An edition of Father Post’s Kalispel grammar

Brenda J. Speck

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AN EDITION OF FATHER POST'S KALISPEL GRAMMAR

By

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B.A., University of Montana, 1971

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Master's Degree in Interdisciplinary Studies

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

1977

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Date: Aug 2, 1977

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ABSTRACT

Speck, Brenda J., M.A., August, 1977 Interdisciplinary Studies

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.

My thanks go to Tony Incashola for his help and patience in confirming forms from Post's data.

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 that 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 Inuit 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 Spokane cognates in Carlson's Spokane 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 Spokane 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 ə '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 nku'inagalelu'men 'feel, think the same as'. There are two plausible analyses for this: nkw-i-n-?axl-ėls-mn ('one-compound connective-locative-similar-volitive-instrumental') and nkw-i-n-?axl-ėls-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, nkw 'one' and ?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. 7 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. 8

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

1Kalispel, 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).


3The 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.

4The "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)

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

6Some 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."

7Post 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:

\[ \begin{align*}
p &: [p] & t &: [t] & z &: [c] & \text{ch} &: [\text{\v'c}] & \text{ku} &: [\text{k''}] & \text{k} &: [\text{q}] & \text{ko} &: [\text{q''}] \\
\text{p'} &: [\text{\v'p}] & t &: [\text{\v't}] & z &: [\text{\v'c}] & \text{tl} &: [\text{\v'\l}] & \text{ch} &: [\text{\v'\text{\v'c}}] & \text{ku} &: [\text{\v'k''}] & \text{k} &: [\text{\v'q}] & \text{ko} &: [\text{\v'q''}] & [?] \\
s &: [\text{s}] & \text{i} &: [\text{i}] & \text{sh} &: [\text{s}] & \text{gu} &: [\text{x''}] & \text{g} &: [\text{x}] & \text{go} &: [\text{x''}] & \text{h} &: [\text{h}] \\
\text{m} &: [\text{m}] & \text{n} &: [\text{n}] & \text{l} &: [\text{l}] & \text{i} &: [\text{y}] & \text{u} &: [\text{w}] \\
\text{m'} &: [\text{\v'm}] & \text{n'} &: [\text{\v'n}] & \text{l'} &: [\text{\v'l}] & \text{i'} &: [\text{\v'y}] & \text{u'} &: [\text{\v'w}] 
\end{align*} \]

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{n} where one would expect \text{n}:

- chechem : \text{č-čeh}  \quad 'where'
- kokomeus : \text{q''q'-n-ews}  \quad 'horse of one or two years'
-aksem : -aqsn 'species, kind'

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. 1 : [1], ɨ : [ɨ]

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

Cases of ɨ presumably standing for [1] include:

- musloopenchstaskat : mus-i-?upn-čst-ásqt 'Lent'
- smeel : s-me?ɨ 'man's brother's son or daughter'
- ɨtelgoa : yetix'ā 'now'
- geil : ɨxɨ 'scarcely, nearly'
- znilz : cniic 'they, theirs, he, his'
- pizechl : picčɨ 'leaf, leaves'
- seulku : sewi-kɨ 'liquor'
- pelpilkui : pei-pɨkɨ 'women'
- uelkup : weik-ɨ-p 'descend'
- iktotistie : iqu'-ut-ɪst-ye? (ye? ?) 'prostrated'
- -elze : -ɨiče? 'inside of anything, the whole'
- -elgu : -eɨxɨ 'house'
- -alka : -aiq 'smell, grain, fruit'
- kael- : *qe?ɨ- 'offspring'

I have found also three examples in which ɨ presumably stands for
[1], [i].

mei : mali (stress ?) 'to heal'
iskoika : ?isk’1-q (-q ?) 'scatter'
sicheul : s-lc-ewi '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:

telteleuie : tn?-tn?wye? 'bat (mammal)''

2.2.3. tl : [ʌ]

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

tlaka : ła’q 'hot, warm'
gatznin : xʌ-cin 'horse'
kuitlt : kʷiʌt 'several, other'
tlil : ʌil 'dead'

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

nkuitellemiis : nκʷ-1-ʌl-mi-s 'companion in death'
slokum : s-ʌkʷ-m '(wild) carrots'
ptagozch : pʌ-ax’cč 'bare-breasted'

The last two might be typographical errors.

In one word tl stands for [ʔi]:
goitle : x’ʔile 'without delay'

2.3. Palatals

Post always writes ch for [č], [č], and sh for [š].

shemen : šmen ’enemy'
chshit : čšt ‘watch, guard'
chelsh : čelš ‘hand'
-ench : -enč 'stomach'

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

szecht : s-češt 'man's wife's brother or sister's husband'
tshieus : či?-éws 'forever'

Post's s'ch corresponds regularly to [sc], 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?xʷ 'shady place'
es'chentchinegulu : es-čm-t-čnéixʷ (-t- ?) 'standing outside'
s'hoi : s-hoy 'always'

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

es'shite : es-šít 'tree'
ie ch'chee : ye č č-e? 'a little this way'
chgt'elsi : č-xʷt-t-éls-i 'angry'
s'sile : s-síle? 'woman's grandfather'
s'sii : *ssi? 'man's uncle'

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

miliegu'lse : *mil-ixʷ-éls-i (mil ?) 'rest'
chita's : čtas 'lean, poor'
l'es-eimeus : l es-?eym-éws '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 [ʴ].

k : [q]

-kein : -qin 'head, hundred'
\(-\text{aks} : \text{aq} -\) 'end, nose, road'
\(-\text{alks} : \text{alq} -\) 'clothing, shirt'
\(\text{ki-} : \text{qi-}\) 'subjunctive'
\(\text{laq} : \text{iq}\) 'sit, sg.'
\(\text{kgamin} : \text{qx-min}\) 'horn'
\(\text{pik} : \text{piq}\) 'white'

\(\text{k} : \{\text{q}\}\)

\(\text{tlaka} : \text{a}q\) 'hot, warm'
\(\text{skaspeui} : \text{s-qs-p-w}\) 'old boat'
\(\text{nak} : \text{naq}\) '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, \(\text{k}\) stands for \([k'^u, k'u, k'u, q'u, q'u, q'u, q'u, q'u]\) and \(\text{ku}\) stands for \([k'^u, k'u, k'u]\) and in a very few cases for \([q'.u]\).

\(\text{k} : \{\text{k'}\}\)

\(\text{skoalshin} : \text{s-k'al-sin}\) 'crane (bird)'
\(\text{skoangan} : \text{s-k'an-xn}\) 'slave, captive'
\(\text{koleuti} : \text{*k'1-wt-i}\) 'They sit/live together.'

\(\text{k} : \{\text{k''u}\}\)

\(\text{koe} : \text{k'we}\) 'bite'
\(\text{milko} : \text{milk'}\) 'whole, all'
\(\text{smekot} : \text{s-mek'-t}\) 'snow (on the ground)'
\(\text{iskol} : \text{is'k'1}\) 'scatter, throw away'

\(\text{k} : \{\text{k''u}\}\)

\(\text{koie} : \text{k'y?e}\) 'I'
\(\text{lkot} : \text{lq'-ut}\) 'far'
\(\text{ko} : \text{k'u}\) 'me'
\(\text{tkooti} : \text{tk'-út-i}\) 'march'
\(\text{komi} : \text{k'mi}\) 'would to God'

(cf. also \(\text{komi} : \text{q'um'1}\) 'take away')
ko : [k\textsuperscript{w}u]

skoi : s-\textsuperscript{k}uuy 'mother'
skomelt : *s-\textsuperscript{k}um-\textsuperscript{l}t 'virgin'
kol : \textsuperscript{k}ulu 'work, make, do'
nko : nk\textsuperscript{w}u? 'one'

ko : [q\textsuperscript{w}]

-alko : -alq\textsuperscript{w} 'long cylindrical object'
koel : q\textsuperscript{w}el 'ripe, ready to eat'
zkoakoi : \textbf{\textit{cq}}'aq'-aq'-i 'He is crying.'

ko : [q\textsuperscript{u}]

koeit : q\textsuperscript{w}eit 'carry on the back'
golko : x\textsuperscript{w}old\textsuperscript{w} 'wagon'
gokolks : *x\textsuperscript{w}q'-alqs 'snore'

ko : [q\textsuperscript{u}u]

tkom : t\textsuperscript{w}u-m 'She sews.'
lkot : l\textsuperscript{w}-ut 'He was lying there.'

ko : [q\textsuperscript{u}]

komi : q\textsuperscript{u}um\textsuperscript{i} 'take away'
snkotlishin : s-n-q\textsuperscript{u}-\textsuperscript{q}\textsuperscript{m}-\textsuperscript{u} 'stocking'

ko : [q\textsuperscript{u}o]

komkan : q\textsuperscript{u}om-qn 'hair'

ku : [k\textsuperscript{u}]

uku : \textsuperscript{?}uk\textsuperscript{u} 'carry/bring'
skukuez : s-k\textsuperscript{u}-k\textsuperscript{v}ec 'night'

ku : [k\textsuperscript{w}]

luku : lu\textsuperscript{w} 'wood'
kutkuiteps : k\textsuperscript{v}'t-k\textsuperscript{v}itps 'flea'
kuinsh : \textsuperscript{k}win\textsuperscript{s} 'how many'

ku : [k\textsuperscript{w}u]

kup : k\textsuperscript{w}up 'push'
egulanem : ex\textsuperscript{w}-k\textsuperscript{un}-m 'say, speak'

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ku: [k\textsuperscript{`u}]

skukui : s-k\textsuperscript{`u}k\textsuperscript{`i} 'woman's brother's child'

ku: [q\textsuperscript{`u}]

skuselt : s-q\textsuperscript{`u}s\textsuperscript{`}elt 'nephew'
sku\textsuperscript{`i} : s-q\textsuperscript{`u}\textsuperscript{`}i 'wasp'
kolkuelti : q\textsuperscript{`1}-q\textsuperscript{`e}lt-i 'speaking'

Finally, Post writes uk for [k\textsuperscript{`u}] three times, and k for [q\textsuperscript{`u}] once:

ituk : ituk\textsuperscript{`u} 'It's rotten.'
melluk : melk\textsuperscript{`u} 'being spread'
slukelgu : s-luk\textsuperscript{`u}-ix\textsuperscript{`u} 'log house'
olkshis : olq\textsuperscript{`e}-\textsuperscript{`i}š 'help'

Two roots are inconsistently written, as follows:

\textsuperscript{1,2}\textsuperscript{`u}(\textsuperscript{`u}) 'set down, laid down'

ntkueusem : n-tk\textsuperscript{`u}-ews-m 'I place it in common.'
tkukuelp : tk\textsuperscript{`u}-k\textsuperscript{`}-elp 'camp'
ntkoichen : n-tk\textsuperscript{`u}-ičn 'placed on the back'
sntkominten : s-n-tk\textsuperscript{`u}-min-tn 'place to lay one in'

nk\textsuperscript{`u}? 'one'

snkuskeligu : s-nk\textsuperscript{`u}-sq\textsubscript{`}elix\textsuperscript{`u} 'neighbor'
nkoeu\textsuperscript{`i} : nk\textsuperscript{`u}-ew\textsuperscript{`i} 'one boat'
nkoalko : nk\textsuperscript{`u}-alq\textsuperscript{`u} 'cross'

2.4.3. (Post)velar Fricatives

Post's g regularly corresponds to [χ], gu to [x\textsuperscript{`u}], and, save a few exceptions, go to [x\textsuperscript{`u}].

\textit{g}: [χ]

\begin{itemize}
  \item gaka : xaq 'pay'
  \item sgalgalt : s-χl-χal-t 'day'
  \item chgeilps : čxil-ps 'gray'
  \item gemt : χem-t 'heavy'
  \item azga : ?ačx 'watch, look at'
\end{itemize}
tag : tax 'bitter'
pagpagt : px-pax-t 'wise one'
keigtem : ćićt-m 'fond of, wish to have'

go : [x\text{w}]
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\text{w}]
guigueiúl : x'i-x'ey-úl 'beast, animal'
sqimtekú : s-x'uytm-tú 'ice'
zitgu : citx 'house'
lgup : lx'u-p 'He got hurt.'
sgusigult : sx'six-lt 'child, children'

go : [x\text{w}]
goit : x'it 'many'
goemi : x'ew-m-í 'flying, pl.'
goeus : x'é-us 'I hang it up.'
gomi : x'mi 'please'
igomutie : *ix'-m-útye? 'sewed together'
sogoelgu : s-oix-eix 'hus' 
snipogoshin : s-nipx'-śin 'nail foot-wound'
ngokopusaks : *n-x'uk'-po's-aqs (po's ?) 'forking road'

Occasionally og stands for [x\text{w}] and ug for [x\text{w}]:

ogtelit : oxt-él 'baby'
nogkein : n-tx'-qin 'noon'
ntogamenzut : tox'-mn-cút 'amend himself'
nntogaks : n-tx'-aqs 'straight road'
chelug : člux 'evening'
tugti : túx'-t-i 'flying'
In one word gu represents $[\chi^\omega]$:

\[ \text{guagualigu} : *\chi^\omega-\chi^\omega\text{olx}^\omega \quad \text{'fox'} \]

2.5. Glottals

2.5.1. ?

Glottal stops are never indicated in Post's transcriptions.

\begin{align*}
\text{sinze} & : \text{sin-ce}^? & \text{man's younger brother} \\
\text{goelechsti} & : \chi^\omega e?1-\acute{e}\text{\cst-i} & \text{hasten, work quickly} \\
\text{uz} & : ?\text{uc} & \text{perhaps, question of possibility} \\
\text{eumin} & : e?u\text{-m\text{in}} & \text{peeler} \\
\text{aip} & : a?i-p & \text{to run} \\
\text{s'cheit} & : s-\acute{\chi}e\?it & \text{spider} \\
\end{align*}

On occasion Post's geminate vowels correspond to $[?V]$ or $[V?]$

sequences.

$[?V]$

\begin{align*}
\text{kual} & : k\nu?al & \text{'to grow'} \\
\text{szeesh} & : s-\acute{\chi}e\?e\?\text{\s (stress ?)} & \text{'shame'} \\
\text{gees} & : *\chi^\omega\text{es} & \text{'content'} \\
\text{le\acute{e}u} & : l\text{\?ew} & \text{'man's father'} \\
\text{ee\acute{p}} & : ?\text{ep} & \text{'wipe'} \\
\text{eem} & : ?\text{em} & \text{'feed'} \\
\text{smeem} & : s-m\text{\?em} & \text{'woman'} \\
\text{shiit} & : S?i\text{t} & \text{'first'} \\
\text{nziilsh} & : n-\acute{\chi}\text{-i}l\ddot{s} & \text{'go upstream'} \\
\text{chilp\text{osatiku}} & : *\acute{\chi}\text{-i-p}\text{os-\acute{\at}k}\ddot{\text{\w}} & \text{'foam on water'} \\
\text{smoot} & : s-m\text{\?ot} & \text{'smoke'} \\
\text{szooligu\text{elgu}} & : s-\acute{\chi}\text{ulix}\ddot{\text{\w}}-\acute{\text{\e}}\text{ix}\ddot{\text{\w}}^4 & \text{'deer hide'} \\
\text{izuzuups} & : i-c-c\text{-up}s & \text{'woman's younger sister'} \\
\text{tlu\text{luus}} & : \acute{\text{\j}\text{u}-\acute{\text{\j}}\text{-u}\text{\us} & \text{'to look for'} \\
\text{tkooti} & : tk\text{-u}\text{t-i} & \text{'march, walk'} \\
\text{koop} & : q\text{\w}\text{up} & \text{'It is tanned.'} \\
\text{spoos} & : s-p\text{\w}u\text{s} & \text{'heart'} \\
\end{align*}
Unusual here is the double [V?] sequence:

mee : me?e? (stress ?) 'send away'

[qe?] and [qe?] are consistently transcribed kae by Post:

kae : qe? 'we, our, us'
snkaezin : s-n-qe?-cín 'Holy Communion'
cholzkae : čoisqe? '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'
kožinchehepi : k\'i\-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>hanwi? (?anwi?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6. Glides

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

ioko : yoq'          'to tell lies'
topie : tüpye?       'woman's grandparent or child'
meie : meyé          'to tell, show, teach'
koai : qway          'black'
uensh : wenshs        'to dance'
skaleu : s-qlew'      'beaver'
cheulshi : čew-lš-i   'grow old'

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

nuist : n-wis-t       'It's high.'
sgelui : s-xelwi?     'husband'
guigueiul : x'i-x'ey-úi 'beast, animal'
ziu : cyu             'before, not yet'
liumstem : liw-m-s-t-ém 'bell ring'
sisius : si-sy-ús     'brave, smart'

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

tpieut : tpy-owt      'things are standing'
Post and Carlson concur on a five vowel system for Kalispel and Spokan respectively.

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:

- **guízíts**: xʷíč-í-t-s 'He gave it to him.'
- **goízíts**: xʷíc-í-t-s 'He cut it off for him.'
- **skuuí**: s-qʷuʔi 'wasp'
- **skooí**: s-qʷuʔ 'dust'
- **chin zgup**: čín cxʷu-p 'I am growing feeble.'
- **chin zgop**: čín **cxʷu-p** 'I am growing better.'
On the other hand, allophonic variation accounts for Post's transcription of a few cases of presumed /u/ as ø:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Salish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tom</td>
<td>tum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoos</td>
<td>s-pʔus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>ʔupn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'tom: turn' 'woman’s mother'

'spoos: s-pʔus' 'heart'

'open: ʔupn' 'ten'

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

- a:
  - itgoas: ?ɪ́txʷeʔ-s 'his camas'

- e:
  - mei: máli (?) 'to heal' (melemgu 'healed breast')

- i:
  - -isshin: -ešsh 'stone' (gasisshin 'beautiful stone')
  - kuin: kʷen 'take, grab'
  - siin: syen (siyén) 'to count'
  - koiz: qʷeč 'full' (nkoizelze 'full (person)')
  - lip: ḥěp 'dwindle' (chines hé̌psi 'my fire is going out')
  - skim: šqe-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.

[W]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Salish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oóst</td>
<td>oós-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paap</td>
<td>ḥaáp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaa</td>
<td>ḥaá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaaz</td>
<td>č-aác</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'oóst: oós-t' 'lost'

'paap: ḥaáp' 'caught fire'

'gaa: ḥaá' 'fan'

'chaaz: č-aác' 'clinging'
But some presumed long vowels are recorded short:

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

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

\[ \text{paag : p̥ḁx} \quad \text{'cure'} \]
\[ \text{skool : sq̥u} \quad \text{'dust'} \]

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

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

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

\[ \text{zuut : cut} \quad \text{'behavior'} \]
\[ \text{tellemiis : ñl-mi-s} \quad \text{'companions in death'} \]

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

\[ \text{čin pu-pus-é·ńč} \quad \text{'I am most sorry.'} \]
\[ \text{k'tú·n-t èu? i-s-xm-énč} \quad \text{'very great is my love'} \]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-s-kʰuy (&lt; in-s-kʰuy)</td>
<td>'my mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-s-pʰus (&lt; an-s-pʰus)</td>
<td>'your heart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i čin չես, u ta i či (&lt; čin)  *s-չեs</td>
<td>'I am not (?) well, I am not contented.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) FileStream becomes ն before -s 'third person'. Subsequently ն is deleted after ն or ա, and becomes non-syllabic serialization after ո or ե.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Possessive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>չմեռ</td>
<td>'enemy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>չմեռ-s</td>
<td>'his enemy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>թապ-մին</td>
<td>'arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>թապ-մի-s</td>
<td>'his arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ն-չայ-ամ-mn</td>
<td>'prayer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ն-չայ-ամ-s</td>
<td>'his prayer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) -s 'third person possessive' becomes -չ after ս or է.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Possessive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>հու? չես-տ-s {j}u? չ-t{iš-s} ս-pʰus-ch (&lt; s-t{iš-s} ս-pʰus-s) չu? չ-t{iš-s} ս-pʰus-c</td>
<td>'How good and sweet is the heart of J.C.' (D II p. 438)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4) ի of qի- 'subjunctive' is lost before s- 'nominal', es- 'actual', eչ- 'back' and epչ- 'have'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>či q-s-իլմիչ</td>
<td>'I want to be chief.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>či q-es-իլմիչ</td>
<td>'I want always to be chief.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(for the deletion of ն of čin before qչ-, see 6 below)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-q-eչ-x&quot;իչ-ի-t-մ</td>
<td>'I wish to give it again.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swet q-եփ-stե? ի?ե</td>
<td>'Who may own this?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5) ի of epչ- 'have' is deleted before ս.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ep-s-pʰus</td>
<td>'He has a heart.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin ep-sx&quot;-sիx&quot;-lт</td>
<td>'I have children.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6) n of in- 'my', an- 'thy', and čin 'I' deletes before qì- 'sub-
junctive'.

\[ i\text{-}qì\text{-}nóx^{\prime}\text{-}nox^{\prime} \]

'I want her for my wife.' (D II p. 430)
\[ či \text{ qì\text{-}ilmix}^{\prime} \]

'I want to be the chief.'

