An Interlinear Analysis of Seven Kalispel Texts From Hans Vogt

Kelsi Camp

The University of Montana

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd
Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation
https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/139

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.
AN INTERLINEAR ANALYSIS OF SEVEN KALISPEL TEXTS FROM HANS VOGT

By

Kelsi Marie Camp

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

Approved by:

Dr. David A. Strobel, Dean
Graduate School

Dr. Anthony Mattina, Chair
Linguistics

Dr. Mizuki Miyashita
Linguistics

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 Background 1  
1.2 Methods 4  
1.3 Project Significance 6  

## 2.0 Texts

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

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></th>
<th>Description</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>
<tr>
<td>CUST</td>
<td>customary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCH</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERR</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<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>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFLEX</td>
<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>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHARTS OF SYMBOLS (CONSONANTS ONLY)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Spirants</th>
<th>Affricates</th>
<th>Sonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glottalized</td>
<td>non-glottalized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>ŗp</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>m w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>ţt</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>s  ŭ</td>
<td>c ě č č̣ č̣ n y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>Ũh</td>
<td>ŕh</td>
<td>ţh</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-palatals</td>
<td>k̂w</td>
<td>k̂w</td>
<td>x̄w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-palatals</td>
<td>q̂w</td>
<td>q̂w</td>
<td>x̄w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glottalized</td>
<td>non-glottalized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>ŗp</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>m w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>ţt</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>s  ŭ</td>
<td>c ě č č̣ č̣ n y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>Ũh</td>
<td>ŕh</td>
<td>ţh</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-palatals</td>
<td>k̂w</td>
<td>k̂w</td>
<td>x̄w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-palatals</td>
<td>q̂w</td>
<td>q̂w</td>
<td>x̄w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Glottalized sonants m w n y l

* Non-glottalized ŕ is not phonemic.

¹ Vogt does not list the glottal stop (his symbol ') as a phoneme in his chart. In this study it is represented by the glottal stop symbol ŕ.
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:

**KALISPEL TEXTS**

[1 square brackets indicate that the included words probably have to be barred. Due to the slow recording, repetition of sentences may usually have occurred.]

---

**TRANSLATION**

The translation is based on the first 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 violence to the rules of English grammar. I have often left untouched the Kalispel conjunctions AND and BUT.

In most instances I included words and expressions not explicitly contained in the native text, but which result from a general analysis of the text.

---

**Figure 1: Scanned image of pages 80-81 of Vogt 1940a**
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) esögi əlinən u shći. esćimqinoš ḥulîne tęxšį iyqešć. šćentom ḥin saqtomix* (sqalomix*?). šćentom ḥulipoxsăcit, yessatun yaqšıraqscăit. (2) šćentom yaqšıraqscăit u aqgeșănum. ca să yaqšıraqscăit: gaqšıraqscăit tšac̄ešt. kaqšıšăcit u qęxšų iyqešćes. (3) höi qelıaṗ, qęxšų u qęxšíq. höi qeqšulăqi, qeqšulăqi, gęc̄iș̄im qeqšulăqi. qećıș̄im tshäqšăqi. xëlț tŭgšeșic* u qeqšı̊qăqšı̊qomnut. (4) qeqšı̊qăqšı̊qomnut qeqšı̊qăqšı̊qumuq u kęnts buqou. saks u içšı̊qomnut xëlț tŭgšgšı̊qăqšı̊qăq (gqaslı̊qăqăqăq) tšapomnut iyqešćes. (5) höi kuqšăqi, kęnts qeqšulăqi. kęnts kęnts tšapomnut u nućšămb lı̊qesą̱. höi püt tugušćiș̄a tsăqou xuqš. (6) höi xeqč̄ę̊siqšı̊q lı̊qaśuqul. isč̄ qeqšulăqi. kęnts püt u qeqšı̊qomnut tąqšı̊q, kuqšı̊q yı̊šı̊q. lı̊qšı̊q mı̊kš̄ı̊qomnut mı̊yę tı̊qšı̊q mı̊kš̄ı̊qomnut. (7) tšı̊qomnut u cı̊nš̄ı̊qomnut u cı̊nš̄. lı̊qomnut mı̊n qı̊mencı̊čı̊stı̊.

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 Quiquisca. (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 u 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 ¯. Orthographic changes include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vogt</th>
<th>current</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>ʰm (and similar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>ʰq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰx</td>
<td>ʰx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cᵘ</td>
<td>Cʷ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’</td>
<td>¯</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) höy k"uk"uʔéc, k"é̱mt qeʔ laáp.

The i in höi was changed to its non-syllabic counterpart y, unrounded k in kukuʔéc 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 skú.  
esqéy uɬinlʔéu  
es+qéy3 uɬ4= hin- lʔéu u s+kuy
people.live COLL 1SG.POSS- father and mother

My father and my mother lived.

esčinamqín ɬuʔinlʔéuʔ ečaší tquyeʔé.  
esčinamqín ɬuʔ inlʔéuʔ ečaší t qُuyeʔé
people.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.
A man called on us.

He said to my parents:

He said to my parents:

I am coming after Quiquiscu.

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 qʷiqʷiscú (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:

qaqstíx"i tsuwéʔuɬ.

qa qstíx"i t suwéʔuɬ

We'll get some fish.

k"ucúntam: x"ú, xčamancútš.

They said to me\(^10\): Well, get ready.

činčxčamancút u qeʔxuí ɬuʔč/commasuprightnospə/lambdabar/commasuprightnospiyéʔs.

I got ready, and we went to his canoe.

11.003

hóí qeʔlaáp, qeʔxuí u qeʔcqqús

We paddled, we went and we pulled ashore.

\(^{10}\) 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,

\[\text{We walked}, \text{we had an axe,}\]

\[\text{We walked, we had an axe,}\]

\[\text{we got some pitch-wood.}\]

\[\text{we got some pitch-wood.}\]

\[\text{We got very much}\]

\[\text{We got very much}\]

\[\text{and we carried it back on our backs.}\]

\[\text{We went back to where the fire-place was going to be,}\]

\[\text{We went back to where the fire-place was going to be,}\]

\[\text{and he fixed it.}\]

\[\text{and he fixed it.}\]
He split and tied together in bundles all our pitch-wood, which he put in our canoe.

Il.005

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 (?)\textsuperscript{12}, the morning came.

\textsuperscript{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 (_).
He divided the fish,

\[ \text{išeʔ qeʔpəl/commasuprightnospíp}^{13}. \]

\[ \text{išeʔ qeʔ pəl/commasuprightnospíp} \]

\[ \text{išeʔ qeʔ pf+ip} \]

DEM 1PL.INTR drift.along

we drifted along.

\[ \text{kʷém̕t pút u qscΧeʔčəmí spqaní, kucúis yé tisəfá:} \]

\[ \text{kʷém̕t pút u qscΧeʔčəmí spqaní kʷu cuís} \]

\[ \text{kʷem̕t put u qsc- c+Χeʔč+m -i s+p̣+ni kʷu cu -nt -s} \]

and.then just and FUT- rise.CISLOC -FUT sun 1SG.OBJ say -TR -3TRANS

\[ \text{yé t isəfá} \]

\[ \text{ye t hin- s+fãt} \]

this OBL 1SG.POSS- friend

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

\[ \text{təlcĩ? mkʷctkʷancút miyέ təλəʔé mčintkʷancú} \]

\[ \text{tał ciʔ m kʷ ctkʷancút miyέ tał ?e m čin ṭkʷancú} \]

\[ \text{tf ciʔ m kʷ c+tkʷ+ncut miyέ tf ?e m čn ṭkʷ+ncut} \]

from here FUT 2SG.INTR lie.down *** from here FUT 1SG.INTR lie.down

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 pafip (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.

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 I 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.
That is the end.

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

That's the end.
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.

\[^{17}\text{š}i\text{n}, \text{analyzed as the root here, is identical to and probably cognate with the lexical suffix } =\text{š}n \text{ ‘foot’}\]
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.

I woke up and got bashful for all these people.
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 (?)..

When they left, it was already morning.

I went home and went in again.

---

18 $e^k\text{ʷəɬčí}$ is analyzed here as a mistake for $e^q\text{ʷəɬčí}$. –čí is probably the lexical suffix =ičn ‘back’.
My parents asked me:

čəčėń u kʷesəlcíʔi?
čə čėń u kʷ esəlcíʔi
cə čęń u kʷ es- lciʔ -i
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.TRANS

I said:

čəşēʔi u činesxuí čestəfqamí.
çə šēʔi u čin esxʷuí č estəfqamí
č šēʔi u čn es- xʷuy -i č es- tfq+em -i
to that and 1SG.INTR CONT- go -CONT to CONT- dance -CONT

I was going to the dance.

hóí kucúis ɬuʔtinľéu:
hóy kʷu cūis ɬuʔ t inféu
hoy kʷu cu -nt -s ɬuʔ t hin- lʔéu
then 1SG.OBJ say -TR -3TRANS ART OBL 1SG.POSS- father

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

mčćancín,
m čćancín
m čć – nt – si – n
FUT whip -TR -2SG.OBJ -TR

I'll whip you,

xʷał wé xe?nnčín u kʷkʷənqomí.
xʷał wé xe?nnčín u kʷ kʷənqomí
xʷl we xe?n – nt – si – n u kʷ kʷn+qʷom+í
because although forbid -TR -2SG.OBJ -1SG.TRANS and 2SG.INTR leave.suddenly

because I told you not to go and you stole away.

III.010

hói tuʔčelúxʷ,
hóy tuʔ čelúxʷ
hoy tuʔ čluxʷ
then ART evening

When the evening came,

tá sséune? u kʷémt ta' kusčántés.
tá sséune? u kʷémt tá kʷu sčántés
ta s+séw=ne? u kʷémt ta kʷu s– č–nt –es
NEG hear.something and and.then NEG 1SG.OBJ ***- whip -TR -3TRANS

he had not heard anything, and did not whip me.

---

19 This s– could be the es– ‘ACTUAL’ prefix.
That's the end.
2.3 Text IV

IV.001

tyéʔesqéi.
tyéʔesqéy
yees+qéy
thisthere.is.a.house

There was a house.

epɬčičiyé?.
epɬčičiyé?
epɬ+čy+čiy=é?
have.a.grandmother

He had a grandmother.

hóy kʷémół nqʷənʔəmís ɬuʔčičiyé?syéʔesq/apostrophesupnospéy
hóy kʷemt t nqʷənʔəmís ɬuʔčičiyé?syéʔesq/apostrophesupnospéy
hoy kʷemt t nqʷ=asq t n+qʷn+n+mi-s ɬuʔčičiyé?syéʔesq/apostrophesupnospéy
hoy kʷemt t nqʷ=asq t n+qʷn+n+mi-s ɬuʔčičiyé?syéʔesq/apostrophesupnospéy
thenand.then OBL oneday pity -3TRANS ART grandmother-3POSS

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

cúis tyéčičiyé?syéʔesq/apostrophesupnospéy

cúis yéčičiyé?syéʔesq/apostrophesupnospéy
cu-nt-syečy+čiy=é?-s
say-TRANS thisgrandmother-3POSS

He said to her:

hóyčinxʷíst.
hóyčnxʷíst
hoyčnxʷíst
then1SG.INTRwalk

I'll go.
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.
hói ɭáqšilš ɭtatəwít.
hóy ɭáqšilš ɭtatəwít
hoy ɭáqšiɭ+ilš ɭ+t+tw+it
then sit.down young.boy

The young man sat down.

kʷémt ɭuʔesxécti,
kʷémt ɭuʔ esxécti
kʷémt ɭuʔ es xe-esct-i
and.then ART CONT- dig.roots -CONT

While they were digging,

hói ɭuʔɭuʔúsam u wičam u cúti:
hóy ɭuʔɭuʔúsam u wičam u cúti
hoy ɭeʔ+ɭeʔ=ús+m u wič+m u cú+t+i
then look.around.INTR and see.INTR and he.said

he looked around and saw someone and said:

šéʔi ɭuʔikʷillqs ɭuʔiqsəmʔéms.
šéʔi ɭuʔ i kʷillqs ɭuʔ iqsmem
šéʔi ɭuʔ i kʷiʔ=llqs ɭuʔ hin-q4-s+m+em
that ART PART red.shirt ART 1SG.POSS- to.be- woman

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

IV.004

hói xuʔi,
hóy xʷúy
hoy xʷuy
then go

He went,

xuʔít ɭiʔé ɭaʔaxtačcím u ɭcís u ɭqʷəlqʷélstəm,
xʷuʔít ɭiʔé ɭaʔaxtačím u ɭcís u ɭqʷəlqʷélstəm
xʷʔít ɭiʔé ɭaʔ+ax+tc+im u ɭcic -nt -s u ɭqʷl+qʷel -st -m
much this work.PL.INTR and arrive -TR -3TRANS and talk -TR -PASS

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

and said:

éxʷ, təʔé u kʷexʷstalúísi.
exʷ t ʔe u kʷ es- xʷst+lwís -i
INTJ OBL here and 2SG.INTR CONT- walk.around -CONT

Hallo, so you are walking around here?

cúis: é*** kuyescúuwétam kʷiqsəmʔém.
cúis é kʷ yesçuuwétam kʷ
cu -nt -s é kʷ hin- es- c/wet+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 ʔáca̱xstam ɬiʔé tsx̱c xu̱ts u cún séuntam:
hóy ʔáca̱xstam ɬiʔé t s/xmlt+st -m u cún
hoy ʔač -st -m ɬiʔé t s+xc+x+ut -s u cu -n
then look -TR -PASS this OBL companions -3POSS and say -1SG.TRANS

séuntam
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 cúntam.
What is that young man saying to you?

cúís: kuʔescúnams: kuyescúwétəm kʷiqsəmʔé. 
cúís kʷuʔescúnams kʷ 
cu -nt -s kʷu es- cu+n+m -s kʷ 
say -TR -3TRANS 1SG.OBJ ACT- say -3POSS 2SG.INTR 
yescúwétəm kʷiqsəmʔé 
hin- es- ċwet+m kʷ hin- q�- 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.

xʷaʔxeʔéi ʔiʔé səxəcúts ʔiʔé semʔé. 
xʷaʔxeʔey ʔiʔé səxəcúts ʔiʔé semʔé 
xʷa+ʔxeʔéy ʔiʔé s+əx+əx+ut -s ʔiʔé s+m+ʔem 
laugh this companions -3POSS this woman

The woman's companions laughed,

čxʷaʔxeʔemíntəm ʔiʔé ʔtətəwít. 
čxʷaʔxeʔemíntəm ʔiʔé ʔtətəwít 
č+əxʷa+ʔxeʔémíntəm ʔiʔé ʔtətəwít 
laugh.PL -TR -PASS this young.boy

they laughed at the young man.

iv.006

cúntəm ʔiʔé tsəxələx just səmʔé: 
cúntəm ʔiʔé t səxələx just səmʔé 
cu -nt -m ʔiʔé t s+fx+faxt -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[n] 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,

but he said: I won't let you go,

I say: You are going to be my wife.

