An edition of Father Post's Kalispel grammar

Brenda J. Speck

The University of Montana

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AN EDITION OF FATHER POST'S KALISPEL GRAMMAR

By
Brenda J. Speck
B.A., University of Montana, 1971
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1977

Approved by:

[Signatures]
Chairman, Board of Examiners

[Signature]
Dean, Graduate School

[Signature]
Date
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ABSTRACT

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An Edition of Father Post's Kalispel Grammar (177 pp.)

Director: Anthony Mattina

This thesis is an edition of a Kalispel grammar written in 1902 by Father John Post, S.J. in St. Ignatius, Montana. His grammar is a work of over 100 typed pages containing an extraordinary number of Kalispel examples, but it is virtually unreadable due to the grossly underdifferentiated orthography and Latin format. In this edition the Kalispel data have been retranscribed in standard Salishan orthography and the format recast into a more suitable descriptive frame. The principal aim has been to present the data contained in Post's grammar in a manner that will elucidate the morphological patterns of the language.

An introductory chapter gives a brief description of Kalispel's place in the Salishan language family and discusses the reorganization of the grammar, followed by a chapter on phonology describing the correspondences between Post's orthography and standard Salishan phonemic practice and including a short section on morphophonemic alternations. The remainder of the edition is a description of Kalispel morphology. Chapter 3, Roots, discusses the intransitive verb-like nature of all roots and their propensity for transitivization. Chapter 4 exemplifies the inflectional categories of roots: aspect, plural, and diminutive. Derivation is described in chapter 5, organized into derivational prefixes (3), derivational suffixes (16), and multiple derivations. Chapter 6 presents compounds (forms with two roots) and complex forms, comprised of a root with one or more lexical affixes (bound morphemes with lexical import). Fifty-six lexical suffixes and three prefixes are listed and exemplified in this chapter.

Particles, the other Kalispel word-class, are discussed in chapter 7. They are uninflected forms which add special reference to predicates (predicate particles) and show relationships between predicates (complement particles) and between clauses (clause particles). The last chapter introduces a number of "restricted words", words which do not undergo a wide range of inflection or derivation and have acquired rather restricted functions.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus at Gonzaga University has provided the Xerox copy of the typed manuscript used in writing this thesis for which I am grateful.

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I am grateful to the members of my committee, Dr. Anthony Mattina, Dr. Robert Hausmann, and Dr. William Rolfe, for their suggestions. I especially thank Dr. Mattina who not only suggested this study to me, but gave many hours of counsel, assistance, and support, and without whose generous help and sharing of his knowledge of Salishan I could not have completed this work.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This work is an edition of a Kalispel grammar written in 1902 by Father John A. Post, S.J. while he was stationed at St. Ignatius Mission, Montana. The manuscript of the grammar, along with many other works on Indian languages done by Jesuit missionaries, has been preserved by the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus at Gonzaga University. The entire collection is now available on microfilm. I have worked from a Xerox copy of the typed manuscript (dated 1904) obtained by Anthony Mattina in 1970 from Fr. W. Schoenberg, who at that time was in charge of the archives.

Eleanor and Robert Carriker, et. al., sketch the life and linguistic activities of Father Post as follows:

Luxembourg-born on New Year's Day, 1855, John A. Post took his education in the country of his birth. He then emigrated to America in 1882 and, shortly thereafter, entered the Society of Jesus at Florissant, Missouri. Additional studies were had at Woodstock College, Maryland and it was there he met Joseph Cataldo, S.J., at that time Superior General of the Rocky Mountain Mission, who inspired him to volunteer for work among the Indians.

In 1887 Post was stationed at St. Ignatius Mission, Montana. Here he became interested in the study of Indian languages, partly through the example of the Gregory Mengarini, S.J. manuscripts remaining at the mission. Post was also greatly influenced by his theological mentor at St. Ignatius, Philip Canestrelli, S.J. who quickly introduced him to the Kootenai tribe and language, and became his linguistic, as well as spiritual, director. In time Post himself authored both a Kalispel and a Kootenai grammar of some significance.

After spending the years 1891-1895 at Sacred Heart Mission, DeSmet, Idaho, Post labored six years in Alaska at Akulurak, Holy Cross and St. Michael's missions. An Innuit grammar was begun here, but never completed. Returning to St. Ignatius, 1901-1905, Post's ultimate assignment was to work with the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. He remained with them at DeSmet from
1905 until his death thirty-five years later on December 27, 1940 at the age of eighty-four. (Carriker, p. 16)

Post's grammar, being a work of over 100 typed pages and containing an extraordinary number of Kalispel examples, promised to yield a substantial amount of information on the language if its grossly underdifferentiated orthography were deciphered and if it were recast from its Latin format into a more suitable descriptive frame. My hope in revising the grammar was indeed that this edition would prove to be a valuable addition to the present knowledge of Kalispel and Salishan structure.

My task, therefore, has been to recast Post's work in a form that will make it immediately accessible to the Kalispel specialist and to the Salishan comparatist, as well as to any linguist wishing to learn about the structure of the language. My principal aim has been to present the bulk of the data contained in the grammar so as to elucidate the morphological patterns of the language. However, I cannot claim that this work is a complete grammar of Kalispel. Due to the necessary limits of time and length of this work, my analyses are descriptive, rather than explanatory or predictive.

A brief description of the languages comprising the Salishan family, and a short survey of the work done on Kalispel will orient the reader.

Salishan languages are, or were, spoken mainly in Washington and southern British Columbia. They belong to one of two large divisions, Coast Salishan, west of the Cascade Mountains, and Interior Salishan from east of the Cascades to the Rocky Mountains of Montana. Languages of the interior group are further classed as northern or southern: the
Thompson, Shuswap and Lillooet languages of southern British Columbia constitute the former sub-group, while Columbian, Okanagan-Colville, Coeur d'Alene, and Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead, the latter, which are spoken from east of the Columbia River in Washington to the east side of the Montana Rockies (Carlson 1972, p. iii).

Prior to Post's grammar, Joseph Giorda published an extensive dictionary of Kalispel in 1877-79 and Mengarini a grammar (in Latin) in 1861. Post had access to both these documents, and in his own grammar he makes frequent references to these works as "Dict. I and II" and "Mengarini". He also refers to a "Giorda Catechism", to a "Bible", and to "Balt.", but unfortunately does not identify these works either in a bibliographic list or in the body of his grammar. I have not attempted to gain access to any of these documents, limiting myself to retaining Post's notations.

In 1940 Hans Vogt published a Kalispel grammar with texts and dictionary; in 1972 Barry Carlson completed a grammar of Spokane, and shortly afterward, an undated, unpublished dictionary. Vogt was apparently unaware of Post's work, and cites only the Mengarini grammar and the Giorda dictionary as earlier works on the language. Interestingly enough, one of his sets of examples is identical to one of Post's. Carlson's reference to Post is the brief mention that: "More recently, another missionary, Post (1904), has done a grammatical sketch of Kalispel." Had either of these scholars had a chance to read Post's work, he would have found it an important work; though it lacks discussions of the phonology and morphophonemics, it treats the morphology extensively.
To edit the grammar I first had to retranscribe all the Kalispel data into the standard phonetic practice. I began by searching probable Spokan cognates in Carlson's Spokan dictionary, not a simple task, given not only that the orthographies were very different, but also that I first had to identify correctly the Kalispel grammatical constructions. Typically these include several affixes, which Post did not segment, and may be accompanied by particles which Post inconsistently joined to the words or wrote separately. This task was particularly difficult since I knew very little about the phonology, morphophonemics, and grammar of Salishan languages. I entered each item tentatively identified as a root on a card, listing there other forms also based on that root. I collated all the forms found in Post on about 700 cards. I found cognates for about two-thirds of the roots in Carlson's Spokan dictionary and in Vogt's Kalispel-English dictionary. I discovered cognates for many of the remaining roots by searching through Dr. Mattina's Colville and comparative Salish files (these forms are preceded by an asterisk in my edition) and by eliciting them directly from Tony Incashola, a Flathead speaker from St. Ignatius, Montana. At the end of my search I was left with about 100 forms which I was unable to re-attest. These are preceded by two asterisks in my edition.

To exemplify the types of problems of analysis I was faced with, I will refer to two actual cases. In the first Post wrote and glossed chechem 'where'. While this form is almost certainly based on the root čeh 'interrogative locative', it has an unexplained final m, and an initial element che which could be either a reduplicative prefix č- or a
particle ³ 'addessive'. I had to conclude that the final m is a possible typographical error (m for n), and that che is most likely the reduplicative prefix. The second form is nkuínagalsemen 'feel, think the same as'. There are two plausible analyses for this: \textit{n}\textit{k}u-i-n-\textit{?axl-éls-mn} ('one-compound connective-locative-similar-volitive-instrumental') and \textit{n}\textit{k}u-i-n-\textit{?axl-éls-mn} ('locative-under-locative-similar-volitive-instrumental'). Both analyses are tentative, and while the first would place the n- 'locative' prefix abnormally between the two roots of a compound, \textit{n}\textit{k}u 'one' and \textit{?axl} 'similar', the second would place the n- 'locative' prefix twice in the same form. In spite of these problems I decided that it was imperative to segment all Kalispel forms in the grammar, including the problematic ones, and to mark stress on all words with two or more vowels.

Initially I planned to retain Post's basic grammatical organization in my edition, but I soon realized that his format, based on traditional Latin grammar would not accommodate Kalispel.

Following a few Preliminary Remarks on the other Salishan languages and his understanding of their relationships to Kalispel, and a very brief and incomplete Key to the Pronunciation (Chapter I, 1 page), Post discusses definite and indefinite Articles (Chapter II, 2 pages); Nouns (Chapter III, 12 pages) divided into Kinds of Nouns and Gender and Number of Nouns; Adjectives (Chapter IV, 2 pages) divided into Kinds of Adjectives and Degrees of Comparison; Numeral Adjectives (Chapter V, 3 pages); Personal Pronouns (Chapter VI, 5 pages); Possessive Pronouns (Chapter VII, 3 pages); Demonstrative, Relative, and Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns (Chapters VIII, IX, X of 1, 2, and 1 pages, respec-
tively). The main body of the grammar is the chapter on Verbs (Chapter XI, 42 pages) in which he discusses First Class of Verbs, Second Class of Verbs, derivations of verbs, and Some Special Verbs. The last four chapters are Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, and Interjections (7, 5, 2, and 1 pages). He also gives five appendices: On the Difference of Some Words (a list of synonyms and other words of related meaning, these paradigms exemplify various derivational processes), Relationship (kinship terms), Some Geographical Names, Names of Indian Tribes, and Proper Names of Persons.

Post treats noun morphology in Chapter III under the headings Primitive Nouns (essentially noun-like forms without affixes); Derivative Nouns ("abstract nouns", "instrumental nouns", "nouns indicating profession or quality", and "nouns designating the place or instrument"); Compound Nouns; Rules for Formation of Plurals; Declensions of Nouns (nominative, accusative, vocative, genitive, and dative) and Augmentatives and Diminutives. He treats verb morphology in Chapter XI dividing verbs into two classes ("neuter and intransitive verbs" and "active transitive verbs") and giving the personal characteristics and suffixes of each group for "indicative" and "subjunctive" "present", "simple past", and "continue past" tenses. He then gives ten more sections on verbs: "instrumental", "derivative", "impersonal", "passive", "interrogative", "negative", and "irregular" verbs, "primitive tenses of some more verbs", "derivation and accidents of verbs" (divided into 19 sub-sections), and "remarks on some special verbs".

I have, therefore, reorganized all of Post's materials. I adopted the standard Salishan orthography and retranscribed all the data.
I have written a chapter to replace Post's *Key to the Pronunciation* which failed to identify a number of Kalispel phonemes, to distinguish between glottalized and plain consonants, or to give an explanation of stress. I have added here as many of the morphophonemic rules of the language as I could find in Post.

I have completely reorganized the morphology sections analyzing Kalispel forms into (uninflected) particles and (inflected) predicative words which are all basically verb-like. This was necessary because Post had endeavored to establish Kalispel word classes based on the word-class distinctions of English and other Indo-European languages, distinguishing "primitive nouns" (e.g. father, horn, stone, wagon) from "derived nouns" even though he had recognized the predicative force of words of all classes.

Thus, I have organized the discussion of Kalispel morphology into 6 chapters (3-8). Chapter 3, *Roots*, discusses and exemplifies the intransitive nature of all roots, and their propensity for transitivization. In addition I discuss here the personal and possessive pronoun proclitics and affixes, which serve to add personal reference to roots. In chapter 4, *Basic Morphological Constructions*, I discuss the inflectional categories of roots: "aspect", "plural", and "diminutive". Kalispel diminutives belong to a grammatical category akin to that of plurals and fit naturally in this section. In chapter 5 I present the range of derivational patterns of all Kalispel roots including "nominal", 'have', "directional", "instrumental", "success", "benefactive", "middle", "reflexive", "imperative", "aspectual", and "modal" affixes, and "multiple derivations" ("detransitivized" stems and "transitivized"
stems). In chapter 6 I discuss compounds (forms with two roots) and complex words (words with lexical affixes). In chapter 7 I discuss particles, uninflected forms that add special reference to predicates and show relationships between predicates or clauses, while Post had treated such forms severally as adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, and articles. In the last chapter a number of "restricted words" are introduced, words that do not undergo a wide range of inflection or derivation and which have acquired somewhat restricted functions. Included here are Post's "numeral adjectives", "demonstrative pronouns", "days of the week", and "absolute pronouns".

Eight appendices conclude my edition. Four of these are verbatim transcriptions of Post's lists of kinship terms, names of Indian tribes, geographical names, and Kalispel borrowings of French proper names. The data from Post's first appendix "Difference of Some Words" have been incorporated in the text where they naturally belong. A fifth appendix consists of data which did not naturally belong in the text, specifically, examples based on some 40 roots. A sixth appendix is a list of some 200 items all based on one of two roots, and which therefore exemplify amply the range of Kalispel derivation and inflection. The seventh appendix is a summary of prefix and suffix ordering and the last appendix is a glossary which indexes the more than 500 roots found in the text.
FOOTNOTES

1 Kalispel, Spokan, and Flathead are so closely related as to be considered dialects of one language. The most significant difference in them is that the phonemes /l/ and /r/ in Spokan have merged to /l/ in Kalispel and Flathead. There are some lexical differences and Flathead has the characteristic of shortening words, deleting that which follows the accented vowel, according to Carlson (1972, p. iv-v).


3 The I and II of Post's dictionary references probably refer to Parts I and II, Part I being Kalispel-English and Part II English-Kalispel. Dictionary references in this edition are cited as D I or D II.

4 The "Giorda Catechism" is likely "Bellarmine's Catechism in Kalispel", 2 volumes by Giorda dated 1881. "Bible" perhaps refers to the Bible narratives by Giorda printed in 1876 or to Post's own "Bible Narratives" dated 1901, and "Balt." may refer to a Baltimore Catechism. (See Carriker p. 36-40)

5 Cf. the first four examples in 7.3.6. in this edition and Vogt p. 70, n. 205.

6 Some of Post's translations are awkward, especially since many of his examples are translations of religious materials. See, for example, the following: "How long will they suffer in hell? As long as the good shall rejoice in heaven." "You deserve hell for your sins." "Would that I were as pure as the Blessed Virgin Mary."

7 Post states that "since often the meaning of the word depends on the accent, it is easily seen that the study of the accent is of importance" (p. 2), but he fails to mark it beyond the fourth page. It is not clear whether it was the typist of the original manuscript who
failed to mark it past page 4, or Post himself. (The manuscript lacks page numbers which I have added for reference.)

8"Without the definite article, all these nouns [pronouns, adjectives, and even adverbs] become a verbal form, the third person singular indicative present" (Post, p. 2). See also his definition of some adjectives as "verbal forms used like adjectives" (Post, p. 16).
2. PHONOLOGY

Post's treatment of Kalispel phonology amounts to a very brief Key to the Pronunciation. There Post discusses a consonant system represented by the following symbols:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{p} & \quad \text{t} & \quad \text{z} & \quad \text{ch} & \quad \text{k} \\
\text{s} & \quad \text{i} & \quad \text{sh} & \quad \text{g} & \quad \text{h} \\
\text{m} & \quad \text{n} & \quad \text{l}
\end{align*}
\]

Post's transcriptions fail to mark the contrast between plain and glottalized consonants, and lack a glottal stop. Other sounds present in the language are symbolized by Post fairly systematically by various spelling devices. The correspondences between Post's symbols and standard phonetic practice can be charted as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
p & : \text{[p]} & t & : \text{[t]} & z & : \text{[c]} & \text{ch} & : \text{[č]} & \text{ku} & : \text{[kʷ]} & k & : \text{[q]} & \text{ko} & : \text{[qʷ]} \\
p & : \text{[p]} & t & : \text{[t]} & z & : \text{[č]} & \text{tl} & : \text{[ʎ]} & \text{ch} & : \text{[č]} & \text{ku} & : \text{[kʷ]} & k & : \text{[q]} & \text{ko} & : \text{[qʷ]} & \text{[ʔ]} \\
\text{s} & : \text{[s]} & \text{i} & : \text{[i]} & \text{sh} & : \text{[ʃ]} & \text{gu} & : \text{[xʷ]} & g & : \text{[x]} & \text{go} & : \text{[xʷ]} & h & : \text{[h]} \\
\text{m} & : \text{[m]} & \text{n} & : \text{[n]} & 1 & : \text{[l]} & \text{i} & : \text{[y]} & u & : \text{[w]} \\
\text{m} & : \text{[m]} & \text{n} & : \text{[n]} & 1 & : \text{[l]} & \text{i} & : \text{[y]} & u & : \text{[w]}
\end{align*}
\]

The following sections 2.1.-2.7. will explain how Post's orthography is to be interpreted and re-transcribed.

2.1. Labials and Alveolars

Post's symbols for the labial and alveolar consonants present no problems. However, on three occasions Post writes \text{m} where one would expect \text{n}:

chechem : \text{č-čeň} & \text{'where'} \\
kokomeus : \text{q'-qʷn-ews} & \text{'horse of one or two years'}
Two other examples include m in place of the expected n, reflecting perhaps some assimilation to the following [p]:

empile : nple? 'you, yours (pl.)'
kaempile : qe?nple? 'we, ours'

2.2. Laterals

Post's use of symbols for the laterals is fairly consistent.

2.2.1. l : [†], † : [1]

There are cases where apparently Post mishears [1] for [†]. This is not surprising considering both the phonetic nature of [1] and [†], and the fact that in some cases [1] and [†] are in morphophonemic alternation.¹

Cases of † presumably standing for [1] include:

muslopenchstaskat : mus-i-ʔupn-čst-ásqt 'Lent'
smeel : s-me?† 'man's brother's son or daughter'
iotelgoa : yetix'á 'now'
geil : xii 'scarce, nearly'
znilz : cniic 'they, theirs, he, his'
pizechl : picčl 'leaf, leaves'
seulku : sewi-k' 'liquor'
pelpilkui : pei-pik'† 'women'
uelkup : weik'-p 'descend'
lkotistie : iʔ-ut-íst-ye? (ye? ?) 'prostrated'
-elze : -eίče? 'inside of anything, the whole'
-elgu : -eίx' 'house'
-alka : -aiq 'smell, grain, fruit'
kael- : *qeiʔ- 'offspring'

I have found also three examples in which † presumably stands for
13

[1], [1].

\[\text{mei : máli (stress ?)}\] 'to heal'
\[\text{iskołka : ?isk}{^\prime\prime}-q (-q ?)}\] 'scatter'
\[\text{sicheul : s-lč-eWč}\] 'wooden raft'

2.2.2. 1 : [n]

One form has 1 for [n], and it may reflect an idiosyncratic
replacement not unknown in other Salishan languages:

\[\text{telteleuie : t^n?-tn?wεye?}\] 'bat (mammal)'

2.2.3. tl : [ʌ]

The affricated lateral stop [ʌ] is symbolized by Post as tl:

\[\text{tlaka : ʌaq}\] 'hot, warm'
\[\text{gatizin : xʌ-cin}\] 'horse'
\[\text{kuitlt : kwil}\] 'several, other'
\[\text{tlim : lil}\] 'dead'

In one word tel, in another l, and in a third t seem to stand for

\[\text{nkuitellemiis : nkw-i-ʌl-mi-s}\] 'companion in death'
\[\text{slokum : s-kw-m}\] '(wild) carrots'
\[\text{ptagozch : pʌ-axcč}\] 'bare-breasted'

The last two might be typographical errors.

In one word tl stands for [t\#):

\[\text{goetle : x\#ile}\] 'without delay'

2.3. Palatals

Post always writes \text{ch} for [č], [č], and \text{sh} for [š].

\[\text{shemen : šmečn}\] 'enemy'
\[\text{chshit : čši}\] 'watch, guard'
\[\text{chels : čelš}\] 'hand'
-ench : -enč  'stomach'

In one case ch apparently stands for [ʒ] and in another tsh for [ʃ]:

szech't : s-češt  'man's wife's brother or sister's husband'

Post's s'ch corresponds regularly to [ʃ], perhaps an attempt to avoid an interpretation of the sequence as [sch]. Likewise, s'h is to be interpreted as [sh].

s'cheilegu : s-čeý-le?x₉  'shady place'

s'chcmtchinelgu : es-čm-t-čnéix₉ (-t- ?)  'standing outside'

Parallel to s'ch, Post uses an apostrophe in the sequence s'sh and between contiguous rearticulated consonants:

es'shite : es-šit  'tree'

ie ch'chee : ye č č-e?  'a little this way'

Post's use of the apostrophe in a few other items is not understood:

miliegu'lse : *mil-ix₉-éls-i (mil ?)  'rest'

chita's : čtas  'lean, poor'

l'es-eimeus : l es-?eym-čws  'cross'

2.4. Velars and Post-velars

2.4.1. Unrounded Post-velar Stops

In Post's orthography k (or k plus an unrounded vowel) represents [q] and [ʠ].

k: [q]

-kein : -quin  'head, hundred'
-aks : -aq's
-alks : -alq's
ki- : qi-
laq : iaq
kgamin : qx-min
pik : piq

k : [q]

tlaka : ʰaːq
'subjunctive'
skaspeui : s-qʰsp-eʰi
'hot, warm'
skoangan : s-kʰan-xn
'old boat'
nak : naq
'rotten (of animals)'

2.4.2. Rounded (Post)velar Stops

The rounded velars and post-velars are grossly under-differentiated in Post's orthography. Thus, ko stands for [kʰ, kʷ, kʰu, kʰu, qʰ, qʰ, qʰu, qʰu, qʰo] and ku stands for [kʰ, kʰ, kʰu, kʰu] and in a very few cases for [qʰ].

ko : [kʰ]
skoalshin : s-kʰa-l-ʃiⁿ
'crane (bird)'
skoangan : s-kʰan-ʃn
'slave, captive'
koleuti : *kʰ1-čw-t-i
'They sit/live together.'

ko : [kʰu]
koie : kʰuʔe?
'bite'
milko : milkʰ
'whole, all'
smekot : s-mekʰ-t
'snow (on the ground)'
iskol : *isḵʰl
'scatter, throw away'

ko : [kʰu]
1kot : 1kʰ-ut
'far'
ko : kʰu
'me'
tkooti : tkʰʔ-út-i
'march'
komi : kʰmiʔ?
'would to God'
(cf. also komi : ʰqʰumi
'take away')
| ko : [k̂u] | skoi : s-k̂uy | 'mother' |
| ko : [q̂u] | skomelt : *s-k̂um-lt | 'virgin' |
| kol : k̂u | 'work, make, do' |
| nko : nk̂u? | 'one' |
| ko : [q̂u] | -alko : -alq̂ | 'long cylindrical object' |
| koel : q̂el | 'ripe, ready to eat' |
| zkoakoi : čq̂-áq̂-i | 'He is crying.' |
| ko : [q̂o] | koeit : q̂eit | 'carry on the back' |
| golko : x̂olq̂ | 'wagon' |
| gololks : *x̂q̂-alq̂ | 'snore' |
| ko : [q̂u] | tkom : ˑtq̂u-m | 'She sews.' |
| likot : ḳq̂-ut | 'He was lying there.' |
| ko : [q̂u] | komi : q̂umČ | 'take away' |
| snkotlishin : s-n-q̂um-šn | 'stocking' |
| ko : [q̂o] | komkan : q̂om-qn | 'hair' |
| ku : [k̂u] | uku : ?uk̂ | 'carry/bring' |
| skukuez : s-k̂k̂ec | 'night' |
| ku : [k̂u] | luku : luk̂ | 'wood' |
| kutkuiteps : k̂-k̂itps | 'flea' |
| kuinšh : k̂inš | 'how many' |
| ku : [k̂u] | kup : k̂up | 'push' |
| egulanem : ex̂-k̂un-m | 'say, speak' |
ku : [k'u]
    skukui : s-k'u-k'w'i  'woman's brother's child'

ku : [q']
    skuselt : s-q's?-elt  'nephew'
    skuúl : s-q'u?l  'wasp'
    kolkuelti : q'1-q'él-t-i  'speaking'

Finally, Post writes uk for [k'u] three times, and k for [q'] once:
    ituk : i-uk'w  'It's rotten.'
    melluk : melk'u  'being spread'
    slukelgu : s-luk'w-ix'u  'log house'
    olkhis : olq'-šis  'help'

Two roots are inconsistently written, as follows:
    tuk'w(u) 'set down, laid down'
        ntkueusem : n-tk'w-ew-s-m  'I place it in common.'
        tkukuelp : tk'w-k'-elp  'camp'
        ntkoichen : n-tk'w-ičn  'placed on the back'
        sntkominten : s-n-tk'w-min-tn  'place to lay one in'

nk'w' 'one'
    snkuskeligu : s-nk'w-sqélix'u  'neighbor'
    nkoeul : nk'w-ew'i  'one boat'
    nkaloalko : nk'-alq'w  'cross'

2.4.3. (Post)velar Fricatives

Post's g regularly corresponds to [x], gu to [x'], and, save a
few exceptions, go to [x''].

    g : [x]
        gaka : xaq  'pay'
        sgalgalt : s-xl-xl-t  'day'
        chgeilps : čxil-ps  'gray'
        gemt : źem-t  'heavy'
        azga : ?ačx  'watch, look at'

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tag : tax 'bitter'
pagpaqt : px-pax-t 'wise one'
keigtem : qixt-m 'fond of, wish to have'
go : [x’]
goizits : x’ic-i-t-s 'He cut it off for him.'
sgoelemen : s-x’el-mm 'the devil'
aigo : ?ayx’ 'tired'
gopt : x’up-t 'He's lazy.'
pgomilsh : px’m-ilš 'scattered'
gu : [x’]
guigueiúl : x’i-x’ey-úi 'beast, animal'
sguimteku : s-x’yum-tkw 'ice'
zeitgu : citx’ 'house'
lx’up : lx’u-p 'He got hurt.'
sgusigult : sx’six’-lt 'child, children'
go : [x’]
goemit : x’fit 'many'
goemi : x’e?-m-i 'flying, pl.'
goeus : x’e?-us 'I hang it up.'
gomi : x’mi 'please'
igomutie : *ix’-m-úye? 'sewed together'
sogoelgu : s-oix’-eix’w3 'hut'
snipogoshin : s-n-ixo’-sin 'nail foot-wound'
ngokopusaks : *n-x’uk’-po’s-aqs (po’s ?) 'forking road'

Occasionally og stands for [x’] and ug for [x’]:
ogtelt : ?oxt-él ‘baby’
ntogkein : n-tx’-qin ‘noon’
togamenzut : tox’-mn-cút ‘amend himself’
ntogaks : n-tx’-aqs ‘straight road’
chelug : ¿lux’ ‘evening’
tugti : túx’t-i ‘flying’
In one word gu represents \([x^{\prime}o]\):

\[
guagualigu : *x^{\prime}o-x^{\prime}olx^{\prime} \quad 'fox' \]

2.5. Glottals

2.5.1. ?

Glottal stops are never indicated in Post’s transcriptions.

\[
\text{sinze} : \text{sin-}ce? \quad 'man's younger brother'
\]
\[
goelechst'i : \chi^{e}l-\acute{e}\text{\text{c}}t-i \quad 'hasten, work quickly' \]
\[
\text{uz} : ?\text{uc} \quad 'perhaps, question of possibility' \]
\[
\text{eumin} : e\text{\text{u}}-\text{m}\text{\text{i}}n \quad 'peeler' \]
\[
\text{aip} : a?i-p \quad 'to run' \]
\[
\text{s'\text{cheit}} : s-x^{\prime}\text{e}it \quad 'spider' \]

On occasion Post's geminate vowels correspond to \([?V]\) or \([V?]\) sequences.

\([?V]\)

\[
k\text{ual} : k^{?}al \quad 'to grow' \]
\[
szeesh : s-\text{\text{c}}e?\text{\text{es}} \quad (\text{stress} ?) \quad 'shame' \]
\[
\text{gees} : *x\text{?es} \quad 'content' \]
\[
\text{le\text{\text{e}}}u : l\text{?ew} \quad 'man's father' \]
\[
\text{eep} : ?e\text{\text{p}} \quad 'wipe' \]
\[
\text{eem} : ?\text{em} \quad 'feed' \]
\[
\text{smeem} : s-m\text{\text{e}}m \quad 'woman' \]
\[
\text{shiit} : \text{s}i\text{t} \quad 'first' \]
\[
\text{nziilsh} : n-\text{\text{c}}-\text{\text{e}}x \quad 'go upstream' \]
\[
\text{chlpoo}\text{sa}tiku : *\text{\text{c}}-i-p?os-\acute{a}tk\text{\text{w}} \quad 'foam on water' \]
\[
\text{smoot} : s-m\text{\text{ot}} \quad 'smoke' \]
\[
\text{szool}\text{lig}\text{uelgu} : s-\text{\text{c}}-\text{\text{ulix}-e}x\text{\text{w}} \quad 'deer hide' \]
\[
\text{izuzuups} : 1-c?-\text{ups} \quad 'woman's younger sister' \]
\[
\text{tlutluus} : \acute{\text{\text{u}}}\text{?}\text{-\text{\text{u}}-}\text{us} \quad 'to look for' \]
\[
\text{tkooti} : \text{tk}^{r}\text{-ut-i} \quad 'march, walk' \]
\[
\text{koop} : q^{"}\text{up} \quad 'It is tanned.' \]
\[
\text{spoos} : s-p\text{\text{us}} \quad 'heart' \]
saaimes : s-ʔaym-s 'hate'
lee : *lʔe⁵ 'remain here'

[V?]
geen : xeʔn 'forbid'
uee : weʔ 'to call'
smeel : s-meʔi 'man's brother's child'
tee : teʔ 'end up, arrive'
skussee : s-qʷseʔ 'son'
sgagee : s-ʔaʔxeʔ 'woman's husband's father or brother'
tee : teʔ⁶ '?
shiimil : **šíʔ-mil 'exceedingly'
tiim : tiʔm 'to melt'
spiikalk : s-piʔq-áľq 'fruits'
kalii : qiliʔ 'lake'
chiittestusentgu : *č-šíʔ-t-s-t-úš-m-n-t-xʷ (-s-t ?) 'You keep your eyes on it'

Unusual here is the double [V?] sequence:
mee : meʔeʔ (stress ?) 'send away'

[qeʔ] and [qeʔ] are consistently transcribed kae by Post:

kae : qeʔ 'we, our, us'
snkaezin : s-n-ʔeʔ-čín 'Holy Communion'
cholzkae : č'oʔseʔ⁷ 'outside'

2.5.2. ʰ

Very few ʰ's are found in Post's grammar. For example (in
initial, medial, and word-final positions):

hoi : hoy 'end, finally'
koʔinchehepi : kʷi-n-čeh-ép-i 'He opens the door of the lodge.'
ah : ?ah 'Is it so!'
Where Carlson and Vogt record [ha] for the 'interrogative' particle, Post writes a. In a number of other cases it is Carlson who records h where Post and Vogt do not:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post and Vogt</th>
<th>Carlson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>han-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-</td>
<td>hin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-</td>
<td>hec-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anuí</td>
<td>hanwí? (?anwí?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6. Glides

Post's orthography does not differentiate between [i, u] and their non-syllabic counterparts; my transcriptions will.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ioko</th>
<th>yoq&quot;</th>
<th>'to tell lies'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>topie</td>
<td>tûpye?</td>
<td>'woman's grandparent or child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meie</td>
<td>meyé</td>
<td>'to tell, show, teach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koai</td>
<td>q'way</td>
<td>'black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uensh</td>
<td>wensh</td>
<td>'to dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skaleu</td>
<td>s-qlew</td>
<td>'beaver'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheulshi</td>
<td>c’ew-lš-i</td>
<td>'grow old'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise, I (re)interpret iu and ui as vowel plus glide or vice-versa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nuist</th>
<th>n-wis-t</th>
<th>'It's high.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sgelui</td>
<td>s-xélwi?</td>
<td>'husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guigueiul</td>
<td>x&quot;i-x'ey-úi</td>
<td>'beast, animal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziu</td>
<td>cyu</td>
<td>'before, not yet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liumstem</td>
<td>liw-m-s-t-ém</td>
<td>'bell ring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisius</td>
<td>si-sy-ús</td>
<td>'brave, smart'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Post's sequences of three vowels are also reinterpreted to reflect (non-)syllabicity of each member of the cluster:

| tpiéut        | tpy-ōwt         | 'things are standing' |

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2.7. **Vowels**

Post and Carlson concur on a five vowel system for Kalispel and Spokan respectively.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  & i & u & a \\
 e & o &
\end{array}
\]

Post notes that Kalispel vowels are often "obscure." Carlson and Vogt point out that (in Spokan and Kalispel respectively) [o] and [u] alternate. Carlson writes: "/u/ is basically [u]. A lower allophone [o] seems to be conditioned by postvelars but there are cases of free variation between [u] and [o]" (1972, p. 11). Vogt states that "[o] is in most cases a morphophonemic variant of [u] but that certain cases clearly establish [o] as a distinct phoneme" (p. 14). And Post notes that "O and U are not unfrequently hard to distinguish. In some words, however, it is necessary to be distinct in the utterance of the vowel since the meaning of the word is going to depend on it" (p. 2).

This last statement of Post's is inaccurate, as the significant (phonemic) difference of his examples resides in the consonants, not in the vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalispel</th>
<th>Spokan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guížíts : x̂'ič-i-t-s</td>
<td>'He gave it to him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goížíts : x̂'ic-i-t-s</td>
<td>'He cut it off for him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skuuï : s-q'uʔi</td>
<td>'wasp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skooï : s-q'ui</td>
<td>'dust'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chin zgup : čin cx̂'u-p</td>
<td>'I am growing feeble.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chin zgop : čin **cx̂'u-p</td>
<td>'I am growing better.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the other hand, allophonic variation accounts for Post's transcription of a few cases of presumed /u/ as o:

- **tom**: tum
  - 'woman's mother'
- **spoos**: s-p?us
  - 'heart'
- **open**: ?upn
  - 'ten'

Various other causes explain the incongruencies of Post's use of vowel symbols: allophonic variation, stressless a/ø - grade vowels, etc.

- **a**: e
  - **itgoas**: ?ítxwé?-s 'his camas'
- **e**: a
  - **mei**: màli (?) 'to heal' (meìemgu 'healed breast')
- **i**: e
  - **-ishhin**: -esšh 'stone' (gasissin 'beautiful stone')
  - **kuin**: k'ën 'take, grab'
  - **siin**: syen (siyén) 'to count'
  - **koiz**: q'wēč 'full' (nkoizelze 'full (person)')
  - **lip**: iep 'dwindle' (chines iipsi 'my fire is going out')
  - **skim**: sʔe-m 'to split' (sguskim 'wood splitter')

The long consonant clusters typical of Salishan languages are sometimes broken by transitional vowels. The analysis of these, and the formulation of rules to predict them, are problematic. Often Post indicates these schwa-like vowels with e or i. In this work, I will ignore them.

Some of Post's geminate vowels correspond to actual long vowels.