7) n of in- 'my' deletes before es- 'actual' following which i-
becomes non-syllabic y.

\[ y\text{-}es\text{-}?áčx\text{-}m \ (< \text{in-es-?áčx-m}) \ ûu? \ es\text{-}č-ča?1\text{-}ëls-i \]

'I visit the sick.'

8) n of an- 'thy' deletes before es- 'actual', after which e of es-
is deleted.

\[ a\text{-}s\text{-}?áčx\text{-}m \]

'Thou lookest at him.'

9) e of qa? 'we' becomes a before qì- 'subjunctive'.

\[ qa? \ qì\text{-}n\text{-}xš\text{-}élče\text{-}i \]

'Let us have clean vessels.' (D I p. 164)

10) Two identical contiguous consonants simplify:

\[ i\text{-}s\text{-}?em\text{-}mínn > i\text{-}s\text{-}?em\text{-}ín \]

'my food'
\[ s\text{-}n\text{-}mi\text{-}p\text{-}m\text{-}íst\text{-}tn > s\text{-}n\text{-}mi\text{-}p\text{-}m\text{-}íst\text{-}n \]

'confessional'

11) Metathesis: VC\textsubscript{2} of weak roots followed by unstressed suffixes

metathesizes (C\textsubscript{2}V):\textsuperscript{10}

\[ k\text{\textsuperscript{\prime}n}\text{é}\text{-}m \ (< \text{k\textsuperscript{\prime}en}\text{-}m) \]

'He took (something).'
\[ čin \ es\text{-}t\text{\textsuperscript{\prime}k\textsuperscript{\prime}u-m-i} ( \ es\text{-}t\text{\textsuperscript{\prime}k\textsuperscript{\prime}u-m-i) \ 'I am lying down.' \]

12) s deletes before -ì 'relative transitive':

\[ y\text{-}es\text{-}tlu\text{-}?áq\text{-}i\text{-}t\text{-}m \ ( \ in-es\text{-}tlu\text{-}?áqs\text{-}t\text{-}em) \]

'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.)

\[\text{wič-n (wič-n-t-en)}\]  'I see it."
\[\text{k'uł-i-s (k'uł-n-t-es)}\]  'I made it.'

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

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

Third person actor forms with stressed roots are \(-n-c\ (k'w-n-t-si-es\)
\[\text{wič-n-c (wič-n-t-si-es)}\]  'He has seen thee.'

(See also 3.2.2.5.)

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

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

16) In combination with a number of special roots, the suffix vowel is lowered to \(a\)."

\[\text{y-es-maq-q-äm (in-es-maq-q-ém)}\]  'I forbid him to start.'
\[\text{y-es-psa-p-äm (in-es-psa-p-ém)}\]  'I surprise him.'
\[\text{es-psa-p-s-t-än (es-psa-p-s-t-ën)}\]  'I make him wonder.'
\[\text{y-es-psa-p-mán-m (in-es-psa-p-mín-m)}\]  'I wonder at him.'
\[\text{psa-p-má-n (psa-p-mín-n-t-en)}\]  'I admire him.'
\[\text{?am-s-pat-t-än (es-pat-t-ën)}\]  'I poultice it.' (D 1 p. 479)
\[\text{y-es-tma-i-t-äm (in-es-tam-i-t-ém)}\]  'I kiss his...
\[\text{tma-n-t-än (tam-n-t-ën)}\]  'I kiss it.' (D I p. 564)
\[\text{tma-i-t-än (tam-i-t-ën)}\]  'I kiss his...
\[\text{tma-n-t-ák (tam-n-t-ék)}\]  'Kiss his...
\[\text{n-tam-cé-n (n-tam-cín-n-t-en)}; \ y-es-n-tam-can-m\]  'I kiss his mouth (lips).' (-cin 'mouth')
\[\text{n-tam-cán-t (n-tam-cín-n-t)}\]  'Kiss his mouth (lips).'

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y-es- têm-ăčs-m (¢ in-es- tam-ečs-m) ; ıım-ăčs-n (¢ tam-ečs-n-t-en)
'I kiss his hand.' (ečs(t) 'hand')
n- têm-ačs-n-t (¢ n-tam-ečs-n-t) 'Kiss his hand!'
n-cal-ătk (¢ n-cal-ětk)'cold water'
či-p?os-ătk (¢ či-p?os-ětk)'foam on water'
es-č-s-čl-ăws (¢ es-č-s-čil-ěws)'thing hanging'
es-č-s-čl-ălis (¢ es-č-s-čil-ělis)'things hanging'
čin es-kening-m-ăp-i (¢ es-kening-m-ěp-i)
'I lock the door.'

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FOOTNOTES

1See, for example, the various forms of ?axīl 'similar' (appendix F).

2Personal communication with Dr. Mattina.

3Cf. Incashola's scxʷ-elixʷ.

4-elixʷ remains unexplained, but cf. Vogt's ču?lixlʾelxʷ and Carlson's č?-ulixʷ-elixʷ.

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

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

7z for [s] is unexplained.

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

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


11A 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'ail} & \quad \text{die'} \\
\text{nić} & \quad \text{cut/saw'} \\
\text{p'yaq} & \quad \text{ripe'} \\
\text{qeccč} & \quad \text{elder brother'} \\
\text{qētt} & \quad \text{skin, hide'} \\
\text{s'wēl} & \quad \text{fish'} \\
\text{q'west} & \quad \text{deep snow'} \\
\text{χ'olqʷ} & \quad \text{wagon'}
\end{align*}
\]

Longer forms, which are probably further analyzable also behave as roots:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qa?ú} & \quad \text{break'} \\
\text{itūkʷ} & \quad \text{rotten (wood)'}
\end{align*}
\]

3.1. Intransitive Constructions

Four intransitive pronoun proclitics add personal reference to intransitive roots. The set is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čin} & \quad \text{I'} \\
\text{kʷ} & \quad \text{thou'} \\
\text{qe?} & \quad \text{we'} \\
\text{p} & \quad \text{you'}
\end{align*}
\]

Third person singular and plural is unmarked.

These proclitics accompany roots in intransitive constructions such as the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čin} \quad \text{'ail} & \quad \text{I died.'} \\
\text{qe?} \quad \text{'ail} & \quad \text{We died.'}
\end{align*}
\]
k'ul 'Thou died.'  p k'ul 'You died.'
Ail 'He/they died.'  čin ča?l 'I was sick.'
čin čemút 'I dwell.'  čin čenes '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).'</p>

3.1.1. Expanded Intransitive Constructions

Normally, roots are accompanied by affixes, the most common of
which are es-¹ 'actual', -i 'continuative', -m 'middle', -t 'stative',
and -p 'non-control'.² All of these affixes except -i 'continuative'
also occur in transitive derivations.³

čin es-k'u'l  'I am made.'
čin es-k'u'l-i  'I am made; I work.'
čin k'u'l-m  'I worked.'
čin es-čuk'  'I am brought/carried.'
čin es-čuk'-i  'I am brought; I bring/carry.'
čin čuk'-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'u-t-i  'It is swollen.'
čin es-cúw-t-i  'I say.'
ma'w-p  'It broke accidentally.'
čin sli-p  'I mistook unintentionally.'
es-taal-p-m-í  'It becomes loose.'
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:

in- 'my' qe? 'our'
an- 'thy' -mp 'your'
-s 'his/their'

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

in-1?ew 'He is my father.' qe? 1?ew 'He is our father.'
an-1?ew 'He is thy father.' 1?ew-mp 'He is your father.'
1?ew-s 'He is his/their father.'

The possessive affixes undergo morphophonemic changes in certain environments. _n of in- and an- is deleted before es- 'actual' or s. _e is non-syllabic before vowels, thus i-es- → 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' → -c after s or ñ. Also, n → 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:

citx'-s Pierre 'It is Peter's house.'
x¹-ci-s i-s-q'šé? 'It is my son's horse.'
s-k¹uy-s k¹-l-n-cut-n 'She is the Mother of God.'
s-p?us-c k¹-l-n-cut-n 'It is the heart of God.'
čeň ịu? ịes-t an-xc-núm-tn 'Where are your nice clothes?'
x¹l i-s-k't-s-qeltc u ?ayx²-t ịu? in-n-č?-emt-éws-tn 'On account of corpulency my horse is tired out.'
3.1.2.2. Possessive intransitive pronoun proclitics. Third person intransitives are not the only intransitives to receive possessive markers. In fact all other intransitive forms may receive possessive 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 kw.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
kw & 'I' & qe? & 'we' \\
k'w & 'thou' & p & 'you' \\
\end{array}
\]

Intransitive possessives translate in English as predicate nominatives:

- kw in-l?éw
  'Thou art my father.'
- kw'u l?éw-s
  'I am his father.' (D I p. 546)
- in-il'mixw'-m
  'He is my chief.'
- a-sín-ce?
  'He is thy younger brother.'
- kw'u ec-wé?-m-s
  'I am his calling (he calls to me).' (Bible p. 3)
- kw *člțič-s t s-túlixw
  'You are the Lord of the world.'
- in-nočx'-nočx' ıu? Marie
  'I have Mary for wife (Mary is my wife).'
- an-l?éw ıu? kw'l-n-cut-n
  'You have God for father (God is your father).'
- kw'u an-il'mixw'-m, kw'u an-kw'l-n-cút-n
  'I am thy chief, I, thy God.'

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

$k^
u a-s-c-lič$ 'I am thy bound one; I am the one bound by thee.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Person Referent</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>1 sg.</th>
<th>2 sg.</th>
<th>3 General</th>
<th>1 pl.</th>
<th>2 pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>k'\text{u} a-s-c-li\c{c}</td>
<td>k'\text{u} s-c-li\c{c}-s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>k' i-s-c-li\c{c}</td>
<td></td>
<td>k' s-c-li\c{c}-s</td>
<td>k' s-c-li\c{c}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 General</td>
<td>i-s-c-li\c{c}</td>
<td>a-s-c-li\c{c}</td>
<td>s-c-li\c{c}-s</td>
<td>qe? s-c-li\c{c}</td>
<td></td>
<td>s-c-li\c{c}-mp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>qe? s-c-li\c{c}-\text{\text{-\text{\text{-t}}}</td>
<td>qe? s-c-li\c{c}-\text{\text{-s}}}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>p i-s-c-li\c{c}</td>
<td></td>
<td>p s-c-li\c{c}-s</td>
<td>p s-c-li\c{c}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1
POSSESSIVE INTRANSITIVE PARADIGM WITH STRESSED ROOT li\c{c} 'bind'
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 qeq when the intransitive person referent is second person singular or plural: 4

\[
\begin{align*}
  k'w & \text{ px'ut} & \text{Thou art our father.'} \\
  k'w & \text{ es-?āčx-m} & \text{Thou art our looking (we look at thee).'} \\
  p & \text{ px'ut} & \text{You are our father.'} \\
  p & \text{ es-?āčx-m} & \text{You are our looking (we look at you).'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  qe? & \text{ sx'w-six'w-il-t} & \text{We are your children.'} \\
  qe? & \text{ px'w-il-t} & \text{We are your fathers.'} \\
  qe? & \text{ es-?āčx-il-t} & \text{We are your looking (you look at us).'} \\
  qe? & \text{*es-čšt-iull-t} & \text{We are your guarding (you guard us).'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  qe? & \text{ sx'w-six'w-il-s} & \text{We are his/their children.'} \\
  qe? & \text{ es-?āčx-il-s} & \text{We are his/their looking (he looks at us).'} \\
  qe? & \text{*es-čšt-iull-s} & \text{We are his/their guarding (he guards us).'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\text{k'w es-lči-m} \quad (\text{NOT: k'w es-lči-m-s}) \quad \text{'I am being bound by someone.'}
\]

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k'uu es-ʔácxx-m
'Someone looks at me (I am looked at by someone).'

k' u es-ʔácxx-m
'Someone looks at thee (thou art looked at by someone).'

es-ʔácxx-m
'Someone looks at him/them (he/they are looked at by someone).'

qe? es-ʔácxx-il-t
'Someone looks at us (we are looked at by someone).'

p es-ʔácxx-m
'Someone looks at you (you are looked at by someone).'

ta swet a-q-s-ʔcxx'-épleʔ-m iu? t anwí? a-s-nk'w-elix', u iu? anwí? nex' ta k' u q-s-ʔcxx'-épleʔ-m 'Do not judge thy fellowmen (compatriots) and one will not judge thee.'
(Bible p. 70)

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 _-_ší_ 'benefactive'. Apparently any root can participate in all four transitive derivations:

n-ʔeys-n (< n-ʔeys-n-t-n) 'I pay for it.'
es-n-ʔey-s-t-n 'I pay for it.'
n-ʔey-i-t-n 'I pay him his.'
n-ʔey-ʃ-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'
- ex'  'thou'
- es   'he/they'
- et   'we'
- ep   'you'
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
ac-n-t-én & \quad 'I tied it.' \\
ac-n-t-éx & \quad 'Thou tied it.' \\
ac-n-t-és & \quad 'He/they tied it.' \\
qe? ac-n-t-ém & \quad 'We tied it.' \\
ac-n-t-ép & \quad 'You tied it.' \\
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\k'úl-n & \quad 'I made it.' \\
es-\k'úl-s-t-n & \quad 'I made it always.' \\
k'úl-i-s & \quad 'He made it.' \\
k'úl-s-t-s & \quad 'He made it always.' \\
\end{align*}
\]

Other examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
?uk-n & \quad 'I bring/carry it.' \\
čēw-s-n (<čēw-us-n) & \quad 'I wash his face.' \\
iu?-ēčs-n & \quad 'I sting his hand.' \\
iu?-ćäqs-n & \quad 'I sting his nose.' \\
iu?-ňus-n & \quad 'I sting his face.' \\
n-qe?-ći-n (<n-qe?-ćin-n-t-en) & \quad 'I gave Holy Communion to him.' \\
u1-n-t-én & \quad 'I burn it.' \\
*čůš-t-n-t-en & \quad 'I guard it.' \\
āi-n-t-én & \quad 'I cause him to die.' \\
iu?-n-t-én & \quad 'I wound/lance it.' \\
sq-n-t-en & \quad 'I split it.' \\
\end{align*}
\]
\l-p-s-t-\én 'I cause him to stop.'
n-py-el-s-t-n (n-py-éls-s-t-en) 'I make him to rejoice.'
\iu?-éč-i-t-n (\iu?-éčs-i-t-en) 'I wound the hand of his...'
\iu?-áq-i-t-n (\iu?-áqs-i-t-en) 'I sting the nose of his...'
\?uku'-i-t-n 'I carry his...'
*čšt-i-t-en 'I guard his...'
\iu?-i-t-én 'I sting his...'
sq'-i-t-en 'I split his...'
čaw-š-t-n 'I pray for him.'
ni-mi-ši-t-n 'I tell him news.'
sq'-ši-t-n 'I split for him (help him split).'
\iu?-ši-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 proclitic qe? 'first person plural actor'.

qe? \iin-t-m (qé\iin-n-t-em) 'We ate it.'
qe? cun-t-m (qé cún-n-t-em) 'We said it.'

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

\iin-t-m (\iin-n-t-ém) 'Someone ate it, it is eaten.'
cun-t-m (cún-n-t-em) 'Someone said it, it is said.'
\ačx-n-t-m 'Someone looked at them.'
x'icič-i-t-m 'Someone gave it to him.'
s'ti-p-έys-n-t-m 'One is rained upon; it rained on them.'

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

\'kuł-n-t-m t i-sín-ce? 'It was done by my younger brother.'
pl-s-t-em a-s-xélwí? t swet t s-č-q'ay-šn
'Your husband has been killed by whom? By a Blackfoot.'

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k'u} \text{ ?ačx-i-s} & \quad \text{'He looked at me.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ čaw-š-t-s} & \quad \text{'He prayed for me.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ čič-i-t-s} & \quad \text{'He gave it to me.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ c-qi?-ši-t-s} & \quad \text{'He wrote to me.'} \\
\text{čin nt-els k'u xčič-i-t-xw} & \quad \text{'I thought thou to have given it to me.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ ?ačx-n-t-m} & \quad \text{'Someone looked at me.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ cun-t-m} & \quad \text{'Someone told me; I have been told.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ xalít-n-t-m} & \quad \text{'I have been invited by someone.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ n-?awqm-t-m} & \quad \text{'I was admonished by someone.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ 1č-n-t-m} & \quad \text{'Someone has bound me; I have been bound.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ ḵn-t-em} & \quad \text{'I have been taken by someone.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ xčič-i-t-m} & \quad \text{'Someone gave it to me; it was given to me.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ mčč-i-t-em} & \quad \text{'My thing has been snowed upon.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ es-čaw-š-t-m} & \quad \text{'Someone prays for me.'} \\
\text{k'u} \text{ c-qi?-ši-t-em} & \quad \text{'Someone has written to me.'} \\
\text{čes-t k'u n-lʔo-n-t-ém} & \quad \text{'I deserve to be put in jail.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

*čišt-n-cí-n (⁺čišt-n-t-sí-en)  \quad \text{'I guarded thee.'} \\
es-mi-i-cí-n (⁺es-mi-i-t-sí-en)  \text{iu? q-s-q\"l-q\"el-t-m} \\
\text{'I know what you say.'} \\
?ačx-n-c-n (⁺?ačx-n-t-si-en)  \quad \text{'I looked at thee.'} \\
n-xl-xel-i-c-n  \text{iu? a-s-q\"sé?}  \quad \text{'I scare your son.'} \\
\text{k'uul-i-c-n iu? a-s-q\"sé?}  \quad \text{'I sent your son.'}
k'ul-i-c-n iu? i-s-q"sé?  'I sent my son for you.'
(D I p. 32)

n-qe?-cín-i-c-n iu? a-s-q"sé?  
'I gave Holy Communion to your son.'