She said: No, I have a husband -- a man-eater.
The young man said to her:

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

Who is your husband?

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

He laughed, no, you have no husband.

She said: No, you might die.

He said: No, you have no husband.
iv.010


and.then to there stand.SG one.person woman

Another woman stood over there.

kʷémmt estaḵʷəlú esčánpamá yé ?eskʷésts.

He started holding her still tighter.

šéyú cúntəm:

dem say -TR -PASS

Then she said:

χé kupχéčstəmənt, χí né kʷχíl.

let.go -TR lest 2SG.INTR dead

Let me go now, you might die.

kʷémmt cúis: tá.

He said: No,
k"émt: tá k"epsqaltəmìx\textsuperscript{21}.
k"émt tá k" epsqaltəmìx
k"emt ta k" epɬ+s+qlt+mìx
and.then NEG 2SG.INTR have.a.husband

you have no husband.

iv.011

\textit{4}i\textit{é} činá səmʔém 4i\textit{é} ?ecsuiš, cútì:
\textit{4}i\textit{é} činá səmʔém 4i\textit{é} ?ecsuiš cútì
\textit{4}i\textit{é} č=naqs s+mʔem 4i\textit{é} ?ec+s+wiš cú+t+i
this one.person woman this stand.SG she.said

The other woman who stood over there, she said:

pppuwá, pppuwá
pppuwá pppuwá
pppuwá pppuwá
pppooa pppooa
pppooa, pppooa

má k"émt χé k"esənmiyépəm.
má k"émt χé k" esənmiyépəm
INTJ and.then already 2SG.INTR ACT- told.on

Look, you are being told on already.

\textit{4}i\textit{é} wiʔsqʷəlqʷélт 4i\textit{é} səmʔém,
\textit{4}i\textit{é} wiʔsqʷəlqʷélт 4i\textit{é} səmʔém
\textit{4}i\textit{é} wý+s+qʷl+qʷel+t 4i\textit{é} s+mʔem
this finish.talking this woman

And as the woman finished talking:

\textsuperscript{21}The form for ‘have a husband’ here is recorded with xʷ but all other instances have xʷ.
wicín... wicín... iq̲ʷáí....
wicín wicín i q̲ʷáy
wý=cín wý=cín i q̲ʷay
weepseen weepseen PART blue
weepseen, weepseen, and the sky darkened.

kʷ́ermt cúntəm: má šéyu ɬuʔisqaltəmíxʷ.
kʷ́ermt cúntəm má šéyu ɬuʔisqaltəmíxʷ
kʷ́ermt cu -nt -m ma šéyu ɬuʔisqaltəmíxʷ
and.then say -TR -PASS INTJ DEM ART 1SG.POSS- man

She said: Look, that is my husband.

é... oýincú u cúti:
é... oýincú u cúti
é oý+ncút u cú+t+i
yes laugh and he.said

Oh, he laughed and said:

kʷ́ə́şıʔ tá kʷ́epsqaltəmíxʷ.

kʷ́ə́şıʔ tá kʷ́epsqaltəmíxʷ
kʷ́ə́şıʔ ta kʷ́ epɬ+s+qlt+míxʷ
that NEG 2SG.INTR have.a.husband

No, you have no husband.

iv.012

kʷ́ermt yečaxí u yé lsč+č+č̲+č̲ t̲xʷ̲ éʔneʔs (rec. lč+č̲+č̲ t̲xʷ̲ éʔneʔis)
kʷ́ermt i ečaxí u yé l sč+t̲xʷ̲ éʔneʔis
kʷ́ermt i ec+ʔaxí u ye l s+č+č̲+č̲ t̲xʷ̲ éʔneʔ -nt -s
and.then PART like and this LOC straight.above.PL -TR -3TRANS

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

u qʷəḷqʷélt ɬuʔst̲əłəłáʔm.

u qʷəḷqʷélt ɬuʔst̲əłəłáʔm
u qʷl+qʷel+t ɬuʔ s+č̲+č̲+č̲ t̲xʷ̲ =éneʔ -nt -s
and talk.INTR ART thunder

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

‌

I won't let you go,

because you are going to be my wife.

The thunder fell upon the rabbit.

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,
give me my wife back!

If you had asked for pity at once,

I should have given her back to you.

The thunder said to him:

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

Then the young man said:
há kúntá néx izqamé.
ha kúntá néx izqamé
ha perhaps(?) also 1SG.Poss to.be love

Ha! perhaps I'll love her too!
2.4 Text v

v.001

esqéi nkʷé+xʷ.
esqéy          nkʷé+xʷ
es+qéy          nkʷ=e+xʷ
there.is.a.house one.house

There was a house.

séuneʔ tesiyapqíni (rec. tesiyapqíni).
séuneʔ  t  esiyapqíni
séw=neʔ  t  es+ya+p=qíŋ+i²²
hear.something  OBL  powwow

They heard about a pow-wow.

čəmí sqalqaltəmíxʷ u nkʷé+xʷ.
čəmí  sqalqaltəmíxʷ  u  nkʷé+xʷ
cəmí s+ql+qlt+mixʷ  u  nkʷ=e+xʷ
only men and one.house

In one house there were only men.

cúis yé tčiná:
cúis          yé  t  činá
cu  -nt  -s  ye  t  č=naqs
say  -TR  -3TRANS  this  OBL  one.person

The one said to the other:

hói kúliš qaqtstiʔəm.
hóy  kʷúliš²³  qa  qatstiʔəm
hoy kʷuľ  -š  qaʔ  q=  s+tɬ+m
then work  -SG.INTR.IMP  1PL.POSS  to.be- boat

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 /kʷuľ+m-š/ realized as
[kʷúliš].
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 ye tsałá̱xt ulčé̱n u qaqsʔašílì.
cúntəm ye t sałá̱xts u l čé̱n u
cu -nt -m ye t s+fa̱xt -s u l čé̱n u
say -TR -PASS this OBL friend -3POSS and LOC where and
qa qςašílì
qeʔ qς-ʔašíl -i
1PL.INTR FUT- do -FUT

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

təmá lesʔústi u esiyaʔpííni (?)
təmá l esʔústi u esiyaʔpííni
tma l es-ʔus+t -i u es+yap=qíín+i
INTERR LOC CONT- dive -CONT and powwow

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

v.003

wéʔúst,
wéʔúst
weʔus+t although dive

He dived,

ilttšené u e4teʔékw,
ilttšené u e4teʔékw
il+t+tšené u e4+teʔékw
in.a.short.while and resurface.INCH

after a short while he came up again
cúis yé səłáxts: qaqsqʷíli.
cúis yé səłáxts qa qqsqʷíli
cu -nt -s ye s+faxt -s qeʔ qsl qʷil -i
say -TR -3TRANS this friend -3POSS 1PL.INTR FUT- cheat -FUT

and said to his friend: We'll cheat.

 сотрудник ci qeʔstíʔám.
 сотрудник ci qeʔ stíʔám
 сотрудник -nt ci qeʔ s+tiʔ+m
 hole -TR this 1PL.POSS boat

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

kʷémənt 4xʷəntès 4iʔé stíʔáməms.
kʷémənt 4xʷəntès 4iʔé stíʔáməms
kʷémənt 4xʷ -nt -es 4iʔé stíʔ+m -s
and.then hole -TR -3TRANS this boat.PL -3POSS

He made a hole in their canoe.

v.004

kʷémənt essúxʷəmeʔsts né pút čiʔékʷ 4iʔé spqís xʷəf né qeʔespú-péulši.
kʷémənt essúxʷəmeʔsts né pút
kʷémənt es- súxʷ=meʔ -st -s ne put
and.then CUST- measure -CUST -3TRANS COND just

čiʔékʷ 4iʔé spqís xʷəf né qeʔ
čiʔékʷ 4iʔé s+p=t=qín -s xʷíf né qeʔ
go.through this head -3POSS for COND 1PL.INTR

espú-péulši
es- pw+pew+lš -i
CONT- breathe -CONT

Then they measured the hole, so that he could breathe when he stuck his head through the hole.
and then finish hole \(-\text{TR} - \text{TRANS}\) and whittle.\text{INTR} and

\text{e}+?\text{ŋ+q=ús} - \text{nt} - \text{s}

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

\text{hóí es}+čɬ+q/apostrophesupnospl+íʔ k/wsupertun+t u laáp.

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

The lake turns and there they passed by.

\text{ec+ʔax/haceknospí t s+qél=ix/wsuper ʔemút}

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

\text{súx^w}is yé t číná:

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.

Coyote was watching:
tčéň ūʔpɛsxúí?
t čéň ūʔ p esx“úyi
OBL where ART 2PL.INTR CONT- go -CONT

Where are you going, where are you going?

v.007

ěʔčesiyapqíni ʔuʔqeqesxúí.
ěʔ č esiyapqiňi ʔuʔ qeq esx“úyi
ART to powwow ART 1PL.INTR CONT- go -CONT

We are going to the pow-wow.

ó·ó xé·ó čiqščinamí.
ó·ó xé či qsčšinamí
o xes čn qs- č+šin+min -i
oh good 1SG.INTR FUT- go.with -FUT

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

cúntam: né k”epšiyúčamán.
cúntam né k” epšiyúčamán
cu -nt -m ne k” epš+yuč+mn
say -TR -PASS COND 2SG.INTR have.red.paint

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

cú: činepšiyúčamán.
cú čin epšiyúčamán
cu čn epš+yuč+mn
say 1SG.INTR have.red.paint

He said: I have got some red paint.

ěʔné k”epsčišt.
ěʔ né k” epsčišt
ěʔ ne k” epš+s+čišt+t
ART COND 2SG.INTR have.clay

If you have got white clay.
činepsčíťt.
čin epščíťt
čn epščíťt

I have got some white clay.

hói čtaxələməncútəməntəm.
hóy čtaxələməncútəməntəm
hoy č+tašəl+mncút+m -nt -m
then go.up.to -TR -PASS

They went up to him.

v.008

hoi laáp,
hoy laáp
hoi laáp
then paddle

They paddled (on again),

xúi tulesčxoýepən,

then paddle (on again)

went to a turn of the lake,

kʷə̣+xₚeʔèć (?) məlšéʔi mesiyapqiíni.
kʷə̣+xₚeʔèć m l šéʔi m esiyanpqiíni
kʷə̣+xₚeʔèć m l šéʔi m es- yap=qín -i

appear FUT LOC that FUT CONT- powwow -CONT

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:

hói yé ḥaʔé mkuccíʔlš.

Then this here.

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,

fixed the head with red paint.

When he had finished it:

Oh, how he looks fine!

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

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

They both looked very beautiful.

Then he took his own brown paint.
scattered it out in the palm of his hand, mixed it with water and rubbed his arms and face with it.

Doing so, he said to his friends:

This is my fixing.
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,

fine, fine.

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-duck shall be matched against the moose.

The wood-duck was told
tsaneč4će? tšilšéʔústəm.

t s+néč=4će? tš+ilš=éws -st -m

OBL cow.elk oppose -TR -PASS

to be matched against the elk.

cúntəm sənčafé:

cúntəm sənčafé

cu -nt -m s+n+čl=ep

say -TR -PASS coyote

Coyote was told:

tpuwélsčan tšilšéʔustəmt.

t pw=els=čn tš+ilš=éws -st -m -t

OBL buck oppose -TR -2SG.OBJ -1PL.TRANS

We will match you against the buck.

v.015

cú tá sənčafé.

cú tá sənčafé

cu ta s+n+čl=ep

say NEG coyote

Coyote said: No.

cúntəm: xúƛ̣, tstiyyé.

cúntəm xʷúƛ̣ t stiyyé

cu -nt -m xʷuƛ̣ t s+tye

say -TR -PASS all.right OBL caribou

They said: All right then, against the caribou.

cú: tá***.

cú tá

cu ta

say NEG

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,

only his friends matter (?).
When we beat them,

we'll kill coyote

and throw away this coyote

and eat only his friends.

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

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

In the middle of the water two poles were stuck.

There they used to dive.

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

pan iqe?esəmím mqeʔšɪp,

but 1SG.POSS- FUT- ACT- know.INTR FUT 1PL.INTR lose

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

kʷémt ye lsčsáxams ɬiʔé lesənc/commasupertqʷal/wsuper ɬuʔsqaléʔu u lənk/wsuperálq/wsuper ɬuʔtt/commasupertqʷet.

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

They went and dived.

nkʷálqʷ 4uʔ sqaléʔu u lənkʷálqʷ 4uʔ ttqʷéneʔ.

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.
and then this maybe and dive again wood duck

After a little while (?), the duck when down again,

and then move -TR -3TRANS this 3SG

and moved his own pole.

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,

\[
\text{npuʔétkm sqaléu.}
\]

the beaver had farted in the water.

\[
\text{v.021}
\]

\[
\text{učis ɬiʔé npuʔétkm sqaléu}
\]

he saw that the beaver had farted in the water

\[
\text{u čošim, cú: hoi npuʔétkm.}
\]

shouted and said: Now he farted.

\[
\text{He said: He'll fart in the water three more times,}
\]
m̕étkʷ etkʷ.
m ̕étkʷ etkʷ
m ̕é+tkʷ+tkʷ=etkʷ
FUT come.to.surface.of.water

and then he'll come up.