- **ooost**: oós-t 'lost'
- **paap**: ūpáp 'caught fire'
- **gaa**: xaá 'fan'
- **chaaz**: č-aác 'clinging'
But some presumed long vowels are recorded short:

\[
\text{paulegu} : \text{pa-a-úlex} \quad \text{'burnt land'}
\]

And, by contrast, Post writes the presumed short vowels of two forms as long. In both cases a glottalized stop precedes them:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{paag} & : \text{p'ax} \quad \text{'cure'} \\
\text{skool} & : \text{s-q'ui} \quad \text{'dust'}
\end{align*}
\]

The geminate vowel of a third form is probably best reinterpreted as follows:

\[
\text{siin} : \text{siyen (syen)} \quad \text{'to count'}
\]

Finally, several geminate vowels in Post's orthography remain unexplained:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zuut} & : \text{cut} \quad \text{'behavior'} \\
\text{tellemiis} & : \text{jəl-mi-s} \quad \text{'companions in death'}
\end{align*}
\]

Vowels are sometimes held to last two or three seconds or more, pronounced in falsetto voice, for special emphasis:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čin pu-pus-é·hč} & \quad \text{'I am most sorry.'} \\
\text{k'tu'·n-t iu? i-s-χm-énč} & \quad \text{'very great is my love'}
\end{align*}
\]

2.8. Stress

Post remarks about stress: "Rules for the accent can hardly be given. Still, it may be taken as a general rule that compound words retain the accent on the radical. And since often the meaning of the word depends on the accent, it is easily seen that the study of the accent is of importance" (p. 2).

In this work I will mark stress as best I am able to deduce it from Carlson's discussion of stress assignment rules in Spokan (1972, pp. 24-26, 97-99).
2.9. Morphophonemic Alternations

The allomorphic variations of several items, to which reference is made throughout the grammar, are presented here.

1) n of the possessive prefixes in- 'my' and an- 'thy' and of the proclitic čin 'I' is lost before s- 'nominal'. (Cf. also 6 below.)

   i-s-kʰuy (< in-s-kʰuy)  'my mother'
   a-s-pʰus (< an-s-pʰus)  'your heart'
   i čin čxes, u ta i či (< čin) *s-čxes
   'I am not (?) well, I am not contented.'

2) n or ě becomes i before -s 'third person'. Subsequently i is deleted after i or a, and becomes non-syllabic y after u or e.

   ęmen  'enemy'
   ęmey-s  'his enemy'
   tāp-mín  'arrow'
   tāp-mí-s  'his arrow'
   n-ćaw-mn  'prayer'
   n-ćaw-mí-s  'his prayer'

3) -s 'third person possessive' becomes -č after s or ě.

   iu? s-čxes-t-s  iu?  s-ṭiš-s  iu?  s-pʰus-č

   (i.e. s-pʰus-s)  iu?  J.C.
   'How good and sweet is the heart of J.C.' (D II p. 438)

4) i of qi- 'subjunctive' is lost before s- 'nominal', es-
   'actual', ei- 'back' and epí- 'have'.

   či q-s-ilmixʷ  'I want to be chief.'
   či q-es-ilmixʷ  'I want always to be chief.'
   (for the deletion of n of čin before qi-, see 6 below)
   iq-ei-xʷič-i-t-m  'I wish to give it again.'
   swet q-ep-sté?  ič-čé  'Who may own this?'

5) i of epí- 'have' is deleted before s.

   ep-s-pʰus  'He has a heart.'
   čin ep-sxʷ-sixʷ-lt  'I have children.'
6) n of in- 'my', an- 'thy', and čin 'I' deletes before qî- 'subjunctive'.
   i-qî-nôxʷ-noxʷ
   'I want her for my wife.' (D II p. 430)
   či qî-ilmixʷ
   'I want to be the chief.'
7) n of in- 'my' deletes before es- 'actual' following which i- becomes non-syllabic y.
   y-es-ʔâčx-m (< in-es-ʔâčx-m) ʔu? es-č-ča?1-êls-i
   'I visit the sick.'
8) n of an- 'thy' deletes before es- 'actual', after which e of es- is deleted.
   a-s-ʔâčx-m
   'Thou lookest at him.'
9) e of qaʔ 'we' becomes a before qî- 'subjunctive'.
   qaʔ qî-n-χs-êlçeʔ-i
   'Let us have clean vessels.' (D I p. 164)
10) Two identical contiguous consonants simplify:
    i-s-ʔem-mín > i-s-ʔem-ín
    s-n-mî-p-m-îst-tn > s-n-mî-p-m-îst-n
    'my food'
    'confessional'
11) Metathesis: VC₂ of weak roots followed by unstressed suffixes metathesizes (C₂V):¹⁰
    kʷné-m (< kʷen-m)
    čin es-ʔtúʷ-m-i (es-ʔtúʷ-m-i)
    'He took (something),' 'I am lying down.'
12) s deletes before -i 'relative transitive':
    y-es-ʔuʔ-ǎq-i-t-m (in-es-ʔuʔ-ǎq-î-t-em)
    'I sting the nose of his...'
13) The first and third persons of the simple transitive paradigms, underlying /-n-t-en/ and /-n-t-es/, respectively, delete e then t when the root is stressed. Subsequently -n-n simplifies to -n by rule 10 above, and n vocalizes to i before s (rule 2 above), yielding -i-s.
(See also 3.2.2.1.)

\[\text{wič-n (}<\text{wič-n-t-en})\] 'I see it.'
\[\text{kwúl-ì-s (}<\text{kwúl-n-t-es})\] 'I made it.'

14) -t 'transitive' plus -si 'second person singular goal' coalesce to -c:

\[\text{kw\textsuperscript{w}-ci-t (}<\text{kw\textsuperscript{w}-en-n-t-si-ët})\] 'We took thee.'
\[\text{wič-n-c-n (}<\text{wič-n-t-si-en})\] 'I have seen thee.'

Third person actor forms with stressed roots are -n-c (\[<\text{-n-c-s}<\text{-n-t-si-s-es})\)

\[\text{wič-n-c (}<\text{wič-n-t-si-es})\] 'He has seen thee.'

(See also 3.2.2.5.)

15) u is lowered to [o] and e to [a] before -qin 'head, hundred'.

\[\text{nk\textsuperscript{w}-o?-qin (}<\text{nk\textsuperscript{w}-u?-qin})\] 'hundred'
\[\text{?amót-qn (}<\text{?emut-qin})\] 'old Indian god'
\[\text{-aposqn (}<\text{-ep-us-qin})\] 'mouth, lips, throat'

16) In combination with a number of special roots, the suffix vowel is lowered to a.\textsuperscript{11}

\[\text{y-es-maq-q-åm (}<\text{in-es-maq-q-ëm})\] 'I forbid him to start.'
\[\text{y-es-psa-p-åm (}<\text{in-es-psa-p-ëm})\] 'I surprise him.'
\[\text{es-psa-p-s-t-ån (}<\text{es-psa-p-s-t-ën})\] 'I make him wonder.'
\[\text{y-es-psa-p-män-m (}<\text{in-es-psa-p-män-m})\] 'I wonder at him.'
\[\text{psa-p-má-n (}<\text{psa-p-män-n-t-en})\] 'I admire him.'
\[\text{*es-pat-n-t-ån (}<\text{es-pat-n-t-ën})\] 'I poultice it.' (D I p. 479)
\[\text{y-es-\textsuperscript{t}ma-i-t-åm (}<\text{in-es-\textsuperscript{t}am-i-t-ëm})\] 'I kiss his...'
\[\text{tma-n-t-ån (}<\text{tam-n-t-ën})\] 'I kiss it.' (D I p. 564)
\[\text{tmá-i-t-ån (}<\text{tam-i-t-ën})\] 'I kiss his...'
\[\text{tmá-n-t-åk\textsuperscript{v} (}<\text{tam-n-t-ëk\textsuperscript{v}})\] 'Kiss his...'
\[\text{ntam-cë-n (}<\text{ntam-cin-n-t-en}) \text{; y-es-ntam-can-m}
\[\text{\quad 'I kiss his mouth (lips).'}\text{ (-cin 'mouth')}
\[\text{n-ntam-çán-t (}<\text{n-ntam-cin-n-t})\] 'Kiss his mouth (lips).'}
y-es-tm-áčs-m (< in-es-tam-ěčs-m) ; tm-áčs-n (< tam-ěčs-n-t-en)
'I kiss his hand.' (ěčs(t) 'hand')
n-tm-ačs-n-t (< n-tam-ěčs-n-t) 'Kiss his hand!'
n-cal-átkw (< n-cal-ětkw) 'cold water'
či-p?os-átkw (< či-p?os-ětkw) 'foam on water'
es-č-s-čl-áwš (< es-č-s-čil-ěwš) 'thing hanging'
es-č-s-čl-ális (< es-č-s-čil-ělis) 'things hanging'
čin es-kwí-n-cn-m-áp-i (< es-kwí-n-čan-m-ép-i)
'I lock the door.'
FOOTNOTES

1 See, for example, the various forms of \( \text{ax} \) 'similar' (appendix F).

2 Personal communication with Dr. Mattina.

3 Cf. Incashola's \( \text{scx} - \text{elx} \).

4 \( \text{elx} \) remains unexplained, but cf. Vogt's \( \text{cu} \text{lix} \text{elx} \) and Carlson's \( \text{c?u} \text{lix} \text{elx} \).

5 This root, which doesn't conform to Kalispel canonical root form, is probably cognate with Colville ilí? or alá? 'be here, there'. (See also note below.)

6 This must be cognate with Colville iti?, ata? 'demonstrative'.

7 For [s] is unexplained.

8 See Carlson p. 16 and Vogt p. 27, n. 61.

9 The extent of the applicabilities of this rule has not been established. Post (and Vogt and Carlson) record several forms with geminate consonants.


11 A phenomenon analogous to this in Colville is discussed by Mattina in "Pharyngeal Movement in Colville and Related Phenomena in the Interior Languages."
3. ROOTS

Without affixes Kalispel roots are intransitive and verb-like. Their canonical form is (C)CVC(C). In English they may translate as adjectives and nouns as well as verbs as in the following series of examples:

Ail 'die' lič 'bind'
nic 'cut/saw' **ìup 'lean/poor'
pyaq 'ripe' 1?ew 'father (boy's)'
qecč 'elder brother' tum 'mother (girl's)'
qett 'skin, hide' ąli? 'lake'
sëwî 'fish' sšešš 'stone'
qwest 'deep snow' čelš 'hand'
xölq 'wagon'

Longer forms, which are probably further analyzable also behave as roots:
qalú 'break' ęye? 'evil, bad'
itúk 'rotten (wood)' ęnestš 'father (girl's)'

3.1. Intransitive Constructions

Four intransitive pronoun proclitics add personal reference to intransitive roots. The set is:
čin 'I' qe? 'we'
kù 'thou' p 'you'

Third person singular and plural is unmarked.

These proclitics accompany roots in intransitive constructions such as the following:
čin Ail 'I died.' qe? Ail 'We died.'
k'  ꯨil 'Thou died.'  
ifié 'You died.'

 ꯨil 'He/they died.'  
čin ča?l 'I was sick.'

čin ?emút 'I dwell.'  
čin ?enés 'I go on my way.'

An additional proclitic, k'u 'someone' (French 'on'), is the indefinite pronoun. It occurs in intransitive constructions.

k'u ?aym-t 'Someone is vexed, angry.'
k'u ilmix'-m 'Someone is chief (on est chef).'

3.1.1. Expanded Intransitive Constructions

Normally, roots are accompanied by affixes, the most common of which are es-', -i 'continuative', -m 'middle', -t 'stative', and -p 'non-control'. All of these affixes except -i 'continuative' also occur in transitive derivations.³

čin es-k'uí  'I am made.'
čin es-k'uí-i  'I am made; I work.'
čin k'uí-m  'I worked.'
čin es-?úk''  'I am brought/carried.'
čin es-?úk''-i  'I am brought; I bring/carry.'
čin ?uk''-m  'I bring/carry.'
čin es-ča?l  'I am continually unwell.'
ča?l-m-í  'He is sick.'
čin es-ča?l-m-í  'I am continually unwell.'
p es-č-esél-i  'You are two by two.'
čal-t  'It is cold.'
es-suk'uí-t-i  'It is swollen.'
čin es-cúw-t-i  'I say.'
maw-p  'It broke accidentally.'
čin sli-p  'I mistook unintentionally.'
es-taal-p-m-í  'It becomes loose.'

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3.1.2. Possessive Intransitives

Intransitive roots may be accompanied by possessive markers to form possessive intransitives. A set of two prefixes, two suffixes, and one proclitic particle comprises the possessives:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in-} & \quad \text{"my"} & \text{qe?} & \quad \text{"our"} \\
\text{an-} & \quad \text{"thy"} & \text{-mp} & \quad \text{"your"} \\
\text{-s} & \quad \text{"his/their"}
\end{align*}
\]

3.1.2.1. Unmarked third person intransitive. The possessive paradigm of an unmarked third person intransitive is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in-1?ew} & \quad \text{"He is my father."} & \text{qe? 1?ew} & \quad \text{"He is our father."} \\
\text{an-1?ew} & \quad \text{"He is thy father."} & \text{1?ew-mp} & \quad \text{"He is your father."} \\
\text{1?ew-s} & \quad \text{"He is his/their father."}
\end{align*}
\]

The possessive affixes undergo morphophonemic changes in certain environments. \(n\) of in- and an- is deleted before es- 'actual' or s. i is non-syllabic before vowels, thus i-es- \(\rightarrow\) y-es-. e is deleted in the sequence a-es- to yield a-s-. -m 'middle' plus -mp 'second person plural possessive' yields -mp by a rule of cluster simplification.

-s 'third person possessive' \(\rightarrow\) -c after s or ʃ. Also, \(n\) \(\rightarrow\) i before -s. Examples of these changes, and of possessive intransitives which frequently occur with the 'actual' aspect prefix es- and the 'middle' suffix -n, follow:

\[
\begin{align*}
citx^\wedge{s} & \quad \text{Pierre} & \quad \text{"It is Peter's house."} \\
x^\wedge{2}\text{-ci-s} & \quad \text{i-s-qw\-sé?} & \quad \text{"It is my son's horse."} \\
s-\text{k\textsuperscript{2}uy-s} & \quad \text{k\textsuperscript{2}l-n-cut-n} & \quad \text{"She is the Mother of God."} \\
s-p\text{-us-c} & \quad \text{k\textsuperscript{2}l-n-cut-n} & \quad \text{"It is the heart of God."} \\
\text{čo\-h} & \quad \text{iu?} & \quad \text{xes-t an-xc-núm-tn} & \quad \text{"Where are your nice clothes?"} \\
x^\wedge{1}\text{i-s-k\textsuperscript{2}t-s-\text{qěl\text{tč}}} & \quad \text{u ?ayx\textsuperscript{2}-t} & \quad \text{iu? in-n-č-\text{-emt-\text{éws-tn}}} & \quad \text{"On account of corpulency my horse is tired out."}
\end{align*}
\]
Ail tu? in-χλ-cín nem an-χλ-cín tu? k'w'en
"My horse died; it is thy horse I will take."

y-es-k'wul-m 'It is my doing (I am doing/making it).'
a-s-k'wul-m 'It is thy doing (thou art doing/making it).'
es-k'wul-m-s 'It is his/their doing (he/they are doing it).'
qo? es-k'wul-m 'It is our doing (we are doing/making it).'
es-k'wul-mp 'It is your doing (you are doing/making it).'

3.1.2.2. Possessive intransitive pronoun proclitics. Third
person intransitives are not the only intransitives to receive pos­
sessive markers. In fact all other intransitive forms may receive posses­
sive markers. The intransitive personal pronouns of the possessive
forms are the proclitics given above in 3.1., except for the first
person singular which is the proclitic k'wu.

| k'wu | 'I' |
| k'w | 'thou' |
| qe? | 'we' |
| p | 'you' |

Intransitive possessives translate in English as predicate nominatives:

- k'w in-l?éw 'Thou art my father.'
- k'wu l?éw-s 'I am his father.' (D I p. 546)
- in-ilmix'-m 'He is my chief.'
- a-sín-ce? 'He is thy younger brother.'
- k'wu ec-wé?-m-s 'I am his calling (he calls to me).' (Bible p. 3)
- k'wu **člitič-s t s-šúlix' 'You are the Lord of the world.'
- in-nox'-nox' tu? Marie 'I have Mary for wife (Mary is my wife).'
- an-l?éw tu? k'w1-n-cut-n 'You have God for father (God is your father).'
- k'wu an-ilmix'-m, k'wu an-k'w1-n-cut-n 'I am thy chief, I, thy God.'

3.1.2.3. Possessive intransitive paradigm. The complete posses­
sive intransitive paradigm is given in Table I. below. The transla-
tions of these forms can be inferred on the model of the following:

\[ \text{ku a-s-c-lic} \quad 'I \text{ am thy bound one; I am the one bound by thee.}' \]
TABLE 1
POSSESSIVE INTRANSITIVE PARADIGM WITH STRESSED ROOT lič 'bind'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Person Referent</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>kuv a-s-c-lič</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>kuv i-s-c-lič</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 General</td>
<td>i-s-c-lič</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>p i-s-c-lič</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3.1.2.4. Special forms. Special forms with first person plural and with second and third person possessor are explained in sections 3.1.2.4.1. - 3.1.2.4.4. below.

3.1.2.4.1. Zero replaces the first person plural possessive proclitic qe when the intransitive person referent is second person singular or plural: 4

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{k}\, p\, p\, x\, -\, u\, t & \quad \text{'Thou art our father.'} \\
  \text{k}\, e\, s\, -\, p\, x\, -\, c\, x\, -\, m & \quad \text{'Thou art our looking (we look at thee).'} \\
  \text{p}\, p\, x\, -\, u\, t & \quad \text{'You are our father.'} \\
  \text{p}\, e\, s\, -\, p\, x\, -\, c\, x\, -\, m & \quad \text{'You are our looking (we look at you).'}
\end{align*} \]

3.1.2.4.2. First person plural intransitives with second person possessor suffix -fiull (-il with a stressed root), plus -t 'your (sg. and pl.)'. 5

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{qeq}\, s\, x\, -\, -\, s\, x\, -\, l\, t\, -\, i\, l\, -\, t & \quad \text{We are your children.'} \\
  \text{qeq}\, p\, x\, -\, u\, t\, -\, i\, l\, -\, t & \quad \text{We are your fathers.'} \\
  \text{qeq}\, e\, s\, -\, p\, x\, -\, c\, x\, -\, i\, l\, -\, t & \quad \text{We are your looking (you look at us).'} \\
  \text{qeq}\, *\, e\, s\, -\, c\, s\, t\, -\, i\, l\, l\, -\, t & \quad \text{We are your guarding (you guard us).'}
\end{align*} \]

3.1.2.4.3. First person plural intransitives with third person possessor also suffix -fiull (-il with a stressed base), plus -s 'his/their'.

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{qeq}\, s\, x\, -\, s\, x\, -\, l\, t\, -\, i\, l\, -\, s & \quad \text{We are his/their children.'} \\
  \text{qeq}\, e\, s\, -\, p\, x\, -\, c\, x\, -\, i\, l\, -\, s & \quad \text{We are his/their looking (he looks at us).'} \\
  \text{qeq}\, *\, e\, s\, -\, c\, s\, t\, -\, i\, l\, l\, -\, s & \quad \text{We are his/their guarding (he guards us).'}
\end{align*} \]

3.1.2.4.4. Intransitive constructions are sometimes accompanied by the intransitive personal pronouns (3.1.2.2.) but without possessive affixes. These forms translate into English as impersonals. 6

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{k}\, u\, e\, s\, -\, l\, c\, i\, -\, m & \quad (\text{NOT: k}\, u\, e\, s\, -\, l\, c\, i\, -\, m\, -\, s) \text{ 'I am being bound by someone.'}
\end{align*} \]
3.2. Transitive Constructions

Kalispel roots participate in transitive constructions marked by a suffix _-t_ 'transitive' preceded by one of four other transitive suffixes: _-n_ 'simple transitive', _-s_ 'causative', _-i_ 'relational', and _-si_ 'benefactive'. 7 Apparently any root can participate in all four transitive derivations: 8

- n-?eys-n (< n-?eys-n-t-n) 'I pay for it.'
- es-n-?ey-s-t-n 'I pay for it.'
- n-?ey-i-t-n 'I pay his.'
- n-?ey-š-t-n 'I pay for him, help him paying.'

3.2.1. Actor Referents

The actor pronouns (with exceptions to be noted below) are the following suffixes:

- _-en_ 'I'
- _-et_ 'we'
- _-ex_ 'thou'
- _-ep_ 'you'
- _-es_ 'he/they'
The vowel of the suffix is retained with weak roots and deleted with stressed roots or following -ši 'benefactive'.

3.2.2. Goal Referents

Goal referents are marked in various ways:

3.2.2.1. Third person goals are unmarked, as in the examples of 3.2., and in the following paradigm with an unstressed root:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ac-n-t-én</td>
<td>'I tied it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac-n-t-éx</td>
<td>'Thou tied it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac-n-t-és</td>
<td>'He/they tied it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe? ac-n-t-ém</td>
<td>'We tied it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ac-n-t-ép</td>
<td>'You tied it.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With stressed roots, the suffixes of simple transitive forms with first singular and third person actors reduce to -n (< -n-t-n) and -i-s (< -n-t-s), respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'ul-n</td>
<td>'I made it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-k'ul-s-t-n</td>
<td>'I made it always.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ul-i-s</td>
<td>'He made it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ul-s-t-s</td>
<td>'He made it always.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

- ?uk'-n | 'I bring/carry it.'
- čew-s-n (< čéw-us-n) | 'I wash his face.'
- ūu?-éčs-n | 'I sting his hand.'
- ūu?-áqs-n | 'I sting his nose.'
- ūu?-ús-n | 'I sting his face.'
- n-qe?-cí-n (< n-qe?-cín-n-t-en) | 'I gave Holy Communion to him.'
- ul-n-t-én | 'I burn it.'
- *čěšt-n-t-en | 'I guard it.'
- ḫi-n-t-én | 'I cause him to die.'
- ūu?-n-t-ón | 'I wound/lance it.'
- sq-n-t-en | 'I split it.'

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'l-p-s-t-én
'n-psy-ëls-s-t-en' I cause him to stop.'

'iu-ëc-s-t-en' I make him to rejoice.'

'iu-ëq-s-t-en' I wound the hand of his...'

'iu-ëq-s-t-en' I sting the nose of his...'

'?uk-s-t-en' I carry his...'

*ëc-s-t-en' I guard his...'

'iu-s-t-én' I sting his...'

'sq-s-t-en' I split his...'

'ćaw-s-t-n' I pray for him.'

'mi-mi-si-t-en' I tell him news.'

'sq-si-t-n' I split for him (help him split).''

'iu-si-t-n' I lance for him.'

3.2.2.2. First person plural actor with third person goal forms are formed with the suffix _-em 'third person goal' and the pronominal qe? 'first person plural actor'.

qe? ?ini-t-m (< ?ini-n-t-em) 'We ate it.'

qe? cun-t-m (< cun-n-t-em) 'We said it.'

3.2.2.3. Indefinite actor with third person goal is marked by the suffix _-em.

?ini-t-m (< ?ini-n-t-em) 'Someone ate it, it is eaten.'

cun-t-m (< cun-n-t-em) 'Someone said it, it is said.'

?ačx-n-t-m 'Someone looked at them.'

x'ič-si-t-en 'Someone gave it to him.'

'si-p-si-t-en' 'One is rained upon; it rained on them.'

An actor, marked by the pronominal t 'agent' may be specified following third person indefinite actor forms as in the following:

'k'ul-n-t-m t i-sin-ce? 'It was done by my younger brother.'

pl-s-t-em a-s-x'elwi? t swet t s-č-q'aay-šn

'Your husband has been killed by whom? By a Blackfoot.'

3.2.2.4. The pronominal k' marks first person singular goal. It
accompanies constructions identical to those of third person (unmarked) goal with second person, third person, and indefinite actors.

k'u ʔaCX-i-s  'He looked at me.'
k'u ʔaw-š-t-s  'He prayed for me.'
k'u Ʌwic-i-t-s  'He gave it to me.'
k'u c-qiʔ-ši-t-s  'He wrote to me.'
čin nt-els k'u Ʌwic-i-t-x'w  'I thought thou to have given it to me.'
k'u ʔaCX-n-t-m  'Someone looked at me.'
k'u cun-t-m  'Someone told me; I have been told.'
k'u ʔalit-n-t-m  'I have been invited by someone.'
k'u n-ʔawqn-t-m  'I was admonished by someone.'
k'u ãc-n-t-m  'Someone has bound me; I have been bound.'
k'u k'n-t-em  'I have been taken by someone.'
k'u Ʌwic-i-t-em  'Someone gave it to me; it was given to me.'
k'u mXw-i-t-em  'My thing has been snowed upon.'
k'u es-ʔawš-t-m  'Someone prays for me.'
k'u c-qiʔ-ši-t-m  'Someone has written to me.'
čes-t k'u n-ʔo-n-t-ém  'I deserve to be put in jail.'

3.2.2.5. The second person singular goal forms are the most varied. In the simple transitive and relational forms, the second person singular goal suffix is -si, which follows the transitive suffix and precedes the actor suffix. -t 'transitive' plus -si is realized as -ci. In combination with weak roots, -ci receives stress and e of the personal suffixes is deleted. Examples:

*čest-n-ci-n (< *čεšt-n-t-si-en)  'I guarded thee.'
es-mi-i-ci-n (< es-mi-i-t-si-en)  inu? q-s-q'el-q'el-t-m
  'I know what you say.'
ʔaCX-n-c-n (< ʔaCX-n-t-si-en)  'I looked at thee.'
n-ʔal-ʃel-i-c-n  inu? a-s-q'se?  'I scare your son.'
k'uul-i-c-n  inu? a-s-q'se?  'I sent your son.'
k'ul-i-c-n ić  i-s-q'w-sé? 'I sent my son for you.'
(D I p. 32)

n-đe?-cín-i-c-n ić  a-s-q'w-sé?
'I gave Holy Communion to your son.'

*čšt-n-ci-t (< *čšt'-n-t-sí-et) 'We guarded thee.'
**čcoq-n-cí-t 'We cured thee.'
?áčx-n-ci-t (< ?áčx-n-t-sí-eti) 'We looked at thee.'
*čšt'-n-ci-s (< *čšt'-n-t-sí-es) 'He guarded thee.'
?áčx-n-c (< ?áčx-n-t-sí-es)10 'He looked at thee.'
k'en-c (< k'en-n-t-sí-es) 'He took thee.' (D I p. 330)

In causative and benefactive transitive constructions the second
person singular goal suffix is -um. In combination with weak roots,
this suffix is stressed, and the actor suffixes are vowelless, unless
the form is benefactive, in which case -ší is stressed and the goal and
actor pronoun suffixes are vowelless.

es-?áčx-s-t-m-n 'I looked at thee.'
*es-čšt-s-t-úm-n 'I guarded thee.'
čaw-š-t-m-n 'I prayed for thee.'
mi-mi-ší-t-m-n 'I told news to thee.'
es-?áčx-s-t-m-s 'He looked at thee.'
*es-čšt-s-t-úm-s 'He guarded thee.'
čaw-š-t-m-s 'He prayed for thee.'
mi-mi-ší-t-m-s 'He told news to thee.'
es-?áčx-s-t-m-t 'We looked at thee.'
*es-čšt-s-t-úm-t 'We guard thee.'
čaw-š-t-m-t 'We prayed for thee.'
mi-mi-ší-t-m-t 'We told news to thee.'
n-čl-čel-š-t-m-n ić  a-s-q'w-sé? 'I scare your son for you.'
es-čm-čnč-s-t-x'ć ić  t še'y u es-?áym-s-t-m-s 'Love those who hate thee.'

Informants often translate forms with second person singular
goals and first person plural actors as impersonal (subjectless) expressions:

\[ \text{?ačx-n-c-t} \quad \text{'Someone looked at thee (we looked at thee).'} \]

\[ \text{mx'-n-ci-t} \quad \text{'Thou hast been snowed (we have snowed thee).'} \]

\[ \text{čawš-t-m-t} \quad \text{'Someone prays for thee (we pray for thee).'} \]

\[ \text{t Raguel cúw-i-s: ne čin ḥil m sic esiya? m x'ic-i-c-t} \]

'Rachel said to him: ''When I die all will be given to thee.'''

(Bible p. 34)

\[ \text{̣iu? a-s-c-k'ën t'éye? ̢he ei-q'1-q'il-i-cī-t} \]

'Your sins are already forgiven you.' (Bible p. 60)

\[ \text{̣iu? k' es-n-q'ā-h-m-itsimš-i (-m- ?) nem ei-c-n-q'ā-h-m-n-cī-t} \]

'If thou art merciful to people, people will also be merciful to thee.' (Bible p. 66)

\[ \text{ta a-q-ei-k'ī-n-čs-tín, ̢xi tlcī? m čs-t-ši-t-m-t} \]

'Sin no more, lest worse should befall thee.' (Bible p. 63)

\[ \text{̣iu? l šeyy m ?axī-s-t-x'̣ iu? a-s-nk'̣-sqelīx', ̣iu? t šeý nem} \]

\[ \text{̣ei-t?axī-s-t-m-t} \]

'As you do to your neighbor, so he will do to you.' (Bible p. 70)

3.2.2.6. Simple, causative, and relational transitives with first person plural goals are identical with possessive intransitives with first person plural (intransitive) person referents. (Cf. 3.1.2.4.2. and 3.1.2.4.3.) An element \( -\text{ul} \) (\( -\text{t} \) with stressed base) replaces \( -\text{n-t} \), \( -\text{s-t} \), or \( -\text{i-t} \). The proclitic \( \text{qe}^{1} \) and the suffix \( -\text{l} \) mark first person plural goal. Second person singular and plural actor is \( -\text{t} \). Examples:

\[ \text{qe? *čst-iul-1-t} \quad \text{'You (sg. or pl.) guarded us.'} \]

\[ \text{qe? *čst-iul-1-s} \quad \text{'He/they guarded us.'} \]

\[ \text{qe? ačx-i-1-t} \quad \text{'You (sg. or pl.) looked at us.'} \]

\[ \text{qe? ačx-i-1-s} \quad \text{'He/they looked at us.'} \]

\[ \text{qe? *čltic-1-1-s t x'olq'w} \]

'Hie gave us a wagon (made us the owners).' (D I p. 50)

In the benefactive transitive constructions with first person
plural goal, -i (never -iul) follows -š(i). The actor and goal referents are as for the other transitives with first person plural goal.

qe' čaw-š-1-1-t 'You (sg. or pl.) prayed for us.'
qe' čaw-š-1-1-s 'He/they prayed for us.'
qe' mi-mi-ši-1-1-t 'You (sg. or pl.) told news to us.'
qe' mi-mi-ši-1-1-s 'He/they told news to us.'

Informants often translate these forms with -iul-1-t and -i-1-t as impersonals.

qe? ?ačx-1-1-t 'Someone looked at us (you looked at us).'
qe? es-čaw-š-1-1-t 'Someone prays for us (you pray for us).'
qe? es-xšič-1-1-t 'Someone gave it to us (you gave it to us).'
qe? mš-ul-1-t 'We got snowed (you snowed us).'
šw swe'i? ne qa? q-cai-cun-m šu? t šeš u qe? c-šul-1-1-t 'Who art thou that we may tell it to those who sent us hither.'
(Bible p. 50)

3.2.2.7. Simple, causative, and relational transitives with second person plural goals also replace -n-t, -s-t, and -i-t, respectively, with -iul (-i with stressed root). The second person plural goal suffix is -m which follows -iul and precedes the actor suffixes.

*čšt-iul-m-n 'I guarded you.'
*čšt'-iul-m-t 'We guarded you.'
*čšt'-iul-m-s 'He/they guarded you.'
?ačx-ı-m-n 'I looked at you.'
?ačx-ı-m-t 'We looked at you.'
?ačx-ı-m-s 'He/they looked at you.'

In benefactive transitive constructions with second person plural goal -i (never stressed -iul) follows -š(i). The actor and goal referents are as for the other transitives with second person plural goal.

čaw-š-1-1-n 'I prayed for you.'
čaw-š-1-1-t 'We prayed for you.'
Informants often translate these forms with -iul-m-t and -i-m-t as impersonals. (See also 3.2.2.3. - 3.2.2.6.)

3.2.3. Transitive Imperatives

The simple, relational, and benefactive transitives without personal referent markers have imperative force:

- Bring/carry it!'
- Wash his face!'
- Pay for it!'
- Burn it!'
- Guard it!'
- Split it!'
- Kiss the cross!'
- Kiss his hand!'
- Kiss his mouth!'
- Pay them from the last to the first!
- Pay him his....!
- Carry his....!
- Guard his....!
- Split his....!
- Sting his....!
- Please give it to him.'
- Interpret my words.'
- Tell him news!'
čaw-š-t  'Pray for him!'
n-ʔey-š-t  'Pay for him!'
ʔuʔ-ši-t  'Lance for him!'
sq-ši-t  'Split for him (help him split)'

_i is suffixed to these forms for plural reference:
kʷul-n-t-i  'Make ye it!'
ací-n-t-i  'Tie ye it!'

Causative transitives suffix -ekʷ in imperative form. With a stressed root, -s-t-ekʷ reduces to -s-kʷ.₁³ _i marks plural reference:
es-n-ʔey-s-kʷ  'Pay for it!'
es-kʷul-s-kʷ  'Make it!'
es-kʷul-s-kʷ-i  'Make ye it!'
es-ac-s-t-ékʷ  'Tie it!'
es-ac-s-t-ékʷ-i  'Tie ye it!'

Not well understood is -ekʷ 'imperative, sg.' added to apparently simple transitive stems, as in the following case:
ʔuʔ-n-t-ékʷ  'Lance it!'
1 Post gives examples of ec-, allomorph of es-: ec-?axîl 'it is like', ec-milkw 'all' (Bible p. 4).

2 Post does not gloss -i or -m and merely notes that these suffixes often accompany intransitive verbs. He glosses es- 'continuative' and suggests that -t indicates "to grow, to become" by natural process and that -p suffixed to the root indicates "that the action or passion was unintentional; by mere accident or by natural growth" (Post p. 67). Further examples with -p 'non-control' are the following:

qâ?u-p 'It was broken by accident.'  
(es-qâ?u 'It is broken.')
hemî-p 'It is getting cloudy.'
miy-p 'It becomes evident.'
qaâ-p 'It caught fire accidentally.'
чаâmi-p 'It is dry.'
mx'â'u-p 'It snows.'
čin es-wéikw-p-i 'I descend (from heaven, mountain...).'
es-mx'â'-p-m-i 'It snows.'
q?u-p-éple? 'The handle broke.'
'ti-p-éys 'It rains.'
či-mî-p-éne? 'flooded all over'
χm-p-ule?xw 'a place dry accidentally'
sli-p 'He made a mistake.'

(Cf. also sli-p-p ['He got into a mistake.'] in which p is treated as part of the root.)

I have borrowed Carlson's terminology for these affixes. He describes the function of Spokane -iy and hec- thus: "The variable-stress suffix //-iy// 'continuative' most often occurs after endingless bases and middle forms." "Actual aspect //hec//- refers to an action or state which is or was actually going on. It is similar to imperfectives in Indo-European languages, but here it is a strongly marked category" (Carlson 1972, p. 121-122). He explains that in -m 'middle' forms "the
pronoun referent is not only principally involved in the predication (as in the endingless forms) but is in some deeper sense involved and affected. In other words, there seems to be more emphasis on direct participation than in the other forms" (1972, p. 75). Carlson states that "a primary suffix -p expresses specific 'lack of control' on the part of the subject," and "another aspectual element is the suffix //t/, which comes directly after the base. This element seems to be a 'stative'" (1972, pp. 75, 121).