*čšt-n-ci-t (< *čšt'-n-t-sí-et) 'We guarded thee.'
*ččoq-n-ci-t  'We cured thee.'
?ačx-n-c-t (< ?ačx-n-t-sí-et) 'We looked at thee.'
*čšt-n-ci-s (< *čšt'-n-t-sí-es) 'He guarded thee.'
?ačx-n-c (< ?ačx'-n-t-sí-es)10  'He looked at thee.'
k'ën-c (< k'ën'-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 vowless, unless the form is benefactive, in which case -ši is stressed and the goal and actor pronoun suffixes are vowless.

es-?ačx-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-?ačx-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-?ačx-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-čxel-š-t-m-n iu? a-s-q"sé?  'I scare your son for you.'
es-čm-énč-s-t-ch iu? t šey u es-?aym-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:

\[ a\text{-}\text{x}-n\text{-}c\text{-}t \] 'Someone looked at thee (we looked at thee).'
\[ m\text{x}\text{-}n\text{-}c\text{-}t \] 'Thou hast been snowed (we have snowed thee).'
\[ \text{\c}aw\text{-}\text{s}-t\text{-m}\text{-t} \] 'Someone prays for thee (we pray for thee).'

\[ t \text{ Raguel cůw-i-s: ne čin ʰi}l m sic esiyá? m xʷic-ʰ-ʰ-\text{-}c\text{-}t \]
'Rachel said to him: "When I die all will be given to thee."'

(Bible p. 34)

\[ Ĭu? a-s-c-kʷen ʰeye? ʰe ei-qʰ\text{-}qʰil-ʰ-\text{-}c\text{-}t \]
'Your sins are already forgiven you.' (Bible p. 60)

\[ Ĭu? kʰ es-n-qʰʰ-\text{-}m-itūmš-i (-m- ?) nem ei-c-n-qʰʰ-m-n-c\text{-}t \]
'If thou art merciful to people, people will also be merciful to thee.' (Bible p. 66)

\[ ta a-q-ci-kʰ-i-n-ʰ-Ģs-t\text{-}m, ʰi tlci? m ġs-t\text{-}ći-t-m-t \]
'Sin no more, lest worse should befall thee.' (Bible p. 63)

\[ Ĭu? l šey m ?a\text{chi}l-s-t-xʰ Ĭu? a-s-nkʰ\text{-}sqēli₉, Ĭu? t šey nem ei-t-?a\text{chi}l-s-t-m-t \]
'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 \[-\text{ul} (-\text{ with stressed base}) \] replaces \[-n\text{-t}, \]
\[-s\text{-t}, \text{ or } -\text{t}. \text{ The proclitic } g\text{e} \text{ and the suffix } -\text{ mark } \text{ first person plural goal. Second person singular and plural actor is } -\text{t}. \text{ Examples:}

\[ g\text{e}? *\text{čśt}-\text{ul}-l-t \] 'You (sg. or pl.) guarded us.'
\[ g\text{e}? *\text{čśt}-\text{ul}-l-s \] 'He/they guarded us.'
\[ g\text{e} ?a\text{čx}-l-l-t \] 'You (sg. or pl.) looked at us.'
\[ g\text{e} ?a\text{čx}-l-l-s \] 'He/they looked at us.'
\[ g\text{e}? **\text{čltic}-l-l-s \text{ t } xʷolqʷ \]
'He gave us a wagon (made us the owners).' (D I p. 50)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qe? ćaw-š-ı-1-t} & \quad \text{'You (sg. or pl.) prayed for us.'} \\
\text{qe? ćaw-š-ı-1-s} & \quad \text{'He/they prayed for us.'} \\
\text{qe? mi-mi-ši-ı-1-t} & \quad \text{'You (sg. or pl.) told news to us.'} \\
\text{qe? mi-mi-ši-ı-1-s}' & \quad \text{'He/they told news to us.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qe? ?aćx-ı-1-t} & \quad \text{'Someone looked at us (you looked at us).'} \\
\text{qe? es-ćaw-š-ı-1-t} & \quad \text{'Someone prays for us (you pray for us).'} \\
\text{qe? es-x'ić-ı-1-t} & \quad \text{'Someone gave it to us (you gave it to us).'} \\
\text{qe? mx'uul-ı-t} & \quad \text{'We got snowed (you snowed us).'}
\end{align*}
\]

'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 -ı-t, respectively, with -iul (-ı with stressed root). The second person plural goal suffix is -m which follows -iul and precedes the actor suffixes.

\[
\begin{align*}
*čš't'iul-m-n & \quad \text{'I guarded you.'} \\
*čš't'iul-m-t & \quad \text{'We guarded you.'} \\
*čš't'iul-m-s & \quad \text{'He/they guarded you.'} \\
?aćx-ı-m-n & \quad \text{'I looked at you.'} \\
?aćx-ı-m-t & \quad \text{'We looked at you.'} \\
?aćx-ı-m-s & \quad \text{'He/they looked at you.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ćaw-š-ı-1-m-n} & \quad \text{'I prayed for you.'} \\
\text{ćaw-š-ı-1-m-t} & \quad \text{'We prayed for you.'}
\end{align*}
\]
\[ \text{caw-ši-m-s} \quad '\text{He/they prayed for you.}' \\
\text{mi-mi-ši-ši-m-n} \quad '\text{I told news to you.}' \\
\text{mi-mi-ši-ši-m-t} \quad '\text{We told news to you.}' \\
\text{mi-mi-ši-ši-m-s} \quad '\text{He/they told news to you.}' \\
\]
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.)

\[ \text{?acx-ši-m-t} \quad '\text{Someone looked at you (we looked at you).}' \\
\text{čaw-ši-m-t} \quad '\text{Someone prays for you (we pray for you).}' \\
\text{x'ič-ši-m-t} \quad '\text{Someone gave it to you (we gave it to you).}' \\
\]

3.2.3. Transitive Imperatives

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

\[ \text{?uk'-n-t} \quad '\text{Bring/carry it!}' \\
\text{češ-s-n-t} \quad '\text{Wash his face!}' \\
\text{n-?eys-n-t} \quad '\text{Pay for it!}' \\
\text{ulí-n-t} \quad '\text{Burn it!}' \\
\text{*čšči-n-t} \quad '\text{Guard it!}' \\
\text{sqče-n-t} \quad '\text{Split it!}' \\
\text{č'tm-alq'-n-t} \quad '\text{Kiss the cross!}' \\
\text{n'tm-ačs-n-t} \quad '\text{Kiss his hand!}' \\
\text{n'tm-ca-ćn-t} \quad '\text{Kiss his mouth!}' \\
\text{xáq-n-t} \quad '\text{Pay them from the last to the first!}' \\
\text{n-?eys-i-t} \quad '\text{Pay him his...!}' \\
\text{?uk'-i-t} \quad '\text{Carry his...!}' \\
\text{*čšči-i-t} \quad '\text{Guard his...!}' \\
\text{sqče-i-t} \quad '\text{Split his...!}' \\
\text{lu'-i-t} \quad '\text{Sting his...!}' \\
\text{mi x'ič-i-t} \quad '\text{Please give it to him.}' \\
\text{k'u mi-cí-i-t} \quad '\text{Interpret my words.}' \\
\text{mi-mi-ši-t} \quad '\text{Tell him news!}' \\
\]
ča-w-š-t  'Pray for him!'

n-ʔey-š-t  'Pay for him!'

tıʔ-ši-t  'Lance for him!'

sq-ši-t  'Split for him (help him split)!

-i is suffixed to these forms for plural reference:

kʷúl-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.  -i marks plural reference:

es-n-ʔey-s-kʷ  'Pay for it!'

es-kʷúl-s-kʷ  'Make it!'

es-kʷúl-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:

tıʔ-n-t-ékʷ  'Lance it!'
FOOTNOTES

1 Post gives examples of ec-, allomorph of es-: ec-?axíl '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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qa?u-p} & \quad \text{It was broken by accident.}' \\
\text{(es-qa?u)} & \quad \text{It is broken.'} \\
\text{hemí-p} & \quad \text{It is getting cloudy.'} \\
\text{miy-p} & \quad \text{It becomes evident.'} \\
\text{paá-p} & \quad \text{It caught fire accidentally.'} \\
\text{xamí-p} & \quad \text{It is dry.'} \\
\text{mx^u-p} & \quad \text{It snows.'} \\
\text{čin es-wéikw-p-i} & \quad \text{'I descend (from heaven, mountain...').'} \\
\text{es-mx^w-p-m-í} & \quad \text{It snows.'} \\
\text{q?u-p-éple?} & \quad \text{'The handle broke.'} \\
\text{ti-p-éys} & \quad \text{'It rains.'} \\
\text{či-ml-p-éne?} & \quad \text{'flooded all over'} \\
\text{xm-p-ulo?xw} & \quad \text{'a place dry accidentally'} \\
\text{sli-p} & \quad \text{'He made a mistake.'} \\
\text{(Cf. also sli-p-p ['He got into a mistake.']} \] \text{in which p is treated as part of the root.)}

I have borrowed Carlson's terminology for these affixes. He describes the function of Spokan -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 endless 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)

3 Post does not discuss the cooccurrence restrictions of these affixes.

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

5 For Spokan Carlson gives -full-t (-1l-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).

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

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

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

8 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.

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

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

12 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).

13 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).
4. BASIC MORPHOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

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-wil</th>
<th>'I am burned.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cin</td>
<td>es-cew-s</td>
<td>'My face is washed.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin</td>
<td>es-wic</td>
<td>'I am seen.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin</td>
<td>es-n-3ey</td>
<td>'I am paid for; I am bought.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin</td>
<td>es-xud-y</td>
<td>'I go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cin</td>
<td>es-ituk-</td>
<td>'I rot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-saluse</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It hails.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-q3up</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It is tanned.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-kwen</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It is taken.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-laq</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It is buried.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-c-tux</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It is added.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Es-ioc</td>
<td></td>
<td>'It is smashed.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
es-níč  'It is cut.'
es-nimáp  'It is frozen (water).'</es-
pút?e  'He is respected.'
es-qeü  'It is written.'
es-mílk'w  'It is whole, all (quantity).'</es-
exiN  'It is unripe, raw.'
čin es-q'áć-qn  'I wear a hat.'
čin es-q'áć-qn  '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-wénš-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-ʔimš-i  'I start, change place.'  
čin es-k'né-y  'I take, hold on.'  
čin es-č'ax-ú-y  'I dry clothes.'  
čin es-ʔáw-i  'I recite.'  
čin es-ʔáć-x-i  'I look on.'  
čin es-wám-i  'I hasten.'
čin es-síx"-i ; čin es-síx"  'I am poured out.'  
čin es-ʔíšk'ú-i ; čin es-ʔíšk'ú-i  'I am thrown away.'  
čin es-níč-i ; čin es-níč  'I am cut, sawed.'  
čin es-qéyl-i  'I solicit, invite (to do right or wrong).'  
čin es-šép-st-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:
5.1

"It is big, great, high, tall."

"It is full."

"It is heavy."

"It is hard by nature."

"It is lively, quick (inanimate)."

"It is thick (cloth or the like)."

"It is thick (tree or the like)."

"I was angry."

"I am mad."

"One is vexed, angry (on se fache)."

"I become good."

4.1.4. qî- 'subjunctive'

qî- 'subjunctive' occurs in both transitive and intransitive constructions. 1 of qî- is deleted before s- 'nominal', 3 es- 'actual', ei- 'back', and epî- 'have'. n of čin, in-, and an- deletes, and qe? 'first person plural' → qa? before qî-. (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. qî- 'wishing; obligation; future'

či q-s-χs-t-i 'I want to be good.'
či q-es-χs-t-î 'I want always to be good.'
q-s- começar 'I want to do it.'
q-es- começar-s-t-n 'I wanted always to do it.'
i-qî-nôx-w-nôx-w 'I want her for my wife.' (D II p. 430)
či q-s-q"l-q"elt-i 'I have the wish to talk.'
či q-es-ilmix' 'I want always to be a chief.'
īu? χ"l t i-q-s-?imik u es-çq"-âq"-i 'On account of my wishing to start, he is crying.'
a-q-s-x"lič-i-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.'
'You should be flogged.'
'One must have been angry.'
'One must be angry.'
He told me to work.'
'my having to make it'
'what I have to make'
'what I had to make'
'Let us have clean vessels.' (D I p. 164)
'When you wish to do some work, you should pray.'
'Take your rope to tie your horse.'
'Sin no more, lest worse should befall thee.' (Bible p. 63)
'Before confessing you must pray.'
'Before dying, he prayed.'
'One may be chief.'
'The house is for me (my house-to-be).' 
'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-ilš 'when the fourth day will have come'
q-s-nk'u?-i 'one by one (things)'
q-s-č-nq-naqs-i 'one by one (persons)'
q-s-?esél-i 'two by two (things)'
q-s-č-esél-i 'two by two (persons)'

4.1.4.2. qì- 'dative of advantage'

qì-swe t u kʷ es-kʷúl-i 'For whom are you working?'
i-qì-kʷuy?é 'For me.'
qì-cnìic 'For him.'
ha qì-kʷuy?é 'Is it for me?'
a-qì-anwì? 'It is for thee.'
ha qa? qì-qe?qnplé? '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, C₁C₂- of root:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-čom</td>
<td>s-čom-čom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-kʷ1st-elt</td>
<td>s-kʷ1st-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**s-plim-cn</td>
<td>**s-plim-cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-qapúsl</td>
<td>s-qapúsl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-kʷ̣-us</td>
<td>s-kʷ̣-us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷléwi</td>
<td>qʷléwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔ-mágʷ-ewt</td>
<td>ʔ-mágʷ-ewt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'bones'
'angels'
'mouths, lips'
'wings'
'faces'
'onions'
'hillocks'
es-moq'u 'mountain'
es-moq'-moq'u 'mountains'
χu'olq'u 'wagon'
χu'1-χu'olq'u 'wagons'
s-xélwi? 'husbands'
s-xl-xélwi? 'husbands'
s-k'uy 'mother'
s-k'i-k'uy 'mothers'
qx-min 'horn'
qx-qx-min 'horns'
s-qltmix'u 'man'
s-ql-qltmix'u 'men'
s-ču?-šín 'foot, leg'
s-ču?-ču?-šín 'feet'
s-čey-le?x'u 'shady place'
s-čey-čey-le?x'u 'shady places'
nić-mn 'saw'
nić-nić-mm 'saws'
s-laqs 'mosquito'
s-laq-laqs 'mosquitoes'
s-neč-leč-leč? 'elk'
s-neč-neč-leč? 'elk, pl.'
s-qlew 'beaver'
s-qlew 'beaver, pl.'
?qolí-n 'belly'
?qolí-n 'bellies'
&xest 'good one'
&x=es-t 'good ones'
k'tun-t 'big one'
k'tun-t 'big ones'
**yul-t 'bulky one'
**yul-t 'bulky ones'
č-naqs 'one'
č-naq-naqs 'one by one'
ec-]?axíl 'one like to'
ec-]?axíl 'those like to'
es-k'tun-t 'big one'
es-k'tun-t 'big ones'
e-č-če?i-če?i 'one like to'
e-č-če?i-če?i '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 C1(V)- of root:

s-čé?it 'spider'
s-čé?it 'spiders'
s-č-t-m-sqélíxu6 'half-breed'
s-č-t-m-sqélíxu6 'half-breeds'
s-k'alešín 'crane (bird)'
s-k'alešín 'cranes (bird)'
s-čw-axn 'arm'
s-čw-axn 'arms'
c) a reduplicative prefix VC- (or VC₁C₂- if the root is bi-consonantal):

\[ \text{s-o}x\text{-e}x\text{'} \quad 'hut' \]
\[ \text{s-ups} \quad 'tail' \]
\[ \text{čin es-ac-ac-m-} \_ \quad 'I break some (as horses)' \]
\[ \text{čin es-č-o}y\text{-o}y\text{-itūmš} \quad 'I mock people often.' \]
\[ \text{(Cf.: čin es-č-o}y\text{-m-} \_ \quad 'I mock someone.') \]

4.2.2. **ui-** 'plural'

**ui-** 'plural' is added to singular forms, including those which have reduplicated roots (see 4.2.5.1.):

\[ \text{sín-ce?} \quad 'younger brother' \]
\[ \text{ui-sín-ce?} \quad 'younger brothers' \]
\[ \text{naq\text{'}-é}m\text{n} \quad 'thief' \]
\[ \text{ui-naq\text{'}-é}m\text{n} \quad 'thieves' \]
\[ \text{q\text{'}h-q\text{'}i}n\text{-t} \quad 'poor one' \]
\[ \text{ui-q\text{'}h-q\text{'}i}n\text{-t} \quad 'poor ones' \]
\[ \text{yo-yó-t} \quad 'strong one' \]
\[ \text{ui-yo-yó-t} \quad 'strong ones' \]
\[ \text{px-pa}x\text{-t} \quad 'wise one' \]
\[ \text{ui-px-pa}x\text{-t} \quad 'wise ones' \]
\[ \text{nox\text{'}-nnox\text{'}} \quad 'wife' \]
\[ \text{ui-nox\text{'}-nnox\text{'}} \quad 'wives' \]

4.2.3. **-?-** 'plural' Infix

**-?-** is infixed after the stressed vowel of some third person actor intransitive forms:⁷

\[ \text{es-k"u?l-i} \quad 'They work (collectively).' \]

4.2.4. Suppletive Plurals

Some plural roots replace their singular counterparts:⁸

\[ \text{s-k"-k"im-lit} \quad 'little one' \]
\[ \text{s-c-ch-elt} \quad 'little ones' \]
\[ \text{k"-k"um-čo} \]
\[ \text{'small one' \quad s-c-ch-elt} \quad 'small ones' \]
\[ \text{?eč-s-wiš} \quad 'erect one' \]
\[ \text{tpy-ešt} \quad 'standing ones' \]
\[ \text{es-šit} \quad 'tree' \]
\[ \text{s-čl-čil} \quad 'trees' \]
s-m?em 'woman'  peš-p?ik'i 'women'  
s-tq-lscut 'goods'  s-qamm-lscút 'goods, pl.' 
čin es-?emút  'I dwell.'  
qe? es-?a'y-éwt-i 'We dwell.' (D I p. 115)  
čin es-qéc-ilš  'I am jumping.'  
qe? es-šw?še?š-i 'We are jumping.'  
čin es-o'y-n-cút-i  'I laugh.'  
qe? es-ša-x?e{s-m-i  'We laugh.'  
čin es-?eč-s-wiš-i  'I am standing.'  
čin es-téš-ilš-i  'I am standing.'  
qe? es-tpí-p-m-i  'We are standing.'  
čin es-túx'út-i  'I am flying.'  
qe? es-šx'e{-m-i  'We are flying.'  
čin es-kw?ne-y ; čin kw?ne-m  'I take one object.'  
čin es-?umí ; čin kw?um-m  'I take several.'  
y-es-č-x?út-p-mín-m  'I attack him.'  
qe? es-č-x?k'úls-m  'We attack him.'  
čin es-túk'ú-m-i  'I am lying down; I lay something down.'  
čin es-qamín-i  'I lay down several things.'  
qe? es-qamín-i  'We are lying down.'  