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

Coyote said:

sisiyús ɬuʔttqʷéne?,
sisiyús ɬuʔttqʷéne?
si+sʰi=ús ɬuʔttqʷéne?
smart ART wood.duck

The duck is good,

éxʷ ʔəsʔítši.
éxʷ ʔəsʔítši
eışʔítš -i
INTJ maybe CONT sleep -CONT

he must be sleeping!

hói kʷém̕t yesʔáčəx sənčəfé u imál.
hóy kʷém̕t yesʔáčəx sənčəfé u i máf
hoy kʷém̕t i esʔáčx s+n+č=ep u i maf
then and.then PART ACT- look coyote and PART bubble

Coyote was watching, and it bubbled.

áʔ̕iʔ esél spuʔúm,
áʔ̕iʔ esél spuʔúm
ay ʔesél s+puʔúm
oh two fart

Oh, he farted for the second time,
čéʔ taʔesél qspúʔúm.
čéʔ t ?esél qspúʔúm
čeʔ t ?esél qsp- puʔ+úm
yet OBL two FUT- fart

he'll fart two more times.

k"émít yesʔáćw×, yesʔáćw×,
k"émít yesʔáćw×
and.then PART ACT- look PART ACT- look

He was watching, watching,

tá sqásíp u ye+máł
and very soon it bubbled again.

u čéʔ taʔkúʔ qspúʔúm u mčʔtkʷkʷ étkʷ.
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

k"émít yesʔáćw× sənčafé

Coyote was watching,

x"af čéʔ taʔkúʔ qspúʔúm mčʔtkʷkʷ étkʷ.

because yet OBL one FUT- fart FUT come.to.surface.of.water

because he should fart once more and then come up.
A short while after, as the coyote was watching,

u imál u kʷémt čo·ším sənčələ:  
u i mál u kʷémt čo·ším sənčələ  
and PART bubble and and.then he.shouted coyote

it bubbled and he shouted:

šéyu čt̕tkʷʷétkw sqałęʔu.  
šéyu čt̕tkʷʷétkw sqałęʔu  
DEM come.to.surface.of.water beaver

Now the beaver came up!

ntəltəqapənčú, čo·ším:  
ntəltəqapənčú čo·ším  
jump.around he.shouted

He jumped around and shouted:

ǐ·ˑ́ qəʔš̚əpá.  
ǐ·ˑ́ qəʔš̚əpá  
INTJ 1PL.INTR win.PL

We won the game!

v.023

kʷémt ʰiʔé sx̱exúʔps cəppstəm  
kʷémt ʰiʔé sx̱exúʔps cəppstəm  
and.then this win.PL -3POSS standing.up.PL -TR -PASS

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

Then coyote cut the buffalo's head off,

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

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

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

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.
2.5 Text vi

VI.001

yé ?emút sqʷáqʷciʔ.
ye ?emút sqʷáqʷciʔ
this sit cotton.tail.rabbit

There sat a rabbit.

esʔíɬni ɬiʔé sq/wsuperáq/wsuperciʔ tsupúleʔxʷ.
esʔíɬni ɬiʔé sq/wsuperáq/wsuperciʔ t supúleʔxʷ
cont- eat -cont this cotton.tail.rabbit obl grass

The rabbit was eating grass.

enuwénəm sqʷáqʷciʔ u təʔáča̱x.
enuwénəm sqʷáqʷciʔ u təʔáča̱x
sense.intr cotton.tail.rabbit and look.over.at

The rabbit heard something and looked back.

háhá, ɂé ččiʔtəmíntəm tsənqəcú.
ha+há ɂé ččiʔtəmíntəm t sənqəcú
laugh already go.near.to -tr -pass obl lynx

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

nté: hói čínxíl sqʷáqʷciʔ,
nté hóy čín xíl sqʷáqʷciʔ
think then 1sg.intr dead cotton.tail.rabbit

Then he thought: Now I am dead.
nté: hóí pañ iqsčescínəm.
nté hóy pañ iqsčescínəm
nt=els hoy pn hin- qs- čes=cín+m
think then but 1SG.POSS- FUT- bad.mouth

He thought: But I'll call him names.

vi.002

kʷém̕t cūis ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ:
kʷém̕t cūis ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ
kʷém̕t cu -nt -s ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ
and.then say -TR -3TRANS ART OBL cotton.tail.rabbit

Then the rabbit said to him:

nmqúps.
nmqʰúps
n+mqʰ=ups
big.rump

Big-rump!

yestəʔáčəx ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ,
yestəʔáčəx ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ
ɬəʔestəʔáčəx ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ
PART ACT- look.over.at this cotton.tail.rabbit

The rabbit was looking at him from his place,

yesčescínəms u čxʷtəpəmiʈəm.
yesčescínəms u čxʷtəpəmiʈəm
ɬiʔestəʔáčəx u kʷém̕t xʷtip ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ
ɬiʔestəʔáčəx u kʷém̕t xʷtip ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ
ɬiʔe estəʔáčəx u kʷém̕t xʷtip ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ
PART ACT- bad.mouth -3TRANS and jump.on -TR -PASS

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

ɬiʔe estəʔáčəx u kʷém̕t xʷtip ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ
ɬiʔe estəʔáčəx u kʷém̕t xʷtip ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ
ɬiʔe estəʔáčəx u kʷém̕t xʷtip ɬʔtsqʷáqʷciʔ
PART ACT- look.over.at and and.then run ART cotton.tail.rabbit

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

The lynx made a grab,

and then he just pinched off his own penis.

The rabbit was watching.

Then he (the lynx) died.

Then the rabbit was watching, he (the lynx) died,
u oγəncút (rec. hoγəncút) u .Xml tip.

and laugh and run

and he laughed and he ran away.

lcíʔ estúkʷ səŋəcú.

There the lynx lay.

šéʔi ɬuʔx/w superá. ɬuʔsq/w superáq/w super ciʔ.

Then the rabbit ran away.

hói nçaʔixʷá.

That's the end.
Some people lived.

číʔcəntəm čtkʷ'kʷéʔlpməntəm txʷʔxʷe'yúl təna-'ışqélixʷ.
číʔcəntəm čtkʷ'kʷéʔlpməntəm
číʔc -nt -m č+tkʷ+kʷ=ʔlp+m -nt -m
arrive.PL -TR -PASS put.up.camp.PL -TR -PASS
t xʷʔxʷe'yúl tə na-'ışqélixʷ
t xʷʔy+xʷe'y=úɬ t n+ʔiʔn+s+qél=ixʷ
OBL animal OBL man.eater
Some animals²⁹ -- man-eaters -- came to the camp and put up their tents.

cúntəm yé sqélixʷ:
cúntəm yé sqélixʷ
cu -nt -m ye s+qél=ixʷ
say -TR -PASS this people
They said to the people:

kuqsx̱cx̱cəmí.
kʷu qsx̱cx̱cəmí
kʷu q̱- x+c=x+c+iʔm -i
1SG.OBJ FUT- gamble.PL -FUT
Let us gamble.

cú: xú, kuqsx̱ał álqʷi.
cú xʷú kʷu q̱ał álqʷi
cu xʷú kʷu q̱- c̱= álqʷ -i
say all.right 1SG.OBJ FUT- stick.game -FUT
They said: All right, let us play stick-game.

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.

The people lost.

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.

When we have won them, we will take them and eat them.

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.

These people did not know him.
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.

The young man was going to lose,

the luck changed,

and won the game.

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

tə na·ísqélixʷtən
 t n+ʔiɬn+s+qél=ixʷ+tn
OBL man.eater

the man-eaters understood, they understood

tá pi·stém qsšläpənúis --
tá pi·stém qsšläpənúis
ta.piʔstém qs- šX+ip+nú -nt -s
never FUT- win -TR -3TRANS

that they would never beat him --

VII.006

hóy kʷém’t cúti ʔiʔé na·ísqélixʷtən:
hóy kʷém’t cúti ʔiʔé na·ísqélixʷtən
hoy kʷem’t cú+t+i ʔiʔé n+ʔiɬn+s+qél=ixʷ+tn
then and.then they.said this man.eater

these man-eaters said:

hóy qeʔ hoyəhó.
hóy qeʔ hoyəhó
hoy qeʔ hoy++hoy
then 1PL.INTR stop

Let us quit!

né ʔe+kukuʔéc, mqeʔe+čəl álqʷəm.
né ʔe+kʷʔéc m qeʔ e+čəl álqʷəm
ne e+čəl álqʷəm
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.

They got scared and ran away.

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

xú eɬqúʔmənt šé? teʔstémmp,
all.right take.back -TR that possession -2PL.POSS

All right, take back your things,

támá essúxʷstəp ɬuʔteʔstémmp,
INTERR CUST- know -CUST -2PL.TRANS ART possession -2PL.POSS

you certainly know your own things,

eɬqúʔmənt.
eɬqúʔmənt
e+qʷúm -nt
take.back -TR
take them back.

VII.008

hói esiyáʔ eɬqúʔmis ɬiʔé teʔstémís.
then every take.back -TR -3TRANS this possession -3POSS

Then they all took back their things.

hói ɬuʔwiʔstéʔs, šéʔi cú:
then ART finish -TR -3PL.TRANS that say

When they had finished, he said:
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,

\[\text{hói k}^\text{w} \text{émt} \ \texts{šéʔi} \ \texts{xaménčs} \ yeťa\texts{x}^\text{w} \ (\text{4u}\texts{séláq})\]

then he likes to-day (at the same time?) the Sweat-Lodge.

\[\text{hoi k}^\text{w} \text{émt} \ \texts{x}^\text{w} \text{əʃéy} \ yeťa\texts{x}^\text{w} \ (\text{4u}\texts{séláq})\]

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

\[\text{VII.010}\]

And to-day,

\[\text{u wičtəm} \ \texts{4u}\texts{sqélix} \ \texts{čx}síče?\]

you may sometime see people well-dressed,

---

30 The -s third person transitive suffix is expected here, as it appears in the next line.
and then today because not very 1

- sweat.lodge

but look, because I don't go very often to the Sweat-Lodge, my garments are miserable.

That's the end.
A married couple lived in a house.

The man was called lynx.

They got a son.

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

She said to him: Go and get some milk for him.
The husband walked away,

and then walked

The husband walked away,

and then walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,

and then walked away.

The husband walked away,
The salmon came upstream.

-- Where are you, salmon?

They came up into the

and he rushed at them,
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.
hóí nkúʔ səm̃xúp.
hóy nkúʔ səm̃x̑’úp hoy nkúʔ s+mx̑’úp
then one winter

Then one winter,

kʷémt ƛé pośtítš (rec. -íš).

( his son) had grown up already.

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

He said to his mother:

tá činepľéu.
tá čin epľéu
ta čn ep+Iʔéu
NEG 1SG.INTR have.a.father

I have no father.

cúntám: kʷepľéu,
cúntám kʷ epľéu
cu -nt -m kʷ ep+Iʔéu
say -TR -PASS 2SG.INTR have.a.father

He was told: You have a father,

kʷestíxʷštams taqšqeʔém,
kʷ estíxʷštams t aqšqeʔém
kʷ es-tíxʷ-št -m -s t han- qʔ- s+qeʔ+m
2SG.INTR ACT- obtain -TR -2SG.OBJ -3TRANS OBL 2SG.POSS- to.be- milk

he is getting some milk for you.
méyeʔɬtəm ɬuʔtskúi.
méyeʔɬtəm ɬuʔt skúy
méye -ɭt -m ɬuʔ t s+kúy
tell -TR -PASS ART OBL mother

So he was told by his mother.

vIII.005

hóy xúi ɬiʔé ɬtətəwít.
hóy xúy ɬiʔé ɬtətəwít
hoy xuy ɬiʔé ɬtətəwít
then go this young.boy

The young man went.

hóy čicís.
hóy čicís
hoy čic -nt -s
then arrive -TR -TRANS

He arrived to his father's place.

cúis: yó . . . taʔé u kʷesxʷstaluísi.
cúis yó taʔé u kʷ esxʷstaluísi
cu -nt -s yo t ʔe u kʷ es xʷst+lwis -i
say -TR -TRANS so OBL here and 2SG.INTR CONT walk.around -CONT

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

hóy kʷémt kúľsts (rec. kúľsts) tqscaʔíhis ɬiʔesčicís.
hóy kʷémt kʷúľsts t qscəʔíhis ɬiʔe
hoy kʷemt kʷul -št -s t ʔqšt sc+ʔin -s ɬiʔé
then and.then work -TR -TRANS OBL to.be- food -3POSS this

sčicís
s+čic+c+n -s
guest -3POSS

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

šéʔi ɬuʔ kuʔ asqʷséʔ.

Then and then, say, say, say:

He did not say:

He did not say:

In the evening the boy said:

Go, I'll be watching you.

They went down to the river,

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.
viii.007

kʷémt nté:
kʷémt  nté
kʷemt  nt=els
and.then  think

He (i.e. the son) thought:

hayó qʷəŋʷínt inlʔéu,
hayó  qʷəŋʷínt  
inlʔéu
hayó  qʷn+qʷínt  hin=  lʔéu
oh.my  poor  1SG.POSS-  father

My father is really poor,

４uʔxʷəl tšéʔi naʔás u či+hkʷé+će?.
４uʔ  xʷəl  t  šéʔi  naʔás  u  či+hkʷé+će?
ART  because  OBL  that  get.wet  and  eat.one

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

cúis ４uʔtɪtəkwit ４uʔe+iʔáʔp:
cúis  ４uʔ  t  tɪtəkwit  ４uʔ  e+iʔáʔp
cu  -nt  -s  ４uʔ  t  t+ɪ+tw+it  ４uʔ  e+yaʔáʔp
say  -TR  -TRANS  ART  OBL  young.boy  ART  arrive.again.PL

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

xumíʔ  kʷisʔáca῾xətəm  ４uʔančélš.
xʷumíʔ  kʷ  isʔáca῾xətəm  ４uʔ  ančélš
xʷumíʔ  kʷ  hin=  s+ʔaˑcˑx  -t  -m  ４uʔ  han=  čelš
OPT  2SG.INTR  1SG.POSS-  look  -TR  -ANTIP  ART  2SG.POSS-  hand

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

4uʔ esʔáčəxsts 4uʔwé k"isqélixʷ 4ulsəmɬíč,  
4uʔ es- ʔačx -st -s 4uʔ we k"in+s+qél=ixʷ  
ART CUST- look -CUST -3TRANS ART to.no.avail grab.person  
4u l səmɬíč
4uʔ l s+mɬ=ič  
ART LOC salmon

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

šéʔi 4aháqʷ --  
šéʔi 4aháqʷ
šéʔi 4aháqʷ  
that slippery  
they slipped through --

ʔáčəxeʔts 4uʔčélšc:
ʔáčəxeʔts 4uʔ čélšc  
ʔačx -4t -s 4uʔ čelš -s  
look -TR -3TRANS ART hand -3POSS  

he looked at his hands:

yóʔm, tá lčén mqeʔećáší mkunél (?)  
yóʔm tá l čén m qeʔećáší m kʷunél  
yom ta l čen m qeʔ- ec+ʔaƛí m kʷen=él  
so NEG LOC where FUT FUT- like FUT catch

He is never likely to catch any fish.