Vogt describes es- as a prefix occurring in the "continuative and resultative aspects," -i as the suffix of certain "classes" of "independent [intransitive] continuatives," -t as occurring with "adjectives" which "seem to be derived from verbal radicals," and -p as expressing "the idea of happening without interference of the subject, without his intending to do so." Finally, he states that "-m is a suffix forming dependent verbs from independent verbs, and causative verbs from dependent non-causative verbs" and suggests it is the unstressed form of -min 'instrumental'. (Vogt pp. 28-29 nn. 68-69, p. 42 n. 113, p. 51 n. 150, p. 59 nn. 167, 169)

Post does not discuss the cooccurrence restrictions of these affixes.

Note that these forms are identical to the simple intransitives translating: 'thou art father, you look, you are father, you look'.

For Spokan Carlson gives -full-t (-i-t unstressed) only for second person singular while he reports that second person plural suffixes -mp, the second person plural possessor (1972, p. 127, 129). Vogt's Kalispel forms parallel Post's (p. 33).

Vogt's analysis is identical to Post's: "the indefinite forms are obtained by dropping the suffix -s" (p. 39 n. 101).

Causative transitives are typically in the actual aspect (es-). Relationals seem to refer to doing something to someone and benefactives to doing something for someone.

es-ac-s-t-én 'I tied it constantly.'
naq'-m-i-t-én 'I stole this from Peter.'
naq'^-s-t-én 'I stole for Peter, helped him stealing.'

Carlson and Vogt both state that certain verbs occur in the simple transitive constructions and others in the causative ones. Post, however, gives examples of the same root in both constructions albeit in different aspects. (See Carlson pp. 78-79 and Vogt p. 37 n. 94)

Carlson shows affrication of -ts to -c in similar forms in Spokan.

Note that Post shows k^en as a strong root in this form and as a weak root in k'n-ci-t above.

This and the two forms immediately preceding don't actually appear in Post, but are inferred from similar forms.

The "indefinite dependent" [transitive] verb constructions given by Vogt are identical to Post's given in sections 3.2.2.3 - 3.2.2.7. (Vogt p. 39).

Carlson states that -k' replaces -t 'control' ['transitive'] for the imperative of causative stems in Spokan (1972, p. 91). Vogt lists two sequences of suffixes in Kalispel -s-k' and -s-t-ek', but does not elaborate on their distribution (p. 40 n. 105).
This chapter discusses the most common inflectional expansions of roots: aspect, plural, and diminutives. Kalispel diminutives belong to a grammatical category akin to that of plurals and fit naturally in this section.

4.1. Aspect

Three aspectual affixes were introduced in 3.1.1. (see footnote 2, chapter 3): es- 'actual', -i 'continuative', and -t 'stative'. These will be further exemplified here. qi- 'subjunctive' is discussed in 4.1.4.

4.1.1. es- 'actual'

es- 'actual' occurs frequently with intransitives, possessive intransitives and causative transitives. It refers to an action taking place or to a condition.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cin</th>
<th>es-wíl</th>
<th>'I am burned.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cin</td>
<td>es-čéw-s</td>
<td>'My face is washed.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin</td>
<td>es-wíč</td>
<td>'I am seen.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin</td>
<td>es-n-?éys</td>
<td>'I am paid for; I am bought.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin</td>
<td>es-x'úy</td>
<td>'I go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin</td>
<td>es-i'túk'</td>
<td>'I rot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-salúse?</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It hails.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-qų'úp</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It is tanned.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-k'én</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It is taken.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-láq</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It is buried.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-č-túx'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It is added.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-ióc</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It is smashed.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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es-ńič
es-nimáp
es-pút?e
es-qéy
es-mílk³
es-xíw
čin es-qʰáč-qn
čin es-ql-éps²

'It is cut.'
'It is frozen (water).'
'He is respected.'
'It is written.'
'It is whole, all (quantity).'
'It is unripe, raw.'
'I wear a hat.'
'I wear a necktie.' (D II p. 436)

4.1.2. -i 'continuative'

-i 'continuative' always cooccurs with es- 'actual' in simple intransitive constructions:

čin es-yúl-i 'I dance (women only).'
čin es-wenš-i 'I dance (men only).'
čin es-ʔéy-cn-i 'I take revenge by my words.'
čin es-ʔéy-čst-i 'I take revenge by my actions.'
čin es-ʔišš-i 'I start, change place.'
čin es-kʰné-y 'I take, hold on.'
čin es-čʰu-ʔu-y 'I dry clothes.'
čin es-ʔaw-i 'I recite.'
čin es-ʔáčx-i 'I look on.'
čin es-wám-i 'I hasten.'
čin es-síxʷ-i; čin es-síxʷ 'I am poured out.'
čin es-ʔiskʷl-i; čin es-ʔiskʷl 'I am thrown away.'
čin es-ńič-i; čin es-ńič 'I am cut, sawed.'
čin es-qéyl-i 'I solicit, invite (to do right or wrong).'
čin es-ʔép-s-i 'My fire is going out.' (D II p. 146)
čin **es-móyx-i 'I practice Indian jugglery to find out enemies.'

4.1.3. -t 'stative'

-t 'stative' is added to roots in constructions which often translate in English as predicate adjectives:
51

k’tun-t 'It is big, great, high, tall.'
q’ec-t 'It is full.'
exem-t 'It is heavy.'
Áic-t 'It is hard by nature.'
Áax-t 'It is lively, quick (inanimate).'</píiì-t 'It is thick (cloth or the like).'</půyul-t 'It is thick (tree or the like).'</p
čin ?aym-t 'I was angry.'
čin es-?aym-t-i 'I am mad.'
k’u es-?aym-t-i 'One is vexed, angry (on se fache).'</p
čin śs-t-i 'I become good.'

4.1.4. q̑- 'subjunctive'

q̑- 'subjunctive' occurs in both transitive and intransitive constructions. of q̑- is deleted before s- 'nominal', 3 es- 'actual', ei- 'back', and epi- 'have'. of čin, in-, and an- deletes, and qe? 'first person plural' → qa? before q̑-. (See 2.9.)

Subjunctives translate into English as two fairly distinct types of constructions, the first expressing 'wishing; obligation; future', and the second a 'dative of advantage'.

4.1.4.1. q̑- 'wishing; obligation; future'

či q-s-śs-t-i 'I want to be good.'
či q-es-śs-t-i 'I want always to be good.'
q-s-k’uí-n 'I want to do it.'
q-es-k’uí-s-t-n 'I wanted always to do it.'
i-qí-nóx’-nox’ 'I want her for my wife.' (D II p. 430)
či q-s-q’l-q’el’-t-i 'I have the wish to talk.'
či q-es-il’mix’ 'I want always to be a chief.'

Iu? x’l t i-q-s-?imš u es-cq’-áq’-i
 'On account of my wishing to start, he is crying.'
a-q-s-x’iś-1-t-m 'Thou must give it to him.'
'You must give me some food.'
'Don't eat those not ripe.'
'Make me a whip.'
'You deserve to be flogged.'
'One must have been angry.'
'One must be angry.'
'He told me to work.'
'One must have been angry.'
'One may be chief.'
'The house is for me (my house-to-be).'</ref>
'The blanket is for thee (thy future blanket).'
'The hat is for him (his hat-to-be).'
'It is for thy good (thy future good).'
'It is a coat for my boy (my boy's future coat).'
'Take this deer skin for a pair of shoes for your father.'
'Who art thou that we may tell it to those who sent us hither.' (Bible p. 50)
ne q-s-mós-qt-ílš 'when the fourth day will have come'
q-s-nk'ú-ú-i 'one by one (things)'
q-s-č-nq-naqs-i 'one by one (persons)'
q-s-ʔesél-i 'two by two (things)'
q-s-č-esél-i 'two by two (persons)'

4.1.4.2. qí-'dative of advantage'
qí-swet u kʷ es-k'[ú]-l-i 'For whom are you working?'
i-qí-k'uy?é 'For me.'
qí-cniic 'For him.'
ha qí-k'uy?é 'Is it for me?'
a-qí-anwi? 'It is for thee.'
ha qa? qí-qe?nplé? 'Is it for us?'

4.2. Plural

In Kalispel the classification 'plural' includes not only a 'number' category, but also aspectual categories such as 'iterative', 'distributive'; plurals so defined are formed by affixation and suppletion.

4.2.1. Reduplicative Plural Affixation

Reduplicative affixation is the most widespread method of plural formation. Plural reduplication patterns are the following:

a) a reduplicative prefix, $C_1C_2$- of root:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{s-čôm} & \text{'bone'} & \text{s-čôm-čôm} & \text{'bones'} \\
\text{s-k'1st-elt} & \text{'angel'} & \text{s-k'1st-elt} & \text{'angels'} \\
\text{*s-plim-cn} & \text{'mouth, lip'} & \text{*s-plim-cn} & \text{'mouths, lips'} \\
\text{s-qapúsí} & \text{'wing'} & \text{s-qapúsí} & \text{'wings'} \\
\text{s-k't-us} & \text{'face'} & \text{s-k't-us} & \text{'faces'} \\
\text{q'léwi} & \text{'onion'} & \text{q'léwi} & \text{'onions'} \\
\text{ʔ-mq'ewt} & \text{'hillock'} & \text{ʔ-mq'ewt} & \text{'hillocks'} \\
\end{array}
\]
| es-moq'w | 'mountain' | es-ma'q'-moq'w | 'mountains' |
| x'olq'w | 'wagon' | x'1-x'olq'w | 'wagons' |
| s-xelwi? | 'husbands' | s-xl-xelwi? | 'husbands' |
| s-k'uy | 'mother' | s-k'i-k'uy | 'mothers' |
| qɔمخ-ni | 'horn' | qɔ-qaq-min | 'horns' |
| s-qltmix'w | 'man' | s-ql-qltmix'w | 'men' |
| s-çiʔ-šin | 'foot, leg' | s-çiʔ-çiʔ-šin | 'feet' |
| s-čey-leʔx'w | 'shady place' | s-čey-čey-leʔx'w | 'shady places' |
| nič-mn | 'saw' | nič-nič-mn | 'saws' |
| s-laqs | 'mosquito' | s-laq-laqs | 'mosquitoes' |
| s-neč-łeʔ | 'elk' | s-neč-neč-łeʔ | 'elk, pl.' |
| s-qleʔw | 'beaver' | s-ql-qleʔw | 'beaver, pl.' |
| ?olí-nd | 'belly' | ?ol-ʔolí-n | 'bellies' |
| xes-t | 'good one' | xš-xes-t | 'good ones' |
| k'tun-t | 'big one' | k't-k'tun-t | 'big ones' |
| **yul-t | 'bulky one' | **il-yul-t | 'bulky ones' |
| č-naqs | 'one' | č-nq-naqs | 'one by one' |
| ec-ʔaxil | 'one like to' | ec-ʔx-ʔaxil | 'those like to' |

They work here and there, not together; each one is working.

They left one by one; each one went out.

They go one by one.

We go together.

I often gather people.

They are three by three.

He will judge us one by one.

b) a reduplicative prefix  \( C_1(V) \) - of root:

| es-k'1-k'u-l-i | 'They work here and there, not together; each one is working.' |
| ?oc-ʔocqe? | 'They left one by one; each one went out.' |
| ?en-ʔenés | 'They go one by one.' |
| x'i-x'uy | 'They went one by one.' |
| qe? es-x'i-x'uy | 'We go together.' |
| čin es-xl-xlalt-ʔitumš-i | 'I often gather people.' |
| es-č-čeʔ-čeʔiš-es-i | 'They are three by three.' |
| nem qe? č-nq-naqs-m-li-l-s m qe? č-čx'-ępleʔ-li-l-s | 'He will judge us one by one.' |

| s-č'it | 'spider' | s-č-č'it | 'spiders' |
| s-čt-m-sqelix'w6 | 'half-breed' | s-č-čt-m-sqelix'w | 'half-breeds' |
| s-k'al-šIN | 'crane (bird)' | s-k'-k'al-šIN | 'cranes (bird)' |
| s-q'se? | 'son' | s-q'q'se? | 'sons' |
| s-čw-aḫn | 'arm' | s-č-čw-aḫn | 'arms' |
s-mul-mm 'lance' s-mu-mul-mm 'lances'
s-huht-šn 'mare' s-ňu-huht-šn 'mares'

c) a reduplicative prefix VC- (or VC₁C₂- if the root is bi-consonantal):
s-oč'-éix' 'hut' s-oč'-oč'-éix' 'huts'
s-ups 'tail' s-ups-ups 'tails'
čin es-ac-ac-m-í 'I break some (as horses).'
čin es-č-oý-oý-itůmš 'I mock people often.'
(Cf.: čin es-č-oý-m-í 'I mock someone.')

4.2.2. ui- 'plural'

ui- 'plural' is added to singular forms, including those which have reduplicated roots (see 4.2.5.1.):
sín-ce? 'younger brother' ui-sín-ce? 'younger brothers'
naq'-émn 'thief' ui-naq'-émn 'thieves'
qu'-q'-íin-t 'poor one' ui-q'-q'-íin-t 'poor ones'
yo-yó-t 'strong one' ui-yo-yó-t 'strong ones'
px-paxt 'wise one' ui-px-paxt 'wise ones'
nóx'-nox' 'wife' ui-nóx'-nox' 'wives'

4.2.3. -?- 'plural' Infix

-?- is infixed after the stressed vowel of some third person actor intransitive forms:⁷
es-k'uí?-i 'They work (collectively).'

4.2.4. Suppletive Plurals

Some plural roots replace their singular counterparts:⁸
s-k'ú-k'úm-ňt 'little one' s-c-ču-cľt 'little ones'
k'ú-k'úm-c' 'small one' s-c-ču-cľt 'small ones'
?eč-s-wiš 'erect one' tpy-ešt 'standing ones'
es-ščt 'tree' s-čč-ččt 'trees'

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s-mʔem 'woman'

sʔ-tq-1scút 'goods'

čin esʔ-emʔut

qeʔ esʔ-ayʔ-ewt-ʔi 'We dwell.' (D I p. 115)

čin esʔ-qec-ils

qeʔ esʔ-ʔum-ils-ʔi 'We are jumping.'

čin esʔ-oʔ-y-n-til-ʔi

qeʔ esʔ-xʷa-xʷeʔ-s-m-ʔi 'We laugh.'

čin esʔ-č-s-wiš-ʔi

čin esʔ-teš-ils-ʔi 'I am standing.'

qeʔ esʔ-ʔpɪ-p-m-ʔi 'We are standing.'

čin esʔ-tuʔ-ʔi 'I am flying.'

qeʔ esʔ-xʷeʔ-m-ʔi 'We are flying.'

čin esʔ-kʷne-y; čin kʷne-m 'I take one object.'

čin esʔ-ʔum-ʔi; čin ʔum-m 'I take several.'

yʔ-esʔ-č-wt-p-mín-m 'I attack him.'

qeʔ esʔ-č-xʷ-č₁s-m 'We attack him.'

čin esʔ-ʔuʔ-m-ʔi 'I am lying down; I lay something down.'

čin esʔ-qamín-ʔi 'I lay down several things.'

qeʔ esʔ-qamín-ʔi 'We are lying down.'

Some suppletive plural forms exist alongside regular plurals:

čin esʔ-ʔ₁-ʔeit-ʔi 'I talk.'

qeʔ esʔ-ʔ₁-ʔeit-ʔi; qeʔ esʔ-qam-ʔam-ils-ʔi 'We talk.'

čin esʔ-ʔ₁-m-ʔi 'I die.'

qeʔ esʔ-ʔ₁-m-ʔi; qeʔ esʔ-ʔumʔ-ʔm-ʔi 'We die.'

čin esʔ-ʔ₁xʷ-ʔi 'I enter.'

qeʔ esʔ-ʔ₁xʷ-ʔi; qeʔ esʔ-piłš-ʔi 'We enter.'

4.2.5. Special Forms

This section describes a number of special singular and plural forms.

4.2.5.1. A number of roots are reduplicated in the singular:
A few singular forms with a reduplicative C₁- prefix added to the root prefix i- directly to the root consonant in the plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Singular Form</th>
<th>Plural Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
<td>t-i-twit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-q&quot;-q&quot;se?</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
<td>s-q&quot;-i-q&quot;se?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-w-n-ews</td>
<td>'horse of one or two years'</td>
<td>8-w-i-8-n-ews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-w-i-8-n-ews</td>
<td>'horses of one or two years'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.5.2. A few forms have unmarked number:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Singular Form</th>
<th>Plural Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ek\n</td>
<td>'fisheggs'</td>
<td>picči</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-8-ule?xv</td>
<td>'rattlesnake(s)'</td>
<td>s-pentč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-8-cin</td>
<td>'horse(s)'</td>
<td>n-8-8-sm-čn-šn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-wěwį</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
<td>qį-mín-tn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-pum</td>
<td>'hair(s)'</td>
<td>q&quot;om-qn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-8eňš</td>
<td>'stone(s)'</td>
<td>q&quot;tāx&quot;e?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-tx-8enc</td>
<td>'bowels'</td>
<td>n-čaw-8mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?u-?use?</td>
<td>'egg(s)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.5.3. -else is the plural of -ews 'fellow...; between, in common':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Singular Form</th>
<th>Plural Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-n-tps-ews</td>
<td>'jointed, joint'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
s-n-tps-élis  'joints'
sin-ce?-éws  'They are brothers.'
qe? sin-ce?-élis  'We are all brothers.'
ec-?x?-axl-élis  'They all look the same.'
y-es-nox'-nox'-éws-m  'I join the two in matrimony.'
y-es-nox'-nox'-élis-m  'I join several couples in matrimony.'
čin es-lič-éws-i  'I tie two.'
čin es-lič-élis-i  'I tie a number of them, two by two.'
**es-čqat-éws  'piled up'
**es-čqat-élis  'things piled up'

Note the different meanings of the following pairs:

s-n-xp-éws  'soul'
    s-n-xp-élis  'souls of one'
    s-n-x-xp-éws  'souls of many'
n-xl-éws  'bridge'
    n-xl-élis  'bridges'
    n-xl-xl-éws  'bridges'

4.2.5.4. Speakers often use second person singular forms with plural force:

\[ \text{qe? } \text{es-}\text{k}^\prime\text{u-út-i } \text{OR } \text{čin es-}\text{k}^\prime\text{u-út-i } \text{ 'We march off.'} \]
\[ \text{čin es-}\text{k}^\prime\text{u-út-i } \text{ 'We go several in several bands.'} \]
\[ \text{qe? es-n-?es-sél } \text{OR } \text{čin es-n-?es-sél } \]
    \text{'We both ride on the same horse.'} 
\[ \text{in-n-č-?ay-út-éws-tn } \text{'Our riding horses, our riding outfit.'} \]
\[ \text{(Cf.: in-n-č-?emt-éws-tn } \text{'My riding horse.'}) \]
4.3. Diminutives

Sometimes two Kalispel words with different roots correspond to a single English term:

- s-ti-p-ëys "rain"  **s-1w-ëys "little rain"
- n-q'-q'-sh-in-šn "dog"  s-ti?-ti?-šme "little dog"
- im-imaye? "frog"  **qal-qal-âqs "small frog"

Often, however, Kalispel diminutives are formed by affixation.

4.3.1. Diminutive Reduplicative Prefix

A reduplicative prefix, C₁, of the root, indicates a diminutive:

- čin es-k'-¿ul-i  'I work.'
- čin es-k'-¿u-k'-i  'I work a little.'
- nìč-mn  'saw'
- ñi-ñč-ñh  'little saw, knife'

4.3.2. i- 'diminutive'

i- added to a root, or a root with diminutive reduplication, forms a diminutive:

- ul-ulî-m  'money'  i-ul-ulî-h  'little money'
- s-x'-tip  'rib'  s-i-x'-tip  'little rib'
- es-móq-w  'mountain'  es-i-mó-ñq  'little mountain'
- x'-òld-q  'wagon'  i-x'-ò-x'-q  'little wagon'
- sìpì  'rope'  i-sì-spi  'little rope'
- ćspìn  'neck'  i-ć-ćspîn  'small neck'
- *i-k'-k'-wìh-á1-a-q'-13  'small person'
- i-x'-i-x'-ec-t 14  'short (thing)'
- čin es-o-y-n-cút-i  'I laugh.'
- čin es-i-o-y-n-cút-i  'I laugh a little.'
- čin os-?în  'I eat.'
- čin es-i-?în-i  'I eat a little.'
- čin es-ć-x'-t-t-ëls-i  'I am angry.'
- čin es-ć-i-x'-t-t-ëls-i  'I was a little angry.'
čin es-⁹sp-m-ī 'I stay long.'
čin es-ī-⁹sp-m-ī 'I stay a little long.'
čin es-n-súx⁹-ne⁷-i 'I understand.'
čin es-n-ī-sú-sx⁹-ne⁷-i 'I understand a little.'
FOOTNOTES

1 Post described 'actual' forms in terms of tenses and modes: es- ('continuative' in Post's terminology) with intransitive "verbs" in the present and "subjunctive present continue" and with -s-t transitives in the "past continue."

2 Post includes the last two examples in a section of 'verbs of wear', stating that "chines [cin es-] with articles of dress, clothing, means TO WEAR." Such examples point to the fact that all roots in Kalispel are basically verb-like.

3 Post lists qs- and qi- as subjunctives saying that "qs- becomes qi- before a definite verbified noun," and "final i of subjunctive and future is... dropped before s not radical" (pp. 36, 26).

4 It is impossible to infer the presence of a vowel in the reduplicative prefix from Post's orthography. Vogt remarks that: "The presence or absence of a vowel in the reduplicated group and its timbre is determined exclusively by the nature of the surrounding consonants" (p. 61).

Cf. also the following reduplicative patterns:

s-miʔtúʔ 'fort' s-miʔt-miʔtúʔ 'forts'
qʷeŋɨʔ-qʷit 'lively in running'
qʷeŋɨʔ-qʷmt 'lively in working'

5 Cf. Carlson's s-pli-m-cn.

6 Even though this form is analyzable, it behaves as a root in most constructions.

7 Post lists ciitxʷ as the plural of citxʷ 'house'; perhaps this is another instance of -ʔ- infix (ci?txʷ).

8 Post includes here the following forms, which suffix -(V)C₂ of root, as suppletive plurals:

čin es-čew-1š-i 'I grow old.'
qeʔ **es-čew-1š-i 'We grow old.'
čin es-čiw-ulš 'I climb up a ladder.'
qe? **es-čw-čiw-ulš 'We climb up a ladder.'
čin es-łaq-šlš-i (-šlš ?) 'I sit down.'
qe? es-łaq-q-wi 'We sit down.'

This reduplicative suffix is also seen in:
e-čiw-t (e- ?)'the last one'
e-čw-čw-t 'the last ones'
čaq' 'cry'
čq'-aq' 'crying'
k'wil 'red'
k'-k'wil-il 'warm (heat from sun)'

This suffix of unknown meaning is presumed to be present in other forms where I have not segmented it:
iláwe? 'man's great-grandfather'
i-čičče? 'older sister'
ič-čye? 'sister's daughter's son'
čwe? 'woman's brother-in-law'
iqaqce? 'woman's older brother'
ocne? 'woman's sibling's son's son, grandmother'
qaše? 'man's mother's sister'
s-q'še? 'son'
xa?xē? 'woman's husband's father or brother'
síle? 'woman's grandfather or sister's daughter's son'
tupye? 'woman's grandparent or grandchild'
χepe? 'man's grandfather'
qhťaxwe? 'louse, lice'
s-x'u-x'ye? 'ant'
ʔu-ʔuse? 'egg(s)'
ʔitx'e? 'camas'

It must be segmented in psay-e? also. See also -a? in Colville (Mattina 1973, p. 100).

Perhaps the pair es-č-sčl-áws 'thing hanging', es-č-sčl-ális 'things hanging' belongs in this group. See 2.9. for a replacement of a suffix vowel.

Carlson and Vogt state that the sonants are usually glottalized in diminutives (Vogt p. 62 n. 179, Carlson p. 115).
Vogt has estē̂ḥawāku.

13 -a- is a diminutive infix. See -a?-, diminutive infix in Colville (Mattina 1973, p. 91).

14 e in this form is unexplained.
5. DERIVATION

This chapter treats several affixes which are added to a root before intransitive and transitive person reference.

5.1. Derivational Prefixes

Among the derivational prefixes are s- 'nominal', epi- 'have', and a set of 'directionals'.

5.1.1. s- 'nominal'

s- 'nominal' prefixed to a root adds an element of concreteness:

- s-xes-t 'goodness'
- s-k'ul 'the work'
- s-k'un-t 'greatness'
- s-teye? 'badness'
- s-lk'-ut 'distance'
- s-qtasip 'old thing'
- s-c-c ox " 'willy'
- hoy-s-t-s ëu? s-c-q'1-q'elt-s 'He stopped to talk.'
- i-s-c-ëa u ëaâ-p
  'I fanned it (my fanning) and it did not (?) cool off.'
- i čin ëes, u ta i či3 *s-ëes
  'I am not (?) well, I am not contented.' (D I p. 162)
- u pentč u či s-ëč-s-wēš ūu? l **s-n-lcu-ti-s qē?
  K'1-n-cut-n 'And I was always standing in the house of our Lord.'

5.1.2. epi- 'have'

epi- occurs in intransitive forms and precedes es- 'actual', s- 'nominal', and n- 'locative', but follows qil- 'subjunctive' (which deletes ë before epi-) and the possessive prefixes. ë of epi- deletes...
before s.

čin ep-sx"-six"-lt 'I have children.'
čin epi-ul-ulí-m 'I have some money.'
k"uy?é u čin epi-ul-ulí-m 'It is my money.'
k"uy?é u čin ep-sx"-six"-lt 'He is my child.'
swet q-ep-sté? ii?-?é 'Who may own this?'
swet ep-sté? ii-cí? 'Who owns that?'
anwí? k" ep-sté? ; anwí? k" q-ep-sté?
'It is yours; it must belong to you.'
swet q-ep-síč-m ii?-?é qe?mplé?
'Who may own this blanket. We do.'
še? iu? q-ep-sté? iu? k"-1-n-cut-n
'It belongs to God.'
ep-s-púš 'He has a heart.'
čin ep-s-?áym-t 'I had some anger.'
ta y-epí-ec-?axíl 'I have none of the kind.'
ta y-ep-síč-m 'I have no blanket.'
čin ep-s-c-k"úl 'I have made some.' [I have-what-I-made]
anwí? u k" ep-s-c-k"úl 'It is you that made it.'
k"uy?é u čin ep-s-c-k"úl 'I have made it.'
nem čin ep-s-c-nič 'I shall have some sawed.'
swet u ep-s-c-šíl ye luk" 'Who chopped this wood.'
čin epi-ťač-cín 'I have a horse.'

In third person intransitive, epi normally translates 'he/she/it/they has/have...'. Often, however the absence of a "possessor" requires that it be translated as 'there is/are ... some' (cf. French ilya):

iš? iš-č-ča?1-čís-i, epi-íač u epi-es-míc"t-i
'Some of the sick are getting better, some are dying.'
epi-čéš-t, u epi-čéye? 'There are some good, there are some bad. OR He has some good ones and some bad ones.'
ep-sqélixw iš? ta es-wič-s-t-n 'There are people I never saw.'
ep-s-pi?q-áiq  īu?  tam in-xm-énč  'There are fruits I don't like.'
epi-n-qʷ-šm-íčn-šn  'There is a dog there.'
áe  epi-n?-a'y-étw  l  s-n-çaw-mn  'There are already people in church.'
epi-es-maw  'It is a fraction.'
ta  epi-c-x'yuy  'None came.'
ta  epi-çuw  'None are missing.'

Intransitive constructions with epi- are sometimes transitivized, as in the following examples:

epi- kʷúl-n  'There are some I have made.'
epi-wékʷ-n-t-xʷ  'There is something that you concealed.'
epi- kʷúl-i-t-n  'There are some I have made for him.'
epi-xʷič-i-c-n  'There are some I gave to you.'
epi-wékʷ-i-c-n  'There are some I concealed from you.'
ta  epi-wékʷ-n  'I did not hide any.'
ta  q-epi-wékʷ-i-t-m  īu?  qʷay-alqs
'There must not be anything concealed from the priest.'

5.1.3. Directionals

Seven directional prefixes add locational information to transitive and intransitive forms. All of these except eĩ- 'back' attach to the root, following es- 'actual'. eĩ- precedes es- but follows qĩ- 'subjunctive' which then deletes ī.

eĩ- 'again, once more, back'

eĩ-x'yuy  'He went back.'
čin  eĩ-x'yuy  'I return; I go again.'
čin  eĩ-es-ʔímš-ī;  čin  eĩ-ʔímš  'I am starting again.'
y-eĩ-es-xʷič-i-t-n;  eĩ-xʷič-i-t-n  'I give it again.'
i-q-eĩ-xʷič-i-t-m  'I wish to give it again.'
y-eĩ-es-kʷúl-m  'I do it again.'
eĩ-nkʷu?  'one again, one more'
eĩ-těš-ilš  īu?  s- póqni?  'now moon'
I see it again (find a lost object)."

Next spring we shall see each other again.

'I like (find good) again my husband.' (D I p. 166)

Sometimes *el- is transliterated 'really, truly, indeed':

He was indeed crucified, truly died, and was buried.'

We rest on Sundays because on that day God indeed rested.' (D I p. 359)

*el- followed by *t- 'before, in advance' gives the meaning 'in succession to one another':

'I helped him in return.'

He sent me away first, and in return I sent him away.'

(Cf. *el* *el* 'again, another time', section 7.4.1.)

't-' 'before, ahead, in advance'

'I go ahead.'

'I knew it before.'

'I look at it before.'

'n-' 'inside, in, after, locative'

'I go after someone.'

'It lays in.'

'He is born in, conceived.'

'I look inside.'

'I go back, pull back (as horses).'

'deep water'

'clear water'

'warm water'
"I go down the river by land."

"He travels by the side of the water."

"He comes up the river by land."

"towards, upwards, to go after' may also take several other meanings exemplified in the examples:

'Are you sorry for (on account of) the sins you committed?'

'(In good part) with a good intention did I speak.'

'You spoke with a bad intention.'

'It is the president of whom (on whose part) you speak.'

'I am proud of (on account of) my dress.'

'I remain continually near him.'

'I stay with (near) him.'

'I stay with (near) the chief.'

'I visit him [I go to be near him].'

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t swet u es-č-licí?-m-s .lu? J.C. 1 s-n-qe?-čín
'Who remains with (near) J.C. in the Holy Communion?'
č-mlk?'-m-asqt '(until) the whole day'

(See also 5.2.1. and 6.2.)

či- 'hither, from there'
čin es-c-x'uy ; čin c-x'uy 'I come (hither, from there).'
y-es-c-?aćx-m 'I look at it from there.'

či- 'upon, above'
či-šukw 'It is placed upon.'
es-či-šukw 'It is on top.'
y-es-či-š-qevy-m 'I write over it.' (D I p. 254)

šu- 'under' (when the object is immediately under so that the
above rests on the lower)

1 qe? šu-iš-út 'under us'
šu-šukw-n-t .lu? 1 a-s-ču?-čín 'Place it under thy foot.'
es-šu-šukw 'It is under.'

Perhaps here belongs also **šš- 'about' (prefixed only to verbs
that in the primitive meaning refer to persons):

y-es-čs-cúm-m 'I speak about it.'
swet .lu? es-čs-cúm-m-s 'Of whom is he speaking?'
y-es-čh?ni-m 'I forbid him.'
y-es-čs-če?ní-m 'I forbid it.'
čs-če?i-s-t-ém .lu? sw̃l-k 'I forbid the whiskey.'
čs-n-?awq̃n-m .lu? s-n-mi-p-?ist 'I exhort him to confession.'
y-es-čs-qal-qel̃nt-m 'I speak of him/it, about it.'
y-es-čs-méye-i-t-m (stress ?) 'I teach him that.'
1 s-čs-ašm 'there about, near by'

Some of these directional prefixes cooccur in the same form as in
the following examples:

csšu-š-čán-m-p (-m- ?) 'It is shut.'
es-k"i-n-cheh-p  
čin ei-c-x\u2018uy  
čin ei-c-ʔũnũs  
t-k"i-pák-iš

'It is open.'
'I come back, come again.'
'I return from finished trip.'
'Think before [think ahead]!'

5.2. Derivational Suffixes

5.2.1. -min, -tin, -min-tn 'instrumental'

-min, -tin, or -min-tn (< -min-tin) 'instrumental' suffixed to a root forms an intransitive stem. Instrumental stems formed with -min usually refer to a tool being used, those with -min-tn to the object of the instrument's use. However, this distinction is not always clear (D II p. 208).

ac-min  
ac-min-tn  
in-eʔu-min  
eʔu-min-tn  
šl-min  
s-šl-min-tn  
teʔ- mín  
in-ʔax-min  
in-ʔax-min-tn  
qʔu-p-tín, qʔu-p-min-tn  
i-sʔem-ín ( < in-sʔem-min)  
i-sʔem-ín-tn  
qix\u2018-min, qix\u2018-min-tn  
x\u2018á-min  
x\u2018á-min-tn  
č-\u2018č-min  
č-\u2018č-min-tn  
č-tx\u2018-min  
č-tx\u2018-min-tn

'(It's a) trap.'
'(It's a) trap.'
'(It's) what I use to peel.'
'(They're) the peelings.'
'axe'
'axe-handle'  (D I p. 575)
'hammer (person's)'
'my stretcher (what I use)'
'what is used to stretch me'
'(D I p. 6)

'fracture'
'my food'
'my food to feed others'
'whip'
'shavings'
'jack plane'
'instrument to brand'
'what is to be branded'
'material (salt) to be added'
'what the material is added to'

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Instrumentals with possessive intransitive inflection can mean 'affect, influence':

\[\text{y-es-} \text{x-s-t-min-m iu? n-caw-mn}\]

'I am well affected by the prayer (the prayer affects me well).'

\[\text{y-es-c-q"-q\"u-min-m iu? sewl-k}\]

'The liquor affects me.' (D II p. 7)

\[\ast \text{y-es-yaa-min (stress ?)}\]

'I fear him, am in reserve, not free with him.'

'Instrumental stems with -tin usually express the 'means' or 'the way how to do'. Cooccurring with the prefix č- 'towards, to go after' (see 4.1.2.), they express 'the reason' or 'cause' of the action (D II p. 247).

\[\text{čip-tin}\]

'anything used for hunting'

\[\text{n-} \text{x-s-tin}\]

'that makes good'

\[\text{n-čs-tin}\]

'that makes bad (sins)'

\[\text{n-q"l-q\"el-tn}\]

'word'

\[\text{n-py-els-tn}\]

'cause of happiness'

\[\text{oōs-ti-s}\]

'cause of ruin'

\[\text{pu-pus-čhč-tn}\]

'cause of sorrow'

\[\text{č-x\"u-y-tn}\]

'the reason why he goes'
\( \text{č-n-} \text{py-} \text{els-tn} \)

'the reason why he rejoices'

\( \text{č-n-} \text{x'y} \text{c-x'y} \text{c-m-} \text{els-tn (-m- ?)} \)

'the reason why he suffers'

\( \text{in-č-pu-pus-} \text{éhč-tn} \)

'the reason of my sorrow'

\( \text{č-miy-tn} \)

'what makes a thing known, sign, mark'

\( \text{č-?aym-tn} \)

'what one is mad for'

\( \text{č-lem-tn} \)

'what one is glad for'

\( \text{č-n-pu-pus-} \text{éhč-tn} \)

'what one is sorry for'

\( \text{č-x'y} \text{uy-tn} \)

'what one goes for'

\( \text{č-x'yel-tn} \)

'what one is thrown away for'

\( \text{qi-n-mi-p-m-} \text{íst-i-s ( } \text{qi-n-mi-p-m-} \text{íst-tn-s}) \)

'to be people's confessor' (Balt. p. 4)

\( \text{šeý} \text{ iu? qi-č-mi-} \text{tí-} \text{s iu? s-k'y-} \text{k'im-} \text{ít} \)

'That will be the sign that makes the infant known.' (Bible p. 43)

\( \text{iu?} \text{ toye? a-s-c-k'en šeý} \text{ iu? a-qi-č-x'y} \text{uy-tn} \text{ č-esulíp} \)

'You deserve hell for your sins.'