Some suppletive plural forms exist alongside regular plurals:  
čin es-q'ul-q'élét-i  'I talk.'  
qe? es-q'ul-q'élét-i ; qe? es-qam-qam-ilš-i  'We talk.'  
čin es-šl-m-í  'I die.'  
qe? es-šl-m-í ; qe? es-q'mí?-p-m-i  'We die.'  
čin es-n?-úlx'ú-i  'I enter.'  
qe? es-n?-úlx'ú-i ; qe? es-n-pílš-i  '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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫxʷ-phalt</td>
<td>'old'</td>
<td>Ḫn-qʰin-t</td>
<td>'poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃl-ʃal-t</td>
<td>'steep'</td>
<td>ṣ̂-saŋ-h</td>
<td>'mild'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʷl-xʷilt</td>
<td>'debt, alive'</td>
<td>xʷs-xʷist-n</td>
<td>'stilts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ɔ̣-ṃ-ṇát</td>
<td>'frog'</td>
<td>kʷli-kʷalí</td>
<td>'corn, maize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**n-pi-pi-aqs</td>
<td>'hog, pig'</td>
<td>s-ʃl-ʃal-t</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-qp-qp- économ</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
<td>s-ʃl-sil-t</td>
<td>'difficult'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**xt-xítne?</td>
<td>'daggar'</td>
<td>**xʷl-xʷal</td>
<td>'sheep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷl-kʷil-t</td>
<td>'purple'</td>
<td>kʷt-kʷitps</td>
<td>'flea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul-ulí-m</td>
<td>'iron, metal, coin'</td>
<td>t̩n̩-t̩nw̩eye?</td>
<td>'bat (bird)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lič-líč-t</td>
<td>'valiant'</td>
<td>*xʷ-xʷat</td>
<td>'strenuous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṗ-pḥʷ-phabet</td>
<td>'old person'</td>
<td>kʷ-kʷush</td>
<td>'star'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-č-čav- p-us</td>
<td>'tear'</td>
<td>s-xʷu-xʷye?</td>
<td>'ant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʷč-xʷolx⁸</td>
<td>'fox'</td>
<td>ya-yâ?t</td>
<td>'rare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**xʷa-xʷāt?</td>
<td>'brave, strong in war'</td>
<td>ūu̩- ūu̩-Śl-eč̣e</td>
<td>'thorn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-twīt</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-qʷ-qše?</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷ-i-qʷšes</td>
<td>'horse of one or two years'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷ-i-qʷšes</td>
<td>'horses of one or two years'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.5.2. A few forms have unmarked number:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ṝkʷn</td>
<td>'fish eggs'</td>
<td>picčč̣</td>
<td>'leaf, leaves'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʷʔ-ulêu-xʷv</td>
<td>'rattlesnake(s)'</td>
<td>s-pentč</td>
<td>'year(s)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʷ-cin</td>
<td>'horse(s)'</td>
<td>n-qʷ-qʷšn-čṇ-sṇ</td>
<td>'dog(s)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-šewi</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
<td>qi̩-mín-tn</td>
<td>'book(s)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-pum</td>
<td>'hair(s)'</td>
<td>qʷom-qn</td>
<td>'hair(s)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-šenšš</td>
<td>'stone(s)'</td>
<td>qʷtáxʷe?</td>
<td>'louse, lice'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-tx-enc</td>
<td>'bowels'</td>
<td>n-čaw-mm</td>
<td>'prayer(s)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔu-ʔuse?</td>
<td>'egg(s)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-ṇṭps-ews</td>
<td>'jointed, joint'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They are brothers.'
They are all brothers.'
'They all look the same.'
'I join the two in matrimony.'
'I join several couples in matrimony.'
'I tie two.'
'I tie a number of them, two by two.'
'piled up'
'things piled up'

Note the different meanings of the following pairs:

'souls of one'
'souls of many'
'bridges'
'bridges'

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

Already often have I warned you, my brothers, and never have you listened to me.'
'It is to you, young people, that I am speaking.'

Similarly a chief or someone in authority may use first person singular pronouns with plural force:

'We march off.'
'We go several in several bands.'
'We both ride on the same horse.'
'Our riding horses, our riding outfit.'
'(Cf.: 'My riding horse.')
4.3. **Diminutives**

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

- `s-ʔi-p-ʔeys` 'rain'  
- `n-ʔw-ʔsh-ʔi-cn-ʔsn` 'dog'  
- `ʔiʔ-ʔiʔ-ʔeʔeʔ` 'frog'

However, Kalispel diminutives are formed by affixation:

**4.3.1. Diminutive Reduplicative Prefix**

A reduplicative prefix, \(C_1\) of the root, indicates a diminutive:

- `čin es-ʔwul-1-1` 'I work.'  
- `čin es-ʔwul-1-1-1` 'I work a little.'  
- `nič-mn` 'saw'  
- `ńi-ńč-mńń` 'little saw, knife'

**4.3.2. \(i\) - 'diminutive'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kalispel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'money'</td>
<td><code>ul-ulí-m</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rib'</td>
<td><code>s-xʷtip</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mountain'</td>
<td><code>es-ʔmő-ʔʔ</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wagon'</td>
<td><code>xʷolqʷ</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rope'</td>
<td><code>sipí</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'neck'</td>
<td><code>čspin</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'small person'</td>
<td><code>*i-kʷ-ʔwim-ʔal-a-ʔw13</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'short (thing)'</td>
<td><code>1-xʷi-xʷec-t14</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I laugh.'</td>
<td><code>čin es-ʔy-ʔn-cút-i</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I laugh a little.'</td>
<td><code>čin es-ʔy-ʔn-cút-i</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I eat.'</td>
<td><code>čin os-ʔin</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I eat a little.'</td>
<td><code>čin es-ʔʔin-i</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I am angry.'</td>
<td><code>čin es-č-xʷt-t-έls-i</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I was a little angry.'</td>
<td><code>čin os-č-1-xʷt-t-έls-i</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
čin es-ועל-m-í
čin es-ۇ-ۇ-ۇsp-m-ي
čin es-n-سُرُ-ن-ئ-ئ-ئ
čin es-n-ۇ-سُئُسُئُ-ئ-ئ
'I stay long.'
'I stay a little long.'
'I understand.'
'I understand a little.'
FOOTNOTES

1Post 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."

2Post 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.

3Post 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).

4It 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-mi\-tú? 'fort' s-mi\-t-mi\-tú? 'forts'
q\-eyí-q\-it 'lively in running'
q\-eym\-q\-imt 'lively in working'

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

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

7Post lists ciitx\" as the plural of citx\" 'house'; perhaps this is another instance of -?- infix (ci?tx\").

8Post includes here the following forms, which suffix -(V)C2 of root, as suppletive plurals:
cin es-\-cw-lš-i 'I grow old.'
qe? **es-\-cw-\-cw-lš-i 'We grow old.'
čin es-čiw-ulš 'I climb up a ladder.'
qe? *es-čw-čw-ulš 'We climb up a ladder.'
čin es-laq-šš-š (-šš ?) 'I sit down.'
qe? es-laq-wš-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' kω-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:
ilawye? 'man's great-grandfather'
ši-čišō? 'older sister'
či-čyö? 'sister's daughter's son'
čéwe? 'woman's brother-in-law'
čaqče? 'woman's older brother'
čönc? 'woman's sibling's son's son, grandmother'
qaxe? 'man's mother's sister'
s-šse? 'son'
šašxūe? 'woman's husband's father or brother'
sile? 'woman's grandfather or sister's daughter's son'
tupye? 'woman's grandparent or grandchild'
čep? 'man's grandfather'
q'taxwe? 'louse, lice'
s-š-x-šye? '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).

10 Perhaps the pair es-č-č-čl-āw 'thing hanging', es-č-s-čl-ālis 'things hanging' belongs in this group. See 2.9. for a replacement of a suffix vowel.

11 Carlson and Vogt state that the sonants are usually glottalized in diminutives (Vogt p. 62 n. 179, Carlson p. 115).
12Vogt has esmann’s.

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

14e 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'tun-t 'greatness'
- s-teye? 'badness'
- s-lk'-ut 'distance'
- s-qasip 'old thing'
- s-c-c-c ox 'wtfu'
- hoy-s-t-s iu? s-c-q'1-q'elt-s 'He stopped to talk.'
- i-s-c-xaâ u xaâ-p
- i cin xes, u ta i ci³ *s-x?es
- i 'I fanned it (my fanning) and it did not (?) cool off.'
- i cin xes, u ta i ci³ *s-x?es
- i 'I am not (?) well, I am not contented.' (D I p. 162)
- u pentč u ci s?-č-s-wiš iu? l **s-n-lcu-ti-s qe?
- 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 q1- 'subjunctive' (which deletes ī before epi-) and the possessive prefixes. ī of epi- deletes
before s.

cin ep-sxʷ-siǔʷ-lt
' I have children.'
cin ep-it-ul-ulí-m
'I have some money.'
k'uy?é u cin ep-it-ul-ulí-m
'It is my money.'
k'uy?é u cin ep-sxʷ-siǔʷ-lt
'He is my child.'
swet q-ep-sté? ii⁻?é
'Who may own this?'
swet ep-sté? ii-cí?
'Who owns that?'
anwí? kʷ ep-sté? ; anwí? kʷ q-ep-sté?
'It is yours; it must belong to you.'
swet q-ep-síč-m ñi⁻?é qeⁿmplé?
'Who may own this blanket. We do.
šey ilu? q-ep-sté? ilu? kʷl⁻n-cut-n
'It belongs to God.'
ep-s-púš
'He has a heart.'
cin ep-s⁻?áym⁻t
'I had some anger.'
ta y-ep⁻i-ec⁻?axíl
'I have none of the kind.'
ta y-ep-síč⁻m
'I have no blanket.'
cin ep-s-c-k'úl
'I have made some.' [I have-what-I-made]
anwí? u kʷ ep-s-c-k'úl
'It is you that made it.'
k'uy?é u cin ep-s-c-k'úl
'I have made it.'
nem cin ep-s-c-níč
'I shall have some sawed.'
swet u ep-s-c⁻šíl ye lu̥k
'Who chopped this wood.'
cin ep-šxʷ-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):

ilu? ṭi es-c-ča?l-éis-i, epi-ḥax u epi-es-míxʷt-i
'Some of the sick are getting better, some are dying.'
epi-xes⁻t, u epi-ćoye? 'There are some good, there are some bad. OR He has some good ones and some bad ones.'
ep-sqélixʷ ilu? ta es-wič-s-t-n 'There are people I never saw.'
ep-s-?pi?q-áiq  în? tm  in-xm-énč  'There are fruits I don't like.'
epi-n-šâ-šm-?ičn-šn  'There is a dog there.'
Ale epi-n-?ay-čwt  l  s-n-ćaw-mn  'There are already people in church.'
epi-es-maw  'It is a fraction.'
ta epi-c-xuy  'None came.'
ta epi-ćuw  'None are missing.'

Intransitive constructions with epi- are sometimes transitivized, as in the following examples:
epi-?kúl-n  'There are some I have made.'
epi-wék-n-t-x  'There is something that you concealed.'
epi-?kúl-?i-t-n  'There are some I have made for him.'
epi-xúč-i-c-n  'There are some I gave to you.'
epi-wék-?i-c-n  'There are some I concealed from you.'
ta epi-wék-n  'I did not hide any.'
ta q-epi-wék-i-t-m  în?  qúay-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 eí- 'back' attach to the root, following es- 'actual'. eí- precedes es- but follows qi- 'subjunctive' which then deletes î.

eí-  'again, once more, back'
eí-xúy  'He went back.'
čin eí-xúy  'I return; I go again.'
čin eí-es-?ímš-î  čin eí-?ímš  'I am starting again.'
y-eí-es-xúč-î-t-n  eí-xúč-î-t-n  'I give it again.'
i-q-eí-xúč-î-t-m  y-eí-es-?kúl-m  'I wish to give it again.'
eí-nkú?  'I do it again.'
eí-teš-ilš  în?  s-pqni?  'one again, one more'

'now moon.'
y-eli-es-wić-m
'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 translated 'really, truly, indeed':

el-mii-č-pt-ptk"-min-ālq"-mi-n-t-m (-č- ?, -min- ?) 1 es-?eym-ews,
el-kiš laq-n-t-m
'He was indeed crucified, truly died, and was buried.'
1 *s-č-ac-ews qe? *es-mii-ix"-éls-i, nešš 1 šeš s-šl-šal-t u
*el-mii-ix"-éls-m ūu? k"l-n-cut-n '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':
el-t-olq"-ši-t-n
'I helped him in return.'
k"u t-meš?-mi-s u el-t-meš?-mi-n
'He sent me away first, and in return I sent him away.'

(Cf. uieš 'again, another time', section 7.4.1.)

t- 'before, ahead, in advance'
čin t-x"uy ; čin es-t-x"uy 'I go ahead.'
es-t-mi-s-t-én 'I knew it before.'
y-es-t-?āčx-m 'I look at it before.'

n- 'inside, in, after, locative'
čin n-x"uy ; čin n-x"uy-m 'I go after someone.'
es-n-?úk" 'It lays in.'
n-šuš-l 'He is born in, conceived.'
y-es-n-?āčx-m 'I look inside.'
čin es-n-w?éw-p 'I go back, pull back (as horses).'  

n-est 'deep water'
i n-šal 'clear water'
i n-laq 'warm water'

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i n-číp
es-n-mí-p
n-wís-t

'n-dark room'
'acccused'
'high'

_ with verbs of motion may signify motion by land along the river:
čín n-ʔaxʷt
n-ʔaxʷ-yíst-i
n-čʔ-ílš-i

'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:
y-es-čʔ-acx-éws-m
čín es-čʔ-lukʷ
es-čʔ-ul-ulí-m-i
kʷ č-s-tešm
ʔaym-t-m-n
čʔ-ʔaym-t-m-n
ʔayxʷ-t-m-n
čʔ-ʔayxʷ-t-m-n

'I look upwards.'
'I am going after wood.'
'He is after money.'
'What did you want?'
'I was mad at him.'
'I was mad on his account.'
'I was tired of him.'
'I was tired on his account.'

ha č-ʔ-pu-pus-č-č-m-n-t-xʷ5 ũu? če ye? a-s-c-kʷén

'Are you sorry for (on account of) the sins you committed?'
č-ʔxes-t u čín qʷl-qʷelt

'(In good part) with a good intention did I speak.'
kʷ qʷl-qʷelt če ye?

'You spoke with a bad intention.'
ilmixʷ-m ũu? č-šey u kʷ qʷl-qʷelt

'It is the president of whom (on whose part) you speak.'
y-es-čʔ-ti-s-cút-m ũu? i-s-n-ac-lqít.

'I am proud of (on account of) my dress.'
cs-čʔ-lciʔ-s-t-m
y-es-čʔ-ʔemút-m
čʔ-ʔemút-m-n ũu? ilmixʷ
y-es-čʔ-xʷuy-m; č-xʷuy-n-t-ěn; č-xʷuy-m-n⁶

'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-licî?-m-s īu? J.C. 1 s-n-qe?-cîn
'Who remaines with (near) J.C. in the Holy Communion?'
č-mlk'-m-asît (until) the whole day

(See also 5.2.1. and 6.2.)

c- 'hither, from there'
čin es-c-x'unuy; čin c-x'unuy 'I come (hither, from there).' y-es-c-?ācčx-m 'I look at it from there.'
či- 'upon, above'
či-tuk's 'It is placed upon.'
es-či-tuk's 'It is on top.'
y-es-či-q̣éy-m 'I write over it.' (D I p. 254)
ḳvi- 'under' (when the object is immediately under so that the above rests on the lower)
1 qe? ḳvi-iš-út 'under us'
ḳvi-tůk'u-n-t īu? 1 a-s-ču?-cîn 'Place it under thy foot.'
es-ḳvi-tuk's 'It is under.'

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

y-es-čs-cûn-m 'I speak about it.'
swet īu? es-čs-cûn-m-s 'Of whom is he speaking?'
y-es-če?ni-m 'I forbid him.'
y-es-čs-če?ni-m 'I forbid it.'
čs-če?i-s-t-én īu? sewil-k' 'I forbid the whiskey.'
čs-n-?awq̣n-m īu? s-n-mi-p-m-ıst 'I exhort him to confession.'
y-es-čs-ql-q̣eḷt-m 'I speak of him/it, about it.'
y-es-čs-ṃéye-i-t-m (stress ?) 'I teach him that.'
1 s-čs-axmin 'there about, near by'

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

cs-ḳvi-n-čûn-m-p (-m- ?) 'It is shut.'
es-ki-n-čeh-p
čin ei-c-x’uy
čin ei-c-ʔuš
č-in-páx-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-tin 'instrumental'

-min, -tin, or -min-tin (< -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-tin to the object of the instrument's use. However, this distinction is not always clear (D II p. 208).

ac-min
ac-min-tin
in-ʔu-min
ʔu-min-tin
si-min
s-ši-min-tin
teʔ-min
inʔax-min
inʔax-min-tin
qʔu-p-tin, qʔu-p-min-tin
i-sʔem-in (< in-sʔem-min)
i-sʔem-in-tin
qixʷ-min, qixʷ-min-tin
xʷʔ-min
xʷʔ-min-tin
*č-će-min
*č-će-min-tin
č-txʷ-min
č-txʷ-min-tin

'(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'8
'instrument to brand'
'what is to be branded'
'material (salt) to be added'
'what the material is added to'

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n-čaw-mn 'prayer'
qux-min 'horn'
kwí-oxw- mín , kwí-oxw- mín-tn 'fence'
y-es-kul-mn-m 'I work with it, use it in my work.'
y-es-ac-mín-m 'I use it to catch or tie.'
čin es-ac-mín-i ; čin ac-mín-m 'I use traps.'
y-es-iu?-mín-m 'I use that to lance.'
y-es-čs-t-mín-m 'I find it good.'
qí-ac-mí-s (< qí-ac-mín-s) Louis 'Let it be Louis' trap.'
s-qléw ac-mín-tí-s (< ac-mín-tí-s) 'a beaver's trap'
čyu es-qi?-mín-m ye qi?-mín
'This pen has not been used as yet.'

Instrumentals with possessive intransitive inflection can mean
'affect, influence':
y-es-čs-t-mín-m iu? n-čaw-mn
'I am well affected by the prayer (the prayer affects me well).'</y-es-c-q"-q"u-mín-m iu? sewl-k'
'The liquor affects me.' (D II p. 7)
y-es-yaa-mín (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).
čip-tin 'anything used for hunting'
n-čs-tin 'that makes good'
n-čs-tin 'that makes bad (sins)'
n-q"l-q"el-tn 'word'
n-py-els-tn 'cause of happiness'
oós-tí-s 'cause of ruin'
pu-pus-čňč-tn 'cause of sorrow'
č-x"uy-tn 'the reason why he goes'
č-n-py-els-tn  'the reason why he rejoices'
č-n-x'c-x'c-m-els-tn  'the reason why he suffers'
in-č-pu-pus-ēhč-tn  'the reason of my sorrow'
č-miy-tn  'what makes a thing known, sign, mark'
č-?aym-tn  'what one is mad for'
č-lem-tn  'what one is glad for'
č-n-pu-pus-ēhč-tn  'what one is sorry for'
č-x'uuy-tn  'what one goes for'
č-x'el-tn  'what one is thrown away for'
qi-n-mi-p-m-īst-i-s  (qi-n-mi-p-m-īst-tn-s)
' to be people's confessor' (Balt. p. 4)
šey  iu?  qi-č-mi-tί-s  iu?  s-k'w'-k'im-İt
' That will be the sign that makes the infant known.' (Bible p. 43)
šey  iu?  t'ey'  a-s-c-k'en  šey  iu?  a-qi-č-x'uuy-tn  č-esulîp
'You deserve hell for your sins.'
šey  iu?  s-naq'w'-émn  šey  iu?  č-x'uuy-tn  1  esulîp
'The thief deserves to go to hell.'

s- 'nominal' plus n- 'locative' prefixed to an instrumental stem
expresses 'place where' or 'instrument used': 9

s-n-čaw-mn  'church'
s-n-š'oiq-tn  'farm'
s-n-qi?-mín-tn  'school'
s-n-så-lis-tn  (lis ?)  'saw mill'
s-n-yo-yo-t-ilš-tn  'confirmation'
*s-n-šek'w'-tn  (OR s-n-šek'w'-tn ?)  'a ferry'
s-n-x'aq'w'-mn  'a mill'
s-n-t'k'w'-min-tn  'place to lay one in'
s-n-q'le-p-tn  'oven'
**s-n-lcu-tn  'room'
s-n-čm-čm-els-tn  'meekness'
s-n-mi-p-m-īst-n  (s-n-mi-p-m-īst-tn)  'confessional'

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5.2.2. **-nú** 'transitive success'

-\text{nu} 'transitive success' (always stressed) is added to roots before the transitive affixes. With -\text{nu} 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.