---

32 -s is the underlying form of the third person possessive, and the expected form here. -c is expected after -s and -4; see Vogt note 33 (1940a:19).
The young man went out, whittled some pitch-wood,

siyéʼts ʰʷuʔčélšc.

siyéʼts ʰʷuʔ čélšc
syen -ʰʷt -s ʰʷuʔ čelš -s
count -TR -3TRANS ART hand -3POSS

counted the fingers.

hóy ʰʷnʔú+xʷ
hóy ʰʷnʔú+xʷ
hoy ʰʷ+nʔú+xʷ
then go.back.in

He went in again,

u kúlís, štá̱tés ʰʷuʔčélšc.

u kúlís štá̱tés ʰʷuʔ čélšc
u kúlís -nt-s šít -ʰʷt -es ʰʷuʔ čelš -s
and work -TR-3TRANS make.it.stand -TR -3TRANS ART hand -3POSS

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

qʷím̥ís ʰ xe qščelxumí ʰiʔé ti̱xʷʰúlfəman.

qʷím̥ís ʰ xe qščelxʷumí ʰiʔé ti̱xʷʰúlfəman
qʷím̥í -nt -s ʰ xe qš- čłuxʷ+m -i ʰiʔé ti̱xʷʰ+kkʷúlf+mn
anxious.for -TR -3TRANS now FUT- become.evening -FUT this get.tool

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 soon 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,

his mother went,
x"uy e4iʔá?p
x"uy e4+yʔá?p
go arrive.again.PL.

they went and arrived.

4uʔiʔá?p u cúis:
4u? iʔá?p u cúis
4u? yʔa?p u cu -nt -s
ART arrive.PL and say -TR -TRANS

As soon as they arrived he said to them:

šéʔi 4uʔqstúlixump tesəniʔáp.
šéʔi 4uʔ qstúlix̂ump t esəniʔáp
šéʔi 4uʔ q4- s+túl=ixʷ -mp t es+n+yʔ+áp
that ART to.be- ground -2PL.POSS OBL forever

This is going to be your country forever.

hóy yeθ4̂xʷá esqéi.
hóy yeθ4̂xʷá esqéy
hoy ye_4̂xʷé es+qéy
then today people.live

And they still live there to-day.

šéyu ncʔaʔixʷá.
šéyu ncʔaʔixʷá
šéyu ncʔayxʷ=áp=lqs
DEM finish.story

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.

anwíʔ 2SG; √anwíʔ; anwi, anuí

ač+ač=tč+m work pl intr; √ačil; ačačtčim

ay oh; áy

caq placed; √caq; cq, cáq

ci this; cí; deictic

cltxʷ house; √cltxʷ; cltxʷ

c López here; that one; √ciʔ; cíʔ; cí; Vogt note 203 (1940a:69)

cltxʷ house pl; √cltxʷ; clʔtxʷ

cni4c 3SG; √cni4c; cəniłc

cniʔlc 3PL; √cni4c; cəniʔ4c, caniʔlc, cniʔ4c

cq+q=us land; √cq; cqqús

cq+q=us land pl; √cq; cqqús

cu say; √cuw; cú

cu+n+m say; √cuw; cúnám

cu+t say; √cuw; cút

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

cúʔ+ti say pl; √cuw; cúʔti

c+cniʔlʃ camp pl; √cifš; cciʔlʃ

c+Xeč=qin+m stick head through; √Xeč; cΧáćqanam

c+Xeʔč+m rise CISLOC; √Xeč; cΧeʔčam; cislocative infix

c+Xl+p stop; √Xl; cΧlʃp

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

c+tXʷ+ncut lie down; √tukʷ; ctkʷəncút
\(c+\text{tp}+\text{p} \text{ standing up PL}; \sqrt{\text{tp}}; \text{ctapp}; \text{reduplication of second root consonant}
\)
\(c+x^*\text{uy} \text{ come}; \sqrt{x^*\text{uy}}; cx^*\text{úy}
\)
\(c+\text{ʔuk}^*\text{u} \text{ bring}; \sqrt{\text{ʔuk}^*\text{u}^?}; \text{caʔuk}^*\text{u}
\)
\(\text{čeʔéš} \text{ bashful}; \sqrt{\text{češ}}
\)
\(\text{čip} \text{ pinch}; \sqrt{\text{čip}}; \text{čip}
\)
\(\text{čl}=\text{alq}^* \text{ stick game}; \sqrt{\text{čl}}; \text{čaláq}^*
\)
\(\text{čl}=\text{alq}^*+\text{m} \text{ play stick game INTR}; \sqrt{\text{čl}}; \text{čaláq}^*\text{ám}
\)
\(\text{čn}+\text{m} \text{ tight}; \sqrt{\text{čan}}; \text{čánəm}; \text{with stem formative} +\text{m}
\)
\(\text{čn}+\text{op} \text{ tight}; \sqrt{\text{čan}}; \text{čanóp}
\)
\(\text{čn}+\text{p}+\text{ma} \text{ tight}; \sqrt{\text{čan}}; \text{čanpámá}
\)
\(\text{čq}+\text{m} \text{ throw}; \sqrt{\text{čaq}}; \text{čqam}
\)
\(\text{čq}+\text{min} \text{ throw away}; \sqrt{\text{čaq}}; \text{čqamín}
\)
\(\text{čs}+\text{ip} \text{ all gone}; \sqrt{\text{čs}}; \text{časip}
\)
\(\text{čs}+\text{p}+\text{nu} \text{ all used up}; \sqrt{\text{čs}}; \text{časpanú}
\)
\(\text{čwet} \text{ go after}; \sqrt{\text{čwet}}; \text{čuwét}
\)
\(\text{čwet}+\text{m} \text{ go after INTR}; \sqrt{\text{čwet}}; \text{čuwétam}
\)
\(\text{čelš} \text{ hand}; \sqrt{\text{čelš}}; \text{čelš}
\)
\(\text{čen} \text{ do what}; \sqrt{\text{čeň}}; \text{čén}
\)
\(\text{čen}+\text{m} \text{ do what INTR}; \sqrt{\text{čeň}}; \text{čénm}, \text{čénm}, \text{čénam}
\)
\(\text{čeň} \text{ where}; \sqrt{\text{čeň}}; \text{čeň}; \text{Vogt note 65 (1940a:28)}
\)
\(\text{čeʔéš} \text{ three}; \sqrt{\text{čeʔéš}}; \text{čeʔéš}
\)
\(\text{čic} \text{ arrive}; \sqrt{\text{čic}}; \text{čic}
\)
\(\text{čit}+\text{ʔá}^*\text{m}+\text{t}^*\text{w}^?=\text{qín} \text{ past noon}; \sqrt{\text{toš}^*}; \text{čítá}^* \text{ ča}^* \text{ nt}^*\text{qín}
\)
\(\text{čiʔc} \text{ arrive PL}; \sqrt{\text{čic}}; \text{čiʔc}
\)
\(\text{čiʔék}^* \text{ go through}
\)
\(\text{čt}+\text{cq}=\text{etk}^* \text{ on water}; \sqrt{\text{cq}}; \text{čt}^*\text{cqétk}^*
\)
\(\text{čt}+\text{cq}=\text{eʔtk}^* \text{ onto water PL}; \sqrt{\text{cq}}; \text{čt}^*\text{cqétk}^*
\)
\(\text{čt}+\text{niʔk}^*=\text{étk}^* \text{ movement on water}; \text{čt}^*\text{niʔk}^*\text{étk}^*
\)
\(\text{čt}^*\text{q}^*\text{ltš}+\text{llš} \text{ jump on}; \text{čt}^*\text{q}^*\text{ltšilš}
\)
\(\text{čt}+\text{tk}^*+\text{k}^*\text{w}=\text{etk}^* \text{ come to surface of water}; \sqrt{\text{tek}^*}; \text{čt}^*\text{tk}^*\text{k}^*\text{étk}^*
\)
\(\text{čt}+\text{ylx}^*\text{m}=\text{ás} \text{ be cold all over}; \sqrt{\text{yix}^*\text{m}}; \text{čt}^*\text{ix}^*\text{mús}
\)
\(\text{čmi} \text{ only}; \sqrt{\text{čmiš}}; \text{čamí}
\)
\(\text{čn} \text{ ISG INTR}; \text{čin}^-, \text{čan}^-, \text{či}, \text{ča}^-, \text{či}^-, \text{čn}^-, \text{čis}^-, \text{čin}, \text{k}^*\text{u}; \text{allomorph} \text{k}^*\text{u} \text{ occurs in double possessed forms}
\)
\(\text{čnм}=\text{qín} \text{ blind}; \sqrt{\text{čnm}}; \text{čanamiento}, \text{činámqín}
\)
\(\text{čoš}+\text{ím} \text{ he shouted}; \sqrt{\text{čoš}}; \text{čoςím}, \text{čošim}
\)

\(\text{čenm}=\text{qín} \text{ blind}; \sqrt{\text{čenm}}; \text{čanamqín}, \text{činámqín}
\)

\(\text{čoš}+\text{ím} \text{ he shouted}; \sqrt{\text{čoš}}; \text{čoςím}, \text{čošim}
\)
čq"+q"=čst+m=čtumš behave foolishly in a crowd;  
čq"q"=čstam+čtumš  
čy+či'y=č? grandmother;  /čy;  čči'yé?  
č+c+cm+p=els sick from greasy food;  /čim;  čcampé;  see Vogt camp-  
č+čiʔt+mín go near to;  /čiʔt;  ččiʔtamiń  
č+t+yiʔx"+t+m envy PL;  /yix";  ččiyúʔx"čama;  Vogt records čw  
č=naqs one person, another;  činá,  čináqs, čina  
č+čpXé=čst+čmin let go of;  /čpX;  čpčščstama, čpččščstama  
č+čqe?=čels+m pay attention;  /čqe?;  ččqe?čelsam  
č+šin follow;  /šin;  čšin  
č+šin+čmin go with;  /šin;  čščinam  
č+tāx"+l+mncút+m go up to;  /tōx";  ččtāx"čamancútam  
č+tcčw=čp+m put by side;  /tuk";  ččtuk"čpam  
č+tcčw+k=če?lп+m put up camp PL;  /tuk";  ččtk"čče?лpm  
č+x"čt+p+čmin jump on;  /x"čt;  čč"čpamčin  
č+x"čt+p+m+s+qél=lx" rush at;  /x"čt;  čč"čpamščelix"  
č+x"uy+čm go up to;  /x"uy;  čč"uyamam  
č+čs=čce? well-dressed;  /čes;  ččščce?  
č+čša+čšeʔ?+čey+mín laugh PL;  
č+čšʔey;  čč"čša"čšeʔeyamči  
č+y+čl=čs+m look at with big eyes;  /čal;  ččličšam  
č+česél two;  /česel;  ččesél  
č to;  č-,  ča-,  ča,  če--;  Vogt note 127-128  
čč  
čš=čšn+m bad mouth;  /čes;  čščinam  
čče? yet;  /čče;  čč  
ččiʔ+čeʔt near, short distance;  /čiʔt;  ččiʔčt  
ččlux" evening;  /člux";  ččlux";  ččlux"  
ččlux"+m become evening;  /člux";  ččlux"um  
ččuw absent;  /čuw;  čču  
ččw+s+qél=lx" go to gamble PL;  /čuw;  ččqélix"  
ččw+s+qél=lx" go to gamble;  /čuw;  ččqélix"  
ččw+up stop shouting;  /čuw;  ččwétr  
č+čeʔlʔt near;  /čl;
ččęʔlʔt
č+ʔtn+nkw=éčč? eat one; √ʔtn;
čtňk=éčč?
é yes; é••
ec+ʔašl like; √ʔašl; ečaší, ečaší, ečaší
ečínt+m say what INTR; √ecínt;
ečíntam
et+c+xeč=qin+m stick head through again INTR; √xeč; et+Xáčqanam
et+c+ľč=ús turn back; √pľč;
etcpalčú
et+c+ľč=ús+m turn back INTR;
√pľč; etcpalčús, etcpalčús
et+c+xuỳ come again; √xuỳ;
etcxuỳ
et+cl=álq+w+m play stick game again INTR; √cil; etčaláqwam
et+č+čič+mín get close again; √ččt;
etččtamiň
et+č+šin follow back; √šin; etčšin,
etčšin
et+č+šin+ím follow back INTR; √šin;
etčšiním
et+c+xuù+p+mín jump on again;
√xuùt; etčxuùpamín
et+c?+čit back from short distance;
√čit; etččtččt
et+éľi try again; √ʔef; etéľi
et+es+t+n+ʔačx=étk+w+m look back in water; √ʔačx;
etestanʔačxétkwum
et+hóy finish again; √hoy; étňhóy
et+yʔáp go back; √yaʔ; etţiʔáp
et+k”w+k”wec tomorrow night; √k”wec;
ʔetk”w”wec
e+t+k”w+k”wec manage to arrive again;
√k”w, √čč; etk”w+čč
et+mál bubble again; √ml bleed, flow;
etmál
et+n+plš reenter; √pilš; etnplš
et+n+qašip get back in canoe;
etnqašip
et+n+qašip+mí get back in canoe;
etnqašipmí
et+n+ʔus+mí? dive again; √ʔus;
etnőosamí?
et+q”wec warm again; √q”wec; etq”w?ec
et+q”w+čič carry back on back; √q”wčič;
etq”w+čič
et+q”w+q”wét+am carry back PL on back; √q”wam; etq”w+q”wétam
et+q”w=m=ép+m leave again suddenly;
√q”w;m; etq”womépam
et+q”w?m take back; √q”w?m; etq”w?m
et+šilč+mn+cút turn self around; ɬt+šilčamancút
et+t+čl=álfʷ play stick game again; ɬt+člalálfʷ; the t- is unanalyzed
et+teʔékʷ resurface INCH; ɬteʔékʷ; etteʔékʷ; inchoative infix -ʔ-
et+tuḵʷ+št+wéxʷ place bet again RECP; ɬtuḵʷ; etuḵʷaštuwéxʷ
et+xʷiqic give back; ɬxʷicš; etxʷiqic, etxʷiqca
et+xʷúy go back; ɬxʷuy; etxʷúy, etxʷúi
et+yáʔp arrive again PL; ɬyáʔ; etiyáʔp
et+ʔíhn eat again; ɬʔíhn; etiʔh
et+ʔn+qe?=ús stick in again; ɬʔnqe?=ús
et+ʔócqeʔ go out again; ɬʔócqeʔ; etʔócqeʔ
ept+c+cʔíʔʃ have camps; ɬcʔíʃ; p+c+cʔíʔʃ
ep+če+če=éʔ have a grandmother; ɬče; epčičiyéʔ
ept+če+če=ɬqʷ have stick in again; ɬqʷ; etčičyqʷ
ep+če+če=qín+m head showing INTR; ɬče; epčešáčqam; epč- ‘have’ prefix on stem es+če+če=qín+m, lexicalized with prefix es- ‘actual’
ept+lʔéu have a father; ɬlʔew; epľʔeu
ept+s+čl+čt have clay; ɬct; epsčlt
es+ya+p=qíň+i powwow; √yaʔ;
esiyaŋqíŋi, esiyaŋqíŋi; lexicalized
form with continuative affixes es-
and -i