\( \text{iu? s-naq'y-} \text{qmn šeý} \text{ iu? č-x'y} \text{uy-tn} \text{ 1 esulíp} \)

'The thief deserves to go to hell.'

\( \text{s-} \) 'nominal' plus \( \text{n-} \) 'locative' prefixed to an instrumental stem expresses 'place where' or 'instrument used':

\( \text{s-n-} \text{čaw-mn} \)

'church'

\( \text{s-n-q'yoiq-tn} \)

'farm'

\( \text{s-n-} \text{qi'-} \text{mín-tn} \)

'school'

\( \text{s-n-sá-} \text{lis-tn (-} \text{lis ?)} \)

'saw mill'

\( \text{s-n-yo-yo-t-} \text{íš-tn} \)

'confirmation'

\( \text{*s-n-} \text{yek'y-tn (OR s-n-} \text{yek'y-} \text{tn ?)} \)

'a ferry'

\( \text{s-n-x'y} \text{aq'y-mm} \)

'a mill'

\( \text{s-n-tk'y-} \text{min-tn} \)

'place to lay one in'

\( \text{s-n-q'le-p-tn} \)

'oven'

\( \text{*s-n-lcu-tn} \)

'room'

\( \text{s-n-} \text{q'm-q'm-els-tn} \)

'meekness'

\( \text{s-n-mi-p-m-} \text{íst-n (} \text{s-n-mi-p-m-} \text{íst-tn)} \)

'confessional'
5.2.2. -nú 'transitive success'

-nú 'transitive success' (always stressed) is added to roots before the transitive affixes. With -nú stressed, the vowel of the personal suffix deletes, and first and third person singular with simple transitive suffixes (-n-t) reduce to -n and -i-s, respectively.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kul-nú-n} & \quad (\text{< kul-en-nú-n-t-en}) & \quad \text{I succeed in taking it.}' \\
\text{nic-nú-n} & \quad (\text{< nic-nú-n-t-en}) & \quad \text{I succeed in cutting it.'} \\
\text{lu?-nú-n} & \quad (\text{< lu?-nú-n-t-en}) & \quad \text{I succeed in lancing it.'} \\
\text{lu?-nú-n-t} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft Success in lancing!'} \\
\text{kulú-nú-n} & \quad (\text{< kulú-nú-n-t-en}) & \quad \text{I succeed in making it.'} \\
\text{saq'-q-nú-n} & \quad (\text{< saq'-q-nú-n-t-en}) & \quad \text{I succeed in splitting it.'} \\
\text{saq'-q-nú-n-t} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft Succeed in splitting it!'} \\
\text{mi-p-nú-n} & \quad (\text{< miy-p-nú-n-t-en}) & \quad \text{I succeed in knowing it; I got news of it, heard of it, am informed of it.'}
\end{align*}
\]

5.2.3. -númt 'intransitive success'

-númt 'intransitive success' (always stressed) is added to roots which will then add intransitive pronouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čin wič-númt} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft Finally I perceived it.'} \\
\text{čin xút-p-númt} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft I succeeded in running away.'} \\
\text{ut a epí-kul-mi-p-númt ye we *čšt-n-cút-i-s, u esiyá?} \\
\text{es-qew-i} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft And there were none of those would be guardians who perceived it; all were drunk.' (Bible p. 36)}
\end{align*}
\]

5.2.4. -šiš 'indefinite benefactive'

-šiš 'indefinite benefactive' (-š unstressed) is added to roots which subsequently participate in intransitive constructions (cf. 3.1.2. 'transitive benefactives'):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čin es-kulš-i} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft I work for others.'} \\
\text{čin kulš-m} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft I work for others.'}
\end{align*}
\]
y-es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}úl-š-m  'I do it for others.'
y-es-n-\textsuperscript{?}ēys-š-m  'I buy it for others.'
y-es-\textsuperscript{?}št-šiš-m  'I lance it for others.'
y-es-sq-šiš-m  'I split it for others.'

5.2.5. \textsuperscript{-m} 'middle'

\textsuperscript{-m} 'middle' was introduced in 3.1.1.1. (see footnote 2, chapter 3). Added to roots, \textsuperscript{-m} 'middle' adds the information that the person referent (an intransitive pronoun) is actively rather than passively involved. (These forms are often translated as causatives.) Contrast the following middle forms:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{cin es-čěw-s-m}  'I wash my face.'
  \item \texttt{cin es-wič-m}  'I see (something).' 
  \item \texttt{cin es-n-?ęys-m}  'I pay for (something).' 
  \item \texttt{y-es-x'úl-x'ílt-m}  'I cause/make him to live.'
  \item \texttt{y-es-c-x'úy-m}  'I cause him to come.'
  \item \texttt{y-es-n-py-él-s-m}  'I make him to rejoice.'
  \item \texttt{qe? sin-ce?-m-Il-s}  'He made us his brothers.'
\end{itemize}

with the corresponding continuative intransitives:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{cin es-čěw-s-i}  'My face is washed; I wash my face.'
  \item \texttt{cin es-wič-i}  'I am seen; I see (something).' 
  \item \texttt{cin es-n-?ęys-i}  'I am bought; I buy (something).' 
  \item \texttt{cin es-x'úl-x'ílt-i}  'I live.'
  \item \texttt{cin es-c-x'úy}  'I come.'
  \item \texttt{cin es-n-py-él-s-i}  'I rejoice.'
  \item \texttt{qe? sin-ce?-Il-s}  'We are his brothers.'
\end{itemize}

Other examples of \textsuperscript{-m} 'middle' stems:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{cin es-\textsuperscript{?}čú-m-i} ; \texttt{cin es-\textsuperscript{?}uk\textsuperscript{w}}  'I am lying down.'
  \item \texttt{cin es-lič-m-i} ; \texttt{cin es-lič}  'I am being bound.'
  \item \texttt{cin es-\textsuperscript{?}qa\textsuperscript{u}-m-i} ; \texttt{cin es-\textsuperscript{?}qa\textsuperscript{u}}  'I am being broken.'
  \item \texttt{cin es-\textsuperscript{?}št-m-i} ; \texttt{cin es-\textsuperscript{?}št-it}  'I go ahead.'
\end{itemize}
čin ec-?ex-k‘un-m ; čin ec-?ex-k‘un-i 'I speak so.' (D I p. 108)
čin es-ulí-m 'I burn (something).'
čin es-ul-m-í 'I burn (something); I am burned.'
čin ací-m 'I tied.'
čin *es-čyá-m-i 'I solicit, coax (to evil).'</čin es-a?í-p-m-i (stress ?) 'I run.'
čin es-čip-m-í 'I hunt.'
čin es-Ál-m-í 'I die.'
y-es-Álí-m 'I cause him to die.'
čin es-Ál-p-m-í 'I stop.'
y-es-Álí-p-m 'I cause him to stop.'
y-es-citx-m 'I am using that house.'
y-es-sič-m 'I use that blanket.'
y-es-x\^i-cín-m 'I use that horse.'
čin es-đe-?xin-m-i 'I use a shoe.'
čin es-íú?-m 'I wound/lance it.'
y-es-ulí-m 'I burn it.'
y-es-sqé-m 'I split it.'
y-es-?ük‘m-m 'I bring/carry it.'
y-es-čew-s 'I wash his face.'
y-es-wič-m 'I see it.'
y-es-n-?éys-m 'I pay for it.'
y-es-n-čół-m 'I fear him, am afraid of him.'
y-es-ýáik‘-m 'I bend it (making a circle).'
y-es-čstí-m 'I guard it.'
y-es-čaq-m 'I pay him (for work or services).'

5.2.6. -ist 'reflexive'

-ist 'reflexive' is added to intransitive or middle forms:

čin es-n-mi-p-m-íst-i 'I accuse myself, confess.'
čin k\‘ul-ist 'I make myself.'
čin k\‘ul-ist čin sqólíx‘ 'I become man (J.C.).'
čin *es-čšt-m-íst-i 'I take care of myself.'
čin  es-ʔep-íst-i    'I wipe myself.'
čin  es-ʔep-m-íst-i  'I myself wipe something belonging to me.'
čin  es- vám-íst-i    'I walk quickly, hasten.'
čin  es-q’ii-m-íst-i   'I strive, busy myself.'
čin  es-tu-m-íst-i    'I buy/sell/trade.' (D I p. 595)
ůye?  ěnu?  s-ʔyq’-ist    'It is bad to tell lies.'
iʔu-t-íst-ye?  (-ye? ?)   'prostrated' (Bible p. 64)
čin  *es-čs-t-m-íst-ĩ    'I force myself, do violence to myself.'
k’q-si-n-p-m-íst-ĩ, pěna  a-q-s-n-mi-p-řtúmš
‘Accuse yourself, but don’t accuse other people.’

(See also 5.3.1.2.)

5.2.7. Intransitive Imperatives

-š or -yš'  'imperative singular' and -wi  'imperative plural'
are added to roots, statives, and intransitive reflexives:

k’uš-š    'Work!'  k’uš-wi     'Work ye!'
ilmíx’-š    'Be ye chief!'  ilmíx’-wi   'Be ye chiefs!'
ěś-t-š    'Be good!'  ěś-t-wi     'Be ye good!'
ʔaym-t-š    'Be angry!'  ʔaym-t-wi   'Be ye angry!'
šil-š    'Die!'  šil-wi     'Die ye.'
ací-š    'Tie!'  ací-wi     'Tie ye.'
*pľčmí-yš    'Turn over!'  *pľčmí-wi   'Turn ye over!'
n-mi-p-m-íst-ĩ    'Confess!'  n-mi-p-m-íst-wi   'Confess ye!'
ěś-t-š  ilmíx’-š    'Be a good chief!'  n-mi-p-m-íst-wi   'Confess ye!'
ěś-t-wi  ilmíx’-wi    'Be ye good chiefs!'
ʔuk’-š    'Bring/carry (something)!'  n-ʔęys-ĩš
n-ʔęys-ĩš    'Buy/pay for (something)!'  wič-ĩš
wič-ĩš    'See (something)!'
ulí-yćš    'Burn (something)!'  čaw-s-ĩš{l2
čaw-s-ĩš    'Wash your face!

5.2.8. Aspectual Suffixes

Aspectual suffixes may be attached to intransitive and middle
stems to add a number of aspectual notions.

5.2.8.1. -lwís 'iterative' (always stressed)

čin es-qi?-m-lwís-i
Čin es-k'úł-m-lwís-i
čin es-k'úl-m
čin es-k'úl-m-lwís-ı
čin es-x'ist
čin es-x'st-lwís-ı
čin es-ćew-m
čin es-ćew-m-lwís-ı

5.2.8.2. -(w)ilš 'developmental' expresses growing, becoming:

čin es-tēš-ilš-i
čin es-x'ist-ilš
čin es-çe-m-ilš-i
čin es-ćew-m-ilš-ı
čin es-ćew-m
čin es-ćew-m-lwís-ı

5.2.8.3. Reduplicative suffixation -(V)C₂ of root, 'inchoative'

(D II p. 163):

i čin sil
i čin s1-il
es-nilč
es-nilč-č
es-šil
es-š1-ıı
š1-ıı
es-síx
'Very bad.'
'Very bad.'
'Very bad.'
'I am growing big.'
sixʷ-xʷ 'It got poured out.'
es-n-sîxʷ 'It is filled (with liquid).'
n-sîxʷ-xʷ 'It got filled.'
es-îoc 'It is smashed.'
îoc-c 'It got smashed.'
es-xʷâqʷ 'It is ground.'
χʷâqʷ-ôʷ 'It got ground.'
sli-p 'He made a mistake.'
sli-p-p¹⁴ 'He got into a mistake.'
es-lič 'It is bound.'
lič-c 'It got bound.'
kʷcič 'It is falling.'
kʷcič-č 'It is going to fall.'
es-kʷüp 'It is pushed, stirred.'
kʷüp-p 'It got stirred.'
es-sáxʷ 'It is being split.'
sáxʷ-xʷ 'It got split.'
meïkʷ 'It is being spread.'
meïkʷ-χʷ 'It got spread, spread itself.'
i-s-xʷič-š 'It is my gift (given by me).'</i-s-xʷič-č-š 'It is my gift (given to me).'</ičin es-táq-q-m-i (stress ?)'I am deceived, cheated.'
ičin es-wič-č(-i) 'I let myself be seen, can be seen.'
ìu? kʷ-ečst-n kʷul-î t s-cewele? 'The rod became a snake.'
ìu? mal-t kʷul-î t sl-aqs 'The dust became mosquitoes.'
5.2.8.4. -émn 'habitual' (D II p. 6)
čîp-émn 'hunter'
čeʔéš-émn 'bashful one'
χʷat-émn 'looker on'
*pχʷâqʷ-1qs-émn 'snorer'
xʷst-émn 'walker'
ptaxʷ-m-émn 'spitter'
χês-émn 'eater'
čs-cn-émn 'bad talker'
sust-émn 'drunkard'
iqʷ-ìst-émn 'liar (addicted to tell lies)'

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See also the further s- 'nominal' derivation of naq'-émn 'thief' in:

\[ \text{i} \text{tu} \text{s-naq }{ }^{\prime}\text{émn }\text{še} \text{y} \text{tu} \text{? c-x'uy-tn }\text{1 esulíp} \]

'The thieving is the cause of going to hell.'

5.2.9. Modal Suffixes

Modal suffixes are attached to intransitive and middle stems to add three modal notions.

5.2.9.1. -ëls 'volitive, state/activity of mind' (always stressed)

\[ \text{čin es-n-qi?-m-ëls-i }(-m-?){ } \]

'I wish to write.'

\[ \text{čin es-n-?iin-ëls-i}{ } \]

'I have appetite, wish to eat.'

\[ \text{čin es-n-sust-ëls-i}{ } \]

'I wish to drink.'

\[ \text{čin es-n-x'uy-ëls-i}{ } \]

'I wish to go.'

\[ \text{čin *es-ši?-ëls-i}{ } \]

'I consent, give permission.'

\[ \text{čin *es-n-ši?-ëls-i}{ } \]

'I consent to marriage.'

\[ \text{čin es-n-sl-p-ëls-i}{ } \]

'I am deceived, mistaken in my judgement.'

\[ \text{y-es-?ač-x-m }\text{tu} \text{? es-č-ča?l-ëls-i}{ } \]

'I visit the sick (those who are sick).'''

\[ \text{čin es-n-x'uy-ëls-i, u ta i-q-s-x'uy}{ } \]

'I wish to go, but I will not go.'

\[ \text{ta y-es-n-x'uy-ëls u pen či q-s-x'uy}{ } \]

'I have not the wish to go, but I will go.'

\[ \text{k'iw n-k'i-n-?ax1-ëls-m tu }\text{? J.C.}{ } \]

'J.C. must have the same feelings as yours.'

5.2.9.2. -úl, suffixed to a reduplicated root, 'given to...'

(always stressed)

\[ \text{čaw-čaw-m-úl}{ } \]

'given to praying'

\[ \text{k'iw-l-k'iw-m-úl}{ } \]

'given to working'

\[ \text{q'iw-l-q'ít-úl}{ } \]

'given to talking'

\[ \text{či-čip-úl}{ } \]

'given to hunting'}

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5.2.9.3. (-m)-ut\textsuperscript{15} 'capability' expresses aptitude, power, or ability to do something.

\begin{itemize}
  \item y-es-\textsuperscript{\textregistered}m-út-m 'I can make that.'
  \item y-es-ac-m-út-m 'I can catch it.'
  \item y-es-\textsuperscript{\textregistered}a\textsuperscript{\textregistered}m-út-m 'I can grind it.'
  \item x\textsuperscript{\textregistered}y-út-m 'It can go.'
  \item ta s-x\textsuperscript{\textregistered}y-út-m 'It can't go.'
  \item k\textsuperscript{\textregistered}y\textsuperscript{\textregistered}l-út-m 'It can be made.'
  \item ta s-k\textsuperscript{\textregistered}y\textsuperscript{\textregistered}l-út-m 'It can't be done.'
  \item uč-č-út-m (č wič-č-út-m) 'It is visible.'
  \item lč-č-út-m 'It can be bound.'
  \item mus-ls-út-m 'He can be trusted.'
  \item ta s-syen-út-m 'It can't be counted.'
\end{itemize}

But, cf. also:

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1k\textsuperscript{\textregistered}-út 'far'
  \item tk\textsuperscript{\textregistered}-út-i 'march, walk'
  \item ič\textsuperscript{\textregistered}-út 'He was lying there.'
  \item iš-út 'under'
  \item pč\textsuperscript{\textregistered}-út 'old'
\end{itemize}

5.3. **Multiple Derivations**

This section treats (a) the "detransitivization" of transitive stems, and (b) the "transitivization" of middle and intransitive stems (not roots).

5.3.1. Detransitivized Stems

Personal reference to all the detransitivized stems discussed here is added with intransitive pronouns.
5.3.1.1. -wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) is the reciprocal affix attached to a transitive stem.

The morphophonemics of the transitive suffixes plus the reciprocal suffix are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
(-m)&-n-t-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) & (-m)&-n-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) \\
-s&t-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) & -s&t-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) \\
-ši&t-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) & -š&t-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) \\
-i&t-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) & *-i&t-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\)
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{qe? es-č-yoq}^{-}\)n-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) 'We are slandering one another.'

\(\text{qe? es-?aym-t-m-n-wé}^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) 'We are angry at one another.'

\(\text{qe? es-n-čel-m-n-wé}^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) 'We are afraid of one another.'

\(\text{qe? šmeň-wé}^{-}\)x\(^{-}\)i (šmeň-n-t-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\)-i) 'We go together.'

\(\text{qe? es-pl-s-t-wé}^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) 'We fight together [one another].' 

\(\text{qe? es-čaw-š-t-wé}^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) 'We are praying for one another.'

\(\text{qe? es-olq}^{-}\)š-t-wé\(^{-}\)x\(^{w}\) 'We are helping one another.'

5.3.1.2. -čút is the reflexive suffix attached to a transitive stem.

The morphophonemics of the transitive suffixes plus the reflexive suffix -čút parallel those in 5.3.1.1. and are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
-n&t-čút & -n-čút \\
-s&t-čút & -s-čút \\
-ši&t-čút & -š-čút \\
-i&t-čút & *-i-čút
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{čin es-pl-s-čút-i} \quad 'I kill myself.'\)

\(\text{čin *es-čšt-š-čút-i} \quad 'I take care for myself.'\)

\(\text{čin *es-čšt-n-čút-i} \quad 'I take care of something.'\)

\(\text{čin es-?ep-n-čút-i} \quad 'I wipe something by myself.'\)

\(\text{čin es-šip-p-n-čút-i} \quad 'I descend, let myself down (from horseback).'\)

\(\text{s-mem-s-čút} \quad 'He likes to play.'\)

-\(n\) suffixed to the "detransitivized reflexive stem" expresses
'one who...' or 'he that...':

?ačx-n-cút-n 'looker on (one who looks)'

k'w't-n-cut-n 'God, maker by himself'

xm-enč-n-cút-n 'lover'

?ep-n-cút-n 'cleanser'

*čšt-n-cut-n 'guardian'

**qap-n-cút-n 'friend to death'

in-ԛ'еіtt-n-cút-n 'He that carries me.'

n-q' ámb-m-n-cut-n 'who has pity'

n-k'w'ın-cin-cút-i-s t k'w't-n-cut-n

'He that sings the praises of God.'

k'u n-k'w'n-cin-cút-i-s t Marie

'I sing the praises of Mary.' (D I p. 423)

5.3.1.3. -em (-m with stressed roots) is the 'indefinite intransitive' suffix attached to a transitive stem, to yield:

* -n-t-(é)m

* -s-t-(é)m

-š(i)-t-m

-l-t-(é)m

Indefinite intransitive forms, it should be noted, add person reference only by means of the possessive intransitive pronouns:

y-es-n-ʔéy-ıt-t-m 'I pay him his...'

y-es-k'ült-ı-t-m 'I make his...(something belonging to him).'

y-es-ʔúk'-ı-t-m 'I carry his...'

*y-es-čšt-ı-t-ém 'I guard his...'

y-es-sq'-ı-t-öm 'I split his...'

y-es-łu?-ı-t-ém 'I sting his...'

y-es-łu?-ąq-ı-t-m 'I sting the nose of his...'

y-es-łu?-eč-ı-t-m 'I wound the hand of his...'

y-es-k'ült-š-t-m 'I do it for him, help him doing it.'

y-es-צוע-š-t-m 'I pray for him in his stead.'

y-es-šł-šł-ı-t-m 'I die for him in his stead.'
y-es-n-ʔey-š-t-m  'I pay for him, help him paying.'
y-es-mi-mi-ši-t-m  'I tell him news.'
y-es-sä-ši-t-m  'I split for him (help him splitting).'  
y-es-iuʔ-ši-t-m  'I lance for him.'

-em 'indefinite intransitive' is also found affixed to success stems, to form "detransitivized" success forms which are inflected with the possessive intransitive pronouns. The morphophonemics of these "detransitivized indefinite success forms" are as follows:

\[-nú-n-t-em \quad -nú-n-m\]

y-es-k"n-nú-n-m  'I succeed in taking it.'
y-es-mi-p-nú-n-m  'I succeed in knowing it.'
y-es-šuʔ-nú-n-m  'I succeed in lancing it.'
y-es-sä-q-nú-n-m  'I succeed in splitting it.'
y-es-k'ł₁-nú-n-m  'I succeed in making it.'

5.3.2. Transitivized Stems

Middle and intransitive stems (bases with intransitive derivation-
al suffixes) can be "transitivized" by attaching the transitive suffixes (-n-t, -s-t, -ši-t, -ł-t) and the transitive person referents. The morphophonemics of the transitive suffixes and person referents with intransitive stems are the same as with a root (see 1.2.).

n-ʔeys-m-n  'I use it to pay, to buy.'
n-ʔeys-m-n-t  'Use it to pay, to buy.'
n-ʔe-r-cín-m-n  'I receive it in Holy Communion.'
naq’-m-n Pierre  'I stole Peter; I stole from Peter.'
iuʔ-ččs-m-n  'I wound my hand with it.'
citx’-m-n ci citx’  'I used that house.'
sič-m-n ci sič-m  'I used that blanket.'
x’olł’-m-n ci x’olł’  'I use that wagon.'
iuʔ qepc u č-x’uy-m-n-cí-n  'in spring when I paid you a visit'
n-qe?-cin-m-n-t-x' iu? s-qeltč-s 'You receive the body of J.C.'
qe?-šin-m-n iu? s-tas 'I have leather shoes.'
sić-m-n iu? k'ul-če? 'I have the red blanket on.'
χ'á-cin-m-n iu? i čxil-ps 'I have the gray horse.'
*č-ši?-t-s-t-ús-m-n-t-x' (-s-t ?) iu? a-sić-m či naq '
'Keep your eyes on your blanket lest it be stolen.'
čen iu? i-s-męnx' naq"-m-n-t-ём t ttwit
'Where is my tobacco? It has been stolen by a boy.'
?ey-čst-m-s-t-m-n 'I avenged you.' (D I p. 111)
n-qe?-cin-m-i-t-n 'I receive his...in Holy Communion.'
č-xs-m-i-ci-n iu? an-cút 'I feel good for your conduct.'
če?-šin-m-i-c-n iu? an-če?-šin 'I have on your shoes.'
nóx"-nox"-m-i-t-s šin-ce? 'He had his brother's wife.'

The following "transitivized" stems have an intransitive derivational suffix followed by -m 'middle':
n-?e-y-š-m-n (-intran. benefactive-middle-transitive first p. sg.)
'Buy it for others.'
n-?e-y-š-m-n-t 'Buy it for others.'
naq'w-š-m-n Pierre 'I stole Peter from others (from his masters).'  
k'ul-š-m-n 'I do it for others.'
sq-šiš-m-n 'I split it for others.'
iu?-šiš-m-n 'I lance it for others.'
k'w u n-k'w-i-n-?axl-ėls-m-n-t-x' (-volitive-middle-tran-tran-you)
'I think the same as you do.'
n-k'w-i-n-?axl-ėls-m-n-c-n 'You think as I do.'
k'w l-m-út-m-s-t-n (-capable-middle-causative-tran-first p. sg.)
'I can make that.'
ac-m-út-m-s-t-n 'I can catch it.'
χ'adw'-m-út-m-s-t-n 'I can grind it.'

Instrumental intransitive stems are frequently transitivized:

k'ul-m-n (≪ k'ul-min-n-t-en) 'I did use it.'
ac-mi-n (≪ ac-min-n-t-en) 'I use it to tie.'

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The following "transitivized" forms have instrumental and middle intransitive derivational suffixes:

- **χs-t-mín-m-n** ('I find it good.')
- **qi?-mín-m-n ci qi?-mín** ('I use that pen, paper.')
- **ac-mín-m-n** ('I use it to tie.')
- **iu?-mín-m-n** ('I use that to lance.')
- **iu?-mín-m-i-t-n** ('I use his...to lance.')

Cf. also: **y-es-iu?-mín-m-i-t-m** ('I use his... to lance.') which is an "intransitivization" of the preceding form.

Other "transitivized" intransitive stems are:

- **yo-yo-t-ílś-t-n** ('I make him grow strong.')
- **n-py-el-s-t-n** ('I make him to rejoice.')

(See also 5.1.2. epí-)
FOOTNOTES

1. This s-c- sequence which Post does not attempt to analyze is explained by Carlson for Spokan as the sequence of two nominal prefixes, the second one dissimilating to c (Carlson 1972, p. 133).

2. The translations of this and the immediately following example do not seem to match the Kalispel.

3. Here and in the immediately following example, n of čin 'I' is deleted before s- 'nominal'.

4. Some forms which translate with 'have' in English do not have epi-:
   čin k"tn-eiχu 'I have a big house.'
   čin suyap-sqáxe? 'I have an American horse.'
   čin q"áy-alqs 'I have a black dress.'

5. -enč? Related to -enč?

6. This form and two others (čes-t-n 'I make it good' and čes-t-m-n 'I find it good') are baffling as the reduced form of the first person singular actor with simple transitive suffixes should only occur with strong bases. Post shows these roots as both stressed and weak. (See Mattina 1973, p. 29.)

7. Vogt and Carlson list the same instrumental suffixes but with no distinct meanings (Vogt p. 49 n. 141-3; Carlson 1972, pp. 102-3).

8. Compare this and the preceding item with e?u-mín, e?u-mín-tn above. Are the glosses correct?

9. Vogt also mentions s- or sən- cooccurring with -tən to express where something takes place (p. 49 n. 142).

10. Carlson states that in Spokan -ist occurs with -m 'middle' forms yielding -mist with unstressed bases, and -ist with stressed bases (m going to i before s, after vowel deletion) (1972, pp. 94-95).

11. Carlson analyzes Spokan -yš as -m 'middle' plus -š 'imperative'
The distribution of these two allomorphs is not understood. Vogt notes that the suffix -ilš is "most often in the form -uilš [-wilš]" (p. 57 n. 159). Carlson does not mention a form with w for Spokan (1972, p. 118).

The reduplication of -p 'non-control' in this form indicates that slip is sometimes treated as a non-segmentable root.

The function and distribution of -m is not understood. The word-final m of the examples is presumed to be 'middle'. Two examples which Post included with other nouns, do not have a final -m:

čin es-kʷi-paž-m-út -i 'I can think, am capable of reflection.'
ta s-kʷi-paž-m-út 'He can not think, has not the use of reason.' (D I p. 451)

Post also gives inkoeltenzuten (**in-kʷelt-n-cút-n) 'he that loads me'.
6. COMPOUNDS AND COMPLEX FORMS

In addition to inflection and derivation two roots may occur together in compounds; or, one or more lexical affixes may accompany a root in complex forms.

6.1. Compounds

Roots are joined either directly, or by means of one of two compound connectives, -i- or -s-. Their distribution and the general rules for the formation of compounds are not understood. Each of two roots in a compound usually, not always, retains its meaning:

čin es-šʔaw-s-ʔitš-i (šʔaw 'enough' - ʔitš 'sleep')
'I don't care to sleep.'
čin es-šʔaw-s-ʔiʔin-i (šʔaw 'enough' - ʔiʔin 'eat')
'I don't care to eat.'
xʰi-cu-n-ṭ (xʰuy 'go' - cu(n) 'say')
'Go and tell him!' 
šeʔ-cu-n-ṭ (šeʔ 'look for' - cu(n) 'say')
'Look for him and tell him!'
čin tixʷ-i-nóxʷ-noxʷ (tixʷ 'get' - nóxʷ-noxʷ 'wife')
'I got a wife.'

Some roots seem to have a special propensity for compounding as the first compound member. They are exemplified here.

kʷul 'work, do, make'

čin es-kʷîl-i-ilmixʷ (ilmixʷ 'chief') 'I am acting as chief.'
y-es-kʷîl-i-ilmixʷ-m OR kʷîl-i-ilmixʷ-m-n 'I treat him as chief.'
čin es-kʷîl-i-pxʷ-út-i (pxʷ-út 'old, parent') 'I act as a parent.'
y-es-kʷîl-i-pxʷ-út-m OR kʷîl-pxʷ-út-m-n 'I treat him as a parent.'
čin es-\(k_i^w\)-sx\(^-\)six\(^-\)lt\(-\)i \(\text{(sx}^w\)-six\(^-\)lt \text{'child, children'})

'\text{I got a child}.'

y-es-\(k_i^w\)-sx\(^-\)six\(^-\)lt\(-\)m

'I treat him as a child.'

čin es-\(k_i^w\)-i-q\(^-\)q\('^\)in\(-\)t\(-\)i \(\text{(q}^w\text{'poor'})\)

'I act the poor.'

y-es-\(k_i^w\)-i-q\(^-\)q\('^\)in\(-\)t\(-\)m \ OR \ \(k_i^w\)-i-q\(^-\)q\('^\)in\(-\)t\(-\)m\(-\)n

'I treat him as poor.'

čin es-\(k_i^w\)-i-?eč\(-\)éwt\(-\)i \(\text{(eč \text{'last'})}\)

'I act as the last.'

y-es-\(k_i^w\)-i-?eč\(-\)éwt\(-\)m

'I treat him as the last.'

čin es-\(k_i^w\)-i-\(k_i^w\)-n-cút\(-\)n \(\text{(}\(k_i^w\)-n-cut\(-\)n \text{'God'})\)

'I act as God.'

y-es-\(k_i^w\)-i-\(k_i^w\)-n-cút\(-\)n \ OR \ \(k_i^w\)-i-\(k_i^w\)-n-cut\(-\)n\(-\)m\(-\)n

'I treat him as God.'

Cf. also: ćis-i-n-\(k_i^w\)ul\(-\)mi\(-\)s \(\text{(-n-? \ (ćis \text{'bad'}) \ 'his bad ways'})\)

\(nk_i^w\)u? \ 'one'

y-es-\(nk_i^w\)-i-?emút\(-\)m \(\text{(?emút \text{'sit'}) \ ū? \ i-s-\text{xélwi}?'\}

'I remain with my husband in the same place.'

t swet u es-\(nk_i^w\)-i-\(lci\?-\)m-s \(\text{[lci? \ 'remain, stay'] \ ū? \ J.C.} \ ū? \ 1 \ s-n-\text{qé?-cín}

'Who remains with J.C. in the Holy Eucharist?'

t 1?ew-s ut S. s-px-pax-t u es-\(nk_i^w\)-i-\(lci\?-\)m-s

'His father and the Holy Spirit remain with him.'

y-es-\(nk_i^w\)-i-x\(\text{uy}\)-m \ OR \ \(nk_i^w\)-i-x\(\text{uy}\)-m\(-\)n \(\text{[x}^w\text{uy \text{'go'}}]\)

'I have him coming with me.'

i 1 \(nk_i^w\)-s-\(xl\)-xal\(-\)t \(\text{[xal \text{'light'}, xl-xal \text{'day'] \ ū? q\(^w\)mi?-p}

Pierre ū ū? Paul \ 'Peter and Paul died together.'

\(nk_i^w\)-i-\(xl\)-mí\(-\)s \(\text{[xil \text{'die']} \ ū Pierre ū ū? Paul}

'Peter had Paul for his companion in death.'

s-\(nk_i^w\)-sqélíx\(-\)w \(\text{(sqélíx}^w \text{'man'})\)

'neighbor'

s-\(nk_i^w\)-i-ilmix\(-\)w \(\text{(ilmix}^w \text{'chief'})\)

'fellow-chief'

s-\(nk_i^w\)-i-tt\(\text{wít}\) \(\text{(tt\(\text{wít \text{'boy'})}}\)

'fellow-boy'

s-\(nk_i^w\)-i-\(šè\)-\(šuth\) \(\text{(šè-\(šuth \text{'girl'})}\)

'fellow-girl'

s-\(nk_i^w\)-i-\(k\(\text{ vá}\)l\(-\)l \(\text{(k\(\text{ vá\'}l \text{'make, do'})}}\)

'wife/husband'
k'^tun 'big, great' (Note that unstressed u is deleted, and that
n → i before -s- or -i-.)

k'^ti-s-m?ôt (m?ot 'smoke') 'big smoke'
k'^ti-s-p?ús (p?ús 'heart') 'big heart'
k'^ti-s-qêltč (qêltč 'body') 'big body'
k'^ti-s-k'^is-k's (k'^is 'hen') 'turkey'
k'^ti-s-psay-é? (psay-é? 'fool') 'a great fool'
k'^ti-i-qp-êice? (qp-êice? 'plate') 'big plate'
k'^ti-i-š?ít ('š?ít 'first') 'by far the first'
k'^ti-i-px-páx-t (páx 'wise') 'by far the wisest'
k'^ti-i-šéš-t (šéš 'good') 'by far the best'

*mi 'worthy, excellent, true' (D II p. 422)

*s-mi-i-l?éw (l?éw 'father') 'worthy father'
*s-mi-i-px'-út (px'-út 'old') 'worthy parent'
*s-mi-s-k'uý (k'uý 'mother') 'worthy mother'
*s-mi-s-k'á-l-n-cút-n (k'á-l-n-cut-n 'God') 'true God'
*s-mi-s-px-páx-t (páx 'wise') 'true sage'
*s-mi-i-xá-cín (xá-cín 'horse') 'excellent horse'

sqm 'worthless' (vowel unattested) (D II p. 422)

sqm-sqélix evacuate 'man') 'worthless man'
sqm-i-č-naqs (č-naqs 'one person') 'worthless fellow'
sqm-s-m?em (m?em 'woman') 'false woman'
sqm-i-xá-cín (xá-cín 'horse') 'worthless horse'
sqm-i-mi-n-cút-n (mi-n-cút-n 'one who knows') 'false teacher'

**ši?s 'instead of'

iu? či *q-s-ši?s-čaw-i [čaw 'pray'], čn ?iš 'Instead of praying, I slept.'

țu? ne *q-s-ši?s-čen-t-éx' [čen 'forbid'] k'Çhít ti ci? u n-awqnt-x' 'Instead of checking him, you encourage him.'

țu? qa? *q-s-ši?s-čaym-t-m-n-t-m [čaym 'mad, angry'], m qe? čaw-š-t-m 'Instead of getting mad at him, we should pray for him.'
J.C.  już, **q-s-si?s-l?e-l-s (-l ?) [l?e 'stay, remain']}, t cnitc u Ḫay-alqs tk'-n-t-ěs **qi-n-i-qīlq-p-n-cāt-i-s

'Instead of remaining here himself, J.C. left the priests to hold his place.'

ś?it 'first'³

ś?it-maʔ-sqēlix⁴ (sqēlix 'man, mn') 'first people'
*ś?it-miś-ělt (stress ?) (*miš '?', -ělt 'child') 'first-born child'

6.2. Complex Forms

Complex forms consist of a root and one (or more) lexical affixes. Lexical affixes are bound morphemes with lexical meaning. The great majority are suffixes, a few prefixes. Generally the meaning of complex forms can be deduced from the root and the affix, but sometimes a metaphorical interpretation is necessary.