- k'\text{n-nú-n} (< k'\text{en-nú-n-t-en}) 'I succeed in taking it.'
- nič-\text{nú-n} (< nič-\text{nú-n-t-en}) 'I succeed in cutting it.'
- \text{lu?}-\text{nú-n} (< \text{lu?}-\text{nú-n-t-en}) 'I succeed in lancing it.'
- \text{lu?}-\text{nú-n-t} 'Success in lancing!'  
- k'\text{ul-nú-n} (< k'\text{ul-nú-n-t-en}) 'I succeed in making it.'
- \text{sq-\text{q-nú-n}} (< \text{sq-\text{q-nú-n-t-en}}) 'I succeed in splitting it.'
- \text{sq-\text{q-nú-n-t}} 'Succeed in splitting it!'  
- m\text{i-p-nú-n} (< m\text{i-p-nú-n-t-en}) 'I succeed in knowing it; I got news of it, heard of it, am informed of it.'

5.2.3. **- númt** 'intransitive success'

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

- čin wič-\text{númt} 'Finally I perceived it.'
- čin x'\text{t-p-númt} 'I succeeded in running away.'
- tu ta epi-k'\text{ul-mi-p-númt} ye we *čšt-n-cút-i-s, u esiyā? es-q'\text{ew-i} 'And there were none of those would be guardians who perceived it; all were drunk.' (Bible p. 36)

5.2.4. **-šiš** 'indefinite benefactive'

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

- čin es-k'\text{ul-š-i} 'I work for others.'
- čin k'\text{ul-š-m} 'I work for others.'
5.2.5. \(-m\) 'middle'

\(-m\) 'middle' was introduced in 3.1.1.1. (see footnote 2, chapter 3). Added to roots, \(-m\) '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{align*}
\text{čin es-čew-s-m} & \quad 'I wash my face.' \\
\text{čin es-wič-m} & \quad 'I see (something).'$ \\
\text{čin es-n-ʔēys-m} & \quad 'I pay for (something).'$ \\
\text{y-es-x'1-x'wilt-m} & \quad 'I cause/make him to live.' \\
\text{y-es-c-x'uy-m} & \quad 'I cause him to come.' \\
\text{y-es-n-py-ɛls-m} & \quad 'I make him to rejoice.' \\
\text{qe? sin-ceʔ-m-il-s} & \quad 'He made us his brothers.' \\
\end{align*}

with the corresponding continuative intransitives:

\begin{align*}
\text{čin es-čew-s-i} & \quad 'My face is washed; I wash my face.' \\
\text{čin es-wič-i} & \quad 'I am seen; I see (something).'$ \\
\text{čin es-n-ʔēys-i} & \quad 'I am bought; I buy (something).'$ \\
\text{čin es-x'1-x'wilt-i} & \quad 'I live.' \\
\text{čin es-c-x'uy} & \quad 'I come.' \\
\text{čin es-n-py-ɛls-i} & \quad 'I rejoice.' \\
\text{qe? sin-ceʔ-il-s} & \quad 'We are his brothers.' \\
\end{align*}

Other examples of \(-m\) 'middle' stems:

\begin{align*}
\text{čin es-tk'ū-m-i ; čin es-tuk'w} & \quad 'I am lying down.' \\
\text{čin es-lick-m-i ; čin es-lick} & \quad 'I am being bound.' \\
\text{čin es-qaʔu-m-i ; čin es-qaʔu} & \quad 'I am being broken.' \\
\text{čin es-ʔit-m-i ; čin es-ʔit} & \quad 'I go ahead.' \\
\end{align*}
čin ec-?ex'k'ún-m ; čin ec-?ex'k'ún-i 'I speak so.' (D 1 p. 108)
čin es-ulí-m 'I burn (something).'
čin es-ul-m-i '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-i 'I hunt.'
čin es-ál-m-i 'I die.'

y-es-álí-m 'I cause him to die.'
čin es-ál-p-m-i '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-čá-cín-m 'I use that horse.'

čin es-šé?-šín-m-i 'I use a shoe.'
čin es-šú?-m 'I wound/lance it.'

y-es-ulí-m 'I burn it.'

y-es-sqé-m 'I split it.'

y-es-šuk'-m 'I bring/carry it.'

y-es-čéw-s 'I wash his face.'

y-es-wič-m 'I see it.'

y-es-n-šél-m 'I pay for it.'

y-es-n-šél-m 'I fear him, am afraid of him.'

y-es-yálk'-m 'I bend it (making a circle).'

*y-es-čští-m 'I guard it.'

y-es-šaq-m 'I pay him (for work or services).'

5.2.6. -ist 'reflexive'

-ist 'reflexive' is added to intransitive or middle forms: ¹⁰

čin es-n-mi-p-m-ist-i 'I accuse myself, confess.'
čin kvul-ist 'I make myself.'
čin kvul-ist čin sqölix 'I become man (J.C.).'
čin *es-čští-m-ist-i 'I take care of myself.'
čin es-?ep-íst-i 'I wipe myself.'
čin es-?ep-m-íst-i 'I myself wipe something belonging to me.'
čin es-vám-ist-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)
тяye? ńu? s-yóq'-ist 'It is bad to tell lies.'
İa'-t-íst-ye? (-ye? ?) 'prostrated' (Bible p. 64)
čin *es-čs-t-m-íst-i 'I force myself, do violence to myself.'
k'w q-s-n-mi-p-m-íst-i, pen ta a-q-s-n-mi-p-ıtúms 'Accuse yourself, but don't accuse other people.'

(See also 5.3.1.2.)

5.2.7. Intransitive Imperatives

-s or -yş 'imperative singular' and -wi 'imperative plural'

are added to roots, statives, and intransitive reflexives:

k'wúl-iş 'Work!'
ilmix'-iş 'Be ye chief!'
χés-t-iş 'Be good!'
?aym-t-š 'Be angry!'
šíl-š 'Die!'
aci-yş 'Tie!'
*plčmí-yş 'Turn over!'
n-mi-p-m-íst-iş 'Confess!'
χés-t-iş ilmíx'-š 'Be a good chief!'
χés-t-wi ilmíx'-wi 'Be ye good chiefs!'
?uk'-š 'Bring/carry (something)!

n-?éys-iş 'Buy/pay for (something)!
wič-iş 'See (something)!
ulí-yş 'Burn (something)!
čaw-s-iş12 '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. **-lwis** 'iterative' (always stressed)

čin es-qéý-m  
'I write/wrote.'

čin es-di?-m-lwis-i  
'I write often.'

čin es-k'úl-m  
'I made.'

čin es-k'ú-i-m-lewis-i  
'I make/made often.'

čin es-x'íst  
'I walk(ed) off.'

čin es-x'ist-lwis-i  
'I often walk.'

čin es-čéw-m  
'I washed.'

čin es-čéw-m-lwis-i  
'I often wash.'

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

čin es-téš-ilš-i  
'I rise from sitting position.'

čin es-x'óč-ilš  
'I rise from reclining position.'

čin es-čs-čs-m-ilš-i  
'I am growing good, perfect.'

čin es-yo-yo-t-ilš-i  
'I am growing strong.'

y-es-yo-yo-t-ilš-m  
'I make him grow strong.'

čin es-čs-t-ilš-i: OR čin es-čs-t-wilš-i  
'I am becoming good, getting better.'

čin es-k'wtn-t-ilš-i: OR čin k'wtn-t-wilš-i  
'I am growing big.'

čin es-šewk'-ilš-cut-i  
'I practice sorcery (Indian superstitious medicine).'

5.2.8.3. Reduplicative suffixation -(VC)₂ of root, 'inchoative'

(D II p. 163):

i čin sil  
'I am wrong.'

i čin sl-il  
'I become wrong, am getting into wrong.'

es-nič  
'It is sawed.'

es-nič-č  
'It is getting sawed.'

es-šíl  
'It is chopped.'

es-ší-č  
'It is getting chopped.'

šíl-il  
'It got chopped.'

es-six'  
'It is poured out.'

---

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>six'w-x'w</td>
<td>'It got poured out.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-n-siś'w</td>
<td>'It is filled (with liquid).'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-siś'w-x'w</td>
<td>'It got filled.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-loc</td>
<td>'It is smashed.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc-c</td>
<td>'It got smashed.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-x'äd'w</td>
<td>'It is ground.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'äd'w-äd'w</td>
<td>'It got ground.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slip</td>
<td>'He made a mistake.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slip-pl4</td>
<td>'He got into a mistake.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-lits</td>
<td>'It is bound.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lits-c</td>
<td>'It got bound.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'cič</td>
<td>'It is falling.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'cič-c</td>
<td>'It is going to fall.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-k'up</td>
<td>'It is pushed, stirred.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'up-p</td>
<td>'It got stirred.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-sáx'w</td>
<td>'It is being split.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sax'w-x'w</td>
<td>'It got split.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melk'w</td>
<td>'It is being spread.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melk'k'-k'w</td>
<td>'It got spread, spread itself.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-s-x'wits-s</td>
<td>'It is my gift (given by me).'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-s-x'wits-č-s</td>
<td>'It is my gift (given to me).'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-ťaq-q-m-i (stress ?)</td>
<td>'I am deceived, cheated.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-wič-č(-i)</td>
<td>'I let myself be seen, can be seen.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iš? k'č-ečst-n k'ul-1 t sčewile?</td>
<td>'The rod became a snake.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iš? mal-t k'ul-1 t sl-aqs</td>
<td>'The dust became mosquitoes.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.8.4. **-émm** 'habitual' (D II p. 6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čip-émm</td>
<td>'hunter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ačx-émm</td>
<td>'looker on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'st-émm</td>
<td>'walker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?išn-émm</td>
<td>'eater'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sust-émm</td>
<td>'drunkard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iq'w-ist-émm</td>
<td>'liar (addicted to tell lies)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
q'1-lumt-êmn (-lumt ?) 'story-teller'

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

ìu? s-naq'-êmn še'yì ìu? č-x'uy-tìn l esulìp
'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. -êls 'volitive, state/activity of mind' (always stressed)

čin es-n-qi?-m-êls-i (-m- ?) 'I wish to write.'
čin es-n-?iin-êls-i 'I have appetite, wish to eat.'
čin es-n-sust-êls-i 'I wish to drink.'
čin es-n-x'uy-êls-i 'I wish to go.'
čin *es-ši?-êls-i 'I consent, give permission.'
čin *es-n-ši?-êls-i 'I consent to marriage.'
čin es-n-sl-p-êls-i 'I am deceived, mistaken in my judgement.'
y-es-?ač-x-ìu? es-č-ča?1-êls-i
'I visit the sick (those who are sick).'
čin es-n-x'uy-êls-i, u ta i-q-s-x'uy
'I wish to go, but I will not go.'
ta y-es-n-x'uy-êls u peň či q-s-x'uy
'I have not the wish to go, but I will go.'
k'w n-k'î-n-?axl-êls-m ìu? J.C.
'J.C. must have the same feelings as yours.'

5.2.9.2. -úì, suffixed to a reduplicated root, 'given to...'
(always stressed)
čaw-čaw-m-úì 'given to praying'
k'w1-k'w1-m-úì 'given to working'
q'l-q'lut-úì 'given to talking'
či-čip-úì 'given to hunting'
'given to writing'
'given to tale-bearing'

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{y-es-kw}i-m-út-m \quad 'I can make that.'
  \item \textit{y-es-ac-m-út-m} \quad 'I can catch it.'
  \item \textit{y-es-xw}aq\textsuperscript{w}-m-út-m \quad 'I can grind it.'
  \item \textit{xw}y-ut-m \quad 'It can go.'
  \item \textit{ta s-xw}y-ut-m \quad 'It can't go.'
  \item \textit{kw}i-l-út-m \quad 'It can be made.'
  \item \textit{ta s-kw}i-l-út-m \quad 'It can't be done.'
  \item uč-č-út-m \quad 'It is visible.'
  \item wič-č-út-m \quad 'It can be bound.'
  \item mus-š-út-m \quad 'He can be trusted.'
  \item ta s-syen-út-m \quad 'It can't be counted.'
\end{itemize}

But, cf. also:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{lkw}-ut \quad 'far'
  \item \textit{tkw}-út-i \quad 'march, walk'
  \item \textit{iq}w-ut \quad 'He was lying there.'
  \item iš-út \quad 'under'
  \item \textit{p}xw-ut \quad '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** is the reciprocal affix attached to a transitive stem.

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

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

qe? es-č-yoq"-n-wé?x^w 'We are slandering one another.'
qe? es-aym-t-m-n-wé?x^w 'We are angry at one another.'
qe? es-n-xel-m-n-wé?x^w 'We are afraid of one another.'
qe? šmeň-wé?x^w-i (šmeň-n-t-wé?x^w-i) 'We go together.'
qe? es-pl-s-t-wé?x^w 'We fight together [one another].'
qe? es-čaw-š-t-wé?x^w 'We are praying for one another.'
qe? es-olq"-š-t-wé?x^w 'We are helping one another.'

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

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

\[\begin{array}{ll}
-n - t - cut & -n - cut \\
s - t - cut & -s - cut \\
-ši - t - cut & -š - cut \\
*i - t - cut & *-i - cut \\
\end{array}\]

čin es-pl-s-cut-i 'I kill myself.'
čin *es-čšt-š-cut-i 'I take care for myself.'
čin *es-čšt-n-cut-i 'I take care of something.'
čin es-ep-n-cut-i 'I wipe something by myself.'
čin es-ťi-p-n-cut-i 'I descend, let myself down (from horseback).'
smem-s-cut 'He likes to play.'

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

?acx-n-cút-n 'looker on (one who looks)'
k'1-n-cut-n 'God, maker by himself'
xml-enč-n-cút-n 'lover'
?ep-n-cút-n 'cleanser'
*čšt-n-cut-n 'guardian'
**qap-n-cút-n 'friend to death'
in-q'êlt-n-cút-n 'He that carries me.'
n-q'â-m-n-cut-n 'who has pity'
n-k'ân-cin-cút-is t k'1-n-cut-n
'He that sings the praises of God.'
k'u n-k'ân-cin-cút-is 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
-š1-t-(é)m

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

y-es-n-?éy-ï-t-m 'I pay him his...'
y-es-k'âl-ï-t-m 'I make his...(something belonging to him).'
y-es-?úk'-ï-t-m 'I carry his...'
y-es-čšt-ï-t-ém 'I guard his...'
y-es-sâ-ï-t-ôm 'I split his...'
y-es-šu-ï-t-ôm 'I sting his...'
y-es-šu-?âq-ï-t-m 'I sting the nose of his...'
y-es-šu-?eç-ï-t-m 'I wound the hand of his...'
y-es-k'âl-š-ï-t-m 'I do it for him, help him doing it.'
y-es-čaw-š-ï-t-m 'I pray for him in his stead.'
y-es-š1-ši-ï-t-m 'I die for him in his stead.'
y-es-n-?ey-š-t-m 'I pay for him, help him paying.'
y-es-mi-mi-ší-t-m 'I tell him news.'
y-es-sdí-ší-t-m 'I split for him (help him splitting).'
y-es-ʻu?-ší-t-m 'I lance for him.'

-em 'indefinite intransitive' is also found affixed to success stems, to form "detransitive" success forms which are inflected with the possessive intransitive pronouns. The morphophonemics of these 'detransitive 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-ší-m-nú-n-m 'I succeed in lancing it.'
y-es-sdí-ší-nú-n-m 'I succeed in splitting it.'
y-es-†1nú-n-m 'I succeed in making it.'

5.3.2. Transitive Stems

Middle and intransitive stems (bases with intransitive derivational suffixes) can be "transitive" by attaching the transitive suffixes (-n-t, -s-t, -ší-t, -š-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-?eys-n-n 'I use it to pay, to buy.'
n-?eys-m-n-t 'Use it to pay, to buy.'
n-šíe%-cín-m-n 'I receive it in Holy Communion.'
naš'-m-n Pierre 'I stole Peter; I stole from Peter.'
iu?-éšs-m-n 'I wound my hand with it.'
citx'-m-n ci citx' 'I used that house.'
síc-m-n ci síc-m 'I used that blanket.'
x'olíq'-m-n ci x'olíq' 'I use that wagon.'
iu? qepc ci x'uy-m-n-cí-n 'in spring when I paid you a visit.'
n-?eq?-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?  ščil-če?  'I have the red blanket on.'
čč-a-cin-m-n  iu?  i ččil-ps  'I have the gray horse.'
*č-ši?l-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.'
čč-hu?  i-s-meňx"  naq"-m-n-t-o m 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-?eq?-cin-m-i-t-n  'I receive his... in Holy Communion.'
č-čs-m-i-ci-n  iu?  an-cut  'I feel good for your conduct.'
čeq?-šin-m-i-c-n  iu?  an-čeq?-šin  'I have on your shoes.'
nóx"-nox"-m-i-t-s  sín-ce?  'He had his brother's wife.'

The following "transitivized" stems have an intransitive derivational suffix followed by _m_ 'middle':

n-?eq?-š-m-n  (-intran. benefactive-middle-transitive first p. sg.)
'Buy it for others.'
n-?eq?-š-m-n-t  'Buy it for others.'
naq"-š-m-n  Pierre  'I stole Peter from others (from his masters).'
čč-ul-š-m-n  'I do it for others.'
sq-šiš-m-n  'I split it for others.'
čeq?-šiš-m-n  'I lance it for others.'
k"u  n-k"i-n?-axč-čels-m-n-t-x"  (-volitive-middle-tran-tran-you)
'I think the same as you do.'
n-k"i-n?-axč-čels-m-n-c-n  'You think as I do.'
k"ši-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.'
čč-adč"-m-út-m-s-t-n  'I can grind it.'

Instrumental intransitive stems are frequently transitivized:
čč-ul-m-n  (< ččul-min-n-t-en)  'I did use it.'
ac-mi-n  (< ac-min-n-t-en)  'I use it to tie.'
The following "transitivized" forms have instrumental and middle
intransitive derivational suffixes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\chi s-t-mi-n \quad (\chi es-t-mí-n-n-t-en) & \quad \text{I find it good.}'
\n\text{n-?eys-m-n} \quad (\text{n-?éys-mí-n-n-t-en}) & \quad \text{I use it to pay, to buy.'}
\n\text{n-?eys-m-n-t} & \quad \text{Use it to pay, to buy.'}
\n\text{k'\text{u} me?e?-mí-n-t-m} & \quad \text{Someone has refused me.'}
\n\text{iu?-mí-n} \quad (\text{iu?-mí-n-n-t-en}) & \quad \text{I use that to lance.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Other "transitivized" intransitive stems are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo-yo-t-\text{i}lš-t-n} \quad (\text{yo-yo-t-\text{i}lš-s-t-n}) & \quad \text{I make him grow strong.'}
\n\text{n-py-el-s-t-n} \quad (\text{n-py-\text{é}ls-s-t-en}) & \quad \text{I make him to rejoice.'}
\end{align*}
\]

(See also 5.1.2. \text{epi-}.)
FOOTNOTES

1 This $c$ 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, of $c$ in 'I' is deleted before $s$ 'nominal'.

4 Some forms which translate with 'have' in English do not have epi-
   $c$ in $k^tn-eix$ 'I have a big house.'
   $c$ in suyap-sqâxe? 'I have an American horse.'
   $c$ in $q^wy-alqs$ 'I have a black dress.'

5 $-enč$ ? Related to $-enč$ ?

6 This form and two others ($xes-t-n 'I make it good' and $xes-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-t$n$ above. Are the glosses correct?

