{šl}\) chop
\(ep\? + šil + mín\) have axe
√šič *turn, circle, rotate*
*ešt+šič+mn+cút* turn self around

√šš’ *straight*
šš=us+m look around

√šš’ *beat in a competition, win*
šš+ip lose
šš+ip=áɬq win
šš+ip+m lose *INTR*
šš+ip+nú win
šš+ip+núʔ win *PL*

√šýus *pass by, take a route*
šýus+t pass
šýuʔ pass by *PL*

√ta *no*
ta *NEG*

√taf
kʷ4+taf make rites

√tam *not*
qs+tam definitely not
tam not

√tče’y *urinate*
tče’y penis

√tem’ *thing*
s+teʔ thing
teʔ+s+tém possession

√teš33 *stand*
téš+iš stand up

√teš’ *little*
ć+t+tw+iš young boy

√t따 *boat*
s+t따+m boat
s+t따ʔ+m boat *PL*

√tixʷ *get, obtain*
sc+tixʷ gathered stuff
tixʷ obtain
tixʷ+4+kʷúl+mn get *tool*
tixʷ+m obtain *INTR*
tixʷ+s+qél=ixʷ get people
tixʷ+s+xʷ=sixʷ=ít have a child

√tkʷʔu *walk* *PL*
tkʷʔut walk

√t따q *kick*
n+t따q=ap+ncút jump around
s+t따q+em dance
t따q+em dance *INTR*

√tošʷ *straight*
čitxʷáʾ_n+tšʷ=qín past noon
č+tašʷ+l+mncút+m go up to
ml+tšʷ+mi+ʔ flow straight
n+tšʷ=qíʔ noon
s+č+4+tšʷ=éněʔ straight above *PL*
s+tšʷ+tšʷ=t straight
tšʷ+tšʷ+t straight

√tuʔ *stuffed, crowded*
tuʔ crowd

√tyaʔ
s+tye caribou

√tyeš *creep, crawl*
c+n+tyeš crawl towards

---

33 The Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.) lists the root as √tešilš; it is analyzed here as root √teš with derivational suffix of motion +iš.
√téye? bad, ornery
téye? bad

√tl
s+tɬ+ɬ=ʔ+m thunder

√tloqʷ run from danger
tloqʷ run away, escape, gush

√tp upright PL, standing up PL
c+tp+p standing up PL

√ṯekʷ come out, rise to the top, emerge
c̱+tkʷ+kʷ=etkʷ come to surface of water
e̱+teʔekʷ resurface INCH

√ṯukʷ set down, laid down
c+tkʷ+ncut lie down
c̱+tkʷ=ep+m put by side
c̱+tkʷ+kʷ=eʔlp+m put up camp PL
e̱+ṯukʷ+št+w̱exʷ place bet again RECP
tkʷ+ncut lie down
tkʷ+ukʷ fall over
ṯukʷ lie down, fall over
ṯukʷ+št+w̱exʷ place bet RECP

√tul earth, dirt, ground
s+tulk=ixʷ ground

√we? call, shout
we? shout

√wič see
t+wič see coming
t+wič see coming PL
wič see
wič+m see INTR
wiʔč+m see PL INTR

√wis high up
s+nɬ+wʔis early morning
wis=šn long
ʔec+s+wiš stand SG

√wiʔy finish
wųy finish
wųy=cin weetseen
wųy=ečst finish
wųy+s+ʔel+ʔin finish eating
wųy+s+ɬxʷ finish hole
wųy+s+ʔum finish moving
wųy+s+qʷl+qʷel+t finish talking
wųy+s+ɬeč=cn+m stuck out tongue

√wl burn
es=wl=ús fireplace
s+wl=ši fire

√wnexʷ34 yes
n+wnexʷ=éneʔ believe

√wup hairy, fuzzy
s+wup=úleʔxʷ grass

√wųy beautiful, handsome
s+wųy+numt+i beautiful
s+wųy+wųy+numt+i beautiful

√wewʷ fish

√xʷey
xʷʔy+xʷeʔy=ú⁴ animal

34 The Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.) lists the root as √ʔunexʷ, but the glottal stop does not occur in the stem or in cognate roots in other Salishan languages. The entry in Vogt’s dictionary is unéxʷ.
√xʷičš give
   eɬ+xʷič give back
   xʷič give

√xʷist walk sg
   n+xʷist=élče? walk in the room
   xʷist walk
   xʷst+lwis walk around

√xʷf
   s+xʷf=ot=qs prairie rabbit

√xʷl' whittle
   xʷli+m whittle INTR

√xʷt run, arise
   č+xʷt+p+min jump on
   č+xʷt+p+m+s+qél=ixʷ rush at
   eɬ+č+xʷt+p+min jump on again
   xʷt+ilš get up
   xʷtip run

√xʷuy go
   c+xʷuy come
   č+xʷuy+mŋ go up to
   eɬ+c+xʷuy come again
   eɬ+xʷuy go back
   xʷuy go
   xʷú?uy go PL
   xʷy+xʷuy go PL