6.2.1. Lexical Suffixes

In this section, fifty-six lexical suffixes are listed, glossed, and exemplified.⁵

-alqs 'clothing, shirt, dress'

sic-álqs 'new dress' qūy-alqs 'black gown, priest'
piq-álqs 'white gown' či-qīlq-č-alqs 'overcoats'
kw'i-iš-t-álqs⁶ 'underwear' s-šsp-alqs 'old clothes'
sot-lqs 'knitted shirt' xw?-alqs 'plenty of clothing'
čm-p-alqs 'hem of a garment' xs-alqs 'good dress'
čin es-tw-álqs-i 'I buy a shirt.'
čin s-qīltmix'-alqs 'I dress as (like) a man.'
čin m?em-álqs 'I dress as a woman.'
čin suyap-álqs 'I dress as an American.'
-âlq‘ 'cylindrical object'
-âlq‘-âlq‘ 'hard wood'  x̌m-âlq‘ 'wood painted red'
-xam-âlq‘ 'dry wood'  qî-âlq‘ 'green wood'
-**essalq-âlq‘ 'crooked wood'  ǩtn-âlq‘ 'tall (tree, person)'
y-es-Č-tm-âlq‘-m  'I kiss the cross (the wood)'

-âlq  'smell, grain, fruit, spouse'
-âlq‘  'good smell'  3s-âlq  'bad smell'
-âlq‘-âlq‘  'who is divorced'  (D I p. 176)
-âlq‘-âlq‘  'His seed is coming out.'  (D I p. 176)

-aqs  'road; nose; food; point'
-nk‘-aqs  'one road'  xs-aqs  'good food/taste'
-1k‘-ut-âqs  'distant road'  s-čut-âqs  'part of the food'
n-sul-âqs  'frozen road'  s-q‘a-m-âqs  'habitual food'
n-tx‘-âqs  'straight road'  č-maw-âqs  'rominant of food'
n-?asl-âqs  'two roads'  č-x‘-âqs  'He ate much.'
n-k‘tn-âqs  'large road'  č-x‘-etk‘-âqs  'He drank much.'
n-čm-âqs  'point of knife'  **c-k‘-k‘m-âqs  'hungry one'
sk‘-aqs  'swollen nose'  x̌um-m-âqs  'desirable food'
-y-es-iu?-âqs-m  'I sting his nose.'
n-x‘k‘-pɔs-âqs (pɔs ?)  'forking road'
-**čn-qaw-âqs  'some, several' (?)

-aqsm7  'species, kind'
-es-n-iy‘?-qsm  'all kinds'  n-k‘tn-aqsm  'dear (expensive)'

-aqsus8  'band, family'
-č?i-aqsus  'three families'  mus-aqsus  'four families'
nk‘-aqsus  'one family'  ?upn-aqsus  'ten families'

-âsqt  'day; sky, weather'  (D I pp. 21, 34)
-âsqt  'good day/weather'  3s-âsqt  'bad day/weather'
-ć-âsqt  'clear sky'  s-ć-čm-âsqt  'sky, heaven'
-ć-?ašl-âsqt  'sky-like'  **čans-p-âsqt  'cloudy sky'
-axn 'arm'

-axn 'broken arm'
wis-šn-axn 'long arm'
sk'-axn 'swollen arm'
ča?l-axn 'sore arm'
čm-axn 'last (in the row)'
iu? l s-čm-axn 'at the last end, in the extreme'

-ax'cč 'chest, breast'
č-ča?l-ax'cč 'sore breast'
š'ax'cč 'bare-breasted'

-cin 'mouth, word, food'
n-q'âq'âq'â-cin 'poor speaker'
s-n-qē?-cin 'Holy Communion'
s-up-cin 'beard'
**n-pe?q'-cin 'fair face'
s-hoy-cin 'end of speech'
nk'-cin 'one word'
čsi-p-cin 'one out of provisions' (D I p. 648)
y-es-n-qē?-cin-m 'I give Holy Com. to him. OR I receive H. C.'
y-es-p?aw-cin-m OR p?aw-cin-m-n 'I speak disrespectfully to him.'

-ečs(t) 'hand, action, finger; branch of tree' (-ečs before m)

s-čch-čcst 'right hand'
s-tum-čcst 'thumb'
iyús-čcst 'dirty hand'
qn-čcst 'contracted hand'
q'-qin-čcst 'finger-nails'
n-čk'-čcst 'walking cane'
s-č-cčl-čl-čcst 'branches'
č-č'-čcst 'broken branches'
s-łoq'-čn-čcst 'wound in hand'
s-k'-čyalk'-čn-čcst 'bracelets'
mus-čcst 'who hopes to succeed (does his best)'
y-es-iu?-ečs-m 'I sting his hand; I wound my hand with it.'
y-es-tm-čcs-m 'I kiss his hand.'
čcin es-x'e?l-čcst-i 'I work quickly, hasten.'

-ečce? 'the whole; inside of anything'
n-χs-ečce? 'all good inside'
n-iš-ut-ečce? 'down inside'
n-q'čč-ečce? 'full person'
š'k'tn-ečce? 'big gun, cannon'
n-x'ko-čč-ečce? 'clean inside, clean vessel'
čcin n-mál-čce? (?) 'I am all dirty inside.'
-elix' "tribe, people"

nk"élix' 'one tribe' tix'1-elix' 'of another tribe'
esiyà?élix' 'all nations' s-tem-élix' 'of what tribe?' s-nk"élix' 'compatriot (of the same tribe)'

-elp 'floor'

*stcs-le?x'-élp-tn 'a broom (to sweep inside the house)'
tk'k'-élp (< tk'k'-élp) 'camp'

-elps 'neck, back part of the neck' (D II p. 252)

**czyul-elps 'thick-necked'
s-çxil-efs (< s-çxíl-elps) 'gray (necked) horse'
Cf. also: s-q1-eps 'neck-kerchief' ?

-els 'front'; *miis-éls 'the presence, front part of a person'
i-s-miis-çm-éls 'my presence'
s-miis-çm-éls-c 'his presence'
iu? l s-miis-çm-éls 'before someone'

-elt 'child, young one'

?ox"t-elt 'baby' s-q"s?-elt 'nephew'
*s-k"um-élt 'pure virgin' s-₁w-elt 'orphan'
sic-1t 'new-born child' s-thč?-élt 'daughter'
šuth-elt 'little daughter' s-k"-k'ím-₁t 'baby, boy, girl'
č-iaq"-cè?-lt (stress ?) 'chicks coming out of the shell'
(D I p. 352)

-ei 'luck'

čin ix"p-ei 'I had the luck to escape.' (D II p. 232)

-eix' 'house, skin, cloth, cover'

s-₁k"eix' 'log house' če?1-éix' 'three houses/rooms'
k'tn-eix' 'big house' čs-eix' 'bad house'
s-pum-éix' 'hairy skin' qi"ay-ix' 'black cloth'
**x"1-χ'al-éix' 'sheep's skin' s-néč-îc-eix' 'elk's skin'
čin x"č-eix' 'I give a house.' čm-p-eix' 'rear of the house'
•emxʷ 'breast'
  čaʔ1-émxʷ 'a sore breast'  t̕ʷ-émxʷ 'put on the breast'
  mal-émxʷ 'healed breast'
  s-ʔʷeʔ-ʔʷ-émxʷ 'cow-milked, milk' (D I p. 282)

-énč 'insides, stomach'
  ʔxʷ-p-énč 'costive'  č-čaʔ1-énč 'belly-ache'

-éneʔ 'ear; food' (či-éneʔ 'all over')
  s-ččikʷ-éneʔ 'left ear'
  č-xʷt-éneʔ 'cropped ear'
  es-tq-éneʔ 'deaf in one ear'
  n-χs-éneʔ 'willing to hear'
  nnumxʷ-éneʔ 'believes what he hears'
  x̕ʷum-m-éneʔ 'desirable food'
  i-s-xʷč-č-n-éneʔ (-n- ?) 'food given to me'
  iʔʷ-éneʔ 'He hides provisions.'
  čs-p-éneʔ 'one out of provisions' (D I p. 640)
  čin x̕ʷč-n-éneʔ (-n- ?) 'I give provisions.'
  čin es-tq-éneʔ-i 'I hold by laying hands on.'
  či-aw-p-éneʔ 'wet all over'
  či-iłxʷ-éneʔ 'covered all over'
  či-χali-p-éneʔ 'I am fallen upon by the morning light. The
  morning light falls upon me.' (D II p. 135)

-ep 'hair; foot (tree, door), helm of boat' (n- ep 'food; back of
  a person) (kʷi-n- ep 'door')
  n̕ʷ-ep 'one hair'  ?esl-ép 'two hairs'
  *čt-ep 'cut logs'  s-čm-ep 'foot of a tree'
  n-twin-ép 'lacking food'  **n-aiq-ép 'plenty of food'
  č-n-ʔačxʷ-ép 'looked at from behind'
  sxʷ-txʷ-m-ép (-m- ?) 'helms-man, pilot'
  ?emt-ép 'Indian goddess, dwelling at the foot' (D II p. 116)
  kʷi-n-χc-ep 'passing by the door'
**č-č-s-wiš-èp** 'standing by the door'
čìn es-kù-i-n-čù-l-èp-i 'I shut the door of the lodge (tent).'
čìn es-kù-i-n-šn-èp-i 'I shut the wooden door.'
čìn es-kù-i-n-čn-m-ùp-i 'I lock the door.'
čìn es-kù-i-n-čehe-èp-i 'I open the door of the lodge.'
čìn es-kù-i-n-čehekù-èp-i 'I unlock and open the door.'
čìn es-kù-i-n-màw-p-i 'I break a door open (breaking the hinges).'

**-épest** 'chin'
ìu?-épest 'stung on the chin'

-éple? 'handle' (č-éple? 'authority, boss') (D II p. 201)

qù-u-p-éple? 'the handle broke'
**qs-éple?** 'the broken handle'
č-česl-éple? 'He has two masters.'
č-čač-éple? 'He is looked for by superiors.'
č-kùulst-éple? 'He is sent by a superior.'
č-če-m-éple? 'forbidden by boss'
č-tm-éple? 'orphan (without boss)'

-epi 'lower part of the back, buttocks'
sù-cpi-m 'whipped on the back' (D II p. 22)
ìu?-ópi-m 'wounded on the back'

-esšù 'stone, grain, kernel'

nkù-esšù 'one stone/grain'
kùtn-esšù 'big stone'
χ-s-esšù 'beautiful stone'
χùy-esšù 'sharp-pointed stone'

-éste? 'grass'
s-χs-éste? 'good grass (hay)'
s-čs-éste? 'poor grass' (D II p. 170)

-ètkù (-kù) 'water'
s-χs-ètkù 'broth'
n-siš-kù 'pure water'
s-xùy-m-ètkù 'ice'
n-čal-átkù 'cold water'
n-mal-kù 'troubled water'
či-pùos-átkù 'foam'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i q’oy-kg</td>
<td>'calm water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-k’il-kg</td>
<td>'red water (wine)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-xal-kg</td>
<td>'clear water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ocq’-etkg</td>
<td>'spring of water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**s-ç-tc-ektg</td>
<td>'a skin raft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-íq-ektg</td>
<td>'broad water (Flathead Lake)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-Îx-ektg</td>
<td>'fast water (Spokane Falls)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ow (-ui)</td>
<td>'boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nk’-ow</td>
<td>'one boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-çsp-ow</td>
<td>'old boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sic-ul</td>
<td>'new boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ-s-tem-ow</td>
<td>'without boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ews</td>
<td>'back; fellow, partner' (n-ews 'between, among, in common')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-ća?l-ews</td>
<td>'sore back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ-sk’-ews</td>
<td>'swollen belly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-ès-ews</td>
<td>'bad among the good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-x’st-ews</td>
<td>'walks among others'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-es-ćic-ews-m</td>
<td>'I bore it through.' (D II p. 398)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-es-n-śist-ews-m</td>
<td>'I pass through a city.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-es-n-țk-ews-m</td>
<td>'I place it in common.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-țk’-ews-n íu?</td>
<td>'I gave the wagons in common.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe? es-xm-enc-ews-i</td>
<td>'We love one another.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ewt</td>
<td>'together' (also -ewt ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ay’-ewt</td>
<td>'live together'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe? ?ay’-ewt-i</td>
<td>'We live together.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tpy’-ewt</td>
<td>'stand together'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe? tpy’-ewt</td>
<td>'We stand together.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qamm-ewt</td>
<td>'lay down together'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe? qamm-ewt</td>
<td>'We lay down together.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?eç-ewt</td>
<td>'last one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-mq’-ewt</td>
<td>'hillock' (a hillock in a group ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-ëye'</td>
<td>'feign, simulate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çin es-ća?-ća?l-ëye'</td>
<td>'I play sick.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çin es-çq’-q’-aq’-ëye'</td>
<td>'I feign to weep.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Čin es-ʔitʔitš-eýey 'I feign to sleep.' (D I p. 244)

-eýs 'rain, snow' (n- -eýs 'tooth')

s-ìw-eýs 'little rain' kʷt-kʷtn-eýs 'large flakes'

s-ti-p-eýs 'rain' es-ti-p-eýs-i 'It rains.'

n-ɛs-eýs 'good tooth' n-ɛs-eýs 'bad tooth'

n-çaʔl-eýs 'tooth-ache' n-ʔu-p-eýs 'broken tooth'

n-ìxʷ-eyes 'hollow tooth'

-íce? 'cover, blanket' (č- -íce? 'all around')

s-ʔsp-íce? 'old blanket' s-kʷil-íce? 'red blanket'

kʷtn-íce? 'large robe' č-íce? 'bad cot/blanket'

č-aw-p-íce? 'wet all around' č-qʷn-qʰ-íce? 'poorly clad'

č-þxʷ-íce? 'shining all around'

-ičn 'back' (n- -ičn 'back of animal' (??))

es-n-m̃-ičn 'hump-backed' n-ʔemt-íčn 'sit on the back'

n-ɪkʷ-íčn 'placed on the back'

-il (-el, -al) 'arrow, weapon' (D I p. 17)

čin es-íl-m-i₁² (stress ?) 'I throw arrows by the hand.'

-lscút 'goods'

x̌s-lscút 'good goods' os-lscút 'lost goods'

s-ʔtq-lscút 'goods' s-qamm-lscút 'goods, pl.'

s-θm-lscút 'what kind of goods'

-iniwt 'side (person, road)'

s-ɪoχʷ-iniwt 'side-wound' s-n-čm-iniwt 'loins, sides'

-ɪqit (-įqityt) 'shoulder; covering'

s-n-čm-ɪqit 'shoulder blade' n-ɪqʷ-ɪqʷ-ɪqit 'suspenders'

s-n-čm-ɪqit 'clothes, coat' n-ʔlot-ɪqit 'shovel'

*s-n-čm-ɪqit ( -i- ?) 'top of shoulder'

čin es-n-čm-ɪqit-i 'I carry a piece of wood on the shoulder.'

čin es-n-θkʷ-ɪqityt-i 'I carry something on the shoulder.'
-iτumš 'people'

 sxʷ-kiʷ-įtumš (< sxʷ-k'ul-įtumš) 'messenger (sent)'
 sxʷ-su-įtumš (< sxʷ-sew-įtumš) 'messenger (asking)'
 s-xʷ1-xʷilt-įtumš 'saving of people'
 či- es-įxalt-įtumš-i 'I ask for people.'
 či- es-n-qʷ-įtumš-i 'I pity people.'

-nuxʷ 'weather'
 kʷ1-kʷ1-nuxʷ 'sunny weather'
 [contains more complex phonetic symbols that are not legible]
 **cmp-nuxʷ 'cloudy weather'
 čiʔ-nuxʷ (< čeʔ-nuxʷ) 'what kind of weather'

-qin 'head, hundred' (č- -qin 'mountain'; n- -qin 'voice')

 nl¹₁-w-oʔ-qin¹³ 'one hundred'
 s-čoʔ-č-qin 'brain'
 qʷac-qin 'hat, cap'
 n-txʷ-qin 'mid-day'
 č-paxʷ-qin 'shining head'
 es-č̱nm-p-qin 'got blind'
 ?amot-qin (< ?emut-qin) 'old Indian god (dwelling at the top)'
 (D I p. 116)
 y-es-top-qn-m 'I bend it over (as the head of a tree).'
 č-kʷton-qn 'big mountain'
 čʔ-amot-qn 'dweller on the mountain'

-scut 'feign, simulate'
 či- es-xš-t-scut-i¹⁴ (-t- ?) 'I feign good manners.'
 či- es-yo-yo-scut-i 'I try, endeavor (fortitude to do).'
 či- es-yo-yo-t-scut-i (-t- ?) 'I play the strong.'
 es-ilnixʷ-scút-i 'He affects the chieftainship (aspires after).'

 **-šćint¹⁵ 'person, people'

 **syaw-šćint 'patient people'
 yo-yo-šćint 'powerful men'
 s-xʷyeʔ-šćint 'ant-people (Blackfeet)'
s-ɨq-ekʷ-m-sčînt (-m-?) 'people from the foot of Flathead Lake'

*-snuxʷ 'worthy of'

lm-lem-snuxʷ 'worthy of being liked'

*čam-čam-snuxʷ 'worthy of hatred'

?am-?am-snuxʷ (?aym-?aym-snuxʷ)¹⁶ 'worthy of anger'

n-χ1-χl-snuxʷ 'inspiring fear'

s-χm-χm-čnč-snuxʷ 'lovely, that desires to be loved'

-sqâxe? 'cattle, beast, horse'

kʷt-sqâxe? 'big horse'

-php"-t-sqâxe? (php"-ut-sqâxe?) 'old horse'

n-tk"-či?-sqâxe?-tn 'saddle'

s-n-tpy-čw-t-sqâxe?-tn 'stable'

čin **es-kʷ-sqâxe? 'I go to buy a horse.'

čin xʷ-c-sqâxe? 'I give a horse.'

-šin 'foot, leg, root'

q"ušin 'ripe roots' s-n-¿u-Al-šin 'stockings'

†umnéll-šin 'wild goat' q?u-šin 'broken leg'

s-ix"-šin 'foot-wound' wis-šin 'long'

s-n-špx"-šin 'nail foot-wound'

s-qp-í-če?-šin 'old shoe'

-úle?xʷ 'land, place; times'

xńám-le?xʷ 'dry place' Aic-le?xʷ 'hard place'

čs-úle?xʷ 'bad country' q"in-le?xʷ 'green fields'

tiʔm-le?xʷ 'moist soil' n-hóy-le?xʷ 'deserted place'

χʔ-úle?xʷ 'rattlesnake' čeʔ1-úle?xʷ 'three times'

mís-le?xʷ 'four times' čl-čst-úle?xʷ 'five times'

s-čs-úle?xʷ-tn 'a broom (to sweep outside the house)'

-us 'face, eye, neck; fire; family; times'

čs-us 'ugly face' xʷem-ús 'red-painted face'

s-č-kʷtn-us 'big fire' s-n-čic-n-ús (-n?) 'beginning'

n-čaʔ1-ús 'sore neck' č-čaʔ-čaʔ1-ús 'sore eyes'
nk’us 'one band, family'
cil-čst-ús 'five times'
če?-če?t-ús 'three times'
či-k’-čim-ús 'small star'
si-sy-ús 'small star'
n-qlx’-us 'hooked in one eye'
čiám-ús 'I am consumed by fire.'
y-es-n-x’č-š-ús-m (-š- ?) 'I pay it for debts by giving the equivalent.'
čin es-þlč-ús-i 'I return, go back before reaching.'
y-es-þu?-ús-m 'I sting his face.'
čin es-ta?x’-l-ús(-i) ( -1- ?) 'I advance, proceed.'
y-es-x’y-ús-m  þu? i-s-q’sé? 'I came with my son.'
y-es-x’č-t-p-ús-m 'I run away with her.'
n-þuix’-ús-n 'I went in with him; I brought him in.'

-útya?, -útye? ' ?'

*s-q’m-útya? 'coin'
qi?-m-útya? ( -m- ?) 'paper money' (D II p. 245, I p. 254)
*ix’-m-útye? ( -m- ?) 'sewed together (a sack)' (D I p. 369)
tup-m-útye? ( -m- ?) 'corded ropes' (D I p. 597)

These suffixes form many combinations usually with each suffix retaining its own meaning. Some combinations take on a new meaning that cannot be derived from their elements. Some of these complex suffixes are:

-aposqn (< -ép-us-qin) 'mouth, lips, throat'

i-k’-k’yum-aposqn 'small-mouthed'
sk’-aposqn 'swelled mouth, lips'
χam-aposqn 'dry throat' (D I p. 143)
šu?-aposqn 'stung in the lips'
ťax-aposqn 'bitter mouth'

cnetk’ (< -cin-étk’) 'shore'

þaq-lš-cnetk’ 'sitting on the shore'
-čneíx" (< -ičn-čix") 'front of the house'

es-čm-t-čneíx" (-č- ?) 'standing outside'
čm-čneíx" 'yard in front of the house'
tpy-čm-t-čneíx" 'those standing outside'
x"st-čneíx" 'passing before the house'

-qnel (< -qin-čcl) 'shot, bite'
nk'-qnel 'one shot'
n-?as1-qnel 'two shots'
n-čs-qnel 'good bite'

-usqn (< -ús-qin) 'top of head'18

piq-úsqn 'white on top of head'
**es-n-ayl-úsqn 'his head-top is shaved' (D I p. 15)

6.2.2. Lexical Prefixes

In this section, three lexical prefixes are listed, glossed, and
examplified:19

*qe?i- 'offspring, child'
qe?i-David 'son of David'
**qe?i-čw1-čwʻal 'lamb'
qe?i-k'w1-n-cút-n 'son of God'
pu?- 'spouse'
pu?-sqélix" 'wife/husband of an Indian'
pu?-suyápi 'wife/husband of a whiteman'
pu?-Paul 'Paul's wife'
pu?-Marie 'Mary's husband'
k'w pu?-č-sél 'You have two wives.'

sx"- 'charged to, appointed to do, fellow, partner, companion'
(D I p. 503, D II pp. 15, 142)

sx"-ačx-m 'spectator'
 sx"-k'ul-m 'workman'
x"-k'ne-m 'policeman'
 sx"-px2om-m 'distributor'
sx-ves-m 'sheriff' sx-v-caw-m 'prayer leader'
{sx-v-cx?}lem 'charged to watch' sx-ves-tu-m-ist 'trader'
sx-ves-lq'w-u-m 'tailor' sx-v-xaq 'paymaster'
i-sx-ves-člip 'my folks out hunting'
sx-ves-sqe-m', sx ves-sax-w-m 'wood-splitter'
i-sx-ves-naq-w 'my companion in stealing'
i-sx-ves-čil 'my dead companion'
sx-ves-six-w-lt 'my born fellow, my child'
i-sx-ves-čuv 'my absent partner'
i-sx-ves-s-m?em (s- ?) 'my sister'

(Cf. also i-sx-ves six-w-lt 'my born fellow, my child'; i-s-nk-ves-six 'my fellow born, brother or sister'.)
FOOTNOTES

1 Post lists the following forms amongst his examples:
čs-i-in-kul-mn ('bad-comp. con.-my-make-instr.') 'my bad ways'
čs-i-an-kul-mn ('bad-comp. con.-your-make-instr.') 'thy bad ways'
The placement of the possessive prefixes is certainly unexpected.

2 For -e? see footnote 9, chapter 4.

3 **š?i-mi-šes-t 'the best' is perhaps a three root compound:
š?i 'first' - *mi 'worthy' šes 'good'.

4 Cf. Colville xatma?sqilx'.

5 Cognates for a few of these are not found in either Vogt (he
calls them 'field suffixes') or Carlson: -scint 'people', -emx 'breast', -epest 'chin', -epi 'buttocks', -estyɛ 'grass', -ɛyeɣ 'to simulate, feign', -mɛx' 'weather', -scut 'to simulate, feign',
-smɛx' 'worthy of' (Vogt pp. 51-56, n. 151-157; Carlson 1972, pp. 96-
100, 139-40).

6 Comparative evidence (see Colville) suggests that išut is seg-
mentable (< yvš-ut), and if it is, then -ut is likely to be a lexical
suffix, here occurring in combination with another lexical suffix.
(See -ut 'capable' in 5.2.9.3. and 1k-ut-aqs, ëx-?sqa-xe below.)

7 Is this the same as Vogt's -aqson 'kind, sort' and Carlson's
-aqs-m (in n?asli-aqs-m 'two kinds')?

8 Cf. -aq'su 'band, family' (Vogt p. 52 n. 154).

9 See Vogt p. 18 n. 32 for de-glottalization rules.

10 Cf. also n-q'oy-k (Tony Incashola).

11 From this form it appears that stem sometimes behaves as a (non-
segmentable) root.

12 -il appears to be a root here.

13 See 2.9. n. 15 for vowel lowering.
Perhaps this should be analyzed as _s_ 'causative trans.' plus _cut_ 'reflexive' in which case _t_ could be 'stative'.

If _-sčint_ (s-čint ?) is a root, then these are compounds.

The Colville cognate _?im_ suggests that _a_ is the vocalization of _?_; the _?_ remains unexplained.

If _-snux_ (s-nux?) is a root, then these forms are compounds.

This form seems to indicate that _iaqlš_ sometimes acts as a (non-segmentable) root.

Cf. Vogt's _-apqen_ 'top of head'.

Post actually lists twelve forms. Of these, only two are lexical prefixes, the others roots. Six are cognate with other Salish roots: _čem_ 'last, extremity', _čes_ 'bad', _xes_ 'good', _kutun_ 'big, great', _š?it_ 'first', and _nk'u?_ 'one'. **alq 'plenty of' must also be the root of the following words (which would otherwise lack a root):

**alq-álqs
   'who has plenty of cloth'
**alq-éfix
   'who has plenty of lumber'
**n-aiq-ép
   'who has plenty of food'

Three others participate in compounds: _sqm_ 'worthless', _*mi_ 'excellent, worthy' and **š?i-mil_ 'exceedingly' (see 6.1.).

Post gives _sx'-_ as a prefix used in forming "nouns indicating people's profession or work."

Carlson lists _šm-_ 'poor little' and _pu?-_ 'spouse' as lexical prefixes (1972, p. 100).
7. PARTICLES

Chapters 3 - 6 of this work discuss Kalispel morphology. The basic morphological unit is the root to which may be added a number of inflectional and derivational affixes. Each such form, a word, has full predicative force:

- citx̂ 'It's a house.'
- x̂uy 'He/she/it goes.'
- ac-min 'It is a trap.'
- y-es-n-qué?-cín-m-i-t-m 'I receive his...in Holy Com.'
- s-čs-úle?x̂-tn 'It's a broom to sweep outside.'

In addition to roots which typically undergo inflection and derivation, another lexical class (uninflected) is found in the language, that of particles.

All particles are proclitic and they are divided in three classes according to their immediate constituent partner in a sentence: clause particles, predicate particles, and complement particles.

7.1. Clause Particles

Clause particles have as their immediate constituent partner a whole clause.

7.1.1. Interrogative ha, uc

ha marks the clause it introduces as interrogative, the answer to which is of the 'yes-no' type. (Cf. also 'apodotic interrogative' in 7.1.4.)

ha nom k̂ x̂uy 'Will you go?'

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ha ta kʷ čaw-m
'Did you not pray?'
ha xʷa m kʷ xʷuy
'Shall you perhaps go?'
ha q-s-qixʷ-i-c-n
'Should I drive him for you?'
ha ta kʷ xʷuy
'And did you not go?'
kʷu es-xabət-m-s t qʷay-alqs
'The father calls for me. Is it Joseph?'

ʔuc marks the clause it introduces as dubitative interrogative, the answer to which is 'probably not'.

ʔuc m čin ḥil
'Is it that I should die?'
ʔuc m čin xʷ1-xʷilt
'Who knows if I will be alive?'
ha nem kʷ xʷuy ʔuc
'Will you go? Who knows.'
ʔačx-s-t-s ne ʔuc pac-s-t-ės
'They looked at him, whether he would cure him.' (D I p. 616)
čin c-xʷuy ʔuc čin epi-ʔiʔ-mín-tn
'I came to see whether there is any letter for me.'

7.1.2. Future nem

nem marks the clause it introduces as future (cf. also the predicate particle m 'future'). Sometimes nem is reduced to m, usually when not sentence-initial:

nem čin ʔiʔnəs
'I will start for my trip.'
nem kʷu ilmíxʷ-m
'One will be chief.'
nem kʷu ʔaym-t
'One will be angry.'
χʷa nem č-šn-ci-n
'Perhaps I will follow thee.'
nem t kʷuyʔe m n-qʷh-mín-c-n
'I shall have pity on thee.'
pi-s-teh m kʷ člip
'When will you go hunting?'
l čičeʔt nem qeʔ tkʷ-ʔw-elp
'On some near place we will camp.'
nem čiʔ-ćwəs m qeʔ s-n-py-els l s-č-čm-asqət
'Forever we shall rejoice in heaven.'

7.1.3. Desiderative kʷmi?

kʷmi? 'would that!' marks the clause it introduces as desiderative.
k'mi? ćin tś'-m-a-cut 'Would to God that I would amend myself.'

k'mi? wič-n-t-x' ṭu? a-q-s-n-q'ā-ln ṭu? tā an-k'w-l-n-cūt-n

['Would that you see it sub. your-pity(favor) sub. from your-God'] 'Would that you obtain your favor from God.'

7.1.4. Apodotic k'ne

k'ne marks the clause it introduces as apodotic, usually following a protatic clause.1

k' ṭu? ta k' čaw-m, k'ne u k' oós-t

'If you had not prayed, you would have been lost.'

k' ṭu? č-x'uy-m-n, k'ne u wič-t-n

'If I had paid him a visit, I would have seen him.'

A special apodotic interrogative clause is introduced by the sequence k'na (k'ne ha):

k'na u čin x'uy 'Should I go?'

k' ta maly-Čem-n-c-n (-Čem ?) k'na u k' x'1-xl'ilt

'If I had not given thee that medicine, should you be alive?'

7.1.5. we 'to no avail'

we 'to no avail' is sometimes preceded by ?em, a particle which seems to reinforce its meaning.

?em we čin q'ā-il-m-îst, u ta s-1k'-n-t-Čn

'Though I did my best, I could not succeed.'

č-Šn-t-ex' ?em we x'1 s-tešm ṭu? t ēk'ult 'Thou didst follow him, while the others deserted him.' (D II p. 440)

we y'es-k'w-l-m 'Though I made it; I made it indeed.'

we k'w-l-n 'Though I had made it.'

ṧu? we q'-č-śn-cūt-i-s J.C. 'Those would be followers of J.C.'

we ēs-t u ta s-ĸs-t-mi-n 'He is good, but I don't like him.'

we čin q'1-q'elt, ta s-sēw-ne?

'Though I spoke, he did not mind.'

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u šeš u c-n-têš-ilš k’tun-t s-woši we q-s-kʷe?-lwîs-m-s iu? ttwit 'And there a big fish came towards the shore, as if he wished to bite the young man.' (Bible p. 32)
č-x”c-n-t-es iu? t s-x”it-s iu? têye? i-s-c-kʷên iu? we s-x”it iu? in-qʷom-qn 'The multitude of my sins surpasses even the number of my hair.'
we maw-t iu? in-qʷ-ińč *peñ t šeš u pul-s-t-n iu?
x”i-x”ey-úi 'Though my bow was broken, still it was with it that I killed those animals.'
we kʷ čes-t u yetiχʷá **qʷ-t-ilš 'Though you were good, now you are becoming wayward.'
we čin es-čaw-i u k”u xalît-i-s in-qecč 'Though I am praying, my older brother called me.'

7.1.6. Conjoining u

u conjoins clauses but also occurs sentence-initially. It is translated variously in English.

ši? sqélixʷ u ši? x”i-x”ey-úi k”l-n-cut-n ep-s-c-k”ul 'Men and beasts are the work of God.'
u x”l s-teh u k”u čs-cin-m-n-t-x” 'And why then did you insult me by your words?'
u k”u an-šmeŋ ha 'And then am I your enemy?'
u ši? k”uyé” ha k”u-an-šmeŋ 'And I, am I then your enemy?'
t k”uyé” u pul-s-t-ën 'It is I who killed him.'
u naqʷ-émni ši? Barrabas 'Now Barrabas was a thief.' (D II p. 257)
y-es-x”m-qín u ṭap-n-t-ém 'He thought himself quite safe, when he was shot.'
ha n-x”c-x”c-m-els ši? S. Marie u tk”-élt-m-i-s ši? J.C. 'Did Mary suffer when she brought forth Jesus?' (Q. 392, Giorda Catechism)
k”eat ši? amwi? qęčéwt-s-t-x” ši? n-χs-etk” u yetiχʷá 'But you have kept the best wine until now.' (Bible p. 52)
"i cyestó es-č-x"e?-us u člux"  
'He left them hanging until evening.'  

tí  s-k"o-k"s-t u člux" u čin čilp  
'It was from morning till evening that I was hunting.'  

tí šey u čin ča?1, ta y-es-šs-t-íš u yetx"á  
'Since I took sick, I did not get better up to the present.'  

ta i-s-tíš u čali-p  'I did not sleep until daylight.'  

ta s-q'1-q"elt u šil  'He did not speak up to his death.'  

i tmus u k" es-šym-t-i  'Why did you get angry for no reason.'  

qe? es-mi-s-t-ém u šešye? ye s-qłtmix"  
'We know that this man is bad.'  

χ"l i-s-c-pu-pus-ččč u čin čq"-aq"  
'On account of my grief, I am crying.'  

nk"u? u nk"u?  'one by one (things)'  

?esél u ?esél  'two by two (things)'  

č-esél u č-esél  'two by two (persons)'  

7.1.7. Other Clause Particles  
Particles which are either insufficiently understood or poorly  
exemplified are listed here.  

tew  'while'  

tew 1 ci? šu? 1 es-šey-m-čw s**es-člčin-m-s-t-x"  
'While he was hanging on the cross, thou stoodst by him.'  

cyu  'before, not yet'  

ocy ci? čin ?šin  'I did not eat as yet.'  

ocy ci? šil u čin k"i-čic  'I arrived before he died.'  

cyu čin čaw-m  'I did not pray yet.'  

néi  'evidential'  

néi čin nunnxw"-čene?, néi k" q"l-q"elt  
OR néi k" q"l-q"elt, χ"l šey čin nunnxw"-čene?  
'I believe because you spoke.'
ta k'w q-s-n-xél-i néi k'w y-es-č-1ci?-m
'Fear not because I am with you.'
ta q-s-x'ič-i-c-n iu? s?-iin, néi têye? iu? an-cút
'I don't give you to eat, because you behaved badly.'

χi 'lest'
ta a-q-ci-k'w-i-n-čs-tín χi tlci? m čs-t-ši-t-m-t
'Sin no more lest worse should befall thee.'

**cušé 'finally' (Bible p. 40)

nex'w 'and, also, besides'²
nex'w ta 'nor'

7.2. **Predicate Particles**

A word, or a word accompanied by pronoun proclitics (themselves predicate particles [see 3.1.1.]), is the immediate constituent of a predicate particle.

**7.2.1. k'w 'evidently'**

k'w šey' 'Yet it is so (evidently it is so).'

**ce k'w 'but if' (?)**

k'w cu-t-í: "ta i-q-s-x'uy"
'Yet (apparently) he said, "I will not go.'"

k'w mi-p-nú-yš k'w ?eč-unex'-íst iu? Ange
'And they found out that the angel had told the truth.'

u mi-p-nú-ys k'w n-k'wil-k'w
'And he found out that it was wine.' (Bible p. 52)

šey k'w es-mi-s-t-éx', k'w s-m'ém, iu? a-s-n-q'ñ-in tí
k'wil-n-cut-n 'If you only knew, you woman, your favor from God.' (Bible p. 54)

**7.2.2. i 'specially noted'³**

i c-čim 'dark (cloudy)' i n-čim 'dark room'
7.2.3. te? 'indefinite'

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
te? & nk'u? 'some one' \\
te? & əsəl 'some two' \\
te? & ʃjm 'some, not many' \\
te? & nk'u? 'sometime' \\
te? & ʃjm-əsət 'some time ago' \\
te? & nək'ə; te? nk'u? 'not often, now and then' \\
te? & m ʃjm x'uy 'I will go sometime.' \\
\end{array}
\]

7.2.4. ə achel 'past'

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
ə & ʃey 'That is enough, that will do.' \\
\end{array}
\]
1 1 3

'Go, fetch some water. Already (I did so already).'