es+ʔus+ʔus+t dive PL; √ʔus; esʔusʔust

ex INTJ; éx

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

ha ha; há, há•

ha INTERR; a–

hayó oh my; √hayó; hayó•

ha+há laugh; hahá, háhá

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

hoy+hóy stop; √hoy; hoyhó

i PART; y–, i–; Vogt note 217 (1940a:73)
i• INTJ; i•

il+t+tšene in a short while; ilštšene;
Vogt dictionary has barred l

iše? DEM; deictic

k 2SG INTR; kʷ–, kʷə, kʷə–

kʷen=t and then; kʷént, kʷént; Vogt
note 146 (1940a:50)

kʷen take, grab, catch; √kʷen; kʷé,
kʷén

kʷen=él take, grab, catch; √kʷen;
kʷunél

kʷen+nú manage to catch; √kʷen;
kʷunnú

kʷil=lqs red shirt; √kʷil; kʷillqs

kʷin+s+qél=lxʷ grab person; √kʷen,
√qel; kʷisqélíxʷ; compound

kʷmi? OPT; kʷumí?

kʷtun+t big; √kʷtun; kʷtůnt

kʷu ISG OBJ; kʷu–, kʷ–

kʷuné CONJ; kʷune; kʷuné u introduces
a hypothetical clause (Vogt note 211
[1940a:71])

kʷuntá perhaps(?); Vogt uncertain
about gloss

kʷ+kʷʔec get dark; √kʷec; kʷukʷʔec

kʷen=čst+míst get ready; √kʷen;
kʷenčstamíst

kʷenš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷen=čst+míst get ready; √kʷen;
kʷenčstamíst

kʷenš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷinš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷinš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷuné CONJ; kʷune; kʷuné u introduces
a hypothetical clause (Vogt note 211
[1940a:71])

kʷuntá perhaps(?); Vogt uncertain
about gloss

kʷ+kʷʔec get dark; √kʷec; kʷukʷʔec

kʷen=čst+míst get ready; √kʷen;
kʷenčstamíst

kʷenš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷenš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷenš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷenš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷenš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷenš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷenš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá

kʷenš–ásqť several days; √kʷenš;
kʷənšá
kʷ4+paʔx deliberate, figure out; √kʷ4,
√paχ; kʷa+paʔx

kʷ4+taɬ make rites; √kʷ4, √taɬ; kʷa+taɬ

kʷ4+yeʔm+m hesitate; √kʷ4, √yeʔm;
kʷa+iyeʔməm

kʷu but; kʷú

kʷuʃ work, create; √kʷuʃ; kʷúf

kʷuʃ+m work INTR; √kʷuʃ; kʷuʃəm

kʷ+šeʔ that; kʷəšéʔ

I LOC: ɬ-, əl-, la–; Vogt note 191 (1940a:66)

laʔp paddle, travel by boat; √lap

lč+lč tie PL; √lič; lčič

lem+t glad; √lem; lémt

lkʷu+t it is far; √lkʷu; lkʷút

lukʷ stick of wood; √lukʷ; lúkʷ

lʔeu father (male speaking); √lʔew; lʔeu,
lʔeuʔ, leu

1-ciʔ in here; √ciʔ; əlcিʔ; an example of a
phrase being treated as a stem

Lʔéu then; Lʔéu; LOC + DEM

4aʔqʷ slippery

4aʔqĽ+liš sit down; √4aq; 4aʔqišš

4aʔqĽ+m=úleʔxʷ come into open space;
√4aʔqʷ; 4aʔqʷəmúleʔxʷ

4aʔq+q sit down PL; √4aʔq; 4aʔq;
glottal stop plural, inchoative
reduplication of second root consonant

4č whip; √4ič

4iʔé this; 4iʔe, 4iʔ; Vogt note 208
(1940a:70)

4iʔe_=t=xʷé today; √4xʷeʔ; 4iʔe+t=xʷá

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

4uʔ there; 4ú?

4uʔ+mr+n+tn spear; √4uʔ; 4uʔmínt,
4úʔmínti

4xʷ hole; √4o=xʷ; 4xʷú

4+kʷ+yúm=eʔ small; √kʷyum;
4+kʷ=o=yúmeʔ

4+t+tʷ+it young boy; √tew; 4tətəwit,
4tətəwit, 4tətəwit

4+t+tʷ+iʔt eat DIM; √iʔn; 4ʔiʔt; C1
reduplication with laryngealization
of resonants

Xe already, now, then; Xé

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

\( \text{Xil} \) dead, motionless; \( \sqrt{\text{Xil}}; \text{Xil} \)

\( \text{Xiyé?} \) bark canoe; \( \sqrt{\text{Xye?}} \)

\( \text{Xx\"up} \) win; \( \sqrt{\text{Xx\"up}}; \text{Xex\"úp} \)

\( \text{Xx\"u\p+m} \) win PL INTR; \( \sqrt{\text{Xx\"up}}; \text{Xex\"ú?p} \)

\( \text{Xx\"u\p+m} \) win PL INTR; \( \sqrt{\text{Xx\"up}}; \text{Xex\"ú?p} \)

\( \text{n?áš} \) get wet; \( \sqrt{\text{nas}; \text{náš}} \)

\( \text{ncá\iy\x=\áp=\lqs} \) finish story; \( \text{ncá?x\"á} \)

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

ne \text{COND}; né; conditional

\( \text{nem} \) \text{PART}; ném; Vogt note 213 (1940a:72)

\( \text{nex\"} \) \text{also}; \( \sqrt{\text{nex\"}}; \text{néx\"} \)

\( \text{nk\"u?} \) one; \( \sqrt{\text{nk\"u?}}; \text{nk\"ú?} \)

\( \text{nk\"=alq\"} \) \text{one pole}; \( \sqrt{\text{nk\"u?}}; \text{nk\"á} \)

\( \text{nk\"=asqt} \) \text{one day}; \( \sqrt{\text{nk\"u?}}; \text{nk\"á} \)

\( \text{nk\"=e\tx\"} \) \text{one house}; \( \sqrt{\text{nk\"u?}}; \text{nk\"é\tx\"} \)

\( \text{no\x+\nx\"} \) \text{wife}; \( \sqrt{\text{no\x"}}; \text{ nóx\"ěnx\"}; \)

\( \text{Vogt notes front x\"} \)

\( \text{N?le?} \) \text{2PL}; \( \sqrt{\text{nplehmp}; \text{naplé}} \)

\( \text{nt= els} \) think; \( \sqrt{\text{nt}; \text{nté}} \)

\( \text{nté?š} \) \text{go ashore PL}

\( \text{N\x+w+n\x\"=ews} \) \text{married couple}; \( \sqrt{\text{no\x\"}}; \text{ nخ\"ěnx\"ě?us; Vogt records front x\"} \)

\( \text{n+cq=us+m} \) \text{look up}; \( \sqrt{\text{cq}; \text{ncqúsam}} \)

\( \text{n+cí+iš} \) \text{upstream}; \( \sqrt{\text{c?}; \text{nčiilš}} \)

\( \text{n+ihé=ews+m} \) \text{middle of water}; \( \sqrt{\text{nihé?usam}} \)
n+iš+ilš down in; níšilš
n+kʷuXʷ=ús unplug; √kʷuX; nkʷuXús
n+te?=ús+m turn back INTR; √te?; n+te?úsam
n=4u?=étkʷ+m spear in water; √4u?; n+4u?étkʷum
n+ṭ̔x̔p+m=ép=uʔsčn escape below thighs; √ṭ̔x̔up; n+ṭ̔x̔pamépuʔsčn
n+t+sq=éwš divide into small parts; n+tsqéʔus
n+xl=etkʷ drown; √xl; nxlétkʷ
n+miy+ép+m told on; √miy; amniyépam
n+mn+an+ín=tp (placename);
 nmənaníntp; unknown meaning;
 lexical suffix =tp ‘tree’

n+m̑qʷ=ups big rump; √moqʷ; nm̑qʷúps
n+nič=s cut off head; √nič; nničás

n+p̓u=čn=éčst+m in palm of hand;
 np̓uqínéčstam

n+pin lay in; √pin; n̓pin; long cylindrical objects

n+̣̔pu?=étkʷ+m fart in water; √̣̔pu?; ṇ̔pu?étkʷum

n+qʷňň+m+nímin pity; √qʷň; nqʷánňamí,
 nqʷánňamin

n+síxʷ+uʔ pour; √sixʷ; nsíxʷuʔ

n+tf+tf=ap+ncút jump around;
 √tfq; ntaltaqapăncú; Spokane √trq

n+̣ṭ̔x̔=qín noon; √toXʷ; ṇṭ̔x̔qín

n+wnexʷ=éneʔ believe; √wnexʷ;
 nwnexʷéneʔ

n+xʷist=élčeʔ walk in the room;
 √xʷist; nxʷstélčeʔ

n+xeʔ be afraid; √xel; nxeʔ
n+xll+min get scared; √xel; nxełaman

n+ʔịtn+s+qel=ixʷ man-eater; √ʔịtn,
 √qel; naʷisqélixʷ, naʷlisqélixʷ

n+ʔịtn+s+qel=ixʷ+tn man-eater;
 √ʔịtn, √qel; naʷisqélixʷ*тан;
 instrumental –tn suffix

n+ʔụxʷ go in; √ʔụxʷ; nʔụxʷ

ω oh; ó‘, ó’∗

olqʷ+š+scútn helper; √ʔolqʷ;
 olqʷšscútn

oy+ncút laugh; √hoʃ; oʃincú, oʃancút

p 2PL INTR: proclitic

pf+ip drift along; √pl; pafip; Vogt’s
glottalization of the l might be indicating plural

pXe=čst+m let go; √piX; pXéčstam;
 transitive stem

pń but; pń

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; puwéščan

pw+pew+lš breathe; √pew; pu·pėulš

pxʷ+mn+cut disperse; √pxʷ; pxʷomancút, pxʷomancú

piič=ús+m turn back INTR; √piič; paičúsam

pum tan color; √pum; pûm

puʔ+úm fart; √puʔ; puʔúm

pxʷt+lš grew up; √pxʷut; poxʷtíš

pxʷut parent; √pxʷut; poxʷút

pxʷ+pxʷut parents; √pxʷut; poxʷpoxʷút

pyaq cooked, ripe; √paʔaq; piʔaŋ

qaluwét+m step INTR; √qlwet; qaluwétam; Vogt does not record glottalized l

qeys dream; √qeys; qéʔis

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

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

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

qeʔnpléʔ 1PL; √qeʔnpléʔ; qeʔnplé

qiʔ wake up; √qiʔ; qiʔ

qiʔ+q̣+t awake; √qiʔ; qiʔq̣qt

qiʔ+t awake; √qiʔ; qiʔt, qiʔt

qmin lay; √qmin; qam

qp=éčtče? dish; √qp; qapétče?

qs+tam definitely not; √tam; qstám

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

qam+qam+lš discuss PL; √qam; qamqamíš

qey build a house; √qey; qéi, qéy

qʷam+qʷm+t wonderful; √qʷam; qʷámqʷumt

qʷásqʷi bluejay; √qʷásqʷiʔ; qʷásqʷi

qʷay blue; √qʷay; qʷáy

qʷew+w crazy; √qʷew; qʷéu; inchoative reduplication of second root consonant

qʷil cheat; √qʷil; qʷil

qʷiṃṃ anxious for, in a hurry; √qʷim; qʷiṃṃ

qʷl+qʷel talk; √qʷel; qʷolqʷel
finally, new; /sic; sic

sux\" know, understand, recognize;
\√sux\"; súx\"; Vogt records ť\" consistently

súx\"=me? measure; /sux\"; súx\"ame?

sú\?it cold; ? /sul; sú\?it

swet who; /swet; suwét

sx\"+slx\"=lt child; /six\"; sx\"six\"ult

sx=cin shore; /sač; sércín

syen count; /syen; siyé, siyén

s+c+Χx\"u?p win PL; /Χx\"up;
scΧex\"u?p

s+čic+c+n guest; /čic; scčicci;
reduplication of second root
consonant

s+čt+t\x=q\"=éne? straight above PL;
\√čt, /toč\"; sčt\x=q\"é?ne?