√xʷal be light, be clear
   xalíp morning

√xʷaq pay
   ħaq+mn pay

√xʷc gamble
   ħc+ħc+iʔm gamble PL

√xʷc get dressed, get ready
   ħc+mn+cut ready
   ħc+num+tn clothing

√xʷc partners, companions
   s+ħc+ħc+ut companions

√xʷect dig roots
   ħect dig roots

√xʷel fear, be afraid
   n+ħe⁴ be afraid
   n+ħil+min get scared

√xʷes good
   č+ħs=iče? well-dressed
   s+ħas=lqs moose
   ħes+t good

√xʷeʔn warn, caution, forbid
   ħeʔn forbid

√xʷlit invite
   ħalít ask, invite
   ħalít+m ask INTR

√xʷm like, love
   ħam=énč love
   ħam=ēʔnč love PL

√xʷa maybe
   ħʷa maybe

√xʷeʔl
   s+ħʷeʔlí camas in ground

√xʷf for
   ħʷf because, for

√xʷqʷ
   ħʷqʷ=ew divide
√xʷʔey laugh PL  
č+čʷa+čʷeʔ+ey+mín laugh PL
čʷa+čʷeʔ+éy laugh

√yal round  
č+ył+yal=s+m look at with big eyes

√yaʔ gathered, accumulated  
e+ʔap go back
ē+ʔapʔ arrive again PL
es+n+yʔ+ʔap forever
es+yʔ+p=qín+i powwow
es+yʔaʔ every
yap=qín powwow
yaʔaʔ+m+iʔš gather PL
yʔaʔp arrive PL

√yem worry  
kʷʔ+yem+m hesitate

√yilkʷ rub in a circular motion, wind  
yilkʷ rub

√yixʷm³⁵ cold weather  
č+ʔixʷm=ús be cold all over

√yixʷ covet, envy  
č+t+ʔixʷ+t+m envy PL

√yoʔ strong  
yoʷ+yoʷ+scút hard

√yoʔ learn  
yoʔ learn

√yuč  
ep+yuč+m n have red paint
yuč+m n red paint

√ʔačx watch, look at  
e+ʔačx=ʔetkʷ+m look
back in water
s+ʔačx look
t+ʔačx look over at
ʔačx look
ʔačx+m look INTR

√ʔanwi you  
anwiʔ 2SG

√ʔaw name, say aloud, read  
ʔaw+ʔaʔʔaw say aloud PL

√ʔaxíl be a certain way, do a certain way  
aχ+aχ=tč+m work PL INTR
e+cʔaxí like
ʔaχíl do, be a certain way, do a certain way

√ʔayxʷ tired  
ʔayxʷ+t get tired

√ʔe here  
ʔe here

√ʔel try, test, experiment with  
e+éli try again

√ʔem feed  
s+m+ʔem woman

√ʔemút sit SG, stay SG, be at home SG  
ʔemút sit, be home
\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔenwén}} feel, sense} \)
\(\text{ʔenwén+m sense INTR} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔesél}} two} \)
\(\text{č+ʔesél two} \)
\(\text{ʔesél two} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔewt}}} \)
\(\text{ʔewt=úʔs their opponent} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔitʃn}} eat} \)
\(\text{č+ʔitʃn+nkʷ=éčéʔ eat one} \)
\(\text{e4+ʔitʃn eat again} \)
\(\text{+ʔitʃn eat DIM} \)
\(\text{n+ʔitʃn+s+qél=ixʷ man-eater} \)
\(\text{n+ʔitʃn+s+qél=ixʷ+tn man-eater} \)
\(\text{qs+ʔitʃn food} \)
\(\text{sc+ʔitʃn food} \)
\(\text{wý+s+ʔel+ʔitʃn finish eating} \)
\(\text{ʔel+ʔitʃn eat PL} \)
\(\text{ʔitʃn eat} \)
\(\text{ʔitʃn eat PL} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔimš}} move} \)
\(\text{ʔimš move camp} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔitš}} sleep, asleep} \)
\(\text{ʔitš sleep} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔócqeʔ}} go out} \)
\(\text{e4+ʔócqeʔ go out again} \)
\(\text{ʔócqeʔ go out} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔolqʷ}} assist} \)
\(\text{olqʷ+š+scút+n helper} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔólqʷeʔ}} go down toward the water} \)
\(\text{ʔólqʷeʔ go PL down to the river} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔúkʷuʔ}} bring, take} \)
\(\text{c+ʔúkʷu bring} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔúxʷ}} enter, go in} \)
\(\text{e4+n+ʔúxʷ go back in} \)
\(\text{n+ʔúxʷ go in} \)

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{ʔus}} dive} \)
\(\text{e4+n+ʔus+míʔ dive again} \)
\(\text{es+ʔus+t dive PL} \)
\(\text{ʔus+t dive} \)
\(\text{ʔus+t dive PL} \)
\(\text{ʔuʔs+t dive PL} \)
\(\text{ʔuʔs+t dive PL} \)
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