The devil hates his former angels, his former friends.'

7.2.5. ne 'future'
(Cf. nem 'future' in 7.1.2.)

You must either work or starve [(if you will not work, you will starve].' (D II p. 116)

If you (will) come, be no more than three (three of you at the utmost may come).

ne xalî-p xâ ne ci? nû-m-asît m chest 'It will be)
tomorrow, or (it will be) the day after, I will go hunting.'

ne chest es-wî-s?îm, m ĉe?-ĉe?îs, m kâ c-xûuy

'(I will finish eating and) after my meal I will pay thee a visit.'

'I will accuse thee, (if) you (will) coax me to evil.'

7.2.6. xâ 'perhaps'

'I am afraid he may be sick.'

He may have finished it already.'

Perhaps we will reach (arrive).'

Perhaps he started already.'

Perhaps we shall have nothing to eat.'

7.3. Complement Particles

Complement particles have as their immediate constituent partner
a complement, that is an adjunct to the predicate that adds information
to it. The question of whether two words, neither preceded by a particle,
constitute a sequence of two predicates or a predicate followed by
an unmarked complement, is moot since by definition each word is a predicate, which in turn, can be modified by particles:

\( \text{luk}^w \text{ y-es-}^2 \text{lu}^k \text{-?ú-s-m} \) 'I am looking for wood.'
\[ \text{[It-is-wood I-look-for-it]} \]
\( \text{s-}^2 \text{pol}^k \text{-m es-}^2 \text{i-lí-s-t-n} \) 'I have eaten bitterroot.'
\[ \text{[It-is-bitterroot I-have-eaten-it]} \]
\( \text{q}^n \text{-q}^n \text{h}^k \text{-t sqélix}^w \) 'They are poor people.'
\[ \text{[They-are-poor they-are-people]} \]
\( \text{si-sy-ú-s s-qltmix}^w \) 'He is a smart man.'
\[ \text{[He-is-smart he-is-man]} \]
\( \text{k}^w \text{xé-s-t k}^w \text{s-m?em} \) 'Thou art a good woman.'
\[ \text{[Thou art-good thou art-woman]} \]

In longer strings, however, words may be modified by particles which place them in a secondary position with respect to another word. Words so modified are analyzed as complements.

7.3.1. _t_ 'source' (animate source is 'agent'; inanimate source is 'instrument')

\( \text{naq}^w \text{-m-n-t-ém t ttítit 'A boy stole it (it was stolen by a boy).'} \)
\( \text{t k}^w \text{i-n-cut-n u k}^w \text{u k}^w \text{úl}^k \text{-i-s 'God made me.'} \)
\( \text{es-sux}^w \text{-s-t-én }^2 \text{iú? t šey}^y \text{ u k}^w \text{u č-oý-n-cút-n-i-s} \)
' I know him who insulted me.'
'I know that Peter is the one who killed my father.'
\( \text{es-sux}^w \text{-s-t-én iú? t šey}^y \text{ u k}^w \text{u sp-n-t-ém} \)
'I know the one who struck me.'
\( \text{iú? t šey}^y \text{ u k}^w \text{xm-enč-m-s, t šey}^y \text{ u k}^w \text{xm-enč-i-s} \)
'He that loves thee, loves me.'
\( \text{k}^w \text{u k}^w \text{e?-k}^w \text{e?-n-t-s t n-q}^w \text{-q}^w \text{sm-ičn-šn čeh} \text{ ha t šey}^y \)
'A dog bit me. Which one? Is it that one?'
\( \text{k}^w \text{u pul-s-t-s t s-šenš} \)
'He struck me with a stone.'
t s-teš u pulst-n-c t s-šeš t luk' t ul-ulí-m

'With what did he strike you? With a stone? A piece of wood? Metal?'

pl-s-t-ěm t luk'

'One killed him with a club.'

k' u x'er-š-t t a-s-n-q'í-pů (-pu ?) 'Give me some of your bread.'

k'í-óys-i-s t s-n-q'í-pů (-pu ?) 'He changed it into bread.'

In addition to the principal function of t just exemplified, t:

(a) optionally marks the "possessor" adjunct to intransitive possessives;

k' u s-k'uy-s t k'í-n-cut-n OR k' u s-k'uy-s k'í-n-cut-n

'I am the mother of God.'

qe? sx'-six'-lt-i-l-s t Eve OR qe? sx'-six'-lt-i-l-s Eve

'We are the children of Eve.'

k' w l?ew-s t Paul

'You are the father of Paul.'

k' u il'ítx'-m-s t qalispé-l-m

'I am the chief of the Kalispels.'

s-k'ánx-i-s ḫu? t s-x'él-mn

'He is the slave of the devil.'

k' w **q'i-člič-s t s'túlix'

'You are the lord of the world.'

qe? **člič-í-l-s t qe? s-p?us

'We are the masters of our hearts.'

(b) marks the factitive complement, or the goal dependent for some special roots;

k'úl-iš t ḫye?

'Make a boat (canoe).'

k'úl-ist t sqelix', t s-k'ú-k'í-m-lt, t q'á-q'ím-t

'He made himself a man, a child, a poor.'

čin es-tíx'-i t luk' AS WELL AS luk' y-es-tíx'-m

'I got wood.'

čin es-tu-m-ist t s-meňx' OR tu-m-ist-m-n s-meňx'

'I bought tobacco.'

čin es-xačít-š-i t s-n-q'í-pů FOR y-es-xačít-m s-n-q'í-pů

'I ask for bread.'

k'ne-yš t ul-ulí-m

'Take a dollar.'

q'mí-š t ul-ulí-m

'Take some dollars.'
čin wič-m t sqélíxʷ  'I saw some Indians.'
es-čen-iš t sʔəukʷ-m  'Gather some carrots.'
t sipi iʔu? i-sp-cčst  'My gloves are of skin.'

(c) in fragmentary utterances, marks the goal of an unexpressed predicate.

| t i-qi-mały-ém-is-tn (-em-is ?) | '...I want medicine.' |
| t i-qi-hi-nə-hn̓ | '...I want a knife.' |
| t i-qi-s-mən̓xʷ | '...I want tobacco.' |
| t s-mən̓xʷ | '...some tobacco' |
| t ńi-ńə-hn̓ | '...a knife' |

| t mos-qt m č-ac-έw̓s | 'There were yet four days before Sunday.' |
| če t mos-qt m č-ac-έw̓s | 'There are yet four days before Sunday.' |
| če t kw̕inš-asqt m ṭap-sqélíxʷ | če t ?asl-á |

'How many days before Christmas [New Year's]? Yet two days.'

t ci?  'in that time'

7.3.2. l 'locative'

The principal function of l is to mark an adjunct to the predicate 'locative' as in the following sentences:

| es-č-ʔukʷ iʔu? l qi?-mín | 'It lays on the book.' |
| l qe? s č-n-vis-t l ci? iʔu? s-č-łm-asqt | 'Above us there is heaven.' [loc. we towards-high loc. there sub. heaven] |
| l qe? kw̕i-iš-űt u l ci? iʔu? s-xʷel-mm | 'Below us there is hell.' [loc. we under-below and loc. there sub. devil] (D II p. 414) |

and in the following sentence fragments:

| l šeʔ | 'in there, then' |
| l s-qepc | 'in spring' |
| l **kw̕um | 'in the wilderness' |
| l n-wis-t | 'above, on high' |
In addition, 1 marks the animate "complement of company."

či q-s-q"1-q"élt-i 1 anvi? 'I will speak with you.'
či x"uy 1 ... 'I go with...
či es-?emt-í ūu? 1 i-s-χéλwi? 'I live with my husband.'
ilmix"-m ūu? 1 šey u k" es-q"1-q"élt-i
'It is the chief to whom you speak.'
1 swet u x"ič-i-t-x" ūu? a-sič-m 1 i-sín-ce?
'To whom did you give your blanket? To my younger brother.'
1 swet ūu? in-q"āc-qn 'Who has my hat (with whom is my hat)-checkbox
1 k"uy?ē u ?eč-s-wiš ūu? an-χα-cín
'I have your horse (your horse is with me).'

7.3.3. २ 'adessive-inessive'
x"uy २ citx" 'He went to his house.'
२ čoh 'Whither?'
ūu? २ šey m či x"uy, ta q-s-lk"-n-t-ex" k" q-s-x"uy
'Whither I am going, thou canst not go.'
te? २ čoh 'to some place, somewhere'
ci? २ ci? 'still further'
ūu? २ ūu? 'thither, yonder'

7.3.4. ११ 'egressive' (figuratively 'from the time')
c-x"uy ११ n-iš-út 'He came from below.'
s-n-q"әn-in ११ k"1-n-cut-n 'It is the mercy of (from) God.'
ūu? ११ qe?npl6? u q"y-ūle?x" 'He is richer than we are.'
ūu? ११ nisq"út 'from beyond the river'
7.3.5. $\chi\nu$ 'causative'\(^{10}\)

cin $\ ?$aym-t $\chi\nu$ amwi? $'I$ am mad for you (on your account).'</n>
\$\ $il $\chi\nu$ qe? q-s-$\chi\nu$-x$\chi$-ilt 'He died that we might be saved.'
\$\ $\chi\nu$ amwi? u cin pu-pus-ě́nč 'I am sorry about thee.' (D II p. 2)
\$\ cin pu-pus-ě́nč īu? $\chi\nu$ i-s-c-ɛ́n ĭaye?
' $I$ am sorry for my sins.'

7.3.6. īu? 'subordinate'

Even though īu? is the most frequently occurring particle, its function is unclear. It is usually translated with an article in English. Sometimes it seems to subordinate a word to another:

\$\ $xes-t sqélix$' $They are good Indians.'
\$\ $xes-t īu? sqélix$' $The Indians are good.'
\$\ īu? $\ $xes-t sqélix$' $the good Indians'
\$\ sqélix $\ $īu? $\ $xes-t $' $They are the Indians who are good.'
\$\ Marie īu? s-tičm-įś (-iś ?) 'the virgin is Mary'
\$\ s-čm-įś īu? Marie 'Mary is a virgin.'
\$\ $xes-t īu? k$\w$-n-cut-n 'God is good.'
\$\ k\'tun-t īu? in-citx$' $My house is big.'
\$\ in-xč-cin īu? $\ $lax-t $' $My horse is the swift one.'
\$\ čēn īu? $\ $čęm-t, ye tī $\ $?esél ye īu? čęm-t

'Which of the two is the heavier one? This is the heavy one.'
\$\ čēn īu? i-s-ul-m-įńč (-m- ?) 'Where is my gun?'
\$\ īu? sqélix$' u īu? x$\w$-x\'ey-úi $\ $k$\w$-n-cut-n ep-s-c-ɛ́ul

Men and beasts are the work of God.'

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'Those who are good shall be happy.' (D II p. 441)

"God will judge the living and the dead.'

'I bought tobacco (tobacco is what I bought).'

'I look at the boys playing.'

'I saw Paul hunting.'

'It was bitterroot that I was eating.'

'I like those who obey.'

'I pity him who pities his fellow men.'

'Be merciful to those who slander you.'

'He prayed for those who killed him (for his murderers).'

'I know him whom you killed.'

'He to whom you speak is the president.'

'It is the president of whom you speak.'

'Those who obey shall be rewarded.'

And, sometimes it occurs to subordinate longer strings to a predicate:
'When he sees me, he laughs at me.'

'Come ye, my brothers.'

'Thievish children will become bad men.'

'If you had not left your house.'

A predicative word preceded by īu? can no longer serve as a complete sentence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>īu?</th>
<th>Marie</th>
<th>'Mary'</th>
<th>Marie</th>
<th>'She is Mary.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>=&lt;?=li-cut-n</td>
<td>'God'</td>
<td>=&lt;?=li-cut-n</td>
<td>'He is God.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>ӕes-t</td>
<td>'the good'</td>
<td>ӕes-t</td>
<td>'He/she/it is good.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>anwî?</td>
<td>'thou'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>ӕasîp</td>
<td>'long ago'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>psây-e?</td>
<td>'the foolish'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>Ӛs-Ӛîl</td>
<td>'the dead'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>s-Ӛi?-s-Ӛî</td>
<td>'yesterday'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>Ӛul-n</td>
<td>'my having made it'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>y-es-Ӛul-m</td>
<td>'my making it'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>İew Paul</td>
<td>'the father of Paul'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>s-Ӛanx-i-s</td>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>s-Ӛel-mn</td>
<td>'the slave of the devil'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4. Other Particles

Other less understood particles and interjections, also uninflected, are treated here.

7.4.1. Unclear Particles

će 'there remains, yet, in addition'

će i čuw | 'He is still absent.'
će ta i-s-nâq' | 'I steal no more.'
ce ta i-s-yoq'-ist  
'I don't tell lies any more.'

cé 'upn iu? i čuw  
'There were still ten absent.'

cé ta i-s-?in  
'I eat no more; I am not well; I don't eat yet.'

čnx'u-n-t-m iu? t če n?'-alq'

'They touched her with the one remaining cross.'

iu? če an-x'y1-x'ilt  
'the remainder of your debt' (D II p. 310)

**uieí  'again, another time'11

*uieí čin ?aym-t  
'I got mad again.'

*uieí u ilmix'-m  
'He is chief again.'

yetix'á  'now'

pot u yetix'á  
'just now'

ne yetix'á m k'u c-q'1-q'el-s-t-x' iu? t i-q'i-cút, m l šey
e m ec'-?axíl iu? i-q'i-cút  
'If now from there you will tell me
here how I should act, I will take your advice.'

tma  'rhetorical interrogative' (with an expected affirmative answer)

tma k' čaw-m  
'Did you not pray?'

tma yóq'-ist-mn iu? s-x'el-mn  
'And is not the devil a liar?' OR

'Certainly the devil is a liar.'

k'u a-q-s-qix'-i-t-m iu? in-n-č'-?emt-čws-tm  
tma qix'-i-c-n

'Drive in my riding horse. And did I not drive it in already?'

tma iu? k'tun-t iu? qe? šmeñ iu? s-x'el-mn

'And is not the devil our great enemy? (Surely he is.)'

tše?né  'a while ago'

i tše?né  
'just a while ago'

ne i tše?né  
'after a while'

i?u? tše?né ilmix'-m  
'the late president' (D II p. 218)

**lišé?  'a while'

nc lišé?  
'soon'

x'w?ie  'without delay'
kweht 'then'

IU? ne sve u q-ec-?axil kweht ta k'u q-s-nox'-nox'-?am -i
'If it be so, then one does better not to get married.'

kweht hoy 'Then it will be all over.' (D II p. 395)

nk'u? cilwice? es-k?al kweht svey nk'o-qin cilwice?
'One bushel that grew up yielded one hundred bushels.' (Bible p. 75)

nk'u? cilwice? IU ?isk'?-1-qa (-qa ?) kweht ?upn cilwice?
'One bushel yielded ten.' (D II p. 355)

1 sve kweht 'and still it is so'

7.4.2. Interjections

x'mi (mi) 'please'

x'mi, qe? n-q'a-n-?us-m-i-l-t IU? k' ?aw-?-c?t-m
'Well, then, cast a merciful eye upon us thou our advocate.'

*pen 'but, however'

k' *pen 'nevertheless'

k' *pen ?es-t cin ?il
'It would have been better for me to die.'

*pen k' y-es-c?n-m, a-q?im-en? IU? a-n-?men
'But I tell you, you must love your enemy.'

**pum 'pshaw, bah' (expresses a kind of indignation at the proposed idea)

**pum cin x'uy 'Pshaw, do you think that I will go!'

**pum cin ep-s-nk'-i-k'ul-i 'Pshaw, you think I am married?'

**pum cin sust 'Pshaw, you think I am drinking?'

**pum cin ep-s-xelwi? 'I have no husband!'

**pum ci q-ep-s-xelwi? 'I will have no husband!'

**pum i-q-s-xelwi? 'I will not have him for husband!'

**pum cin naq' 'I did not steal! Pshaw! I stealing? Do you think I would steal?'

?a 'of approbation [yes]'
?ah ; **ha
**enú ; **ehí ; he-hé
**hayš
ma
**nih
**uč
x'ú
yátx'è?
yo
yom
k'wéné
ne k'wéné

'Is it so (of surprise)!'  
'of pain'
'Hurrah!'  
'Look here, behold!'  
'disapproval'
'do not, what do you do'
'Well, courage, go, done, agreed!'  
'What a pity!'  
'How, oh (of joy)!'  
'of suffering'
'Wait! Wait a while!'  
'Wait a while!'
FOOTNOTES

1 In 'if...then' clauses the 'if' clause is protatic (conditional) and the 'then' clause apodatic.

2 Cf. Colville nix—'also'.

3 This is the label Carlson attaches to Spokan hi (1972, pp. 57-59). For Kalispel Vogt comments that "the prefix i— seems here [before adjectives] to indicate a temporary, not inherent quality. My informant felt the nuance in meaning, but was unable to define it. In some respects, the prefix i— suggests a connection with the continuative prefix es—" (p. 43 n. 115).

4 The translation of i as 'as soon as' is also in Vogt (p. 73 n. 217).

5 Cf. also three unexplained forms: ʔe-m, nʔe, and ʔēʔʔi all meaning 'no more, enough'.

6 Note that in this construction and in the sentence immediately preceding, Post has pul(st) as a strong root, and in the sentence following he has it as a weak root. It is generally weak.

7 i of qi— is retained unexpectedly.

8 Cf. also **lqe? as in:
či q-s-q"l-q"elt-i **lqe? anwi? 'I will speak with you.'

9 Is this further segmentable?

10 The derivational prefix č- seems to have identical semantic import:

anwi? u kʷ y-es-č-ʔaym-t-m 'I am mad for you (on your account).'
y-es-č-pu-pus-ēnč-m ĭu? ʔeye? i-s-c-kʷen 'I am sorry for my sins.'
anwi? ĭu? kʷ y-es-č-pu-pus-ēnč-m
'I am sorry about thee.' (D II p. 2)

11 Cf. Carlson'sʔe1-ʔu1- 'again' (p. 122)?

12 Cf. Carlson's kʷent (pp. 60-61).
8. RESTRICTED WORDS

This chapter treats words based on roots that do not undergo the full range of inflection and derivation typical of most roots.

8.1. Independent Pronouns

These function as predicates, but do not normally undergo derivation. The set comprises:

\[ \k\oy\?e \quad 'I (It is I.)' \]
\[ \qe?\mpl\?e \quad 'we (It is we.)' \]
\[ \am\?i\? \quad 'thou (It is thou.)' \]
\[ \n\pl\?e \quad 'you (It is you.)' \]
\[ \cn\i\ic \quad 'he (It is he.)' \]
\[ \cn\i?\ic \quad 'they (It is they.)' \]

\[ \am\?i\? \] is often used to mean both 'thou' and 'you' with both singular and plural forms. (D II p. 455)

\[ \t\aat\ i-q-s-q'^l-q'y\?t\ \tiu? \quad \k\oy\?e \quad 'I, indeed, don't wish to talk.' \]
\[ \x\es-t \k\u\? \wi\?t-x'\? \t \am\?i\? \quad 'Indeed, well didst thou see me.' \]
\[ \t \k\uy\?e \? u \x'^l-x'il-s-t-m-n \quad 'It was I who delivered thee.' \]
\[ \tiu? \ne \k\? \am\?i\? \quad 'If thou be thine self.' \]
\[ \swet \tiu? \ep-s-ul-ul-m-\im\ch \ti-\?e \quad \k\uy\?e \quad 'Who owns this gun.' \]
\[ \quad 'I do (it is mine).' \]
\[ \cov\? \tiu? \qe? \tap-m\?n \ve \tiu? \quad \k\uy\?e \? \ci? \tiu? \am\?i? \quad 'Where are our arrows? This is mine, that is thine.' \]
\[ \swet \tiu? \s\'?tq-\ls\cut \ti-\ci? \quad \k\uy\?e \? i-s-\te\?h \quad 'Whose goods are those? They are my property.' \]

There is another set of independent pronouns which are possessives:

\[ **\c\en\?e? \quad 'mine' \]
\[ **\k\?e? \quad 'thine' \]
\[ **\c\lip\ost \quad 'ours' \]
\[ **k\?\lip\ost \quad 'yours' \]
\[ **\cen\el \quad 'his/theirs' \]
8.2. **Numbers**

The cardinal numbers, other than n'k'u? 'one', do not participate in a wide range of inflections and derivations. Numerals with the prefix č_ refer to persons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Things</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>In Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 n'k'u?</td>
<td>č-naqs</td>
<td>n'k'u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 č-esél</td>
<td>č-esél (&lt; č-č-esél)</td>
<td>č-esél-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 če?iés</td>
<td>č-če?-če?iés</td>
<td>če?-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 mus</td>
<td>č-mus-ms</td>
<td>mus-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 cil</td>
<td>č-cil-cl</td>
<td>cl-č(st)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 taqn</td>
<td>č-taqn</td>
<td>tqañ-č(st)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 sispl</td>
<td>č-sispl</td>
<td>spl-č(st)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 h?ełm</td>
<td>č-h?ełm</td>
<td>he?i?-m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 xxañt (xañt)</td>
<td>č-xxañt (č-xxañt)</td>
<td>xxañt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ?upn</td>
<td>č-?upn</td>
<td>?upn-č(st)-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers 11-19 are expressed as 'ten' plus eį_ plus the units:

11 ?upn eį-n'k'u? (ten again-one)
12 ?upn eį-č-esél (ten again-two)

The numbers 20-90 are expressed as multiples of ten, the two numerals forming a compound:

20 č-esél-č-upn
30 če?i-č-upn
40 ms-i-č-upn
50 cl-č-i-č-upn
60 tqañ-č-i-č-upn
70 spl-č-i-č-upn
80 he?i-č-i-č-upn
90 xxañt-č-i-č-upn

-qin is the lexical suffix for hundred, thus:

100 n'k'wo?-qin
| 200 | ʔesi-ndoʔ-qín | **ʔasl-qní |  |
| 300 | čeʔi-ndoʔ-qín | **čaʔiáʔ-qní |  |
| 400 | mus-ndoʔ-qín | **mo-ndoʔ-qní |  |
| 500 | cil-če-ndoʔ-qín | **cil-čst-qní |  |
| 600 | tʔan-če-ndoʔ-qín | **tʔan-čst-qní |  |
| 700 | spǎ-če-ndoʔ-qín | **spǎ-čst-qní |  |
| 800 | heʔm-če-ndoʔ-qín | **hʔaʔm-qní |  |
| 900 | xʔant-če-ndoʔ-qín | **xʔant-čst-qní |  |
| 1,000 | ʔupn-čst-qní |  |
| 2,000 | ʔesl-ʔupn-čst |  |
| 10,000 | ʔupn-ʔupn-čst-qní |  |

Forms preceded by ‘luʔ q-ς- (< qi-s- 'subjunctive-nominal') correspond to English ordinals (except 'first' which is šʔit, a root with full inflectional and derivational range).

2nd luʔ q-ς-ςčol (things) luʔ q-ς-ςčol (persons)
3rd luʔ q-ς-čeʔēs (things) luʔ q-ς-čeʔēs (persons)

8.3. Days of the Week

Monday through Friday are named 'day one', 'day two', etc.; Saturday and Sunday have special names.

| Monday   | ndaʔt | ĉ-phʔ-ews(-m) | **cx-wect |
| Tuesday  | ʔasl-ásqt |  |
| Wednesday | čaʔt-ásqt |  |
| Thursday | mos-ʔt |  |
| Friday   | cl-čst-ásqt |  |
| Saturday | s-č-ʔt |  |
| Sunday/week | s-č-ac-ews² |  |

8.4. Demonstratives

Six morphemes and combinations thereof comprise the demonstrative set:

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These enter into a variety of constructions:

mi, k'w x'mi-ci-t ci? ši-min 'Please give me that axe!'
k'w-en-t (<k'w'en-n-t) ye lušk'w 'Take this wood!'
ye ū? in-xm-ënč ii-ci? ū? i-s-c-čim
'This I like, that I hate.'
yo ḥes-t ii-?e 'Oh, how beautiful is this!'
ta q-s-k'w-en-t-x' ii-ci? 'Don't take that one.'
1 qe? s-č-n-wis-t 1 ci? ū? s-č-čm-asqt
'Above us there is heaven.'
t ci? 'in that time'
l ci? 'there'
i t ci? 'in whatever place'
ci? č ci? 'still further'
ye 1-?e 'here, in this place'
ye t-?e 'by here'
ye č-?e 'towards this place'
ye tč-?e 'from this place (or time)'
ye 1-?e u 1-?e 'He remains here.'
ye t-?e u šyust 'He passes here.'
ye tč-?e u ?inšš 'He started from here.'
ye č č-?e 'a little this way'
c-x'muy-š ye č-?e 'Come here!'
c-wām-ǐš ye č-?e 'Come here quick!'
ye 1-?e čin x'mqn-cut, 1 ci? nem čin čn-čint
'Here I am safe, there I will be in danger.' (D II p. 395)
ye tč-?e? m es-ta?x'm-1-ūs (-1- ?)
'What will follow hereafter, from this moment, from this place'
še? s-?esōl s-pqni? ū čin es-č-ča?1-ēls
'These two months I have been sick.'
I went, well I stole, well I drank, well I was beaten.'

'It is now two days; two days ago.'

'How many days ago?'

'Look here, here it is.'

'Look there, it is there.'

'Is that the thing you lost?'

'I do like that.'

'I think the same.'

'I say the same.'

'I do the same.'

'That will do!'

'He is now well, now sick, now glad, now sad.'

'He looks for the lost one, though it be only one, until he finds it again.'

'Behold your mother!' (D I p. 503)

'Why!'

'in that day'
1 Some examples in context of the use of the word č-naqs:
č-naqs s-qltmix u ?esći ıu? sx"-six"-1t
 'A man had two children.'
č-naqs s-m?em es-č-ca?1-êls-i 'A woman is sick.'
t č-naqs ttwit pul-s-t-s ıu? i-s-lu?a 'A boy killed my cow.'
qe? č-nâqs-i 'We are one by one.'
č-naqs 'someone, somebody' ta č-naqs 'nobody'
i č-naqs 'only one' i **či-i-nâqs 'all alone'

2 Note that ne plus the day translates 'next...day' and ıu? s-
plus the day 'last ...day':
ne ę-c-ac-éms 'next Sunday' ıu? s-ča?i-âśqt 'last Wednesday'
ıu? s-č-ı?e 'last Saturday'
Note also the following developmental derivations:
ıu? mos-qt-iłš (< mus-asqt-iłš) 'the fourth day having come'
ne q-s-mos-qt-iłš (stress ?) 'when the fourth day comes'
Cf. also s-pí3-č-asqč ('nominal-turn-day') 'week' as in:
tlci? s-pí3-âśqt u nex' k"-čic ıu? nóx"-nox"'
 'After one week his wife came too.' (Bible p. 34)

3 Vogt gives two forms ye 'this, close to the speaker' and ?e
'here, now' (p. 68-69 n. 201-4). Carlson gives only ?e 'this/these'
for Spokan (1972, p. 65).
I have interpreted ie as ye and ee as ?e. Post states that ye
translates 'now' and that the construction ye...ye translates 'either...
or.' Vogt also notes the use of ye in time expressions.

4 Vogt states that 'the demonstrative meaning [of ye] is strengthen-
ed by the particle ?e (p. 69 n. 201).

5 Vogt analyzes ii?e as ıu? plus ye (p. 69 n. 201); Carlson anal-
yzes i-i-?e (i-i-ci?) as 'secondary-special-this (that near you)' (p. 5
58).

6 Cf. ı?e 'remain'.
The interest of this and the preceding twelve examples lies in the root-like forms 1?e, t?e, ć?e, and ćl?e. There are obvious connections between these and the particles 1, t, ć, and ćl (see 7.3.1.-7.3.4.).
APPENDIX A: KINSHIP TERMS

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses below:
father (fa), mother (mo), brother (br), sister (sis), sibling (sib),
husband (hus), child (ch), wife (w), daughter (dt), grand (gr).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A man speaks:</th>
<th>A woman speaks:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l?ew</td>
<td>ānest′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ūtuy</td>
<td>tuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qecč</td>
<td>iqaqşt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin-ce?</td>
<td>sī-sn-ce?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sx′-s-meʔem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-nkʷ-six†</td>
<td>s-nkʷ-six†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-čičše?</td>
<td>i-čičše?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʔ-upš</td>
<td>i-qesʔ-upš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-češt</td>
<td>i-ščew (i-?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-meʔi</td>
<td>s-kʷukʷi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čépe?</td>
<td>qeňe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-siše?</td>
<td>či-čyé?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunš</td>
<td>s-qesʔ-siš-teŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-šw-elt</td>
<td>s-šw-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čépe?</td>
<td>s-siše?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tųpye?</td>
<td>tųpye?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ilawye?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qeňe?</td>
<td>s-čépe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>či-čyé?</td>
<td>s-meʔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssi?</td>
<td>s-kʷukʷi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaxče?</td>
<td>s-čépe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tųpye?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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| (i)ceč     | 'wife's mo or sister' | s-čaʔxéʔ | 'hus's fa or br'
| **čy-elt   | 'wife's fa's mo'      | **čy-elt | 'hus's fa's fa or late br's son's son'
| Ĭw-estn   | 'stepmother'          | Ĭw-estn | 'stepfather'
| **sestm   | 'v's sis, br's wife'  | **sestm | 'sister's husband'
| s-čʔclp   | 'son's widow'         | čweʔ    | 'brother-in-law'
| ēqeʔ-čws  | 'middle child'        | s-neč-ix³ | 'daughter's hus' |
APPENDIX B: NAMES OF INDIAN TRIBES

Parenthesized forms are in Post's orthography.

*ox'îče?  (ogoize)  Banak Indians
s-č-qi'-šn-î   (s-chkoeshini)  Blackfeet
**s-n-x'î1-sčint (sngulschint)  Blood Indians
s-čowîle?  (s'cheuile)  Chewelah Indians
s-ćic-wi  (s-chizui)  Coeur d'Alenes
n-x'wîtu  (nguto)  Cree and Sioux Indians
**oq'ist-ómm (okoistemen)  Crees of the North
stémči   (stemchi)  Crow Indians
**s-n-qyos-đe?-sčint (snkaioskaes'chint)  Gros Ventres
**čil-îne?  (chilene)  Indians on the Columbia
**s-n-pôy-lš-i  (snpoielsli)  Indians around a tributary
**s-náy-čst-i (snaichsti)  of the Columbia
i-c-chíče?  (iizizimize)  Lake Indians (Colville)
**s-x'v-yúlp-i  (sgoielpi)  Little Robes
**silk'îlâ?  (silkolola)  Kettle Indians
s-qîse?  (skalise);  Kootenais (Idaho)
s-qîse?  **ulk'w  (skalise ulku)  Kootenais (Montana)
sa?áptni  (saapten)  Nez Perces
**oqináqsin  (okinaksin)  Okinagan
**s-iaq'-étk'-m-sčint (siaketikums'chint)  Upper Pend d'Oreilles
qalispél-m-s   (kalispelems)  Lower Pend d'Oreilles
s-čs-îče?  (s'chesize)  Piegans, a Blackfoot tribe
**snó?e  (snoe)  Snake Indians
s-n-x'm-én?e  (sngumene)  Spokanes
s-n-tu?-t'ù  (sntoto)  A tribe of the Spokanes
APPENDIX C: GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Forms with ** are unattested reconstructions of Post's orthography inferred from the practices discussed in chapter 2. Reconstructions marked with * are based on available cognates. Forms in ( ) are Post's originals.

sél-iš s-túlxiw (selish stoligu) Bitterroot
**n-pa-páá (npapaa) Place on the Bitterroot
**s-n-ayc-čst-m (snaizchstom) Bonner (Blackfoot)
**qalniʔ (kalnii), Camas Prairie
**qalniʔ-txʷá (kalniitgoa) Place in Camas Prairie
*qlíʔ-e (kalie), Little Camas Prairie
**qlí-ópip (kaliepip) Agency and O'Keefe's Place
**s-n-1-čoy (sinitchoi)

**némia (némia), Crow Creek
**epi-némia (epi nemia)
s-taʔ-étkʷ (sialeketiku) Flathead Lake
**s-n-iápa (sniápa) Head of the Lake
**xʷm-qn-étkʷ (chemkanetiku) Mud Creek, Foot of Flathead Lake
*mal-t-čixʷ [-t-?] (maltegu) Fort Benton or Fort Owen
**qʷel (koel) Frenchtown
**čimélsš (chilmelshs), Helena
néi xʷʔit ũʔ múl-iš (neili goeit ũʔ mulish)
*s-xʷtip-qín (sgutipkein) Hellgate (near Missoula)
**niíq (niíka) Jocko Agency
*s-čtíp (s'chiitip) Junction of Pend d'Oreille and Jocko

*s-n-šây (snśai), Missoula
**s-n-šay-čst-m (snaizchstom) Missoula
*s-n-šá-m-qn-étkʷ (snpetlcmkanetiku) Morriceau's Place (Jocko)
**ĺintswe (lintsue)  Prairie below mouth of Jocko
**n-ći-cik̓i (nzezekui) Plains (Horse Plains)
**suména (sumena) Place between Plains and Kalnii
*k̓i-n-čan-ép (kolinzanep) Post Creek (McDonald's)
**k̓i-nčeme (kolinzeme) Post Creek
s-n-yol̓-mn St. Ignatius Mission
### APPENDIX D: KALISPEL BORROWINGS OF FRENCH PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French Name</th>
<th>Kalispel Borrowing</th>
<th>English Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atól</td>
<td>Adolphe</td>
<td>swasá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amcló</td>
<td>Ambroisc</td>
<td>cosép</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>André</td>
<td>cwapí</td>
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<tr>
<td>asolíq</td>
<td>Angelique</td>
<td>susét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qyustá</td>
<td>Augustin</td>
<td>súl</td>
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<td>pásíl</td>
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<td>solí</td>
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<td>Benoit</td>
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<td>lólá</td>
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<td>Dorothea</td>
<td>lowisó</td>
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<td>Edouard</td>
<td>masalá</td>
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<td>Eugenie</td>
<td>maltá</td>
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<td>Ferdinand</td>
<td>molís</td>
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<td>Florence</td>
<td>pelásí</td>
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<td>silisíq</td>
<td>Frédéric</td>
<td>pnitás</td>
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<td>George</td>
<td>alimó</td>
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<td>Grégoire</td>
<td>apél</td>
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<td>uyám</td>
<td>Guillaume</td>
<td>lamín</td>
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<td>Henri</td>
<td>alqapé</td>
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<td>supí</td>
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<td>Jacques</td>
<td>pinás</td>
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<td>Jerôme</td>
<td>mitwáí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san patí</td>
<td>J. Baptiste</td>
<td>pasá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san pyl</td>
<td>J. Pierre</td>
<td>patalís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanzá malí</td>
<td>Jeanne Marie</td>
<td>saqalí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E: OTHER DATA

I have eliminated from the body of the grammar a number of forms and examples which did not naturally belong where Post had put them. Since one of the main purposes of this edition is to preserve the data contained in the original manuscript, these examples, organized by root, are listed here.

\[ ta \quad '\text{negative}' \]

\[ ta \quad '\text{negative, no'}\] is usually uninflected; often it participates in various grammatical constructions, usually with the suffix \(-m\).