s+čw+ćw=ačn arms; /čw; sču\‘čuwáxi

s+č+sax+m near; /sač; sčsáxam

s+či+t+t clay; /či+h; scčiht

s+čut half; /čut; scčút

s+k\"es+t name; /k\"es; sk\"ést

s+k\"x=us face; /k\"x; sk\"αxús

s+k\"s+k\"e?s+t name PL; /k\"es;
sk\"sk\"e?st
s+kʷuy mother(male speaking); √kʷuy; skʷúi, skʷúy
s+łaq+i sweat lodge; √łaq; saláqi
s+łaxt friend; √łax; salá, sla, slałxt, saláxt
s+fõ̊x+łaxt friends; √łax; salxabáxt
s+t+kʷ+kʷyúm=eʔ child; √kʷyum; s+kʷkʷyúm=eʔ
s+x̱+Xúkʷ+eʔ pitch wood; √Xúkʷ; sXúkʷ=ʔeʔ
s+m̩=ič salmon; √m̩; sam̩ič, sam̩ič
s+m̩xʷ+up winter; √m̩xʷ; sam̩x̱úp
s+m+ʔem woman; √ʔem; sam̩êm, semʔêm
s+néč=čεʔ cow elk; √neč; sánéč=čεʔ, saneč=čεʔ
s+n̩+w̓ʔis early morning; √w̓is; san̩ʔuʔis; nuis
s+n̩+č̓l=ep coyote; √č̓l; sančalé, sančalépé
s+n̩+qc=ut̩ lynx; √qc; sanqacú
s+n̩+š̓f̓=etkʷ stand in water; √š̓f̓; sanš̓etkʷ
s+p̓=q̓in head; √p̓; sp̓q̓í, sp̓q̓in
s+pw=al̩=q̓n red-headed woodpecker; √pw; spuwálqan
s+pʔus heart, mind, personality; √pus; spuʔús
s+ţq+ni sun; √ţq; spţaní
s+ţuʔ+úm fart; √ţuʔ; spţʔúm
s+ţx̱e+ţx̱ut parents, old; √ţx̱ut; spţox̱poţx̱út
s+qal=éw beaver; √q̓l; sqałéʔu
s+qam+n=lsčút goods; √q̓am; sqamanalsčút
s+qél=ixʷ people, man; √q̓el; sqélixʷ
s+qeʔ+m milk; √qeʔ; sqeʔêm
s+qlt+mixʷ man; √q̓el; sqaltamíxʷ,
sqaltamíxʷ
s+ql+qlt+mixʷ men; √q̓el;
sqalqaltamíxʷ
s+qʷá+qʷc=iʔ cotton tail rabbit;
√q̓wec; sqʷáqʷc̓iʔ; Vogt's definition
s+qʷs=ʔeʔ son; √q̓ʷs; sqʷs̓éʔ
s+séw=neʔ hear something; √séw;
sséuneʔ; the prefix s+ is unanalyzable
s+s̓n̕eň̓s stone; √s̓n̕eň̓s; s̓s̓n̕eň̓s
s+teʔ thing; √tem̩; stéʔ
s+tiʔ+m boat; √tiʔ; stiʔam, stíl̓am
s+tiʔ+m boat PL; √tiʔ; stiʔam
s+ti̊q+em dance; √ti̊q; stalqém;
Spokane √trq
šč make it stand; √šč; šć
šX+ip lose; √šX; šXip
šX+ip=áₜq win; √šX; šXąapá, šXąapáq
šX+ip+m lose INTR; √šX; šXipam
šX+ip+nú win; √šX; šXipanú
šX+ip+núʔ win PL; √šX; šXipanúʔ
šX=us+m look around; √šX; šXusam
šýus+t pass; √šýus; šiyúst, šiýú
šýuʔ pass by PL; √šýus; šiýúʔ
t OBL; ta–, te–, tə; Vogt note 195-199
(1940a:67-68)
ta NEG; √ta; tá, tá‘, taʔ, taʔa, taʔa–
tam not; √tam
ta_piʔstém never; tá pi‘stém
tá_s+qasíp not long; √qsiʔp; tá sqasíp
tcęy penis; √tcęy; tčéʔi
těš+ilš stand up; √tešl; těšilš
teqʔ+s+tém possession; √teqʔi; teʔstém;
Vogt note 64 (1940a:27-28)
teqʔ obtain; √teqʔ; tixʷ, tixʷ, tixʷ; recorded in
Vogt with xʷ consistently
teqʔ+q+kʷul+mn get tool; √teqʔ, √kʷul; tixʷ+kʷulámam
teqʔ+m obtain INTR; √teqʔ; tixʷam,
tixʷam; intransitive stem
tixʷ+sxʷ+síxʷ=ft have a child; √tixʷ, √sixʷ; tixʷsxʷsíxʷúlf

tixʷ+s+qél=ixʷ get people; √tixʷ, √qel; tixʷsqélixʷ

tkʷʔut walk; √tkʷʔu; tkʷuʔút

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

tš+ilš=éws oppose; tšilšéʔús, tšilšéʔus

tťqʷéneʔ wood duck; tťqʷéneʔ?, tťqʷéné

tuʔ crowd; √tuʔ; túʔ

tšʷ+tošʷ+t straight; √tošʷ; tšʷtóšʷt

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

t+wíč see coming; √wič; twič

t+wíʔč see coming PL; √wič; twíʔč

t+ʔačx̣ look over at; √ʔačx̣; taʔačəx̣

téyeʔ bad; √téyeʔ; téyeʔ

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

tkʷ+ukʷ fall over; √tukʷ; tkʷúkʷ;
reduplication of second root consonant

tloqʷ run away, escape, gush; √tloqʷ; talóqʷ

țukʷ lie down, fall over; √țukʷ; tůkʷ

țukʷ+șt+wéxʷ place bet RECP; √țukʷ; tkʷəștuwéxʷ

u and

ut=s+pw=áɬ=qn red-headed
woodpecker and group; √pw;
ütspuwálqan; 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; wíssan

wíʔč+m see PL INTR; √wič; wíʔčam

wý finish; √wý; uiʔ-, wiʔ, wíʔ-, wiʔ-

wý=cin weetseen (finish talking); √wý; wicín;

wý=ečst finish; √wý; uyéčst

wý+s+ʔel+ʔh nú finish eating; √wý, √ʔh nú; wiʔselfhn; -s- compound connector with reduplication of second root

wý+s+iʔum finish moving; √wý; wiʔsiʔum

wý+s+țxʷ finish hole; √wý, √təxʷ; wiʔs+țxʷ
wý+s+x̱+Xeč=cn+m stuck out tongue; √wiý, √Xeč; wiʔsXēc/Xēc canam
wý+s+qʷl+qʷel+t finish talking; √wiý, √qʷel; wiʔsʔqʷalŋʷelŋt; intransitive stem
xʷič give; √xʷič; xʷič
xʷist walk; √xʷist; xʷist, xʷst, xʷstə
xʷx̱+m whittle INTR; √xʷx̱; xʷx̱m
xʷst+lws walk around; √xʷist; xʷstaluwis
xʷtip run; √xʷt; xʷtip
xʷt+ilš get up; √xʷt; xʷtilš
xʷu all right; xʷú
xʷux all right; xʷúx
xʷu̱míʔ OPT; xʷumíʔ; optative particle, related to kʷumí
xʷuy go; √xʷuy, xʷúy, xʷuí, xʷuí, xʷú
xʷúʔuy go PL; √xʷuy; xʷúʔuy
xʷy+xʷuy go PL; √xʷuy, xʷixʷuy, xʷixʷuí, xʷixʷú
xʷy+xʷey=úṭ animal; √xʷey; xʷiʔxʷeyúṭ, xʷiʔxʷeyeúṭ
xʷʔit much; xʷʔit, xʷʔit, xʷʔit, xʷʔit, xʷʔit
x̱alíp morning; √x̱al; xaʔlɪp, x̱alíp
x̱alíʔ ask, invite; √x̱ḻit; x̱alíθ
x̱alíʔ+m ask INTR; √x̱ḻit; x̱alíθm
x̱am=énč love; √x̱m; x̱amé
x̱am=éʔnč love PL; √x̱m; x̱améʔnč
x̱aʔ+mn pay; √x̱aʔ; x̱aʔamæn
x̱c+mn+cut ready; √x̱c; x̱camæncút
x̱c+num+h+tn clothing; √x̱c; x̱canúmtæn
x̱c+x̱c+lʔm gamble PL; √x̱c; x̱x̱cimí, x̱x̱ca̱mí
x̱ect dig roots; √x̱ect; x̱éct
x̱es+t good; √x̱es; x̱es, x̱é, x̱ést
x̱eʔn forbid; √x̱eʔn
x̱i lest; x̱i; often occurs with ne
x̱ihtné maybe; x̱ihtné; “meaning is uncertain” (Vogt 1940a:20)
x̱l_ne lest; x̱i né
x̱m̱a maybe; √x̱m̱a; x̱m̱á
x̱m̱a+x̱eʔ+éy laugh; √x̱eʔey; x̱m̱aʔeʔeʔéy
x̱m̱f because, for; √x̱m̱f; x̱m̱f
x̱m̱ʷ=ew̱s divide; √x̱m̱w̱; x̱m̱w̱eʔus
yap=qíŋ powwow; √yaʔ; iyapqíŋ, yapqíŋ; verbal form
yaʔaʔ+m+ʔʔlš gather PL; √yaʔ; iyapaʔʔmʔʔlš; Vogt unsure of transcription
ye this; yé
yeʔé this: ýé, yeʔe; Vogt note 201 (1940a:68-69)
yilkʷ rub; √yilkʷ
yíʔum move
yíʔuʔ move
yo so; ýó
yóm so; ýó•m, ýó•m
yoóxʷ sound of running water
yoʔ learn; √yoʔ
yo•+yo•+scút hard; √yoʔ; yo•yo•scút
yuč•+mn red paint; √yuč; ýúčamən, iyúčamən, ýúčami
yʔaʔp arrive PL; √yaʔ; iʔáʔp
ýe_t4xʷá today; √4xʷeʔ; yetə4xʷá
ʔačx look; √ʔačx; ʔáčəx, ʔáčəxe
ʔačx+m look INTR; √ʔačx; ʔačx̂m, ʔáčəxəm
ʔaw+ʔá+ʔaw say aloud PL; √ʔaw; ʔauʔáʔau
ʔawt+ʔá+ʔaw say aloud PL; √ʔaw; ʔauʔáʔau
ʔaxil do, be a certain way, do a certain way; √ʔaxil; ʔaxí
ʔaxʷ+ʔaxʷ+iʔəná(?) (name of a tribe); ʔaxʷʔaxʷiʔəná, ʔa̱xʷʔa̱xʷiʔəná
ʔayxʷ+t get tired; √ʔayxʷ; ʔa̱xʷt
ʔe here; √ʔe; aʔe, ʔe; Vogt note 203 (1940a:69)
ʔec+s+wiš stand SG; √wis; ʔecsuiš
ʔel+ʔiʔn eat PL; √ʔiʔn; ʔelʔn, ʔelʔn
ʔemút sit, be home; √ʔemút; ʔemut
ʔenwén+m sense INTR; √ʔenwén; enuwenəm
ʔesél two; √ʔesél; esél
ʔet+ʔiʔtš sleep PL; √ʔiʔtš; etiʔtš
ʔewt=úʔs their opponent; √ʔewt; ʔeutúʔs
ʔiʔn eat; √ʔiʔn; ʔiʔn, iʔn
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-, ĉ-, 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)
- **ĉ-** on
- **eɬ-** back, again
- **epɬ-** POSS; ep-; Vogt note 146 (1940a:50)
- **es-** CUST; ?asə-, ?asi-; with -st transitivizer
- **es-** ACT
- **es-** CUST; ?asə-, ?asi-; with -st transitivizer
- **es-** 2SG POSS; an-, a-
- **han-** 2SG POSS; an-, a-
- **hin-** 1SG POSS; in-, i-, y-
- **ɬ-** DIM
- **qeʔʔ-** FUT; qes-
- **qᵗ-** to be; q-, qs-
- **qs-** FUT; qsə-, q-
- **s-** NOM; sə-
- **s-** CUST; sə-, si-
3.2.2 Suffixes

Nine of the suffixes listed in this section (–ilš, –lwis, –ɬtumš, –min, –mist, –nun, –(t)n, –um, and –wex) 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 (–ɬt, –nt, –st, and –št) are derivational but are analyzed separately throughout this thesis.

-\textit{em} \textbf{1PL TRANS}; –ém; strong form of 1PL TRANS suffix

-\textit{en} \textbf{1SG TRANS}; –én; strong form of 1SG TRANS SUFFIX

-\textit{ep} \textbf{2PL TRANS}; –ép; strong form of 2PL TRANS SUFFIX

-\textit{es} \textbf{3TRANS}; –és; number not specified; strong form of 3TRANS suffix

-\textit{eʔs} \textbf{3PL TRANS}; –éʔs

-\textit{i} \textbf{CONT}; with es- prefix

-\textit{ɪ} \textbf{FUT}

-\textit{ɪlš} \textit{motion}

-\textit{lms} \textbf{2PL OBJ}; -\textit{ɬulams}

-\textit{ls} \textbf{1PL OBJ}

-\textit{lwis} \textit{around}; –luís

-\textit{ɬt} \textbf{TR}; –ɬ, –əɬt, –t; possessor applicative transitivizer

-\textit{ɬtumš} person; people; –\textit{ɬtúmš}

-\textit{m} \textbf{1PL TRANS}

-\textit{m} \textbf{2SG OBJ}; –əm; occurs after –\textit{st} transitivizer

-\textit{m} \textit{ANTIP}; –əm

-\textit{m} \textbf{PASS}; –əm

-\textit{min} \textit{INSTR}; –mí, –mi, –əmí

-\textit{mist} \textit{INTR REFL}

-\textit{mp} \textbf{2PL POSS}

-\textit{n} \textbf{1SG TRANS}; –\textit{an}

-\textit{nt} \textbf{TR}; –ənt, –əan, –n, –t, –i, –í

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

-\textit{p} \textbf{2PL TRANS}; –əp

-\textit{s} \textbf{2SG OBJ}; –c
-s 3PL OBJ; -eʔs

-š 3SG OBJ; -tes, -tēs

-š 3TRANS; -es; number not specified

-ši 2SG OBJ; -cī; strong form of 2SG OBJ suffix

-št TR; -t; causative transitivizer

-št CUST

-š 5G INTR IMP; -iš

-št TR; -ašt, -t; benefactive transitivizer

-št 1PL TRANS; occurs after -m
   (e.g. -st-m-t TR-2OBJ-1PL)

-(t)n INST

-um into; verb forming suffix

-wex RECIP

-x″ 2SG TRANS
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’

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

=alqs shirt, clothes; -lqs, -qs

=alq= long object, tree, pole

=af

=a=qq fruit, berry, race, game

=ap

=asqt day, heaven

=aḵn arm, wing

=aʔ?