9 Vogt also mentions $s$- or $sən$- occurring with -t$n$ 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'
1972, p. 93).

12 Why did e (čew-s) → a in this form?

13 The distribution of these two allomorphs is not understood. Vogt notes that the suffix -ilš is "most often in the form -uiiš [-wils]" (p. 57 n. 159). Carlson does not mention a form with w for Spokan (1972, p. 118).

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

15 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-kw¹-pas-m-út-i 'I can think, am capable of reflection.'
ta s-kw¹-pas-m-út 'He can not think, has not the use of reason.' (D I p. 451)

16 Post also gives inkoeltenzuten (**in-kwel-t-n-cút-n) 'he that loads me'.

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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:

\[ \text{čin es-} ?\text{aw-s-} ?\text{itš-i} \] (\( ?\text{aw} \) 'enough' - \( ?\text{itš} \) 'sleep')
'I don't care to sleep.'

\[ \text{čin es-} ?\text{aw-s-} ?\text{iín-i} \] (\( ?\text{aw} \) 'enough' - \( ?\text{iín} \) 'eat')
'I don't care to eat.'

\[ x'\text{i-cú-n-t} \] (\( x'\text{uy} \) 'go' - cu(n) 'say')
'Go and tell him!

\[ \text{le?-cú-n-t} \] (\( \text{le?} \) 'look for' - cu(n) 'say')
'Look for him and tell him!'

\[ \text{čin tix'w-}i-\text{nox'-nox'} \] (tix'w 'get' - nox'-nox' 'wife')
'I got a wife.'

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

\[ k'\text{ul} \] 'work, do, make'

\[ \text{čin es-k'w'l-i-ilmix'} \] (ilmix' 'chief')
'I am acting as chief.'

\[ y-es-k'w'l-i-ilmix'-m \] OR \[ k'w'l-ilmix'-m-n \] 'I treat him as chief.'

\[ \text{čin es-k'w'l-i-px'-út-i} \] (px'-út 'old, parent') 'I act as a parent.'

\[ y-es-k'w'l-i-px'-út-m \] OR \[ k'w'l-px'-út-m-n \] 'I treat him as a parent.'
če in es-k’w1-sx’-six’-lt-i (sx’-six’-lt 'child, children')
'I got a child.'
y-es-k’w1-sx’-six’-lt-m
'I treat him as a child.'
ché es-k’w1-i-q’nh-q’inh-t-i (q’inh 'poor') 'I act the poor.'
y-es-k’w1-i-q’nh-q’inh-t-m OR k’w1-i-q’nh-q’inh-t-m-n
'I treat him as poor.'
ché es-k’w1-i-?eč-?ewt-i (?eč 'last') 'I act as the last.'
y-es-k’w1-i-?eč-?ewt-m
'I treat him as the last.'
ché es-k’w1-i-k’w1-n-cút-n (k’w1-n-cut-n 'God')
'I act as God.'
y-es-k’w1-i-k’w1-n-cút-n-m OR k’w1-i-k’w1-n-cut-n-m-n
'I treat him as God.'

cf. also: čs-i-n-k’w1-mi-s (-n-?) (čs 'bad') 'his bad ways'
nk’w 'one'
y-es-nk’w-i-?emút-m (?emút 'sit') ūu? i-s-χélwi?
'I remain with my husband in the same place.'
t s-wet u es-nk’w-i-lcī?-m-s [lcī? 'remain, stay'] ūu? J.C.
iu? 1 s-n-qe?-cín
'Who remains with J.C. in the Holy Eucharist?'
y-sew-s u t S. s-px-pax-t u es-nk’w-i-lcī?-m-s
'His father and the Holy Spirit remain with him.'
y-es-nk’w-i-x’uy-m OR nk’w-i-x’uy-m-n [x’uy 'go']
'I have him coming with me.'
i 1 nk’w-s-χl-χal-t [χal 'light', χl-χal 'day'] u q’mi?-p
Pierre u ūu? Paul 'Peter and Paul died together.'
nk’w-i-χl-mi-s [χl 'die'] t Pierre ūu? Paul
'Peter had Paul for his companion in death.'
s-nk’w-sqélix’ (sqélix’ 'man') 'neighbor'
s-nk’w-i-ilmix’-m (ilmix’ 'chief') 'fellow-chief'
s-nk’w-i-ttwit (ttwit 'boy') 'fellow-boy'
s-nk’w-i-še-šutn (še-šutn 'girl') 'fellow-girl'
s-nk’w-i-k’w1-l (k’w1 'make, do') 'wife/husband'
k'tun 'big, great' (Note that unstressed u is deleted, and that
n → i before -s- or -t-.)

k'ti-s-mʔot (mʔot 'smoke') 'big smoke'
k'ti-s-pʔús (pʔús 'heart') 'big heart'
k'ti-s-qeltč (qeltč 'body') 'big body'
k'ti-s-k'is-k's (k'is 'hen') 'turkey'
k'ti-s-psay-ěʔ (psay-ěʔ 'fool') 'a great fool'
k'ti-i-qpéice? (qpéice? 'plate') 'big plate'
k'ti-i-šʔit (šʔit 'first') 'by far the first'
k'ti-i-px-pāx-t (px 'wise') 'by far the wisest'
k'ti-i-xes-t (xes 'good') 'by far the best'

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

*s-mi-i-lʔéw (lʔéw 'father') 'worthy father'
*s-mi-i-px'út (px'út 'old') 'worthy parent'
*s-mi-s-k'uy (k'uy 'mother') 'worthy mother'
*s-mi-s-k'íl-n-cút-n (k'íl-n-cut-n 'God') 'true God'
*s-mi-s-px-páx-t (px 'wise') 'true sage'
*s-mi-i-xɔ-cín (xɔ-cín 'horse') 'excellent horse'

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

sqm-sqelixw (sqelixw 'man') 'worthless man'
sqm-i-č-naqs (č-naqs 'one person') 'worthless fellow'
sqm-s-mʔem (mʔem 'woman') 'false woman'
sqm-i-xɔ-cín (xɔ-cín 'horse') 'worthless horse'
sqm-i-mi-n-cút-n (mi-n-cut-n 'one who knows') 'false teacher'

**šiʔs 'instead of'

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

iu? ne **q-s-šiʔ-s-čen-t-ěx [čen 'forbid'] k' canlı tì ci? u
n-awqm-t-xw 'Instead of checking him, you encourage him.'

iu? qa? **q-s-šiʔ-s-ʔaym-t-m-n-t-m [ʔaym 'mad, angry'], m qe?
čaw-š-t-m
'Instead of getting mad at him, we should pray for him.'
J.C. ūu? *q-s-ši?s-l?e-l-s (-l ?) [l?e 'stay, remain'], t cnitc u qay-alqs ṭk"-n-t-ēś *q̃i-n-i-qlčlp-n-cūt-i-s
'Instead of remaining here himself, J.C. left the priests to hold his place.'

š?it 'first'

š?it-maʔ-sqelixʷ (sqelixʷ 'man, mcn') 'first people'
*š?it-miš-ēlt (stress ?) (*miš '?', -ēlt '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-áls 'new dress' q̃ay-alqs 'black gown, priest'
piq-áls 'white gown' či-qltč-alqs 'overcoats'
k̃wi-iš-t-áls 'underwear' s-š̱sp-alqs 'old clothes'
sot-áls 'knitted shirt' xʷ?-alqs 'plenty of clothing'
čm-p-áls 'hem of a garment' šs-alqs 'good dress'
čin es-tw-áls-i 'I buy a shirt.'
čin s-qltmixʷ-alqs 'I dress as (like) a man.'
čin mʔem-áls 'I dress as a woman.'
čin suyap-áls 'I dress as an American.'
-ālqʷ 'cylindrical object'

'ālqʷ 'hard wood'
χam-ālqʷ 'dry wood'
**essalq-ālqʷ 'crooked wood'

y-es-č.tm-ālqʷ-m 'I kiss the cross (the wood).'

-ałq 'smell, grain, fruit, spouse'

χs-ałq 'good smell'
čs-ałq 'bad smell'

xʷl-ąiq 'who is divorced' (D I p. 176)

kʷl-ı-ąiq 'His seed is coming out.' (D I p. 176)

-aqs 'road; nose; food; point'

nkʷ-aqs 'one road'
1kʷ-ut-ąqs 'distant road'
nsul-ąqs 'frozen road'
ntxʷ-ąqs 'straight road'
n?asl-ąqs 'two roads'
n-kʷtn-ąqs 'large road'
n-čm-ąqs 'point of knife'
skʷ-ąqs 'swollen nose'
y-es-šuʔ-ąqs-m 'I sting his nose.'
n-kʷpoʔ-ąqs (poʔs ?) 'forking road'

**čn-qaw-ąqs 'some, several' (?)

-aqsms³ 'species, kind'

es-n-iyʔ-ąqsms 'all kinds'
n-kʷtn-ąqsms 'dear (expensive)'

-aqsus³ 'band, family'

čʔi-aqsus 'three families'
mus-aqsus 'four families'
nkʷ-aqsus 'one family'
ʔupn-aqsus 'ten families'

-ąsqt 'day; sky, weather' (D I pp. 21, 34)

χs-ąsqt 'good day/weather'
čχs-ąsqt 'clear sky'
čʔaxl-ąsqt 'sky-like'

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-āхn 'arm'

 alumnos 'broken arm' wis-šн-āхn 'long arm'
sk'-āхn 'swollen arm' čа?l-āхn 'sore arm'
čm-āхn 'last (in the row)'
šu? 1 s-čm-āхn 'at the last end, in the extreme'

-āх'čč 'chest, breast'
č-čа?l-āх'čč 'sore breast' þл-āх'čč 'bare-breasted'

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

ečs(t) 'hand, action, finger; branch of tree' (-ečs before m)
s-čch-čst 'right hand' s-tum-čst 'thumb'
iyús-čst 'dirty hand' љn-čst 'contracted hand'
q'-qin-čst 'finger-nails' n-čkHz-čst 'walking cane'
s-č-cl-čl-čst 'branches' č-qw-čst 'broken branches'
s-joy'-čn-čst 'wound in hand'
s-к'k'-yalk'-cn-čst 'bracelets'
mus-čst 'who hopes to succeed (does his best)'
y-es-иу?-ečs-m 'I sting his hand; I wound my hand with it.'
y-es-тм-аčs-m 'I kiss his hand.'
čin es-x'е?l-еčs-i 'I work quickly, hasten.'

ečе? 'the whole; inside of anything'
n-хs-еčе? 'all good inside' n-иš-ут-еčе? 'down inside'
n-ће-еčе? 'full person' n-k'tn-еčе? 'big gun, cannon'
n-к'k'-ио-еčе? 'clean inside, clean vessel'
čin n-mál-еčе? (?) 'I am all dirty inside.'
-elix' 'tribe, people'

nk'-'elix' 'one tribe' ti'elix' 'of another tribe'
esiyá-elix' 'all nations' s-tem-elix' 'of what tribe?'
s-nk'-'elix' 'compatriot (of the same tribe)'

-elp 'floor'

*stś-le?x'-'elp-ttn 'a broom (to sweep inside the house)'
tk'-'k'-'elp (< tk'-'k'-'elp)' 'camp'

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

**č-yul-elps 'thick-necked'
s-čx'il-ps (< s-čx'il-elps) 'gray (necked) horse'
Cf. also: s-q1-eps 'neck-kerchief'? 

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

-elt 'child, young one'

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

-ei 'luck'

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

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

s-lk'-'eix' 'log house' če?q'-'eix' 'three houses/rooms'
k'-'tn-eix' 'big house' čs-eix' 'bad house'
s-pum-éix' 'hairy skin' q'ay-'eix' 'black cloth'
**x'-'tail-eix' 'sheep's skin' s-nēč-'lce'-iix' 'elk's skin'
čin x'č-eix' 'I give a house.' čm-p-eix' 'rear of the house'

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nk'-eix' 'one (another) house (room)'

-emx' 'breast'

ča?l-emx' 'a sore breast'  tk'-emx' 'put on the breast'

mal-emx' 'healed breast'

s-qa?e?-q'-emx' 'cow-milked, milk' (D I p. 282)

-ênč 'insides, stomach'

qk'-p-ênč 'costive'  č-ca?l-ênč 'belly-ache'

-ène? 'ear; food' (či- -ène? 'all over')

s-ččik'-ène? 'left ear'

č-čt'-ène? 'cropped ear'

es-tq'-ène? 'deaf in one ear'

n-Χs-ène? 'willing to hear'

numx'-ène? 'believes what he hears'

x'um-ème? 'desirable food'

i-s-x'č-č-n-ène? (-n- ?) 'food given to me'

iq'-ène? 'He hides provisions.'

cs-p-ène? 'one out of provisions' (D I p. 640)

čin x'č-n-ène? (-n- ?) 'I give provisions.'

čin es-tq'-ène?-'i 'I hold by laying hands on.'

či-aw-p-ène? 'wet all over'

či-îlx'-ène? 'covered all over'

či-çali-p-ène? '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) (k'-i-n- -ep 'door')

nk'-ep 'one hair'  ?esl-ép 'two hairs'

*čt-ep 'cut logs'  s-čm-ép 'foot of a tree'

n-twin-ép 'lacking food'  **n-ailq-ép 'plenty of food'

č-niačx'-ép 'looked at from behind'

sx'-tx'-m-ép (-m- ?) 'helms-man, pilot'

?emt-ép 'Indian goddess, dwelling at the foot' (D II p. 116)

k'-i-n-x'-c-ép 'passing by the door'
**č-ʔč-s-wiš-ép**  'standing by the door'

čin es-ʔč-wiš-ép-i  'I shut the door of the lodge (tent).'

čin es-ʔč-wiš-ép-i  'I shut the wooden door.'

čin es-ʔč-wiš-ép-i  'I lock the door.'

čin es-ʔč-wiš-ép-i  'I open the door of the lodge.'

čin es-ʔč-wiš-ép-i  'I unlock and open the door.'

čin es-ʔč-wiš-ép-i  'I break a door open (breaking the hinges).'

**-épest**  'chin'

ťuʔ-épest  'stung on the chin'

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

qʔu-p-éple?  'the handle broke'

**qs-éple?**  'the broken handle'

č-ʔesl-éple?  'He has two masters.'

č-ʔačx-éple?  'He is looked for by superiors.'

č-kʷulst-éple?  'He is sent by a superior.'

č-xeʔn-éple?  'forbidden by boss'

č-tm-éple?  'orphan (without boss)'

-epi  'lower part of the back, buttocks'

sʔ-čpi-m  'whipped on the back' (D II p. 22)

ťuʔ-čpi-m  'wounded on the back'

-esšn  'stone, grain, kernel'

nkʷ-esšn  'one stone/grain'

xs-esšn  'beautiful stone'

-éstye?  'grass'

s-čs-éstye?  'good grass (hay)'

s-čs-éstye?  'poor grass' (D II p. 170)

-ɛtkʷ (-kʷ)  'water'

s-čs-ɛtkʷ  'broth'

n-siš-kʷ  'pure water'

s-xʷuym-ɛtkʷ  'ice'

n-čal-átkʷ  'cold water'

n-mal-kʷ  'troubled water'

či-pʔos-átkʷ  'foam'
i q'oy-k'10 'calm water' n-k'1il-k' 'red water (wine)'
n-xal-k' 'clear water' ?ocq?-étk' 'spring of water'
**s-č-tč-étk' 'a skin raft'
s-ič-étk' 'broad water (Flathead Lake)'
s-λx-étk' 'fast water (Spokane Falls)'
-čwi (-ui) 'boat'
  nk'w-čwi 'one boat' če?i-čwi 'three boats'
s-qp-čwi 'old boat' čs-čwi 'bad boat'
sić-čwi 'new boat' s-lč-čwi 'wooden raft'
č-s-tem-čwi 'without boat'
-čwis 'back; fellow, partner' (n- čwis 'between, among, in common')
es-ća?1-čwis 'sore back' č-k'wtn-čwis 'big belly'
č-sk'w-čwis 'swollen belly' es-ac-čwis 'tied together'
n-čwis 'bad among the good'
n-x'wst-čwis 'walks among others'
y-es-čic-čwis-m 'I bore it through.' (D II p. 398)
y-es-n'śist-čwis-m 'I pass through a city.'
y-es-n-tk'w-čwis-m 'I place it in common.'
n-tk'w-čwis-n īu? č'o1q'w 'I gave the wagons in common.'
qe? es-čm-enč-čwis-i 'We love one another.'
-čwit 'together' (also -čwit ?)
  ?ay-čwit 'live together'
  qe? ?ay-čwit-i 'We live together.'
  tpy-čwit 'stand together'
  qe? tpy-čwit 'We stand together.'
  qamn-čwit 'lay down together'
  qe? qamn-čwit 'We lay down together.'
  ?eč-čwit 'last one'
  i-mq'w-čwit 'hillock' (a hillock in a group ?)

*-čvey' 'feign, simulate'
čin es-ća?-ća?1-čvey' 'I play sick.'
čin es-ćq'-q'-aq'-čvey' 'I feign to weep.'
Čin  es-?it-?itš-éye'y  
'I feign to sleep.' (D I p. 244)

-éys  'rain, snow' (n- -éys 'tooth')

s-ìwéys  'little rain'  k'í-t'ítnéys  'large flakes'
s-ìi-péys  'rain'  es-ìi-péys-i  'It rains.'
n-ìs-eys  'good tooth'  n-ìs-eys  'bad tooth'
n-ìa?l-éys  'tooth-ache'  n-ìq?u-péys  'broken tooth'
n-ìxl-éys  'hollow tooth'

-içe?  'cover, blanket' (C- -içe? 'all around')

s-ìqsp-içe?  'old blanket'  s-k'íl-içe?  'red blanket'
k'ítn-içe?  'large robe'  ċ-ìs-içe?  'bad cot/blanket'
č-aw-p-içe?  'wet all around'  č-q'í-nq'íh-içe?  'poorly clad'
č-ìpx'içe?  'shining all around'

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

es-n-mì'-ičn  'hump-backed'  n-ìemt-ìčn  'sit on the back'
n-ìk'í-tíčn  'placed on the back'

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

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

-lscut  'goods'

xìs-lscut  'good goods'  os-lscút  'lost goods'
s-tq-lscut  'goods'  s-qamn-lscút  'goods, pl.'
s-tìh-lscut  'what kind of goods'

-ìniwtt  'side (person, road)'

s-ìox'-ìniwtt  'side-wound'  s-n-ìm-ìniwtt  'loins, sides'

-iqit  (-iqiýt)  'shoulder; covering'

s-n-ìcm-iqit  'shoulder blade'  n-ìq'í-q'íqit  'suspenders'
s-n-ac-iqit  'clothes, coat'  n-qlot-iqit  'shovel'
*s-n-ìcm-iqit  (-i- ?)  'top of shoulder'
Čin  es-n-ìx'-iqit-i  'I carry a piece of wood on the shoulder.'
Čin  es-n-tìk'-iqiýt-i  'I carry something on the shoulder.'
-itumš 'people'

sxʷ-kʷ-ítumš (< sxʷ-kʷul-ítumš) 'messenger (sent)'
sxʷ-su-itumš (< sxʷ-sew-ítumš) 'messenger (asking)'
s-xʷl-xʷilt-itumš 'saving of people'
čin es-xalt-itumš-i 'I ask for people.'
čin es-n-qʷh-itumš-i 'I pity people.'