\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{ep-}c-x\text{'-uy} \quad '\text{None came.'} \]
\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{y-ep-s-c-wêk}'-m \quad '\text{I concealed none.'} \]
\[ \text{ta-m \čin \ es-}?'\text{aym-t-i} \quad '\text{I am not getting mad.'} \]
\[ \text{čin \ es-tam-i-cîtx}' \quad '\text{I have no house.'} \]
\[ \text{čin \ es-tam-sqåxe?} \quad '\text{I have no horse.'} \]
\[ \text{ta-m \k' \ y-es-}?'\text{ačx-m} \quad '\text{I don't look at thee (now and then).'} \]
\[ \text{ta} \quad \k' \quad \text{y-es-}?'\text{ačx-m} \quad '\text{I habitually/never look at thee.'} \]
\[ \text{ta-m \čin \ ?aym-t OR ta \ i-s-}?'\text{aym-t} \quad '\text{I was not angry.'} \]
\[ \text{ta-m \ aym-t OR ta \ s-}?'\text{aym-t} \quad '\text{He was not angry.'} \]
\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{i-s-}?'\text{l-q}'\text{ëlt} \quad '\text{He did not speak.'} \]
\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{i-q-es-}?'\text{aym-t-i} \quad '\text{I will never get mad.'} \]
\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{a-q-es-}?'\text{ađx}' \quad '\text{You must never steal.'} \]
\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{q-es-}?'\text{č-}?'\text{els-m-ist \iu? \text{t i-s-}?'\text{ëlt} \quad 'The son of my late brother never cared for me (never minded me).'} \]
\[ \text{ta} \quad **x\text{'}\text{uy m q-ei-}?'\text{ić-t-x\text{'}w} \quad '\text{You will never see me again.'} \]
\[ \text{we ne \ti-p-ëys, ne ta \s-}?'\text{ti-p-ëys m \čin \?i\text{'}iš} \quad '\text{Whether it rains or not, I will go.'} \]
\[ \text{ne \eį-c-x\text{'}uy, ne ta \q-ei-c-x\text{'}uy, ta \text{q-es-}?'\text{ačx-s-t-m-n} \quad '\text{If he came back or not, I will not look at thee anymore.'} \]
\[ \text{k\text{'}w y-es-}?'\text{ađw-n-m ta} \quad '\text{I tell you 'no.'} \]
ta q-s-n-py-êls-i íu? **q'aw-q'-t
'The wicked shall not rejoice.'
ta k'u q'1-q'elt-s u k'u ñel-s-t-s
'Without speaking to me, he left me.'
ta k' q-s-ê-x't-t-êls-i, m k' **x1-ñal-m-îst
'You should rebuke without getting mad.'
če ta 'Not yet.'
ta pi-s-tém
'ta *x'uy
k' ta ; u ta 'without'
ta q-s-ta-m 'necessarily'
ta-m k'-k'ýûm-e? 'not at all'
ta nk'u? 'not once'
Cf. also *ta-wí 'I know not' (?):
*ta-wí x'a č-čení
'I don't know whither he went.' (Bible p. 92)

čení 'which, where, what'
čení íu? tî ?esél 'Which of the two?'
čení ye tî ?esél 'Which of these two?'
čení ci? tî ?esél 'Which of those two?'
ec-s-čení 'What is the matter?'
ec-s-čení-i 'How is that?'
čin ec-s-čení 'What do I?'
k' ec-s-čení-i 'How may that be? (What do you say?)'
q-ec-s-čení m ta 'And why not? (Surely!)'
ec-s-čení íu? a-s-çá?l 'How is your infirmity?'
y-ec-s-čení-m ; es-çé? -s-t-n 'What do I do to him?'
es-çé? -s-t-m-n 'What did I do to thee?'
es-çé? -s-t-m 'What has been done to him?'
es-çé? -i-m-n² 'What did I do to you?'
ec-s-čení íu? s-pum-s 'What color is it?'
k' ec-s-çë-áiqs 'What color is your shirt?'
k' ec-s-çë-íce? 'What color is your blanket?'
l čení u ec-?axîl íu? s-pum-s 'What color is it?'

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'And how is it that you are sorry?'

'And why did you not tell me?'

'What might be the reason that I should talk?'

tem 'what, something'

y-es-tem-m ; tem-n (c tem-n-t-en)

'What will I do with it?' (D I p. 555)

i-qi-n-tem-tn

'Of what use will it be to me?' (D I p. 555)

y-es-kw1-tem-m ; kw1-tem-m-n

'What shall I do with it?' (D I p. 302)

tem-tn

's-tem ? s-pum-s

'What color is it?'

's-tem

'What is it; what do you want?'

k' s-tem-elix'

'Of what tribe are you?'

k' s-tem-ulx?k'

'Of what country are you?'

s-tem-ice?

'What kind of blanket is it?'

k' es-c-s-tem

'What art thou after?'

t s-tem

'Whereby?'

x'1 s-tem

'Why? Wherefore?'

to? s-tem

'something'

's-tem ; ta s-tem

'nothing'

pi-s-tem ; še pi-s-tem

'when'

ne pi-s-tem

'how long ago, when'

tl pi-s-tem

'since when'

ne x' a pi-s-tem ; ne te? pi-s-tem 'some future day'

'ta pi-s-tem

's never'

swet 'who, whose, whoever'

swet u šlil

'Who died?'

k' swet

'Who art thou?'

x'a swet

'Who may it be?'

qi-swet

'Whose is it to be?'
t swet u 'ul-n-c  'Who made thee?'
swet Ṽu? a-s-ḵ'est 'What is thy name?'
Ṽu? swet u x'uy č-šey 'Whoever went there.'
swet Ṽu? a-s-ḵalīt-m 'Whom did you call?'
swet Ṽu? a-s-ḵūn-m 'Of whom did you speak?'
l swet u x'ič-i-t-x' 'To whom did you give it?'
swet u epi-ša-cín a-s-naq'w OR swet u naq'-m-i-t-x' Ṽu?  ʃa-cín  'Whose horse did you steal?'
k' qe?l-swet OR t swet u k' s-q' sco?-s  'Whose son art thou?'
Ṽu? n-e te? swet u n-ʔuix' 'm pulst-m  'Whoever goes in is killed.'
te? swet 'someone'
t a swet 'noone'
čin(t) 'say what?'
čin es-ʔe-čint-i (?e ?) 'What do I say?'
k' ʔe-čint (?e ?) 'What did you say?' (D I p. 129)
put 'enough, just what is needed'
ha ne-m put 'Will it be enough?'
put u 'already, exactly'
put u i-s-wi-s-méňx' 'I have just now smoked.'
put u q-s-šilí-m-i 'He is about dying.'
put u ec-ʔaxil 'just alike'
put u ʔaniq 'exactly in summer'
pút-i 'yet, still'
pút-i ʃ-cu 'He is still absent.'
pút-i k' es-q'q'ow  'Thou art still (up to this time) a fool.'
pút-i es-ši-p-eys-i ec-ʔaxil t s-pi?-s-če?  'It is still raining like yesterday.'
tlci?  'more'
tlci? tlci?  'more and more'
šx'-šx'-ut Ṽu? iń-l'ow, u Ṽu? an-l'ow tlci? šx'-šx'-ut  'My father is old, but yours is older.'
Judas Iscariot tlci? têye? īu? tī Pilate

'Judas Iscariot was worse than Pilate.'

x'it u x'ič-i-c-n u tlci? x'it k' q-s-x'ič-i-t-n

'Already often did I give you and I wish to give you many more.'

tlci? tī qe?mplē? u q'y-üle?x'

'He is richer than we are.'

milk', melk' 'whole, all'

es-milk' 'all, all over'
es-č-milk'-icē? 'all around'
es-č-milk'-čene? 'all over'
čin es-melk'-m-i ; čin melk' 'I am spreading all over.'
y-es-milk'-mi-m (-mi ?) OR milk'-m-s-t-n

'I do nothing but that.'
milk'-m-s-t-x' īu? têye?

'You do nothing but sin.'
milk'-m-s-t-s n-py-els

'They do nothing but rejoice.'
milk'-m-s-t-n s-mēm-s-cūt-n

'I do nothing but play.'
milk'-m-s-t-s s-n-x'c-x'c-m-els

'They do nothing but suffer.'
milk'-m-s-t-s īu? têye?

'They do nothing but mischief.'
mlk'-nu-n-t-x' īu? qix'-mn

'You deserve the whip.'
milk'-m-s-t-s īu? q-s-s-n-py-els

'He gained an immensity of endless joy.'
milk'-m-s-t-x' īu? a-q-s-s-n-x'c-x'c-ēls

'You treasure up torments.'
k'u č-s-milk'-m-i-t-x' īu? i-q-s-q'w'-q'wān-t

'You do nothing but misery to me.'
t Adam u qe? melk'-š-i-l-s īu? têye? ; t J.C. u qe?
meik'-š-i-l-s īu? t xēs-t

'Adam merited evil, and J.C. good things for us.'

esiya? 'all'
n-wis-t tī esiya?

'He is the highest of all.'
esiya? īu? t šeį u k'u q-s-spi-m-s no-m sp-n-t-en

'I will whip whoever whips me.'

The Indian chief is over all the people, and God is over all the chiefs.'

'sic 'new, recent, just now, finally'
i sic kʷ es-t-kʷúl-i 'It is finally you begin to work.'
čeh īu? i sic in-qa?-qe?-šín 'Where are my new shoes?'
ha s-qašip ī liw-m-s-t-em ta, ye i sic
'Did the bell ring long ago? No, just now.'
īu? kʷu čs-cín-m-i-s sic čín č-xʷ-t-els
'When he insulted me, then finally I was angry.'
ne qe? wy-čest m sic m qe? ?išn 'When we shall have finished our work, then finally we will eat.'
i t sic 'only of late'

?exʷ-kʷún 'speak, say'
čín ec-?exʷ-kʷún-m t čín ?aym-t
'I spoke as if I were angry.' (D I p. 108)
čín es-?exʷ-kʷún-i 'I speak so.'
čín ?exʷ-kʷún-m t Pierre 'I say the same as Peter.'

nte 'to think'
čín nte xʷa nom kʷu wíč-i 'I think he will perhaps see me.'
čín nt-čels-i kʷu q-s-wíč-m-s 'I desire him to see me.'
čín es-nt-čels-i xʷa kʷu a-s-taq-q-nú-n-m
'I think you are perhaps cheating me.'
čín es-nt-čels-i kʷu a-q-s-taq-q-nú-n-m
'I am thinking that you are cheating me.'
nom kʷ q-čhños? čín es-nt-čels-i
'Will you go fishing with the hook? I intend.'

xʷič 'to give to'
y-es-xʷič-č-t-m ; xʷič-č-t-n 'I give it to him.'
čín xʷč-s-meńx 'I give tobacco.'
čín xʷč-eńx 'I give a house.'
kʷu xʷč-i-šl-mi-s 'He gave me an axe.'
kʷu xʷč-i-ní-nč-mi-s 'He gave me a knife.' (D I p. 201)
"paq  'to pay for'
čin  **paq-q
    'I have to pay for it, to suffer for my own deeds.'
k'u  s'p-nt-es  t  s-q"q"se?  k"  **q-s-paq-q-i  'The little
boy whipped me; you deserve it, you must pay for it.'
nem  **paq-q  ți-ći?  iq"-ist-țmm
    'Ah, that lying tongue will pay for it.'

wiy  'after, done, finished'
  ū?  čin  wi-s-kw-ul-m  'After I had worked.'
ne  čin  wi-s-kw-ul-m  'After I shall have worked.'
ne  put  wi-s-ćaw-m  'right after prayer' (D I p. 608)

Ax  'win'
čin  es-3Ax"-p-sqâxe?  'I lose a horse.'
y-es-3Ax"-p-sqâxe?  'I win his horse.' (D I p. 586)

čic  'arrive' is used in the construction n-čic-n-úș to mean 'the
    beginning':
čin  es-n-čic-n-úș  'I am at the beginning.'
qe?  n-čic-n-úș-n-t-m  ūu?  mus-i-?upn-čst-ásqt
    'We are at the beginning of Lent.'
yeř-ćwá  l  s-și-xal-t  n-čic-n-úș  ūu?  s-pòni?-s  Marie
    'Today is the beginning of the month of May.'

qįxt  'wish for, fond of' for objects belonging to one already:
y-es-qįxt-m ; qįxt-m-n  'I am fond of it, I wish for it.'
qįxt-m-n-t-xʷ  ūu?  an-ul-ulí-m  'You are fond of your money.'

qex  'wish for, like to have' for objects not in one's possession:
y-es-qex"-mín-m ; qex"-mi-n  'I wish for it, like to have it.'
qex"-mín-t-xʷ  ūu?  ul-ulí-m  'You are greedy after money.'

wič  'see' and ?em  'feed' occur with -t 'transitive' not preceded by
    -n 'simple transitive' or -s 'causative':
wič-n-c-n  'I see thee.'
wič-t-m-n  'I see thee.' (D I p. 608)
wič-s-t-n  'I see it.'
wič-t-n 'I see it.'
iec'em-t-m-n 'I fed thee already.' (D I p. 105)

**wičé? 'harm'
* y-es-wičé?-m ; **wičé?-n 'I bring him harm.'
* wičé?-n-t 'Harm him!'

yo 'strong'
čin yo-yo-cút 'I make efforts to do.'
čin yo-mn-cút 'I make efforts to overcome, to suffer.'
č-yo-yo-s-cút-m-n-ï u? s-çi'el-mn OR k' q-s-yo-yo-s-cút-i
ï u? 1 s-çi'el-mn 'Be thou strong against the devil.'

lem 'contented, not displeased'
es-lém-t-ï u? J.C. ï u? es-ç-pt-ptk'-mn-älq'-i 'J.C. crucified was content, happy, was not displeased.'

py-els 'rejoicing' (D II p. 177)
es-n-py-ôls-ï u? J.C. ï u? ei-Àl-sqélix'-i 'J.C. rising from the dead was rejoicing.'

îe? '?'
čin n-îe?-p-ús 1 s-mek'w-t 'At the end I found myself in the snow.'
hoy 'end, finally'
hoy k' i-q-s-méye-i-t-m ï u? i-s-c-k'ûl 'Finally I must tell you what I did.'
hoy el-wič-t-m-n čin nt-els k' ë il 'Finally I see you again; I thought you had died.'
še? hoy 'enough,'

su (suxw 'know') 'yes, I know it, I will it'
unéx', uné 'true, yes, it is so'
čút 'half'
s-čút 'one half, one part'
čmiš 'only, alone'
i s-čmiš ; i miš 'alone, only'
če i s-čmiš ıu? i-s-k'uy
i čin čmiš
'I have only the mother anymore.'
'I am the only one.'

qasíp 'long ago'
iu? t s-qasíp
ne q-s-qasíp
ne qasíp
'in olden times'
'at the longest'
'after a long time'

iš-út 'bottom, below'
n-iš-út
1 n-iš-út
1 iš-út
1 k'í-iš-út
'inside'
'below, down inside'
'below, at the bottom'
'under, below'

k'ínš 'how many (things)' 
č-k'í-n-k'ínš
x'a k'ínš
te? n-k'ínš-áqsm
k'ínš k'í c-s-peň-tč
k'ínš-wíš ıu? in-xa-cín
šey s-k'ínš-ásqt
čin k'ínš-ásqt
'how many (persons)'
'perhaps many, several'
'some kinds, some sorts'
'What is your age?'
'How many did my horses become?'
'How many days ago?'
'I remained some days.'

x'íi(t) 'much, many (things), often'
č-x'í-x'íi it
'ta s-x'íi it
'many (persons)'
'not often'

luwet 'few (things), few times'
č-luwet
'few (persons)'

mił 'too, too much, greatly' (Cf. also *mił in 6.1.)
mił-ches-t
'the best'

**šiw-mił 'beyond measure'
čen ıu? **šiw-mił ñes-t
'Which is the best?'

**ši?-cín 'first rate' (See also esiya?)
**es-n-ši?-cín n-wis-t
'most high'

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čem 'body'
1 s-n-čem-i-čem-p (-i- ?) 'at your back'
1 s-mič-čem-ěls 'in my presence before me'

**čitčí? 'behind, against, opposite'
**s-čitčí? (OR **s-čí?-čí? ?)'against, face to face, opposite'
1 **s-čitčí?-s 'behind'

FOOTNOTES

1-m has not been identified. It cannot be 'middle' because it precedes lexical suffixes.

2 Why no ě of čem ?
APPENDIX F: INFLectional AND DERIVATIONAL RANGE OF ROOTS

In Post's data two roots are exemplified an exceedingly great number of times. A list of these forms provides a good picture of the range of inflection and derivation of Kalispel roots.

Derivation and inflection of the root \( \text{k}^\text{ul} \) 'do, make, work':

1. \( \text{cin es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{i} ; \text{cin es-} \text{k}^\text{ul} \) 'I am made, baptized, married.'
   \( \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{s} \)
   'Make! Baptize! Marry!'

2. \( \text{cin es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{i} \text{-i} ; \text{cin} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{i} \) 'I am getting made.'
   \( \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{i}-\text{s} \)
   'Get made!'

3. \( \text{cin es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{i} ; \text{cin k}^\text{ul}-\text{m} \) 'I am working.'
   \( \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{i} \text{-s} \)
   'Work!'

4. \( \text{y-es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{m} ; \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{n} \) 'I make it.'
   \( \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{n}-\text{t} \)
   'Make it!'

5. \( \text{y-es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{i}-\text{t}-\text{m} ; \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{i}-\text{t}-\text{n} \) 'I make his (it belonging to him).'
   \( \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{i}-\text{t} \)
   'Make his...!

6. \( \text{y-es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{s}-\text{t}-\text{m} ; \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{s}-\text{t}-\text{n} \) 'I work for him, help him.'
   \( \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{s}-\text{t} \)
   'Work for him, help him!'

7. \( \text{y-es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{s}-\text{m} ; \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{s}-\text{m}-\text{n} \) 'I make it for others.'
   \( \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{s}-\text{m}-\text{n} \text{-t} \)
   'Make it for other!'

8. \( \text{cin es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{s}-\text{i} ; \text{cin k}^\text{ul}-\text{s}-\text{m} \) 'I work for others.'
   \( \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{s}-\text{i} \text{-s} \)
   'Work for others.'

9. \( \text{qe-} \text{es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{s}-\text{t}-\text{w}e^{?x}-\text{i} \) 'We work for one another.'

10. \( \text{qe-} \text{es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{n}-\text{w}e^{?x}-\text{i} \) 'We make/doctor one another.'

11. \( \text{cin es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{ist}-\text{i} ; \text{cin k}^\text{ul}-\text{ist} \) 'I make myself.'

12. \( \text{cin es-} \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{m-ist}-\text{i} ; \text{cin k}^\text{ul}-\text{m-ist} \) 'I fix, prepare myself.'
   \( \text{k}^\text{ul}-\text{m-ist-}\text{s} \)
   'Fix, prepare thyself!'
"I work for myself.'
'I make by myself; I have myself baptized.'
'I make, doctor myself.'
'I use it to make something.'
'Use it to make something!'
'I use his (it that belongs to him).' 'instrument or the materials to work on'
'I succeed in making it.'
'Succeed in making it!'
'I succeed in doing his...'
'that can be made, possible to be made'
'I can make that.'
'I work little, do little work.'
'I work again.'
'I am working often, now and then.'
'I do it often.'
'I do often his (it belonging to another).'
'I work for people.'
'I wish to work, to be busy.'
'I wish to do something.'
'I wish to do it.'
'I make them both together, splice them, marry them.'
'Make them both together, splice them, marry them!'
'We are made together, are married.'
'I work on it, adorn it, embroider it.'
'the time to, reason why to work, my time to work'
'I work on his, embroider his...'
'I am born in, am made in, work in...'
'I work in...'
'I work in that place.'
'the way of doing, behavior'
'my bad behavior'
'I do it before, prepare it.'
43. čin t-kʰul-l
   'I was born before.'
44. y-es-t-kʰul-l-m
   'I bring him forth before.'
45. s-kʰul
   s-c-kʰul
   'the doing, the working'
   'what is done, made'
46. čin ep-s-c-kʰul
   kʰuy?č čin ep-s-c-kʰul
   'I have some made.'
47. kʰul-n-cut-n
   'the Maker, God'
48. s-kʰul-n-cut-n
   'the Divinity, the makership'
49. kʰul-n-cut
   'God, the one that makes by himself'
50. y-es-kʰul-kʰul-n-cut-n-m ; kʰul-kʰul-n-cut-n-m-n
   'I treat him as God.'
51. sxʰ-kʰul-m
   'charged to work, workman'
52. kʰul-m-emn
   'a busy-body'
53. kʰul-kʰul-m-ul
   'habitual worker, he that likes to work'
54. kʰul-š-cut-n
   in-kʰul-š-cut-n
   'that helps working'
   'my helper in work'
55. i-s-nkʰul-š-t-1
   'made, baptized, married or ordained with me; husband or wife'
56. i-s-nkʰul-š-t-1
   'husband/wife'
57. y-es-nkʰul-š-t-1 ; nkʰul-š-t-1-m-n
   'I am made, married with him.'
   nkʰul-š-t-1-m-i-s
   Joseph
   'She was married with Joseph.'
58. y-es-nkʰul-š-t-1-m ; nkʰul-š-t-1-m-n
   'I am born, got married with him.'
59. čin es-kʰul-š-t-1
   'I have a house built; they are building it.'
   kʰul-š-t
   'Have a house built!'
60. čin es-kʰul-š-t-1 ; čin kʰul-š-t-1
   'I am building a house.'
   kʰul-š-t
   'Build a house.'
61. y-es-kʰul-š-t-1-m ; kʰul-š-t-1-n
   'I am building that house.'
   kʰul-š-t-1-n-t
   'Build that house!'
62. y-es-kʰul-š-t-1-m ; kʰul-š-t-1-n-t
   'I build the house of his...'
   kʰul es-kʰul-š-t-1-n-t-s
   i-s-nš-sé?
   'He builds my son's house.'
63. y-es-kʰul-š-t-1-m ; kʰul-š-t-1-n
   'I help him building a house.'
64. čin es-n-kw?-l-eix\'-él-i 'I wish to build a house.'
65. i-sx\'\'-k?\'l-eix\'\'-m 'my house builder'
66. čin es-kw?\'l-ilmix\'i 'I am acting chief.'
67. y-es-kw?\'l-ilmix\'\'-m ; kw?\'l-ilmix\'\'-m-n 'I treat him as a chief.'
68. čin es-kw?\'l-s-xé|wi\? 'I got a husband.'
69. y-es-kw?\'l-s-xé|wi\?\'-m ; kw?\'l-xé|wi\?\'-m-n 'I take him for husband.'
70. čin es-kw?\'l-i-px\'\'-út-i 'I act as father/mother, as god father.'
71. y-es-kw?\'l-i-px\'\'-út-m ; kw?\'l-i-px\'\'-út-m-n 'I take/treat him as my parent.'
72. čin es-kw?\'l-sín-ce\?\'-i 'I act as a brother, altar boy.'
73. y-es-kw?\'l-sín-ce\?\'-m ; kw?\'l-sín-ce\?\'-m-n 'I take him for my brother.'
74. čin es-kw?\'l-s-six\'\'-lt-i 'I get children.'
75. čin es-kw?\'l-s-k\'tun-t-m ; kw?\'l-s-k\'tun-t-m-n 'I treat him as a big fellow.'
76. čin es-kw?\'l-s-k\'tun-t-i 'I act as a big fellow.'
77. čin es-kw?\'l-s-xs-t-i 'I act the good.'
78. y-es-kw?\'l-s-\'s-t\'s-t-m ; kw?\'l-s-\'s-t\'s-t-m-n 'I treat/make him good.'
79. čin es-kw?\'l-s-k\'uy 'I act the mother.'
80. y-es-kw?\'l-s-k\'uy\?-m ; kw?\'l-s-k\'uy\?-m-n 'I take her as my mother.'
81. čin es-kw?\'l-s-m?\'em 'I play the woman, the coward.'
82. čin es-kw?\'l-i-?e\'c-ówt-i 'I act as the last.'
83. y-es-kw?\'l-i-?e\'c-ówt-m ; kw?\'l-i-?e\'c-ówt-m-n 'I treat him as the last, despise him.'
84. čin es-kw?\'l-i-psáy-e\?\'-i 'I act the fool.'
85. y-es-kw?\'l-i-psáy-m ; kw?\'l-i-psáy-m-n 'I treat him as a fool.'
86. y-es-kw?\'l-s-m?\'em-m ; kw?\'l-s-m?\'em-m-n 'I treat him like a coward.'
87. čin es-kw?\'l-i-x\'\'-üp-t-i 'I act the lazy.'
88. y-es-kw?\'l-i-x\'\'-üp-t-m ; kw?\'l-i-x\'\'-üp-t-m-n 'I think him lazy.'
89. čin es-kw?\'l-s-túlix\' 'I settle down, take a homestead.'
90. y-es-kw?\'l-s-túlix\'\'-m ; kw?\'l-s-túlix\'\'-m-n 'I settle on that spot.'
91. čin es-kw?\'l-íl-i ; čin kw?\'l-íl-m 'I make arrows, arm-balls.'
    kw?\'l-íl-iš 'Make arrows!'
92. y-es-k'ul-l-m ; k"ul-l-n
   "I produce it.'
k"ul-l-n-t
   'Produce it!'

93. i-s-k'ul-l
   "my being born"
i-s-c-k'ul-l
   'my having been born'

94. in-k'ul-l-tn
   'what makes me to be born'

95. čin es-n-k'ul-l-i ; čin n-k"ul-l-m ; 'I conceive/born inside.'
   čin n-k"ul-icé?-i ; čin n-k"ul-icé?-m-n

96. y-es-n-k'ul-l-m ; n-k"ul-l-n ;
   y-es-n-k"ul-icé?-m ; n-k"ul-icé?-m-n
   'I conceive him or it.'

97. čin es-č-k'ul-l-i ; čin es-č-k"ul-icé?-i
   'I am coming to light, being born.'

98. i-s-n-k"ul-l ; i-s-n-k"ul-icé?; 'My being conceived, my conception.'

99. ū? i-s-č-k"ul-l ; i-s-č-k"ul-icé?
   'my birth'

100. ū? i-n-č-k"ul-tn ; i-n-č-k"ul-icé?-tn
    'my generation'

101. ū? i-s-n-č-k"ul-l-tn
    'my birthplace'

Derivation and inflection of ?axil 'similar, same as, act the same as':

1. ec-?axil
   'like to, in like manner'

2. čin ec-?axil t amwi?
   'I am like you.'

3. qe? ec-?axil t k"ul-n-cut-n
   'We are like to God.'

4. l swet u k" ec-?axil
   'Whom are you like to?'

5. l šey u čin ec-?axil
   'I am like that.'

6. ūcí? u čin ec-?axil-cut
   'My behavior is like his.'

7. i l ci? u ec-?axil
   'It is exactly as that, not changed.'

8. i t ci? u ec-?axil
   'He acts as before, no change in him.'

9. čin ?axil-m t Pierre
   'I do the same as Peter.' (D II p. 326)

10. i p ec-?x-?axl-ús
    'You both look exactly the same.'

11. ec-?axl-ús t l?ew-s
    'He looks like his father.'

12. ū? i-s-nk"-ic-?axil (c ?)
    'my fellow, the one like me'

13. q-s-ec-?axl-s-n-x"c-x"c-m-él-s-t-x" ū? t naq"-émn
    'You made me suffer like a thief.'

14. y-ec-?axil-m ; ec-?axi-s-t-n
    'I made him like, treat him like.'
15. qe? q-s-k'ul-m iu? sqélix" q-ec-?axíl-i t qe?nplé?
   'Let us make man like to us.' (Bible p. 1)
16. k" iaq-šlš ec-?axíl t k" sqélix"
   'You sit there like an Indian (as if you were an Indian).'
17. qe? n-q"ih-m-i-l-t ec-?axíl t qe? es-n-q"h-mn-wé?x"w
   'Have mercy on us, as we have mercy on each other.'
18. l čeh m ec-?axíl-s-qsíp m es-n-x"c-x"c-éls iu? l esulíp
   'How long will they suffer in hell?'
19. m cc-?axíl-s-qsíp iu? t q-s-n-py-els iu? xš-xes-t iu? l
c-č-čm-asqt 'As long as the good ones shall rejoice in heaven.'
20. k"mi? čin ec-?axíl-s-x"ck"-i t Marie
   'Would that I were as pure as the B.V. Mary!'
21. iu? t ec-?axíl x"it k" sust, t šey u ec-?axíl k"tun-t
   u k" n-čm-p-cin
   'The more you drink, the more you thirst.' (D II p. 394)
22. sél-iš ʔitx"e? ta ec-?axíl-s-tíš t s-čić-wi 'The camas of
   the Salish is less sweet than that of the Coeur d'Alene.'
23. čin cc-?axíl-s-k"tun-t t anwi? 'I am as big as you.'
24. k" ec-?axíl-s-čés-t t Louis 'You are as good as Louis.'
25. ta y-ec-?axíl-s-yo-p-yěw-t (yew ?) 'I am not so strong.'
26. l šey u ec-?axíl-s-1k"-ut 'that far'
27. k"mi ec-?axíl
   'may it be so'
28. č-s-n-ʔaxíl 'in like manner' (Bible p. 109)
29. l čeh u ec-?axíl ; l čeh m ec-?axíl 'How?'

ʔaxíl with n- 'locative' and -él s 'volitive' means 'to think the same
as':
30. l anwi? u čin es-n-ʔaxíl-él-s-i 'I think the same as you do.'
31. n-k"i-n-ʔaxíl-él-s-m-n-c-n 'I think the same as you do.'
32. čin n-ʔaxíl-él s t Pierre 'I think the same as Peter.'
33. y-es-n-ʔaxíl-él-s-mn ; n-ʔaxíl-él-s-n 'I think so of him.'
34. k"u n i-n-ʔaxíl-él-s-m-n-t-x"w ;
   l k"uy?tö u k" es-n-ʔaxíl-él-s-i 'You think the same as I do.'
35. y-es-n-k"i-n-ʔaxíl-él-s-m ; n-k"i-n-ʔaxíl-él-s-m-n
   'He has the same opinion with me.'
36. a-q-s-n-k"i-n-?axl-élis-m īu? J.C.  
   k" q-s-n-k"i-n-?axl-élis-m-s ī J.C.  
   'You and J.C. must be of the same opinion.' (D I p. 8)
37. čin n-?axl-élis-m-ist īu? 1 k"i-n-cut-n  I think of myself like God; I think of myself as God thinks of me.'
38. n-?axl-élis-m-n-c-n ī cniic  'I think you are like him.'
39. ?axl-člúx"  'every evening'
40. ?axl-s-k"-k"?ec  'every night'
41. ?axl-á ; ?axl-ášqt  'daily'
Cf. also xii (related to ?axí ?)
1. xii k"tun-t  'pretty big'  
2. xii čin ?itš ī s-k"-k"?ec  'I slept enough during the night.'
3. xii t ī s-?iin  'I ate scarcely anything.'
4. č-n-xii ī k"-i-s īu? s-n-sus-tn  'In like manner he took the chalice.'
5. xii x"?it  'a good many'
6. xii-ňé (-ňe ?)  'nearly, nearly, almost'
7. xii-ňé ī Ail  'He almost died.'
APPENDIX G: SUMMARY OF AFFIX ORDERING

**Prefixes:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in-</td>
<td>'my'</td>
<td>qī-</td>
<td>'subjunctive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>'thy'</td>
<td></td>
<td>epī-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č-</td>
<td>'towards'</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>'nominal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>'before'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|     |               |            | čs-      | 'about'
|     |               |            | či-      | 'upon'
|     |               |            | kwi-     | 'under'
|     |               |            |         |         |
| 9   | 10            | 11         | 12      |
| c-  | 'hither'      | n-         | 'locative' |
|     |               | i-         | 'diminutive' |
|     |               |            |         |        |
|     |               |            | uī-      | 'plural' |
|     |               |            |         |        |

Lexical Prefixes
### Suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
<th>Column 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-p 'non-control'</td>
<td>Lexical Suffixes</td>
<td>-t 'stative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-min 'instrumental'</td>
<td>-ut 'capability'</td>
<td>-m 'middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-šiš 'benefactive'</td>
<td>-els 'volitive'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ist 'intr. reflexive'</td>
<td>-n 'simple tran.'</td>
<td>-t 'tran.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-numt 'intr. success'</td>
<td>-s 'causative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lwis 'iterative'</td>
<td>-i 'relative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(w)ilš 'developmental'</td>
<td>-ši 'tran. benefactive'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uč 'given to...'</td>
<td>-ļul 'suppletive plural'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nu 'tran. success'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-we?xʷ 'reciprocal'</td>
<td>-iš 'intr. imperative, sg.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ćut 'tran. reflexive'</td>
<td>-wi 'intr. imperative, pl.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-emm 'habitual'</td>
<td>-i 'continuative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ekʷ 'tran. imperative'</td>
<td>-tn 'instrumental'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Transitive Goal Suffixes

- mp 'your'
- s 'his/their'

#### Transitive Actor Suffixes

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APPENDIX H: GLOSSARY OF ROOTS

Kalispel roots are of the shape (C)CVC(C). Forms given here that do not conform to the patterns, especially forms with two or more vowels, are almost certainly further analyzable.

Forms in Post's orthography, listed in brackets, follow the phonetic transcriptions. The parenthesized initials that conclude each entry indicate the source that confirms Post's form: Vogt (V), Incashola (I), Carlson (C). Cognates in Colville (Cv), Coeur d'Alene (Cr), Columbian (Cm), and Shuswap (Sh) are extracted from Dr. Mattina's personal files and are preceded by an asterik. Two asterisks precede forms which I was unable to re-attest.

Since unstressed root vowels normally reduce to schwa or zero, my alphabetization of the roots ignores non-initial vowels. Several variants of a root may be listed in an entry, or cross-referenced.

The alphabetical order of the glossary is: a, e, i, o, u, c, č, č, h, kʷ, k', l, ū, ĭ, m, n, p, p, q, q, q', q', s, š, t, t', w, ť, x, x', y, ų, ų.

aác <#ac, ac(í) [aaz, az(i)] 'tie, catch' (C)
**alq [aik] 'plenty'
amwí? [anui] 'thou' (V)
aw(ú) [au] 'drip' (cf. also waw) (C)
a?i [ai] 'run' (stress ?) (V)
esulíp [esolip] 'hell' (I)
**essáliq [essalk] 'crooked'
esiyá? [esia] 'all (in number)' (cf. iyá?) (V)
e?u [eu] 'peel' (V)

iláwie? [ilauie] 'man's great-grandfather' (I)

ilmix' [ilimigu] 'chief' (V)

ituk' [ituk] 'rot (of wood)' (C)

iyá? [ia] 'all' (cf. esiýá?) (V)

iyús [ius] 'dirty (bruised)' (I)

olq' [olk] 'help' (V)

ôos < oos, os [oos, os] 'lost' (C)

ox' [ogo] 'fence' (V)

oy AS IN oý-n-cút [oincut] 'laugh, sg.' (V)

unéx', uné [onegu, une] 'yes, true' (V)

cuk' [zku] 'pull' (C)

cuk' AS I: ck'-'ečst-n [zkuechst] 'rod, walking cane' (V)

ci [zill] 'five' (V)

c'm AS IN s-c-č-č-ełt [szizimélt] 'children'; i-c-č-č-ice?