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

=čn

=čst hand, finger, work; -čstʔ, -ečst

=čstʔ

=čš people

=čʔ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=lscut</td>
<td>clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šp</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=štumš</td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šmeʔʔ</td>
<td>people (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šm⁴</td>
<td>to the extreme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šneʔʔ</td>
<td>people (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šot</td>
<td>tail, rump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šqin</td>
<td>head; -q, -qiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šs</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šši</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ššn</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=štč</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šulex⁰</td>
<td>land, earth, ground; -uleʔx⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šups</td>
<td>tail, rump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šus</td>
<td>eye, face, fire; -s, -uʔs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šusčn</td>
<td>thigh; -uʔsč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=šwl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

- ?- INCH

- ?- 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caq</td>
<td>put, placed</td>
<td>caq placed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cflš</td>
<td>camp</td>
<td>c+ciʔflš camp PL; epɬ+c+cʔflš have camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cim</td>
<td>oily, greasy</td>
<td>č+cm+p=els sick from greasy food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cim</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>citxʷ house; ciʔtxʷ house PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciʔ</td>
<td>that one</td>
<td>ciʔ here, that one; l-ciʔ in here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cihC</td>
<td></td>
<td>cniʰc 3SG; cniʔlc 3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cq</td>
<td></td>
<td>cq+q=us land; cq+q=uʔʔs land PL; č+ cq=etkʷ on water; č+ cq=eʔtkʷ onto water PL; n+ cq=us+m look up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuw</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>cu say; cu+ n+m say; cu+t say; cú+t+i he/she/they said; cúʔ+t+i say PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čan</td>
<td>tight</td>
<td>čn+m tight; čn+op tight; čn+p+ma tight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caq</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>čq+m throw; čq+min throw away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>češ</td>
<td>bashful</td>
<td>čeʔeš bashful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čll</td>
<td>stand PL</td>
<td>cl=alqʷ stick game; cl=alqʷ+m play stick game INTR; eʰ+cl=álqʷ+m play stick game again INTR; eʰ+t+cl=álqʷ play stick game again; es+n+cl=étkʷ pole in water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


√číp pinch
  číp 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

√čʔ
  n+či+ilš upstream

√čelš hand
  čelš hand

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

√čeʔés three
  č+čeʔ+čeʔéʔs three people
  čeʔés three

√čic arrive
  čic arrive
  čiʔc arrive PL
  e⁴+kʷ⁴+čic manage to arrive again
  kʷ⁴+čic manage to arrive
  s+čic+c+n guest

√čt
  s+čt+tux=éne? straight above PL

√čmiš only, just
  čmi only

√čnm blind
  čnm=qin blind

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

√čoš shout
  čoš+im he shouted

√čw
  s+čw+čw=ažn arms

√čy
  čy+čiʔ=éʔ grandmother
  ep⁴+čy+čiʔ=éʔ have a grandmother

√če
  čeʔ yet

√čes bad, evil
  čes=cín+m bad mouth

√čɪt
  ep⁴+s+čɪt+t have clay
  s+čɪt+t clay

√čɪt get close
  č+čeʔiʔt near
  č+čiʔt+min go near to
  čiʔ+čeʔt near, short distance
  e⁴+č+čiʔt+min get close again
  e⁴+čʔ+čʔt back from short distance

√čl
  s+n+čl=ep coyote

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

√čuw empty, quiet, gone
  čuw absent
  čw+s+qél=ix w go to gamble
  čw+s+qé?l=ix w go to gamble PL
  čw+up stop shouting

√ecǐńt
  ecǐńt+m say what INTR

√hayó
  hayó oh my

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

√hoý
  oý+ncút laugh

√kʷec night, dark
  e+t+kʷ7ec tomorrow night
  kʷ+kʷ7ec get dark

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

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

√kʷil red, heat
  kʷil=lqs red shirt

√kʷkip slip
  s+kʷkip=us face

√kʷtun big
  kʷtun+t big

√kʷɨn
  kʷɨn=čst+míst get ready

√kʷeñ try, test, choose
  kʷɨn=čst+míst+(t)n try by hand

√kʷinš several
  kʷinš=ásqt several days

√kʷ4
  e+t+kʷ4+čic manage to arrive again
  kʷ4+čic manage to arrive
  kʷ4+xeʔeč appear
  kʷ4+xeʔeč+č appear
  kʷ4+paʔx deliberate
  kʷ4+tal make rites
  kʷ4+yem+m hesitate
  kʷ4+n+qwom+i leave suddenly

√kʷkip appear, come out, come off
  n+kʷuλ=ús unplug

√kʷul work, create
  kʷul work, create
  kʷul+m work INTR
  tixʷ+4+kʷul+m get tool

√kʷuy
  s+kʷuy mother

√kʷyum young, small
  4+kʷ+kʷyům=eʔ small
  s+4+kʷ+kʷyům=eʔ child
\sqrt{\text{lap}} \quad \text{laáp} \quad \text{paddle, travel by boat}

\sqrt{\text{laq}} \quad \text{bury, peel}
\quad \text{s+wlap+i sweat lodge}

\sqrt{\text{lem}} \quad \text{lem+t glad}

\sqrt{\text{lič}} \quad \text{lč tie PL}

\sqrt{\text{lk}} \quad \text{lk+w far away}
\quad \text{it is far}

\sqrt{\text{luk}} \quad \text{luk+w stick of wood}

\sqrt{\text{lq/m}} \quad \text{lq/w super+w super uu ee} \quad \text{(man’s) father}
\quad \text{epč+w super uu ee father}

\sqrt{\text{laq}} \quad \text{sit down}
\quad \text{s+laq+t friend}
\quad \text{s+lqa+laq+t friends}

\sqrt{\text{laq/w}} \quad \text{show, be visible}
\quad \text{laq+w+m=ule?xw come into open space}

\sqrt{\text{e?}} \quad \text{close to, next to}
\quad \text{n+w?e?=ús+m turn back INTR}

\sqrt{\text{eč}} \quad \text{trash, whip}
\quad \text{eč whip}

\sqrt{\text{4xw}} \quad \text{opened, hole}
\quad \text{4xw hole}
\quad \text{wy+s+w xw finish hole}

\sqrt{\text{u?}} \quad \text{stab, pierce}
\quad \text{u+w+mín+tn spear}
\quad \text{n+w?e=étkw+m spear in water}

\sqrt{\text{e?}} \quad \text{now, today}
\quad \text{e=w e? today}
\quad \text{e+w e? today}

\sqrt{\text{u?}} \quad \text{escape, dash out}
\quad \text{n+w xw+p+m=ép+u+s?chn escape below thighs}

\sqrt{\text{eč}} \quad \text{show, be visible}
\quad \text{c+w e?c+m rise CISLOC}
\quad \text{c+w eć=qn+m stick head through}
\quad \text{e+w c+w eć=qn+m stick head through again INTR}
\quad \text{ep+w es+w eć=qn+m head showing INTR}
\quad \text{k+w e?ęć appear}
\quad \text{k+w e?ęć+č appear}
\quad \text{w+c+w ećim=qin+m stick head up}
\quad \text{w+c+w eć=cn+m stick out tongue}
\quad \text{wy+s+w+c+w eć=cn+m stuck out tongue}

\sqrt{\text{e?}} \quad \text{look for}
\quad \text{e+w e?=ús look around}
\quad \text{e+w e?=ús+m look around INTR}

\sqrt{\text{lil}} \quad \text{still, unmoving, quiet}
\quad \text{c+w l+p stop}
\quad \text{lil dead, motionless}
\quad \text{n+w l=étkw drowned}

\sqrt{\text{ukw}} \quad \text{s+w+uk+w+w e? pitch wood}
√Χxʷup
   Χxʷup win
   Χxʷuʔp win PL
   Χxʷuʔp+m win PL INTR
   s+c+Χxʷuʔp win PL

√Χye? canoe
   Χiyé? bark canoe

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

√meʔ? bother, pester
   meʔ=éčst=mɬ+ls bother people

√mIʷ very, a lot, extreme
   miʷ too, very

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

√mi bleed, flow
   eɬ+mál bubble again
   maf bubble
   ml+txʷ+miʔ flow straight

√mɬ epɬ+s+mɬ=ɬc/commasuprightnospeʔ place that has
   salmon
   s+mɬ=ɬc salmon

√moqʷ mountain
   n+maʔw=ups big rump

√mɬxʷ snow
   s+mɬxʷ+up winter

√meyʔ show, tell, teach
   méye tell

√nas wet
   naʔás get wet

√neč cut
   s+néč=ɬeʔ cow elk

√nexʷ also
   nexʷ also

√nič cut
   n+nič=s cut off head

√nkʷuʔ one, once
   nkʷ=alqʷ one pole
   nkʷ=asq/t one day
   nkʷ=e+xʷ one house
   nkʷuʔ one

√noχʷ
   noχʷ+nχʷ wife
   nχʷ+nχʷ=eɬs married couple

√nplehmp you PL
   npleʔ 2PL

√nt
   nt=els think

√pas amazed, speechless
   ps+ap scared

√paɬ smart, wise
   kʷɬ+paʔɬ deliberate

√pew inflate, swell
   pw+pew+lʃ breathe
√pilš  enter
e+č+n+ pilš  reenter
√pk w
es+č+ pk w = ič n  throw rocks
√pl  float, drift in water
pl+ip  drift along
√pɬ thich, dense
s+pɬ= qin  head
√puls  kill, fight
puls  kill
√pus  epɬ+s+pʔús  decide
s+pʔus  heart, mind, personality
√put  put  just
√pw
pw=els=čn  buck
s+pw=af=qn  red-headed woodpecker
uɬ=s+pw=áf=qn  red-headed woodpecker and group
√p Ꭓ w  distribute, dole out
p Ꭓ w+mn+cut  disperse
√paq  shiny, sparkly
s+paq+ni  sun
√paʔaq  ripe, baked, bread
pʔaq  cooked, ripe
√pilč  turned around, turned over
eɬ+c+plč=ús  turn back
eɬ+c+plč=ús+m  turn back INTR
pilč=ús+m  turn back INTR
√piʔx  bare, uncovered, exposed
č+piʔx=čst+min  let go of
piʔx=čst+m  let go
√pin  long cylindrical objects on the ground
n+pin  lay in
√pum  tan (color)
pium  tan (color)
√puʔ  stink, fart
n+puʔ=étk+m  fart in water
puʔ+úm  fart
s+puʔ+úm  fart
√p Ꭓ w ut  mature, old, wise
p Ꭓ w+p Ꭓ w ut  parents
p Ꭓ w+t+ifš  grew up
p Ꭓ w ut  parent
s+p Ꭓ w+p Ꭓ w ut  parents, old
√qam  s+qam+n=lscút  goods
√qc  shrunk
s+n+qc=utn  lynx
√qel  body, mass
čw+s+qel=ixw  go to gamble
čw+s+qēʔl=ixw  go to gamble PL
epɬ+s+qlt+mixw  have a husband
k"in+s+qel=ixw  grab person
n+ʔiɬn+s+qēl=ixw+tn  man-eater
n+ʔiɬn+s+qēl=ixw+tn  man-eater
s+qel+qlt+mixw  men
s+qlt+mixw  man
tixw+s+qěl=ixw  get people
s+qěl=ixw  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+q+i+t awake
qi+q+i+t awake

√ql
s+qal=éw beaver

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

√qmin lay something down
qmin lay

√qp
qp=é+cé? dish

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

√qe? pinched, squeezed, crowded
¢+qé?=éls+m pay attention
e+i+n+qé?=ús stick in again

√qil
es+c+i+q+i+l+i? lake

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

√q̕i? a long time, a long time ago
tâ_s+q̕asip not long

√q̕ám wonderful
q̕ám+q̕m+t wonderful

√q̕ásqw̕i? bluejay
q̕ásqw̕i bluejay

√q̕ay blue, green
q̕ay blue

√q̕ec warm
e+i+q̕é+c warm again
s+q̕á+q̕c=i? cotton tail rabbit

√q̕el talk, give a speech
q̕él+q̕el talk
q̕él+q̕él+t talk INTR
wy+s+q̕él+q̕él+t finish talking

√q̕ew drunk, crazy, senseless
q̕ew+w crazy

√q̕il cheat
q̕il cheat

√q̕im always in a hurry
q̕imm anxious for, in a hurry

√q̕inè ugly, poor, pitiful
n+q̕i+n+min pity
q̕i+n+q̕i+n+t poor, pitiful
q̕i+n+q̕i+n+s=cin ask for pity