-nuxʷ 'weather'

kʷl-kʷl-nuxʷ 'sunny weather'
χs-nuxʷ 'good weather'
**čmp-nuxʷ 'cloudy weather'
čiʔ-nuxʷ (< čen-nuxʷ) 'what kind of weather'

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

n³w³-oʔ-qín 'one hundred'
s-cōh-qín 'brain'
qʷac-qín 'hat, cap'
n-txʷ-qín 'mid-day'
č-paxʷ-qín 'shining head'
es-čm-p-qín 'got blind'
č ŕoʔ-qín 'big head'
č-kʷton-qín 'big mountain'
č-čam-t-qín 'dwell on the mountain'

-scuit 'feign, simulate'

čin es-xš-t-scút-i (< sxʷ-t-scút-i) 'I feign good manners.'
čin es-yo-yo-scuit-i 'I try, endeavor (fortitude to do).'</n-txʷ-qín 'mid-day'
č-paxʷ-qín 'shining head'
es-čm-p-qín 'got blind'
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es-čm-p-qín 'got blind'
č ŕoʔ-qín 'big head'
č-kʷton-qín 'big mountain'
č-čam-t-qín 'dwell on the mountain'

-sćint 'person, people'

**syaw-sćint 'patient people'
yo-yo-sćint 'powerful men'
s-xʷyeʔ-sćint 'ant-people (Blackfeet)'
s-\textit{iq} -\textit{etk}^w -m-s\textit{čint} (-m- ?) 'people from the foot of Flathead Lake'

*-\textit{snux}^w 'worthy of'

\textit{lm-} -\textit{lem-snx}^w

\textit{čam-} -\textit{čam-snx}^w 'worthy of hatred'

\textit{?am-} -\textit{?am-snúx}^w (\textit{?aym-} -\textit{?aym-snúx}^w) \textit{16} 'worthy of anger'

\textit{n-} -\textit{xl-} -\textit{xl-snx}^w 'inspiring fear'

\textit{s-\textit{xm-} -\textit{čmč-snx}^w}

'seventy, that desires to be loved'

-s\textit{qáxe} 'cattle, beast, horse'

\textit{k}^w -\textit{t-sqáxe}?

\textit{px}^w -\textit{t-sqáxe}? ( \textit{px}^w -\textit{ut-sqáxe}?) 'big horse'

\textit{px}-\textit{t-sqáxe}?

\textit{n-} -\textit{tk}^w -\textit{či?-sqáxe?-tn} 'old horse'

\textit{n-} -\textit{tpy-} -\textit{ewt-sqáxe?-tn} 'stable'

\textit{čin} **es-k^w-\textit{sqáxe}?

'I go to buy a horse.'

\textit{čin} x^w -\textit{sqáxe}?

'I give a horse.'

-\textit{šin} 'foot, leg, root'

\textit{q}^w -\textit{l-šin} 'ripe roots'

\textit{s-n-q}^w -\textit{uA-šn} 'stockings'

\textit{ši?umnéšn} 'wild goat'

\textit{q}^w -\textit{u-šin} 'broken leg'

\textit{s-} -\textit{ix}^w -\textit{šin} 'foot-wound'

\textit{wis-šn} 'long'

\textit{s-n-} -\textit{ipx}^w -\textit{šin} 'nail foot-wound'

\textit{s-} -\textit{qsp-} -\textit{ı-če?-šin}

'old shoe'

-\textit{úle?x}^w 'land, place; times'

\textit{čhám-} -\textit{ele?x}^w 'dry place'

\textit{Ăic-le?x}^w 'hard place'

\textit{čs-} -\textit{ule?x}^w 'bad country'

\textit{q}^w -\textit{in-le?x}^w 'green fields'

\textit{tí?m-} -\textit{le?x}^w 'moist soil'

\textit{n-hóy-} -\textit{le?x}^w 'deserted place'

\textit{χ?-} -\textit{ule?x}^w 'rattlesnake'

\textit{če?i-úle?x}^w 'three times'

\textit{mís-} -\textit{le?x}^w 'four times'

\textit{čl-čst-} -\textit{ule?x}^w 'five times'

\textit{s-} -\textit{čs-} -\textit{ule?x}^w -\textit{tn} 'a broom (to sweep outside the house)'

-\textit{us} 'face, eye, neck; fire; family; times'

\textit{čs-us} 'ugly face'

\textit{x}^w -\textit{em-ús} 'red-painted face'

\textit{s-} -\textit{č-k}^w -\textit{tn-us} 'big fire'

\textit{s-n-} -\textit{čic-} -\textit{n-ús} (-n ?) 'beginning'

\textit{n-} -\textit{ča?l-ús} 'sore neck'

\textit{č-ča?-ča?l-ús} 'sore eyes'
nk'-'us 'one band, family'
cil-čst-ús 'five times'
če?-če?i-ús 'three times'
či-k'-'k'ım-ús 'small star'
si-sy-ús 'small star'
n-qlx'-'us 'hooked in one eye'
čin *čam-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-plč-ús-i 'I return, go back before reaching.'
y-es-šu?-ús-m 'I sting his face.'
čin es-ta?x'-l-ús(-i) (-l-?) 'I advance, proceed.'
y-es-x'y-ús-m ōu? i-s-q'še? 'I came with my son.'
y-es-x'ć-p-ús-m 'I run away with her.'
n-?uix'-'ús-n 'I went in with him; I brought him in.'

-útya?, -útye? '?'

*s-q'ım-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:

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

i-k'-'k'ım-áposqn 'small-mouthed'
sk'-'áposqn 'swelled mouth, lips'
čam-áposqn 'dry throat' (D I p. 143)
šu?-áposqn 'stung in the lips'
tšx-aposqn 'bitter mouth'

cnetk' (< -cin-četk') 'shore'

qlq-š-cnetk' 'sitting on the shore'
-čneix" (< -ičn-čix") 'front of the house'

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

-qnel (< -qin-él) 'shot, bite'

nk'-qnel 'one shot'
n-?as1-qnél 'two shots'
n-čx-qnel 'good bite'

-usqn (< -ús-qin) 'top of head'

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 exemplified:

*qe?i- 'offspring, child'

qe?i-David 'son of David'
**qe?i-x"-čx-al 'lamb'
qe?i-čx'-n-cút-n 'son of God'

pu?- 'spouse'

pu?-sqélíx" 'wife/husband of an Indian'
pu?-suyápi 'wife/husband of a whiteman'
pu?-Paul 'Paul's wife'
pu?-Marie 'Mary's husband'
čx'- 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'
 sx"-k'ne-m 'policeman'
 sx"-px"om-m 'distributor'

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sxʷ-lič-m 'sheriff'  sxʷ-čaw-m 'prayer leader'
*sxʷ-čxʔlem 'charged to watch'  sxʷ-tu-m-íst 'trader'
sxʷ-ˈtqʷu-m 'tailor'  sxʷ-xaq 'paymaster'
i-sxʷ-číp 'my folks out hunting'
sxʷ-sqeq-m, sxʷ-saxʷ-m 'wood-splitter'
i-sxʷ-naqʷ 'my companion in stealing'
i-sxʷ-ˈlil 'my dead companion'
sxʷ-ˈsixʷ-lt 'my born fellow, my child'
i-sxʷ-ˈčuv 'my absent partner'
i-sxʷ-ˈs-mʔem (s- ?) 'my sister'

(Cf. also i-sxʷ-ˈsixʷ-lt 'my born fellow, my child'; i-s-nkʷ-ˈsixʷ 'my fellow born, brother or sister'.)
FOOTNOTES

1 Post lists the following forms amongst his examples:
čs-i-in-kůl-mn ('bad-comp. con.-my-make-instr.') 'my bad ways'
čs-i-an-kůl-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-i-čes-t 'the best' is perhaps a three root compound:
š?i 'first' - *mi 'worthy' čes 'good'.

4 Cf. Colville xatma?sqilxw.

5 Cognates for a few of these are not found in either Vogt (he
calls them 'field suffixes') or Carlson: -ščint 'people', -emx'W
'breast', -epes 'chin', -ep 'buttocks', -esty '(grass', -č'yey
'to simulate, feign', -můx 'weather', -scut 'to simulate, feign',
-smůx 'worthy of' (Vogt pp. 51-56, n. 151-157; Carlson 1972, pp. 96-
100, 139-40).

6 Comparative evidence (see Colville) suggests that īšut 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'W-ut-aqs, ğx't-sqa?ë below.)

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

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

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

10 Cf. also n-gượk'W (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 -snuw (s-nux?) is a root, then these forms are compounds.

This form seems to indicate that *aq13 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: *cem 'last, extremity', *ces 'bad', *xes 'good', *kʷtun 'big, great', *s?it 'first', and *nku? 'one'. **a1q 'plenty of' must also be the root of the following words (which would otherwise lack a root):

**a1q-á1qs 'who has plenty of cloth'
**a1q-é1xʷ 'who has plenty of lumber'
**n-a1q-ép 'who has plenty of food'

Three others participate in compounds: *səm 'worthless', *mi 'excellent, worthy' and **s?i-mił 'exceedingly' (see 6.1.).

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

Carlson lists sm- 'poor little' and puʔ- '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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cîtx}^\wedge & \quad \text{'It's a house.'} \\
\text{x"uy} & \quad \text{'He/she/it goes.'} \\
\text{ac-min} & \quad \text{'It is a trap.'} \\
\text{y-es-n-qe?-cîn-m-i-t-m} & \quad \text{'I receive his...in Holy Com.'} \\
\text{s-čs-úle?x"-tn} & \quad \text{'It's a broom to sweep outside.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\( \underline{ha} \) 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.)

\[ \underline{ha} \ \text{nom} \ x"uy \quad \text{'Will you go?'} \]
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-χalít-m-s t qʷáy-alqs ha t Joseph 'The father calls for me. Is it Joseph?'

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

?uc m čin ʰil 'Is it that I should die?'
?uc m čin xʷ1-xʷilt 'Who knows if I will be alive?'
ha nem kʷ xʷuy ?uc 'Will you go? Who knows.'
?ačx-s-t-s ne ?uc ḡax-s-t-ės 'They looked at him, whether he would cure him.' (D I p. 616)
čin c-xʷuy ?uc čin epi-qi?-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 ?iḥ̕š 'I will start for my trip.'
nem kʷu ʰilmíxʷ-m 'One will be chief.'
nem kʷu ?aym-t 'One will be angry.'
xʷa nem č-šn-ci-n 'Perhaps I will follow thee.'
nem t kʷuyʔɛ m n-qʷʰ-mín-c-n 'I shall have pity on thee.'
pi-s-teh m kʷ čiip 'When will you go hunting?'
l ʰčiʔɛt nem qeʔ tkʷ-kʷ-elp 'On some near place we will camp.'
nem čiʔ-čwš m qeʔ s-n-py-els l s-č-čm-asq̕t 'Forever we shall rejoice in heaven.'

7.1.3. Desiderative kʷmi?

kʷmiʔ 'would that!' marks the clause it introduces as desiderative.
Would to God that I would amend myself.

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.

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

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

A special apodotic interrogative clause is introduced by the sequence \[ k^n a \] (< \[ k\ne ha \]):

Should I go?

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

7.1.5. \[ we \] 'to no avail'

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

Though I did my best, I could not succeed.

Though I had made it.

Those would be followers of J.C.

He is good, but I don't like him.

Though I spoke, he did not mind.
u šeý u c-n-tēš-ilš k"tun-t s-ēwē we q-s-k"wē-lwīs-m-s īu?
ttēwit  '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-ēs īu? t s-x"wēt-s īu? tēye? i-s-c-k"wēn īu? we s-x"wēt īu? in-q"om-qn 'The multitude of my sins surpasses even the number of my hair.'
we maq"-t īu? in-ch"-ānč *peň t šeý u pul-s-t-n īu?
x"i-x"wēy-ūū 'Though my bow was broken, still it was with it that I killed those animals.'
we k" xes-t u yetix"ā *q"-q"t-īlš 'Though you were good, now you are becoming wayward.'
we čin es-čaw-i u k"u xālīt-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.

iu? sqēlīx" u īu? x"i-x"wēy-ūū k"wē-l-n-cut-n ep-s-c-k"wēl 'Men and beasts are the work of God.'
u x"wēl 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-šmēn ha 'And then am I your enemy?'
u īu? k"uyē?ē ha k"u "an-šmēn 'And I, am I then your enemy?'
t k"uyē?ē u pul-s-t-ēn 'It is I who killed him.'
u naq"-ēmn īu? Barrabas 'Now Barrabas was a thief.' (D II p. 257)
y-es-x"m-qīn u 'tap-n-t-ēm 'He thought himself quite safe, when he was shot.'
ha n-x"c-x"c-m-els īu? S. Marie u tk"-ēlt-m-i-s īu? J.C. 'Did Mary suffer when she brought forth Jesus?' (Q. 392, Giorda Catechism)
k"wēt īu? amwi? ʔēc-ēwt-s-t-x" īu? n-x"s-etk" u yetix"ā 'But you have kept the best wine until now.' (Bible p. 52)
**1cyéstó es-č-xʷ别的 us u ƛ̓lux

'He left them hanging until evening.'

tı s-kʷe-kʷs-t u ƛ̓lux u čin čiip

'It was from morning till evening that I was hunting.'

iłu? tı šey u čin čaʔ1, ta y-es-xs-t-ílš u yetíxʷá

'Since I took sick, I did not get better up to the present.'

ta i-s-ʔitéš u ƛ̓alí-p 'I did not sleep until daylight.'

ta s-qʷl-qʷełt u ƛ̓il 'He did not speak up to his death.'

i tm̓us u kʷ es-ʔąm-t-i 'Why did you get angry for no reason.'

qeʔ es-mi-s-t-é̱m u 'été ye s-qltmíxʷ

'We know that this man is bad.'

xʷl i-s-c-pu-pus-č̓eč u čin čqʷ-aqʷ

'On account of my grief, I am crying.'

nkʷu? u nkʷu? 'one by one (things)'

ʔesél u ʔesél 'two by two (things)'

č-ʔesél u ʔč-ʔesél '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 l cíʔ ilu? 1 es-ʔey-m-eqs **es-čl̓cin-m-s-t-xʷ

'While he was hanging on the cross, thou stoodst by him.'

cyu 'before, not yet'

cyu cíʔ čin ?iʔn 'I did not eat as yet.'

cyu cíʔ ƛ̓il u čin kʷi-čic 'I arrived before he died.'

cyu čin čaw-m 'I did not pray yet.'

néʔi 'evidential'

néʔi čin nunmxʷ-énəʔ, néʔi kʷ qʷl-qʷełt

OR néʔi kʷ qʷl-qʷełt, xʷl šey čin nunmxʷ-énəʔ

'I believe because you spoke.'
ta k'w q-s-n-xé-i né?ii k'w y-es-č-lci?-m
'Fear not because I am with you.'
ta q-s-x"ič-i-c-n ū? s?-s?in, né?ii tēye? ū? an-cūt
'I don’t give you to eat, because you behaved badly.'

χi 'lest'
ta a-q-ci-či-n-čs-tín χi tlc? m čs-t-ši-t-m-t
'Sin no more lest worse should befall thee.'

**(cušé) 'finally' (Bible p. 40)

nex' 'and, also, besides'²
nex' 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-į: "ta i-q-s-x"uy"
'Yet (apparently) he said, "I will not go.'"
k'emt mi-p-nú-ys k'w ?eč-unex'-ist ū? Ange
'And they found out that the angel had told the truth.'
u mi-p-nú-ys k'w n-k"il-k'w
'And he found out that it was wine.' (Bible p. 52)

šey' k'w es-mi-s-t-čex', k'w s-m?em, ū? a-s-n-q'niŋ tľ
k'v'?-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-cim 'dark room'
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i xa'el 'clear'  
i na'q 'rotten (meat)'  
i <aam 'dry'  
i c'las 'lean, poor'  
i su'y (i sul) 'uncomfortably cold'  
i qa'q 'warm (heat from fire)'  
i tas 'hard accidentally'  
i q'ew 'wicked altogether, drunk'  
i xa''uk'w 'well, clean, all clean'  
i nk'w'u? 'only one'  
i qe?npléc? 'truly us, only ourselves'  
i k' člas 'Thou art always thin.'  
i čin q'AH-q'iihn-t 'I am going on to be poor.'  
i či sii-sy-ús 'I am brave.'  
i k' čaw-m 'You always pray.'  
i čin s-qltmix'w 'I am truly a man.'  
i čin q'aw 'I am all black.'  
i k' tiš 'You are all sweet.'  
i k' ?aym-t 'You are indeed mad.'  
i k' s-m?em 'You are indeed a woman, a coward.'  
i wic-t-n u el-sux'w-n 'As soon as I saw him, I recognized him.' (D I p. 217)

7.2.3. te? 'indefinite'

te? nk'u? 'some one'  
te? esol 'some two'  
te? k'winš 'some, not many'  
te? nk'u? 'sometime'  
te? k'winš-ásqt 'some days ago'  
te? te? nk'u? *noq ; te? k'winš 'not often, now and then'  
te? m čin x'uy 'I will go sometime.'

7.2.4. āe 'past'

āe šey 'That is enough, that will do.'
x'uy-š, k'vi-mūl-iš  še
'Go, fetch some water. Already (I did so already).'
i' u? s-x'el-mn s-ʔaym-s i' u? še s-nk'vi-ʔanx-s
'The devil hates his former angels, his former friends.'

7.2.5. ne 'future'
(Cf. nem 'future' in 7.1.2.)
i' u? ne ta k'w es-k'vi-l-m nem k'w *čs-qm-elt-n
'You must either work or starve [(if) you will not work, you will
starve].' (D II p. 116)
ne k'w q-s-x?it, m qe? č-čeʔ-čeʔiés, m k'w c-x'uy
'If you (will) come, be no more than three (three of you at the
utmost may come).'
ne xalî-p x'wa ne ci? nk'vi-ʔaqt m čin čiip ' (It will be)
tomorrow, or (it will be) the day after, I will go hunting.'
ne čin es-wi-sʔiín, m č-x'uy-m-n-ci-n "(I will finish
eating and) after my meal I will pay thee a visit.'
nem n-mi-p-n-ci-n i' u? ne k'w *č-yan-t-x'w
'I will accuse thee, (if) you (will) coax me to evil.'

7.2.6. x'wa 'perhaps'
y-es-čint-m x'wa es-č-čaʔ1-ěls-i 'I am afraid he may be sick.'
še x'wa wi-s-t-ěs 'He may have finished it already.'
x'wa nem qe? k'vi-čic 'Perhaps we will reach (arrive).'
x'wa še ?išš 'Perhaps he started already.'
x'wa ta qaʔ q-ep-sʔiín '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:

\[\text{luk}^\prime\text{y-es-}k\text{-u-k?-ús-m}\]
\[\text{I am looking for wood.}\]
\[\text{[It-is-wood I-look-for-it]}\]

\[\text{s-péx-m es-?illi-s-t-n}\]
\[\text{I have eaten bitterroot.}\]
\[\text{[It-is-bitterroot I-have-eaten-it]}\]

\[\text{q^n-g^n-t sqélix}\]
\[\text{They are poor people.}\]
\[\text{[They-are-poor they-are-people]}\]

\[\text{si-sy-ús s-qltmix}\]
\[\text{He is a smart man.}\]
\[\text{[He-is-smart he-is-man]}\]

\[\text{k^n ?xes-t k^n s-m?em}\]
\[\text{Thou art a good woman.}\]
\[\text{[Thou art-good thou art-woman]}\]

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')

\[\text{naq}^\prime\text{-m-n-t-em t ttwit}\]
\[\text{A boy stole it (it was stolen by a boy).}\]
\[\text{[God made me.]}\]

\[\text{t k^n-i-n-cut-n u k^n u kwil-i-s}\]
\[\text{I know him who insulted me.}\]

\[\text{es-sux}^\prime\text{-s-t-én iu? t shéy u k^n u č-o-y-n-cut-n-i-s}\]
\[\text{I know that Peter is the one who killed my father.}\]

\[\text{es-sux}^\prime\text{-s-t-én iu? Pierre u pl-s-t-en iu? in-1?éw}\]
\[\text{I know that Peter is the one who killed my father.}\]

\[\text{es-sux}^\prime\text{-s-t-én iu? t shéy u k^n u sp^n-n-t-ém}\]
\[\text{I know the one who struck me.}\]

\[\text{iu? t shéy u k^n xm-enč-m-s, t shéy u k^n xm-enč-i-s}\]
\[\text{He that loves thee, loves me.}\]

\[\text{k^n u k^n-e-k^n-e?-n-t-s t n-q^n-q^n-sm-ičn-šn čeh ha t shéy}\]
\[\text{A dog bit me. Which one? Is it that one?}\]

\[\text{k^n u pul-s-t-s t s-čehš}\]
\[\text{He struck me with a stone.}\]
"With what did he strike you? With a stone? A piece of wood? Metal?"