[izizimize] 'Little Robes' (C)

cu(n) [zu(n)] 'say' (cf. cuw) (C)

**cenel [zenel] 'his/their's'

cnič [znilz] 'he/they' (C)

citx' [zitgu] 'house' (C)

cuw [zu] 'say' (cf. cu(n)) (C)

*cx'u [zug] 'growing feeble' (Cv. ca?x' 'tired')

**cx'u [zgu] 'growing better'

c? AS IN i-c-c?-ups [izuzuups] 'woman's younger sister' (C),
c?-ups [zuups] 'man's younger sister', c?-up-ćws [zupeeus] 'sister'

cé? AS IN s-pi?-s-cé? [spizelt] 'yesterday' (C), sín-ce?
[sinze] 'man's younger brother' (C)

ci? [zi] 'that, there' (C)

čal, ččl [zal, zel] 'cold' (C)

či [zil] 'stand, stick out, pl.' (C)
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čom [zom] 'bone' (C)
čan [zan] 'tight' (C)
*čin(t) [zin(t)] 'say what' (Cv)
čaq' AS IN čq'-áq'-i [zkoakoi] 'crying' (V)
čsi [zesi] 'consumed, gone' (C)
češť [zechť] 'man's brother-in-law' (C)
čów [çou] 'wash' (C)
čxil [zgeil] 'like to, same as' (cf. ?āxīl) (C)
čox' [zogo] 'intend, mean to' (C)
č? AS IN n-čʔ-ilś [nziilsh] 'go upstream by land' (C)
čʔuulix' AS IN čʔuulix'-élx' [zooliguelgu] 'deer skin' (C)
čaʔl [zaal, zæl] 'sore, ache' (V)
čeʔeš [zeesh] 'shame, bashful' (V)

číc [chiz] 'arrive' (C)
ččhe [chezech] 'right (hand)' (V)
**ččqoq [chzok] 'cure'
ččik'ē [chizike] 'left (hand)' (V)
čičše? AS IN i-čičše? [lchit'she] 'man or woman's older sister' (C)
**ččhans AS IN čhans-p-ásqt [chehanspaskat] 'cloudy sky'
čl AS IN čl-aws [chilaus] 'thing hanging' (C)
**ččlčin AS IN člčin-m-s-t-x' [chlzmstgu] 'thou stoodest by him'
**ččlipost [chlipost] 'ours'
ččelš [chulsh] 'hand' (C)
**ččtīč [cheltich] 'lord'
ččlwicē? [chulwice] 'bushel (barrel)' (I)
ččtip [chičtip] 'hunt' (C)
**ččemp AS IN čemp-nux' [chempnug] 'cloudy weather'
ččmiš [chemish] 'only, alone' (Cf. miš) (C)
*ččan [cham] 'consumed by fire' (Cv. kîh 'take away')
*ččin [chimp] 'hate' (Cv. kîh 'hate')
ččen [chen] 'gather' (V)
ččnm AS IN es-ččm-p-qīn [es chinempekn] 'got blind' (C)
ččnaqs [chinûks] 'one (person)' (C)
ččnx'u [chengu] 'hold on to, touch' (C)

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**čene? [chene] ‘mine’
čen [chen] ‘what, where’ (C)

**čqat AS IN čqat-ėw [chkatheus] ‘piled up’
*čšit [chshit, chit] ‘watch, guard’ (V)

**čet AS IN či-čet-kʰ [chiletiku] ‘skin raft’
čtas [chita’s] ‘lean, poor’ (V)
čew [cheu] ‘woman’s brother’s wife’ (C)

čxil AS IN čxil-ps [chgeilps] ‘gray, gray-necked horse’ (C)
čx?lem [cha’lem ?] ‘watch, look after’ (I)

**čx“ct [chgoetz] ‘Monday’
čy AS IN **čy-elt [chielit] ‘woman’s late brother’s son’s son’
**čya [chia] ‘solicit, coax (to evil)’
čye? AS IN či-čye? [chichei] ‘sister’s daughter’s son’ (C)
či? AS IN či?-ėw [tshieus] ‘forever’ (I); n-tkʰ-či?-sqxe?-tn [ntkochiskagaeten] ‘saddle’ (C)
če’îes, če’î- [che’îes, che’î-] ‘three’ (V)

čič(i) [chize] ‘a long object lays’ (C)
čiče’t [chichet] ‘near, close’ (V)
čeh(kʰ) [chokhu] ‘open’ (C)
čólsqe’ [cholzkae] ‘outside’ (C)
čluxʷ [chelug] ‘evening’ (C)
čem [chem] ‘extremity, last’ (also a root in many words with lexical suffixes, particularly body parts) (C)
čiî(i) [chim] ‘dark’ (C)
čint [chint] ‘be afraid for someone’ (V)
čes [ches] ‘bad’ (C)
čspin [chespin] ‘neck’ (C)
čut [chut] ‘half’ (C)

**čiłciʔ? [chitelzi] ‘opposite, against, behind’
*čiit [chit] ‘cut’ (Cv. ket, Cr. čet ‘cut off completely’)
čaw [chau] ‘pray’ (V)
čiw AS IN čiw-ulš [chiulsh] ‘climb a ladder, sg.’ (V)
čuw(û) [cho] ‘absent, empty’ (C)
čewîleʔ [chauple ?] ‘snake’ (I)
čewe? [chaue] 'woman's brother-in-law' (I)
čew AS IN čew-lš-i [cheulshi] 'old, aged' (C)
čex'ú [chegu] 'dry (clothes)' (C)
čev [chei] 'shade' (C)
č?elp [cheelp] 'widow of man's son' (I)
č?e?it [cheit] 'spider' (V)

h?enm [hehenem] 'eight' (V)
hemí [hemi] 'getting cloudy, fog' (C)
hoy [hoi] 'end' (C)

**k'ı [kui, koi, ku] 'go' (Post says this is the form x'uy 'go' takes in compound or complex forms.)
k'icič [kozich] 'falling' (I)

**k'1 AS IN k’-i-ε̆t [koleut] 'dwell together' (Cv. k’il)
k’al 'yellow' AS IN s-k’al-šín [skoalshin] 'cranes (bird)' (V), k’li-k’alí (i ?) [kulikuali] 'Indian corn, maize'
k’il [kuil] 'red' (C)
k’ul(st) [kul(st)] 'send' (C)

**k’elt AS IN in-k’elt-n-čút-n [inkoeltenzuten] 'he that loads me'
k’A AS IN s-k’A-us [skutlus] 'face' (C)

**k’um [kum] 'wilderness'

**k’vm AS IN c-k’-k’vm-aqs [zkukumenaks] 'hungry one'

**k’emtn [kuemten] 'forever, constantly'
k’n AS IN n-k’n-cn-cut [nkunzinzt] 'sing praises' (C)
k’an AS IN s-k’an-čn [skoangan] 'slave, captive' (Cf. k’en) (C)
k’en(é) [kuin, kune, kuen, kon] 'take, grab, catch' (C)
k’un AS IN ?ex’-k’un [egukune] 'say, speak' (cf. ?ex’) (C)
k’up [kup] 'push' (C)

**k’plipost [kupelipost] 'yours, pl.'
k’es AS IN s-k’e-k’s-t [skuekust] 'morning, breakfast' (C)
k’is AS IN s-k’is-k’s [skuiskus] 'chicken' (I)
k’ush AS IN: k’-k’ush [kukusem] 'chicken' (I)
k’vest [kuest] 'name' (C)
k’tun, k’ti [kutun, kuti] 'big, great' (C)
**k'uy?e**  [koie]  'I'  (C)

**k'ue**  [kuie]  'thine'

**k'uec**  AS IN  s-k'uec  [skukuez]  'night'  (C)

**k'ukui**  [kukui, kokoi]  'man's father's sister, woman's brother's child, woman's aunt'  (C)

**k'u1**  [kol]  'work, make, do'  (C)

**k'u1t**  [kuitlt, kuitit]  'other, several'  (V)

**k'um**  AS IN  s-k'um-elt  [skomelt]  'virgin'  (Cv. sk'umalt)

**k'inš**  [kuinsh]  'several, how much'  (C)

**k'i1ps**  AS IN  k'u1-k'i1ps  [kukuiteps]  'flea'  (C)

**k'uy**  [koi]  'man's mother'  (C)

k'uyum, k'-k'uyum  [kuium, kukuium]  'small, young'  (C)

**k'ec**  [koe]  'bite'  (C)

**k'owal**  [kuaal]  'grow'  (V)

**k'ec?rms**  [koenems]  'try'  (I)

**lcu**  AS IN  s-n-lcu-tn  [snlzuten]  'room'

**lcyesto**  [lijesto]  'left'  (?)

**lic?**  AS IN  č-lci?-m-s-t-n  [chlziimsten]  'I remain near him.'  (I)

**lic?**  [lich]  'to tie, bind'  (C)

**leci**  'he's mad'  IN  lč-lč-t  [lichlicht]  (?)  'violent person, valiant'  (I)

**lk**  [lko]  'far'  (C)

**lukw**  [luku]  'wood'  (C)

**lem**  [lem]  'contented, happy'  (C)

**laq**  [laka]  'bury'  (C)

**lešh**  [leshin]  'hear (from afar)'  (V)

**liw**  [liu]  'ring bell'  (Cv., Cm. liw)

**lxu**  [lgu]  'hurt, ache, feel pain'  (C)

**l?e**  [lce]  'stay here, remain'  (V)

**l?o**  AS IN  n-l?o-n-t-ém  [nelantem]  'someone was put in jail'  (I)

**lew**  [leču]  'man's father'  (C)

**lač**  [laga]  'friend'  (C)
ioc [ioz] 'smashed' (I)
icečč [izezch] 'man's wife's mother or sister' (C)
ič [izi] 'flog' (V)
**ić AS IN s-č-č-ič-etk' [s'chičetiku] 'skin raft'
iaháye? AS IN ih-iháye? [iamamaie] 'frog(s)' (V)
ipep [lip] 'go out, dwindle' (V)
iop AS IN iop-qn-m [iopkanem] 'bend it over (as head of a tree)' (I)
**iup [iup] 'lean, poor'
išx' AS IN s-n-išx'-šin [snipogoshin] 'nail foot-wound' (I)
iq [iak] 'sit' (C)
iqáqce? [iakaze] 'woman's older brother' (C)
iq [iaka] 'wide' (C)
iq' AS IN iq'-če? [ikuene] 'he hides provisions' (I)
iq' AS IN iq'-t-ist-ye? (-ye? ?) [ikotistie] 'prostrated',
n-q'-iq'-iqiét-n [nikoikoiketen] 'suspenders' (C)
iq' AS IN [iako] 'come in sight, be seen' (C)
iw AS IN s-iw-elt [slelt] 'orphan', iw-estn [luesten] 'man's step-mother, woman's step-father' (C)
iwet [luet] 'few, few times' (C)
*iwx' [legu] 'rest' (Cv. iwx')
*iux' [igo] 'sew' (Cv. iux' 'loop, stitch', Sh. lex'-m 'patch up')
iq' [logo] 'hole' (V)
iq'up [logop] 'to run away, escape' (V)
iay [lai] 'Dolly Varden trout' (C)
i'e AS IN s-č-i'e [schlee] 'Saturday' (C)
iu?ú (i) [luu] 'sting, lance' (C)
iq'ummol [iomenel] 'wild goat' (I)
lic [tliz] 'hard' (C)
īuck' AS IN s-īuck'-m [slokom] '(wild) carrots' (C)
īl(i) [tlil, tell] 'die, stop' (C)
īāq [tlaka] 'hot, warm' (C)
īx' [tlegu] 'win' (C)
\(\lambda\alpha\) [tlag] 'fast, swift' (C)
\(\lambda\gamma\) [tie\text{e}\text{o}] 'boat, canoe' (C)
\(\lambda\epsilon\) [tlee] 'look for' (cf. \(\lambda\alpha\)) (C)
\(\lambda\mu\) [tl\text{uu}] 'look for' (cf. \(\lambda\epsilon\)) (C)
\(\lambda\epsilon^k\text{w}\) AS IN \(\lambda\epsilon^k\text{w}-\text{il}\text{-cút-}\text{i}\) [tlekuilshzuti] 'practice sorcery' (C)

mek\(\text{w}\) [meko] 'snow' (C)
mal [mal] 'dirt' (C)
māli (stress ?) [me\text{i}, mali] 'heal' (C)
mul [mul] 'fetch water' (V)
milk\(\text{w},\) melk\(\text{w}\) [milko, melko, melluk] 'whole, all; round' (C)
mi [me\text{i}] 'flood' (C)
mul AS IN s-mul-mn [smilemen] 'lance, spear' (V)
mi [mi\text{i}] 'too, very much, greatly' (V)
menx\(\text{w}\) [menigu] 'smoke' (C)
maq AS IN y-es-maq-q-m [ies makkam] 'I forbid him to start' (Cv.
\quad maq 'to stop someone from', C. maq 'to convince')
moq\(\text{w}\) [moko, mke] 'mountain' (C)
mus, mos [mus, mos] 'four' (C)
mus AS IN mus-\text{ls} [musels] 'trusted' (I)
miš [mish] 'only, alone' (cf. čmiš) (C)
*miš AS IN š?it-miš-élt [shiitemisheit] 'first-born child' (Cv.
\quad mix '?)

mav\(\text{w}\) [mau] 'broken' (C)
mx\(\text{w}\)u [mogo] 'to snow' (C)
mix\(\text{w}\)t [migmat] 'sick, dying' (I)
me\(\text{ye}\) [meie] 'tell, show, teach' (C)
miy [mi\text{i}] 'know' (C)
*miiy [mi] 'brave, excellent, true, worthy' (Cv. mi 'important',
\quad Cm. miy 'be dignified')

**moyxi [moigai] 'practice Indian jugglery to find out enemies'
mo\(\text{yi}\) [moe, mie] 'tell, show, teach' (cf. me\(\text{ye}\)) (C)
mo?\(\epsilon\)o? (stress ?) [me\text{i}] 'refuse, send away' (V)
me\(\text{p}\)i [meel] 'man's brother's son or daughter' (C)
m\(\text{e}\)m [meem] 'woman' (V)
m?ot [moot] 'smoke' (V)
mi?tu? [mito] 'fort' (I)

m?em [mem] 'play' (C)

m?em AS IN s-m?em-?i [smoemhin] 'mare' (C)
m?em [msem] 'woman's father' (Why does Post record 6?) (C)

ne? AS IN s-ne?-i? [snekelze] 'elk' (C)
ne? AS IN s-ne?-ix [snekelgu] 'woman's daughter's husband' (C)
n? [nich] 'cut, saw' (C)
n?u?, nko? [nko, nko] 'one' (C)
nim? [nim?] 'frozen (water)' (I)
nun(n)x [noningu] 'believe' (V)
nple? [empile] 'you, pl.' (C)
naq [naka] 'rotten (meat)' (V)
naq? [nako] 'steal' (C)
nas [nas] 'wet, moist' (C)
nisq?u [nisko] 'the opposite side of the river' (C)
n? [nte] 'think' (C)
n? [nev] 'blow' (C)
nax? [nago] 'to go downstream' (C)
nox AS IN n?x-nox [nogonogo] 'wife' (C), nx?-nx?-owsm [nogonogoensem] 'join two in matrimony' (V)

*paa < pa? [paa] 'grey, burnt' (CV. pa? 'grey', Sh. pe? 'faded, empty')
s-p?-s-c?lt [spiszelt] 'yesterday' (C)
pic? [pizoch] 'leaf, leaves' (C)
pul(st) [pol(st)] 'kill' (C)
pil? [pilsh] 'enter' (V)
**pe? AS IN n-pi-pi-a? [npeipeaks] 'hog, pig'
p?i [pi] 'thick' (C)
peik'u' AS IN pei-pik'u' [peipeikui] 'women' (V)
pium [pium] 'hair, fur' (C)
pentč [pentich] 'always, year' (C)
**paq AS IN paq-q [pakaka] 'pay for'
pik [pik] 'white' (C)
psa(y) AS IN psa-p [psap] 'surprise, wonder at, admire' (C. psa 'to be scared', Cv. psay 'no sense')
pus AS IN pu-pus-čëč [pupusench] 'grief, sorry' (Cf. pus) (C)
**patn [patn] 'poulrice'
put [put, pot] 'enough, exact, yet, still' (Cf. pûte?) (C)
ptk'u [ptko] 'pierce, poke, jab' (C)
ptax' [ptago] 'spit' (C)
pûte? [pute] 'respected' (Cf. put) (C)
pax [pag] 'smart, wise' (C)
px'um [pogum] 'distribute, scatter' (V)
piy [pi] 'happy' (C)
p'i? AS IN s-pi?-s-cë? [spiszë] 'yesterday' (C)
p'os [poos] 'foam' (I)
p'us [poos] 'heart' (Cf. pus) (C)
**pe'x' [peegu] 'fair (face)'
pič(mi) [pelch(mi)] 'turn' (V)
pič AS IN č-pič-ew(-m) [chptleus(em)] 'Monday' (C)
piâ [pta] 'bare, exposed' (C)
pič [ptle] 'bitterroot' (C)
piâp [paap] 'catch fire' (V)
p'ni? [pakan] 'month, moon' (V)
p'oč' [poko] 'spilled' (C)
p'ax', p'ax' [pegu, pagu] 'shining' (C)
p'ax [paag] 'cure' (C)
p'x' [pogo] 'old' (C)
p'yaq [piak] 'ripe' (C)
p'aw [pau] 'don't care to' (V)
qec [kez] 'jumb, run, sg.' (V)
 qcčč [kezch] 'elder brother' (C)
 ql AS IN ql-alq [kalalko] 'green wood (not dry)' (I)
 **ql AS IN ql-qál-aqs [kalkalaks] 'little frog'
 **qlil [keil] 'seduce'
 **qlčlp AS IN n-i-qlčlp-n-cúc-i-s [nkalchelpenzutis] 'He left
 them to hold his place.' (segments ?)
 qalispél [kalispel] 'Kalispel' (V)
 qeltč [keltich] 'meat, body, flesh' (C)
 qltmix' [kaltemigu] 'man, Indian' (C)
 qlew [kalóu] 'beaver' (C)
 qlot AS IN n-qlot-iqít [nkalotikeit] 'shovel' (C)
 qii [kei] 'awake' (V)
 qam(in) [kam(in)] 'lay, put (several objects)' (V)
 qamm AS IN s-qamm-lscút [skammelszut] 'goods, pl.'
 qéne? [kéne] 'woman's sibling's son's son, grandmother' (C)
 qp AS IN qp-éičé? [kapelze] 'plate' (C)
 **qap AS IN qap-n-cút-n [kapenzuten] 'friend to death'
 qepc [kepz] 'spring' (C)
 qapúsl [kapusel] 'wing (angel's)' (V)
 **qas [kas] 'break'
 qix' [keigu] 'drive' (C)
 qł AS IN qx-min [kgamin] 'horn' (C)
 qáže? [kage] 'man's mother's sister' (C)
 qeyl [keil] 'solicit, invite (bribe)' (I)
 qe?nplé? [kaempile] 'we' (C)

 ql AS IN ql-eps [kaleps] 'necklace, necktie' (C)
 qlx' AS IN n-qlx'-us [nkaligus] 'hooked in one eye' (I)
 qli? [kalíu] 'lake' (C)
 qm AS IN qm-elt-n [kamelten] 'starve', qm-qm-els [kamkamels]
 'neckness' (C)
 qam [kam] 'talk' (V)
 qnýye? AS IN q-qnýye? [kakameie] 'fishing with the hook' (C)
 qn [kan] 'contracted (as with arthritis)' (I)
 qcp AS IN s-qcp-qcp-éne? [skepkepene] 'sand' (C)
qasīp [kasīp] 'old, long ago' (V)
qātt [kētite] 'skin, hide' (C)
qāw [kao] 'broken' (cf. qaw) (C)
qāxʷ AS IN qāxʷ-p-enč [kagupench] 'costive' (I)
qexʷu AS IN qexʷ-mi-n [kagumin] 'I wish for it, like to have it.' (C. qexʷ(u) 'to flirt', cv. qaxʷ 'to flirt')
diqt [keigt] 'fond of, wish to have' (V)
dixʷ AS IN dixʷ-qin-čst [kogkeinchst] 'finger-nail' (C)
dey, qaγ 'kai' 'write' (cf. qi?) (C)
dāγu [kao] 'broken' (cf. qaw) (V)
deq(ĕ) [kae] 'pinched, squeezed; put, stick' (C, V)
di? [ki] 'write' (cf. dey) (C)
q'ac AS IN q'ac-qn [koazkan] 'cap, hat' (C)
q'il 'cheat' AS IN q'il-q'il [kolkoel] 'forgive' (C)
q'el(t) [kuel(t), kol] 'talk' (C)
q'cwdi [koleuie] 'onion' (C)
q'IL [kuel] 'cook, ripe, ready to eat' (V)
*q'um AS IN s-q'm-útya? [skomatie] 'coin'
q'in [koin] 'green' (V)
q'iu [koin] 'ugly, poor, mean; pity' (V)
q'est [koest] 'deep snow' (I), n-q'est [nkoest] 'deep water' (V)
q'se? AS IN s-q'se? [skussee] 'son', s-q's?-elt [skuselt] 'nephew' (C)
*q't AS IN q'-q't-ilš [kokotilsh] 'becoming wayward'
q'táxʷ'ew? [kottagoe] 'louse, lice' (C)
q'aw, q'aw [koeu, koau] 'drunk, wicked' (C)
*q'aw AS IN q'aw-q'-t (-q'?) [koaukot] 'wicked altogether'
q'ey [koi] 'to have plenty' (V)
q'eyəm AS IN q'eyəm-q'əm-m-t [kaimkomt] 'lively in working' (I)
q'uʔi [kuui] 'wasp' (C)
q'aʔm AS IN s-q'aʔm-ʔaq [skoamaks] 'habitual food' (I)
q'aʔup [koop] 'tanned, made soft' (V)
q'ic AS IN n-q'ic-tn [koizton] 'woman's late husband's brother' (C)
sispl [sispel] 'seven' (V)
sisz [siszh] 'pure' (I)
sot AS IN sot-lqs [sotalks] 'knitted shirt' (I)
sew [sel] 'ask, listen' (V)
sewl AS IN sewl-k' [seulk] 'liquor' (V)
sweet [sue] 'who, what' (C)
six' [sigu] 'pour, spill liquids' (C)
sux' [sugu] 'know, recognize, understand' (C)
say [saga] 'near, accompany' (C)
say' [sago] 'split!' (C)
sy AS IN si-sy-ûs [sisius] 'brave, smart, bright, strong; much' (C)
syen, siyen [siin] 'to count' (C, V)
suyâpi [suiapi] 'whiteman' (C)
**syaw [siau] 'uncomfortably cold' (I)
se?stem [sestum] 'man's wife's sister or brother's wife, woman's sister's husband' (C)

še AS IN še-šutê [sheshutem] 'girl' (C)
šal [shal] 'steep' (V)
šli [shili] 'chop' (C)
šmen [shemen] 'enemy' (C)
šn [shen] 'shut' (V)
šin [shin] 'follow, accompany' (V)
šen(š) [shen(sh)] 'stone' (C)
šutê [shutem] 'girl' (V)
šê [shite] 'tree, standing' (C)
**šiw AS IN šiw-mil [shiumil] 'beyond measure'
šyust [shiyust] 'pass' (C)
šey AS IN ši?-šey [shishei] 'go together, keep company' (C)
še [shee] 'this, these' (C)
*ši? [shi] 'consent' (Cv. xe?)
**ši? AS IN **ši?-mil [shiumil] 'exceedingly', **ši?-cîn [shiiacin] 'first rate' (cf. šiw)
**ši?š [shish] 'instead of'
și?it. [shiit] 'first, ahead' (C)
*și?t [chiit] 'keep your eyes on, guard' (usually with ș-
Ș-și?t) (cf. șiiit) (Cv. xa?t 'watch for')

ta [ta] 'not, no' (V)
tk"u? [tkoo] 'march, walk, pl.' (C)
tal [tal] 'loose' (V)
tlcî? [telzî] 'more' (I)
tl?e AS IN c-n-tl?e-le (-le ?) [znteleele] 'on this side of the
river' (I)
tun [tam] 'not' (Cf. ta-m) (V)
tun, tum [tom] 'woman's mother' (C)
tem [tem] 'what, thing' (C)
tth? AS IN s-th?e-l [stomhelt] 'daughter' (cf. șutmî) (C)
tnîm [tenemus] 'nothing' (C)
tunšt [tonsh] 'man's nephew or niece' (C)
taq [tak] 'touch, hold down with hands' (V)
tes AS IN téš-ilš [teshilsh] 'stand up' (C)
ttwit [tituit] 'boy, young person' (C)
tew [teu] 'buy, sell' (V)
twín [tuin] 'short, lack' (I)
tix" [tigu] 'get' (V)
tux"(ú) [tgu] 'add' (C)
tux"t [tugt] 'flying, pl.' (V)
tx AS IN s-tx-enč [stgench] 'bowels' (V)
tax [tag] 'bitter' (C)
tox" [tog] 'straight' (cf. ta?x") (C)
tê?é [teé] 'pound' (C)
t?e [tce] 'passing by here' (V)
ti?m [tiim] 'melt (snow)' (V)
ta?x" [tag] 'straight' (cf. tox") (C)

*țe [tech] 'brand' (Cv. ḏok)
tîom AS IN s-tîom-îš (-iš ?) [stiihmish] 'virgin' (C)
tuk"(ú) [toko, tku] 'set down, lay down, place' (C)
tulix' [toligu] 'world, country' (V)
tam [tem, tam] 'kiss, suck' (V)
\textit{rema} [toma] 'cow' (C)
t\textit{ene?} [tene] 'ear' (V)
\textit{tn\textasciitilde{}}\textita{\textasciitilde{}}\textit{we}\textasciitilde{e}\textit{y} AS IN \textit{tn\textasciitilde{}}-\textit{tn\textasciitilde{}}\textit{we}\textasciitilde{y} [telteleuie] 'bat (mammal)' (C)
tap [tap] 'shot' (C)
\textit{tpi} [tpi] 'upright, standing up' (C)
tup [top] 'twist into thread, rope' (V)
tps AS IN s-n-\textit{tps-ews} [stntepseus] 'joint, jointed' (C)
tup\textasciitilde{ye} [topie] 'woman's grandparent or grandchild' (C)
tpy AS IN tpy\textasciitilde{ewt} [tpeieut] 'things standing up' (cf. tpi) (C)
tq AS IN s-tq-1scut [staeklscut] 'goods' (C)
taq AS IN t\textit{aq-q-n\textasciitilde{u}-n} [takakanun] 'I cheat him.' (C)
taq\textasciitilde{n} [takan] 'six' (V)
\textit{tko} [tko] 'to sew' (C)
tas [tas] 'leather' (I)
\textit{tas} [tas] 'hard' (C)
ti\textasciitilde{s} [tish] 'sweet' (C)
tix l [tigul] 'different, strange' (V)
ti [ti] 'fall, descend' (C)
t\textit{ey\textasciitilde{e}} [t\textasciitilde{eic}] 'evil, bad' (C)
ti\textasciitilde{c}\textit{ime} AS IN s-ti\textasciitilde{-ti\textasciitilde{c}\textit{ime}} [stitchime] 'pup, little dog' (V)
wi\textit{c} [ui\textit{ch}] 'see' (C)
wek u [ueku] 'hide' (C)
wi [uli] 'burn' (C)
weik u [uelku] 'descend' (C)
wam [uam] 'hurry, hasten' (I)
wen\textasciitilde{s} [uen\textasciitilde{h}] 'dance (men only)' (C)
wps [up] 'hair' (Cf. wps) (C)
weis [uis] 'long' (C)
wi\textasciitilde{s} [uish] 'stand up' (C)
waw AS IN s-\textit{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{c}}-waw-p-us} [\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{s}}}cha\textasciitilde{uaupus}] 'tear' (cf. aw) (C)
wiy [ui] 'finish' (C)
we? [uee] 'call' (C)
wi? AS IN s-wi?-numt [suiuinumt] 'young people, good looking' (V)
w?ew [ueu] 'go back, pull back (as horses)' (V, Cv. wiw 'back up')

wéwi [uéwi] 'fish' (C)

xw'c AS IN n-xw'c-x'c-m-cls [nguzguzmels] 'suffer, torments' (I)
xw'ič [guiz] 'give' (C)
**xw'k AS IN č-x'k'-els-m [chgukelsem] 'we attack him'
xw'uk'(u) [guku] 'clean' (C)
xw'ukw [goko] 'divided, forked' (C)
xw'il(t) [gul(t)] 'live; debt' (C)
xw'ái [guitle] 'whittle' (C)
xw'em, xw'am [guem, guam] 'paint (red)' (V)
xw'um [gum] 'like, desire' (I)
**xw'umin [gumin] 'forbid'
xw'p AS IN n-xwp-els [nigupols] 'sad' (I)
**xws [gus] 'fierce-looking'
xw'us [gus] 'pass before' (Cv. xw'us 'go, hurry')
xw'ist [guist] 'walk, sg.' (V)
**xw'at AS IN xw'-x'at [guguat] 'strenuous' (Cv. xw't 'deprive')
xw'et [gut] 'hate' (C)
xw'tip [gutip] 'rib' (I)
xw'ti [guti] 'run, arise' (V)
xw'ey AS IN xw'i-xw'ey-úi [guigueiúi] 'beast, animal' (C)
xw'uy [gui] 'go' (C)
xw'ym AS IN s-xw'ym-tk' [guimtek] 'ice' (I)
xw'ue? AS IN s-xw'ú-x'ye? [sguie] 'ant' (C)
xw'e? 'raise, lift' AS IN č-x'wé?-us [chgoeus] 'hang', xw'e?-m-i [goeami] 'fly, pl.' (V)
xw'at(t) [goe(t)] 'many, much' (C)
**xw'at AS IN xw'a-x'á't [quaquaat] 'brave, strong in war'

xáá<x'ia [gaa] 'fan' (C)
xc AS IN xc-núm-tn [gaznumten] 'clothes' (C)
\(\chi l\) AS IN \(n-\chi l-ews\) [ngaleus] 'bridge' (C)
\(\chi l(i)\) [gal(i)] 'tomorrow, daylight, clear' (C)
**\(\chi l\) AS IN \(\chi l-\chi l-m-is\) [galgalemist] 'rebuke'
\(\chi l\) [gel] 'afraid' (C)
\(\chi l\) [galit] 'ask, invite' (V)
\(\chi l\) [gelui] 'husband' (C)
\(\chi il\) [geil] 'just a little' (cf. ?ax\(\chi il, \dot{\chi il}\) (V)
\(\chi \dot{A}\) AS IN \(\chi \dot{A}-cin\) [gatlzin] 'horse' (C)
\(\chi m\) AS IN \(\chi m-en\dot{c}\) [gamench] 'like, love' (C)
\(\chi am(\dot{i})\) [gam] 'dry' (C)
\(\chi em\) [gem] 'heavy' (C)
\(\chi n\) AS IN \(\chi n-nu-n-m\) [gamnumem] 'accidentally' (C)
\(\chi epe\) [gepe] 'man's grandfather' (C)
\(\chi \dot{p}\) AS IN \(s-n-\chi \dot{p}-ews\) [sgapeus] 'soul' (C)
\(\chi aq\) [gaka] 'pay' (C)
\(\chi es\) [ges] 'good' (C)
**\(\chi itne\) AS IN \(\chi t-\chi itne\) 'daggar'
\(\chi \chi anu\dot{t}\) [gaganut] 'nine' (V)
\(\chi iw\) [geu] 'raw' (C)
\(\chi ?\) AS IN \(\chi ?-ulex\) [geulegu] 'rattle-snake' (C)
\(\chi a?\chi \dot{e}\) [gagee] 'woman's husband's father or brother' (C)
\(\chi e?n(\dot{i})\) [geen(i)] 'forbid' (V)
*\(\chi ?es\) [goes] 'content' (cf. \(\chi es\) 'good')

\(\chi \dot{a}c\) [goz] 'pass by' (V)
\(\chi \dot{a}c\) [goiz] 'cut off' (V)
**\(\chi al\) AS IN \(\chi \dot{a}l-\chi al\) [golgoal] 'sheep'
\(\chi \dot{e}l\) [gol] 'deserted, leave, abandon' (V)
\(\chi \dot{o}lq\) [golko] 'wagon' (C)
\(\chi \dot{o}lx\) AS IN \(\chi \dot{o}-\chi \dot{l}x\) [guagualigu] 'fox' (C, s-\(\chi \dot{o}\chi \dot{o}, Cv. \(\chi \dot{a}lx\))
\(\chi \dot{u}m\) [gum] 'feel safe' (I)
\(\chi \dot{u}p\) [gop] 'lazy' (C)
\(\chi \dot{a}q\) [goako] 'grind' (C)
*\(\chi \dot{a}q\) AS IN \(\chi \dot{a}q-\chi alqs\) [gokolks] 'snore' (Cv. \(\chi \dot{a}q\))
\[x^t\] AS IN \(\dot{c}-x^\prime t\)-éne? [chgotene] 'cropped ear' (C)
\[x^\prime iy\] [goi] 'sharp' (V)
\[x^\prime e?i\] AS IN \(x^\prime e?i\)-e\(\ddot{c}\)st-i [goelechstii] 'hasten, work quickly' (C)
\[x^\prime e?(s)\] AS IN \(x^\prime a-x^\prime e?s\)-m-i (stress ?) [goagosimi] 'laugh, pl.' (V)

*ya\(\ddot{a}\) < ya\(\ddot{a}\) [iaa] 'in reserve, not free, fearful' (Cv. ya\(\ddot{a}\) 'to be backwards')
ye [ie] 'this, these' (V)
ye\(\ddot{k}\) AS IN ye\(\ddot{k}\)-m\(\ddot{i}\n\) [iekom] 'refuse' (I)
*yal [ial] 'wrap around' (Sh. ye\(\ddot{l}\), yal 'be wound around')
**yul [iul] 'thick' (Cf. also **yu\(\ddot{l}\)-i 'dance (women only)')
yal\(\ddot{k}\) [ialko] 'bend, crooked' (C)
ye\(\ddot{l}\) AS IN s-n-yel-\(\ddot{m}\n\) [nielemen] 'St. Ignatius Mission' (I)
ye\(\ddot{l}\)x\(\ddot{w}\) [ilgu] 'covered' (C)
yoq\(\ddot{w}\) [ioko] 'lie, slander' (C)
y\(\ddot{a}\) [ish] 'below, bottom' (C)
yo\(\ddot{a}\) [io] 'strong, learn by heart' (C)
y\(\ddot{a}\)t AS IN ya-ya\(\ddot{a}\)t [iaiaat] 'rare' (I)

?ocqe? [ozkae, azkae] 'go out' (C)
?e\(\ddot{c}\) [ez] 'last' (C)
?a\(\ddot{c}\) [azga] 'watch, look at' (C)
?oc AS IN ?oc-s-wi\(\ddot{s}\) [echsuish] 'erect, standing' (C)
?uk\(\ddot{w}\) [uku] 'carry, bring' (C)
?ek\(\ddot{m}\) [ekum] 'fisheggs' (I)
?ol\(\ddot{i}\) [oli] 'belly' (C)
?i\(\ddot{i}\n\) [iien] 'eat' (C)
?uix\(\ddot{w}\) [uigu] 'go' (C)
?em [eem] 'feed' (C)
?emút [emut] 'sit, sg.' (C)
?im\(\ddot{s}\) [imsh] 'move, start' (C)
?aniq [ani\(\ddot{k}\a\) 'summer' (C)
?enès [ones] 'on my way going' (V)
?upn, ?opn [open] 'ten' (C)
?op [ceep] 'wipe, wipe off' (C)
?úse? AS IN ?u-?úse? [usse] 'egg(s)' (C)
?isk'?l [iskol, iskoi] 'scatter, throw away' (C)
?esél, ?asl [esel, asl] 'two' (C)
?itš [itsh] 'sleep' (C)
?itx'o? [itgoa] 'camas' (C)
?aw [au] 'recite' (C)
?awqn [aukan] 'order, warn, admonish' (I)
?cx' AS IN ?cx'-k'un [egukune] 'say, speak' (C)
?ax [aga] 'stretch' (C)
?ax?l [ageil] 'do the same, like' (Cf. xiį, ĺ̃xiį) (C)
?ax'?t AS IN n-?ax'?t [nagot] 'go down the river by land' (C)
?ox'?t AS IN ?ox'?t-?elt [ogtelt] 'baby' (C)
?ey [ei] 'take revenge' (I)
**?ayl [ail] 'shaved'
?aym [aim] 'angry, mad' (C)
?eym AS IN ?eym-?ews [eimus] 'crossways, cross' (C)
?ey(s) [ee(i)s] 'pay for, buy, exchange' (Cv. ?eys 'exchange, change')
?ayx'? [aigo] 'tired' (C)
?ay AS IN ?ay-év? [aiet] 'dwell, stay home, sit, pl.' (C)

_______. MS. Spokan Dictionary.