√q̕l
q̕l=e?p blacken PL

√q̕m die PL
q̕m+i?p die PL
\[\sqrt{q''s}\]
\[s + q''s = e?\] son

\[\sqrt{q''uye\?'e I, me}\]
\[q''uye\?'e 1SG\]

\[\sqrt{q''ay}\] black
\[q''ay\] black
\[q''y + q''ay\] buffalo
\[q''y + q''ay + st'má\] buffalo cow

\[\sqrt{q''et}\] carried on the back
\[e\dagger + q''et + či\] carry back on back
\[e\dagger + q''et + q''é\dagger t + m\] carry back PL on back

\[\sqrt{q''m}\]
\[e\dagger + q''m = ép + m\] leave again suddenly
\[k''\dagger n + q''om + í\] leave suddenly
\[q''m = ép + m\] leave suddenly

\[\sqrt{q''um\dagger}\] take, grab
\[e\dagger + q''um\dagger\] take back

\[\sqrt{sa\dagger x}\] near
\[s + č + sa\dagger x + m\] near
\[s\dagger x = cin\] shore

\[\sqrt{sa\dagger x''}\] split in little pieces
\[sa\dagger x''\] split wood

\[\sqrt{se\dagger w}\] ask
\[se\dagger w\] ask
\[séw = ne?\] hear something
\[sew + nú?mt\] ask information
\[s + séw = ne?\] hear something

\[\sqrt{se\dagger w}\]
\[sew\dagger = k''\] water

\[\sqrt{sic new, right now}\]
\[sic finally, new\]

\[\sqrt{six''\] pour\]
\[n + six'' + u?\] pour
\[sx'' + six'' = ft\] child
\[tix'' + sx'' + six'' = ft\] have a child

\[\sqrt{sul cold}\]
\[sú?it cold\]

\[\sqrt{sux''\] know, understand, recognize\]
\[sux''\] know, understand, recognize
\[súx'' = me?\] measure

\[\sqrt{swet who}\]
\[swet who\]

\[\sqrt{sy smart, able, industrious}\]
\[si + siy = ús\] smart

\[\sqrt{syen count out loud}\]
\[syen count\]

\[\sqrt{še\dagger šen}\] stone
\[s + še\dagger šen\] stone

\[\sqrt{šin accompany}\]
\[č + šin follow\]
\[č + šin + min go with\]
\[e\dagger + č + šin follow back\]
\[e\dagger + č + šin + ím follow back INTR\]

\[\sqrt{šič stand upright}\]
\[s + n + št = etk''\] stand in water
\[šič make it stand\]

\[\sqrt{ši chop}\]
\[ep\dagger + šil + mín have axe\]
\(\sqrt{\text{šič}}\) turn, circle, rotate  
\(\text{e}4+\sqrt{\text{šič}+\text{mn}+\text{cút}}\) turn self around

\(\sqrt{\text{š}x}\) straight  
\(\text{š}x=\text{us}+\text{m}\) look around

\(\sqrt{\text{š}x}\) beat in a competition, win  
\(\text{š}x+\text{ip}\) lose  
\(\text{š}x+\text{ip}=\text{á}4\text{q}\) win  
\(\text{š}x+\text{ip}+\text{m}\) lose INTR  
\(\text{š}x+\text{ip}+\text{nú}\) win  
\(\text{š}x+\text{ip}+\text{núʔ}\) win PL

\(\sqrt{\text{š}y\text{us}}\) pass by, take a route  
\(\text{š}y\text{us}+\text{t}\) pass  
\(\text{š}y\text{uʔ}\) pass by PL

\(\sqrt{\text{ta}}\) no  
\(\text{ta}\) NEG

\(\sqrt{\text{taf}}\)  
\(\text{k}4+\text{taf}\) make rites

\(\sqrt{\text{tam}}\) not  
\(\text{qs}+\text{tam}\) definitely not  
\(\text{tam}\) not

\(\sqrt{\text{tče}}\) urinate  
\(\text{tče}\) penis

\(\sqrt{\text{tem}}\) thing  
\(\text{s}+\text{te}\) thing  
\(\text{teʔ}+\text{s}+\text{tem}\) possession

\(\sqrt{\text{te}33}\) stand  
\(\text{téš}+\text{ilš}\) stand up

\(\sqrt{\text{te}w}\) little  
\(4+t+t\text{w}+\text{it}\) young boy

\(\sqrt{\text{ti}4}\)  
\(\text{s}+\text{ti}4+\text{m}\) boat  
\(\text{s}+\text{tiʔ}4+\text{m}\) boat PL

\(\sqrt{\text{ti}x}\) get, obtain  
\(\text{sc}+\text{ti}x\) gathered stuff  
\(\text{ti}x\) obtain  
\(\text{ti}x+4+\text{k}x\text{ú}l+\text{mn}\) get tool  
\(\text{ti}x\)+\text{m} obtain INTR  
\(\text{ti}x\)+\text{s}+\text{qél}=\text{ix}\) get people  
\(\text{ti}x\)+\text{s}+\text{x}\=\text{ix}\) have a child

\(\sqrt{\text{tk}w?u}\) walk PL  
\(\text{tk}w?\text{ut}\) walk

\(\sqrt{\text{tf}q}\) kick  
\(\text{n}+\text{tf}+\text{tfq}=\text{ap}+\text{ncút}\) jump around  
\(\text{s}+\text{tf}q+\text{em}\) dance  
\(\text{tfq}+\text{em}\) dance INTR

\(\sqrt{\text{to}x}\) straight  
\(\text{č}t\_\text{x}\=\text{á}_\text{n}+\text{tx}\=\text{qín}\) past noon  
\(\text{č}+\text{ta}x\=\text{l}+\text{mncút}+\text{m}\) go up to  
\(\text{ml}+\text{tx}\=\text{mi}+\text{ʔ}\) flow straight  
\(\text{n}+\text{tx}\=\text{qín}\) noon  
\(\text{s}+\text{č}+\text{tx}\=\text{éne}\) straight above PL  
\(\text{s}+\text{tx}\=\text{to}x\=\text{t}\) straight  
\(\text{tx}\=\text{to}x\=\text{t}\) straight

\(\sqrt{\text{tu}}\) stuffed, crowded  
\(\text{tu}\) crowd

\(\sqrt{\text{ty}a}\)  
\(\text{s}+\text{tye}\) caribou

\(\sqrt{\text{tye}3}\) creep, crawl  
\(\text{c}+\text{n}+\text{tye}\) crawl towards

---

33 The Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.) lists the root as \(\sqrt{\text{te}š}\); it is analyzed here as root \(\sqrt{\text{te}š}\) with derivational suffix of motion +ilš
\( \sqrt{\text{tēye?}} \) bad, ornery
\( \text{tēye?} \) bad

\( \sqrt{\text{t}} \)
\( s+\text{t}+\text{t}=\text{a}^?+\text{m} \) thunder

\( \sqrt{\text{tloq}^{\text{w}}} \) run from danger
\( \text{tloq}^{\text{w}} \) run away, escape, gush

\( \sqrt{\text{tp}} \) upright PL, standing up PL
\( c+\text{tp}+\text{p} \) standing up PL

\( \sqrt{\text{tek}^{\text{w}}} \) come out, rise to the top, emerge
\( \text{č}+\text{tk}^{\text{w}}+\text{k}^{\text{w}}=\text{etk}^{\text{w}} \) come to surface of water
\( \text{e}^{\text{t}}+\text{teʔék}^{\text{w}} \) resurface INCH

\( \sqrt{\text{tuq}^{\text{w}}} \) set down, laid down
\( c+\text{tk}^{\text{w}}+\text{ncut} \) lie down
\( \text{č}+\text{tk}^{\text{w}}=\text{ep}+\text{m} \) put by side
\( \text{č}+\text{tk}^{\text{w}}+\text{k}^{\text{w}}=\text{eʔlp}+\text{m} \) put up camp PL
\( \text{e}^{\text{t}}+\text{tuq}^{\text{w}}+\text{št}+\text{wéx}^{\text{w}} \) place bet again RECP
\( \text{tk}^{\text{w}}+\text{ncut} \) lie down
\( \text{tk}^{\text{w}}+\text{uk}^{\text{w}} \) fall over
\( \text{tuq}^{\text{w}} \) lie down, fall over
\( \text{tuq}^{\text{w}}+\text{št}+\text{wéx}^{\text{w}} \) place bet RECP

\( \sqrt{\text{tul}} \) earth, dirt, ground
\( s+\text{t}ūl=\text{i}x^{\text{w}} \) ground

\( \sqrt{\text{we?}} \) call, shout
\( \text{we?} \) shout

\( \sqrt{\text{wič}} \) see

\( t+\text{wič} \) see coming
\( t+\text{wič} \) see coming PL
\( \text{wič} \) see
\( \text{wič}+\text{m} \) see INTR
\( \text{wič}+\text{m} \) see PL INTR

\( \sqrt{\text{wis}} \) high up
\( s+\text{n}^4+\text{wi}^? \) early morning
\( \text{wis} = \text{šn} \) long
\( ?\text{ec}+\text{s}+\text{wiš} \) stand SG

\( \sqrt{\text{wič}} \) finish
\( \text{wy} = \text{cin} \) weetseen
\( \text{wy} = \text{ečst} \) finish
\( \text{wy}+\text{s}+\text{ʔel}+\text{ʔin} \) finish eating
\( \text{wy}+\text{s}+\text{ʔx}^{\text{w}} \) finish hole
\( \text{wy}+\text{s}+\text{ʔum} \) finish moving
\( \text{wy}+\text{s}+\text{ʔ}^{\text{l}}+\text{ʔ}^{\text{el}}+\text{t} \) finish talking
\( \text{wy}+\text{s}+\text{ʔ}x+\text{χeč}=\text{cn}+\text{m} \) stuck out tongue

\( \sqrt{\text{wl}} \) burn
\( \text{es}=\text{wl}=\text{ús} \) fireplace
\( s+\text{wl}=\text{ši} \) fire

\( \sqrt{\text{wnex}^{\text{w}34}} \) yes
\( n+\text{wnex}^{\text{w}}=\text{έneʔ} \) believe

\( \sqrt{\text{wup}} \) hairy, fuzzy
\( s+\text{wup}=\text{úleʔx}^{\text{w}} \) grass

\( \sqrt{\text{wy}^?} \) beautiful, handsome
\( s+\text{wy}^?=\text{numt}+\text{i} \) beautiful
\( s+\text{wy}+\text{wič}+\text{numt}+\text{i} \) beautiful

\( \sqrt{\text{we}^{\text{w}4}} \)
\( s+\text{we}+\text{w}^{\text{w}4} \) fish

\( \sqrt{\text{xe}^{\text{e}}} \)
\( \text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{y}+\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{e}^{\text{y}}=\text{ú}^4 \) animal

\( 34 \) The Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.) lists the root as \( \sqrt{\text{ʔunex}^{\text{w}}} \), 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=élčεʔ walk in the room
xʷist walk
xʷst+lwis walk around

√xʷl
s+xʷl=ot=qs prarie rabbit

√xʷλ' whittle
xʷλi+m whittle INTR

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

√xʷuy go
c+xʷuy come
č+xʷuy+mn 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
xạq+mn pay

√xʷc gamble
xʷc+xʷc+iʔm gamble PL

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

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

√xʷect dig roots
xʷect dig roots

√xʷel fear, be afraid
n+xʷel be afraid
n+xʷil+min get scared

√xʷes good
č+xʷes=íčεʔ well-dressed
s+xʷas=lqs moose
xʷes+t good

√xʷeʔn warn,caution,forbid
xʷeʔn forbid

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

√xʷm like, love
xʷam=énč love
xʷam=éʔnč love PL

√xʷa maybe
xʷa maybe

√xʷeʔl
s+xʷeʔlí camas in ground

√xʷf for
xʷf because,for

√xʷqʷ
xʷqʷ=ews divide
√xʷʔey laugh PL
  č⁺xʷa⁺xʷeʔ⁺ey⁺mín laugh PL
  xʷa⁺xʷeʔ⁺ëy laugh

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

√yaʔ gathered, accumulated
  e⁺⁺yʔap go back
  e⁺⁺yʔáʔp arrive again PL
  es+n+yʔ⁺áp forever
  es+yʔa+p=qiʔn+i powwow
  es+yʔáʔ every
  yap=qiʔn powwow
  yaʔaʔ+m+iʔlš gather PL
  yʔaʔp arrive PL

√yem worry
  kʷx⁺yem+m hesitate

√yilkʷ rub in a circular motion, wind
  yilkʷ rub

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

√yixʷ coveted, envy
  č⁺⁺yʔiʔxʷ⁺t⁺m envy PL

√yoʔ strong
  yoʰ⁺yoʰ⁺scút hard

√yoʔ learn
  yoʔ learn

√yuč
  ep⁺⁺yuč⁺mn have red paint
  yuč⁺mn red paint

√ʔačx watch, look at
  e⁺⁺es+t+n⁺ʔačx=étkʷ⁺m look back in water
  s⁺ʔačx look
  t⁺ʔačx look over at
  ?ačx look
  ?ačx+m look INTR

√ʔanwi you
  anwiʔ 2SG

√ʔaw name, say aloud, read
  ?aw⁺⁺ʔá⁺ʔaw say aloud PL

√ʔaxil be a certain way, do a certain way
  aʔx+aʔx=tč+m work PL INTR
  ec⁺ʔaxi like
  ?aʔxil do, be a certain way, do a certain way

√ʔayxʷ tired
  ?ayxʷ+t get tired

√ʔe here
  ?e here

√ʔef try, test, experiment with
  e⁺⁺éfi try again

√ʔem feed
  s+m⁺ʔem woman

√ʔemút sit SG, stay SG, be at home SG
  ?emút sit, be home

³⁵ I analyze =us as a lexical suffix here but in the Spokane Dictionary (Carlson et al.) =us is included as part of the root √yixʷmus.
\(/?\text{enwén} \text{ feel, sense}\)
\(?\text{enwén} + m \text{ sense}\ \text{INTR}\)

\(/?\text{esél two}\)
\(?e+?\text{esél two}\)
\(?\text{esél two}\)

\(/?\text{ewt}\)
\(?\text{ewt} = \text{úʔs their opponent}\)

\(/?\text{iɬn}\ \text{eat}\)
\(?e+?\text{iɬn}\ \text{eat one}\)
\(?e+?\text{iɬn}\ \text{eat again}\)
\(?+?\text{iɬn}\ \text{eat}\ DIM\)
\(?n+?\text{iɬn} + s + qéł = i^\text{x} \text{man-eater}\)
\(?n+?\text{iɬn} + s + qéł = i^\text{x} + tn \text{man-eater}\)
\(?q+?\text{iɬn} \text{food}\)
\(?sc+?\text{iɬn} \text{food}\)
\(?wý+s + ?e+?\text{iɬn} \text{finish eating}\)
\(?e+?\text{iɬn} \text{eat PL}\)
\(?iɬn \text{eat}\)
\(?iɬn \text{eat PL}\)

\(/?\text{iṁš move}\)
\(?\text{iṁš move camp}\)

\(/?\text{itš sleep, asleep}\)
\(?e+?\text{itš} \text{sleep}\ PL\)
REFERENCES


Carlson, Barry F., Pauline Flett and Deirdre Black. n.d. *Spokane dictionary*. (MS)