"One killed him with a club."

"Give me some of your bread."

"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;

$k'u s^-k'uy-s t k'ı^-n-cut-n$ OR $k'u s^-k'uy-s k'ı^-n-cut-n$

'I am the mother of God.'

$q'e? s^-x^w^-six^-lt^-l^-s t$ Eve OR $q'e? s^-x^w^-six^-lt^-l^-s$ Eve

'We are the children of Eve.'

$k'^w^l?ew-s t$ Paul

'You are the father of Paul.'

$k'u ilm'ix^-m^-s t$ qalispé̱l-m

'I am the chief of the Kalispels.'

$s^-k'^aWX^-i^-s$ $tu? t$ $s^-x^w^el^-mn$

'He is the slave of the devil.'

$k'^w^**qi^-čltič-s t$ s'túlixw'

'You are the lord of the world.'

$q'e? **čltič^-l^-l^-s t$ $q'e? s^-p'^us$

'We are the masters of our hearts.'

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

$k'^w'^l^-i^-s t$ $łye?$

'Make a boat (canoe).'

$k'^w'^l^-ist t$ sqelixw', $t$ $s^-k'^w^im^-lt$, $t$ $q'^w^quot^-q'^w^in^-t$

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

$çin es^-tix^-i$ $t$ $luk^w$ AS WELL AS $luk^w$ $y^-es^-tix^-m$

'I got wood.'

$çin es^-tu^-m^-ist t$ $s^-mehx^w$ OR $tu^-m^-ist^-m^-n$ $s^-mehx^w$

'I bought tobacco.'

$çin es^-xalît^-ś^-i$ $t$ $s^-n^-q'^w^l^-pu$ FOR $y^-es^-xalît^-m$ $s^-n^-q'^w^l^-pu$

'I ask for bread.'

$k'^w'ne^-yś t$ ul-ulî^-m

'Take a dollar.'

$q'^w'mi^-ś t$ ul-ulî^-m

'Take some dollars.'
čin wíč-m t sqélíxʷ
'es-čěn-iš t sˁűkʷ-m
't sípi ʔu? i-sp-ččst
'I saw some Indians.'
'Gather some carrots.'
'My gloves are of skin.'

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

t i-qí-maly-ém-is-tn (-em-is ?)  '...I want medicine.'
t i-qí-hí-hc-ʔíh
't i-qí-s-menxʷ
's-menxʷ
'ni-hc-ʔíh
'...I want a knife.'
'...I want tobacco.'
'...some tobacco'
'...a knife'

marks a 'time complement' accompanying a future predicate:

t mos-ʔt m č-ac-έwš 'There were yet four days before Sunday.'
če t mos-ʔt m č-ac-έwš 'There are yet four days before Sunday.'
če t Kʷínš-asʔt m ċap-sqélíxʷ če t ?asl-ά
'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-tukʷ ʔu? l qiʔ-mín  'It lays on the book.'
1 qeʔ sʔ-c-n-wis-t l ciʔ ʔuʔ sʔ-cm-ʔasʔt  'Above us there is heaven.' [loc. we towards-high loc. there sub. heaven]
1 qeʔ kʷiʔ-iš-út u l ciʔ ʔuʔ sʔ-xʷel-ʔm
'Below us there is hell.' [loc. we under-below and loc. there sub. devil] (D II p. 414)

and in the following sentence fragments:

1 šeʔy 'in there, then' 1 šeʔy-leʔxʷ 'in that place'
1 sʔ-qepc 'in spring' 1 nkʷ-úleʔxʷ 'in another place'
1 **kʷum 'in the wilderness' 1 sʔ-tuíxʷ 'on earth'
1 n-wis-t 'above, on high' 1 čólsqéʔ 'outside'

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1 s-ččik‘é 'at the left'
put u 1 šey 'precisely there'
1 c-n-tl‘è-š-le (-le ?) 'on this side of the river'
1 čw-èšt ; 1 ču-čw-úle?x' 'in the desert'
1 nisq‘ú 'on the other side of the river'
1 es-milk‘u 'everywhere, all over'
1 es-milk‘u-m-úle?x‘ (-m- ?) 'all over the world'

In addition, 1 marks the animate "complement of company."

či q-s-q"l-q‘èlt-i 1 amwi? 'I will speak with you."
čin x‘uy 1 ...
' I go with...'  
čin es-?eekt-i ū? 1 i-s-èxelwi 'I live with my husband.'
ilmix‘-m ū? 1 šey u k‘ es-q"l-q‘èlt-i
'It is the chief to whom you speak.'
1 swet u x‘iè-c-i-t-x‘ ū? a-sèx-m 1 i-sín-ce?
'To whom did you give your blanket? To my younger brother.'
1 swet ū? in-q‘áec-qn 'Who has my hat (with whom is my hat)?'
1 k‘uy?e ū? ?eè-s-wèx ū? an-èk‘-cín
'I have your horse (your horse is with me).'

7.3.3. cì 'adessive-inessive'
x‘uy c cìtx‘ 'He went to his house.'
cì čèxh 'Whither?'
ū? c šey m čin x‘uy, ta q-s-lk‘-n-t-ex‘ k‘ q-s-x‘uy
'Whither I am going, thou canst not go.'
te? č čèxh 'to some place, somewhere'
cì? č cì? 'still further'
ū? č ū? 'thither, yonder'

7.3.4. tì 'egressive' (figuratively 'from the time')
c-x‘uy tì n-iš-út 'He came from below.'
s-n-q‘á-h-in tì k‘l-n-cut-n 'It is the mercy of (from) God.'
ū? tì qe?nple? u q‘y-úle?x‘ 'He is richer than we are.'
ū? tì nisq‘út 'from beyond the river'
7.3.5. \( \chi'1 \) 'causative'

\[ \text{cin } \text{aym-t } \chi'1 \text{ amwi?} \quad 'I am mad for you (on your account).'
\]

\[ \text{sil } \chi'1 \text{ qe? } q-s-x'1-x'1lt \quad 'He died that we might be saved.'
\]

\[ \chi'1 \text{ amwi? } u \text{ cin } \text{pu-pus-énč} \quad 'I am sorry about thee.' \quad (D II p. 2)
\]

\[ \text{cin } \text{pu-pus-énč } \text{idu? } \chi'1 \text{ i-s-c-k'én } \text{aye?}
\]

'I am sorry for my sins.'

7.3.6. \( \text{idu? } \) 'subordinate'

Even though \( \text{idu? } \) 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:

\[ \text{x'es-t } \text{sqelix'w}
\]

'They are good Indians.'

\[ \text{x'es-t } \text{idu? } \text{sqelix'w}
\]

'The Indians are good.'

\[ \text{idu? } \text{x'es-t } \text{sqelix'w}
\]

'the good Indians'

\[ \text{sqelix'w } \text{idu? } \text{x'es-t}
\]

'They are the Indians who are good.'

\[ \text{Marie } \text{idu? } \text{s'cičm-ís (-iš ?)}
\]

'the virgin is Mary'

\[ \text{s'cičm-ís } \text{idu? } \text{Marie}
\]

'Mary is a virgin.'

\[ \text{x'es-t } \text{idu? } \text{k'w1-n-cut-n}
\]

'God is good.'

\[ \text{k'tun-t } \text{idu? } \text{in-citx'w}
\]

'My house is big.'

\[ \text{in-x'č-cin } \text{idu? } \text{kač-t}
\]

'My horse is the swift one.'

\[ \text{čeń } \text{idu? } \text{čem-t, ye } \text{ti? } \text{rešel ye } \text{idu? } \text{čem-t}
\]

'Which of the two is the heavier one? This is the heavy one.'

\[ \text{čeń } \text{idu? } \text{i-s-ul-m-ínč (-m- ?)}
\]

'Where is my gun?'

\[ \text{idu? } \text{sqelix'w u } \text{idu? } \text{x'wi-x'wyú-úi } \text{k'w1-n-cut-n ep-s-c-k'úl}
\]

'Men and beasts are the work of God.'
iu? ḥes-t nem lem-t

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

iu? es-x"i-x"ilt u iu? es-ši-il nem č-mi-pés-i-s t
k'1-n-cut-n 'God will judge the living and the dead.'

s-mehx" iu? i-s-c-tu-m-ist

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

y-es-ʔačx-m iu? s-c-ch-elt iu? es-mem-s-cút-i

'I look at the boys playing.'

wič-t-n Paul iu? es-člip-m-i 'I saw Paul hunting.'

s-q"se?-s Pierre iu? es-ši-il-m-i 'It is Peter whose son died.'
in-čmn-nč-cut-n iu? an-čmn-nč-cut-n 'He that loves thee, loves me.'
nc člip iu? Pierre, **itmí m pul-s-t-em

'If Peter will go hunting, he will surely be killed.'

s-čečx-m iu ?ii-n 'It was bitterroot that I was eating.'
y-es-n-q"h-mín-m iu? n-q"h-mn-cút-i-s iu? sqélix"

'I pity him who pities his fellow men.'
n-q"h-mín-t iu? an-č-yoq"-n-cút-n

'Be merciful to those who slander you.'
čaw-s-t-s iu? pls-cút-i-s

'He prayed for those who killed him (for his murderers).'
es-sux"-s-t-én iu? a-s-pulst-m OR es-sux"-s-t-én iu?
a-s-c-puls 'I know him whom you killed.'
ilmix"-m iu? a-s-q"l-q"elt-m

'He to whom you speak is the president.'
ilmix" iu? a-s-c-q"l-q"elt-m

'It is the president of whom you speak.'
nem ʔač-n-t-em iu? es-n-sux"-ne?

'Those who obey shall be rewarded.'

And, sometimes it occurs to subordinate longer strings to a predicate:

iu? ʔv1 t i-q-sʔimš-i u es-čq"-aq"-i

'On account of my wishing to start, he is crying.'

iu? q-s-k'ul-n-t-x" te? s-teh, k" q-s-čaw-i

'When you wish to do some work, you should pray.'
iu? k'u wič-i-s, k'u es-č-o'y-n-cūt-m-i-s
  'When he sees me, he laughs at me.'
c-x'uy-i  iu? p i-s-nk'w-sx'-six'
  'Come ye, my brothers.'
iu? naq'-emn s-c-ch-elt, nem **q'aw-q' (-q'? ) t sqēlix'
  'Thievish children will become bad men.'
ne čin weik'w-p  iu? tī es-mōq'
  'When I will come down from the mountain...'
k'w ta a-s'-ócqe?  iu? tī an-citx'
  'If you had not left your house.'

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

iu? Marie  'Mary'  Marie  'She is Mary.'
iu? k'wil-n-cut-n  'God'  k'wil-n-cut-n  'He is God.'
iu? ̈xes-t  'the good'  ̈xes-t  'He/she/it is good.'
iu? anwi?  'thou'
iu? ̈qasíp  'long ago'
iu? psáy-e?  'the foolish'
iu? es-āīl  'the dead'
iu? s-pi?-s-cō?  'yesterday'
iu? k'wil-n  'my having made it'
iu? y-es-k'wil-m  'my making it'
iu? l?ew Paul  'the father of Paul'
iu? s-k'wanx-i-s  iu? s-č'el-mn  'the slave of the devil'

7.4. Other Particles

Other less understood particles and interjections, also uninflec-
ted, are treated here.

7.4.1. Unclear Particles

če 'there remains, yet, in addition'
če i čūw  'He is still absent.'
če ta i-s-nāq'  'I steal no more.'
če ta i-s-yoq'-ist  "I don't tell lies any more."
če 'upn īu? ī čuv  "There were still ten absent."
če ta i-s-'in  "I eat no more; I am not well; I don't eat yet."
čnx'u-n-t-m īu? t če nį'-alq'
'They touched her with the one remaining cross.'
įu? če an-x’1-x’ilt  'the remainder of your debt' (D II p. 310)
**ui'ēi  'again, another time'**
*ui'ēi čin ?aym-t  'I got mad again.'
*ui'ēi u ilmîx'-m  'He is chief again.'
yetîx’ā  'now'
pot u yetîx’ā  'just now'
ne yetîx’ā m k'u c-q"1-q"el-s-t-x’ īu? t i-qi-cút, m ī šey
m ec-ʔaxīl īu? i-qi-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 yōq'-ist-mm īu? s-χ’el-mm  'And is not the devil a liar?' OR
'Certainly the devil is a liar.'
k'u a-q-s-χ’ix'-i-t-m īu? in-n-ʔemt-čws-tn  tma qix’-i-c-n
'Drive in my riding horse. And did I not drive it in already?'
tma īu? k’tun-t īu? qe? šmeŋ īu? s-χ’el-mm
'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'
ĩu? tše’né ilmîx’-m  'the late president' (D II p. 218)
**lišé?  'a while'
nc lišé?  'soon'
χ’we  'without delay'
then

If it be so, then one does better not to get married.'

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

'One bushel that grew up yielded one hundred bushels.' (Bible p. 75)

'One bushel yielded ten.' (D II p. 355)

'and still it is so'

7.4.2. Interjections

'please'

'Well, then, cast a merciful eye upon us thou our advocate.'

'nevertheless'

'It would have been better for me to die.'

'But I tell you, you must love your enemy.'

'Pshaw, bah' (expresses a kind of indignation at the proposed idea)

'Pshaw, do you think that I will go!'

'Pshaw, you think I am married?'

'Pshaw, you think I am drinking?'

'I have no husband!'

'I will have no husband!'

'I will not have him for husband!'

'I did not steal! Pshaw! I stealing? Do you think I would steal?'

'of approbation [yes]'
?ah; **ha
**enú; **ehí; he-he
**hayš
ma
**nih
**uč
x'ú
yátx’o?
yo
yom
k’ene
ne k’ene

'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 apodotic.

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: λe-m, n-λe, and Āmé?i 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"1-q"elt-i **lqe? anwi? 'I will speak with you.'

9. Is this further segmentable?

10. The derivational prefix Ċ- seems to have identical semantic import:
    anwi? u kʷ y-es-č-?aṃ-t-m 'I am mad for you (on your account).'
    y-es-č-pu-pus-ένκ- m įu? išεγε? i-s-c-k'ən 'I am sorry for my sins.'
    anwi? įu? kʷ y-es-č-pu-pus-ένκ- m
    'I am sorry about thee.' (D II p. 2)

11. Cf. Carlson's ?e1-u1- 'again' (p. 122)?

12. Cf. Carlson's k'ent (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’uy?é 'I (It is I.)'
- qe?nplé? 'we (It is we.)'
- anv? 'thou (It is thou.)'
- nple? 'you (It is you.)'
- cni?c 'he (It is he.)'
- cni?ic 'they (It is they.)'

anv? is often used to mean both 'thou' and 'you' with both singular and plural forms. (D II p. 455)

- ta i-q-s-q’l-q’él t ū? k’uy?é 'I, indeed, don’t wish to talk.'
- xes-t k’u wič-t-x’ t anv? 'Indeed, well didst thou see me.'
- t k’uy?é u x’1-x’i1s-t-m-n 'It was I who delivered thee.'
- ū? ne k’ anv? 'If thou be thouself.'
- swet ū? ep-s-ul-ul-m-īnč ūi-?ē k’uy?é 'Who owns this gun?'
- i-s-teh 'I do (it is mine).'</nplé? '
- 'Where are our arrows? This is mine, that is thine.'
- swet ū? s’tq-ilsut ū-ci? k’uy?é i-s-teh
- 'Whose goods are those? They are my property.'

There is another set of independent pronouns which are possessives:

- **ćen? 'mine'
- **ćlipóst 'ours'
- **k’e? 'thine'
- **k’plipóst 'yours'
- **ćenél 'his/theirs'
8.2. Numbers

The cardinal numbers, other than nku? '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 nku?</td>
<td>č-naqs⁻¹</td>
<td>nk''-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ?esel</td>
<td>č-esél (&lt; č-?esél)</td>
<td>?esl-, ?asl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 če?ies</td>
<td>č-če?-če?ies</td>
<td>če?i-, ča?i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 mus</td>
<td>č-mus-ms</td>
<td>mus-, mos-</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>tqan-č(st)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 sispl</td>
<td>č-sispl</td>
<td>spl-č(st)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 h?enm</td>
<td>č-h?enm</td>
<td>he?enm-, ha?im-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 xxaňut (xaňut)</td>
<td>č-xxaňut (č-xxaňut)</td>
<td>xxaňt-, xaňt-</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 ei- plus the units:

11 ?upn ei-nku? (ten again-one)
12 ?upn ei-?esel (ten again-two)

The numbers 20-90 are expressed as multiples of ten, the two numerals forming a compound:

20 ?esl-?upn  21 ?esl-?upn ei-nku?
30 če?i-?upn
40 ms-i-?upn
50 cl-č-i-?upn
60 tqan-č-i-?upn
70 spl-č-i-?upn
80 he?im-i-?upn
90 xxaňt-i-?upn

-qin is the lexical suffix for hundred, thus:

100 nk'w o?-qin
200 ṭesi-nk'o?-qín OR ṭas1-qn
300 čeʔi-nk'o?-qín OR čaʔiá1-qn
400 mus-i-nk'ø?-qín OR mo-ms-qn
500 cil-c-i-nk'o?-qín OR cil-cst-qn
600 tæan-c-i-nk'o?-qín OR tæan-cst-qn
700 ispl-c-i-nk'ø?-qín OR sispl-cst-qn
800 heʔim-i-nk'o?-qín OR hʔańm-qn
900 xšaht-i-nk'o?-qín OR xšaht-qn
1,000 ṭupn-cst-qn
2,000 ṭes1-ʔupn-cst
10,000 ṭupn-ʔupn-cst-qn

Forms preceded by iuʔ q-s- (⟨qi-s- 'subjunctive-nominal') correspond to English ordinals (except 'first' which is ṭ?it, a root with full inflectional and derivational range).

2nd iuʔ q-s-ʔsél (things) iuʔ q-s-ʔ-ceʔiés (persons)
3rd iuʔ q-s-ʔsél (things) iuʔ q-s-ʔ-ceʔiés (persons)

8.3. Days of the Week

Monday through Friday are named 'day one', 'day two', etc.;
Saturday and Sunday have special names.

Monday nk'ø-asqt OR č-pi-éws(-m) OR čx'ect
Tuesday ṭas1-áasqt
Wednesday čaʔi-ásqt
Thursday mos-ʔqt
Friday cl-cst-asqt
Saturday s-ʔiʔč
Sunday/week s-ʔ-ac-éws²

8.4. Demonstratives

Six morphemes and combinations thereof comprise the demonstrative set:
ye 'this, these, here'   ci? 'that, there, beyond'
ye-?é 'this one, this here'   ci-?é 'there, not here'
ği-?é 'this very one'   şik? 'that very one'
še? 'this (indefinite), these'

These enter into a variety of constructions:

mi, kw'u x'ič-i-t ci? šl-min 'Please give me that axe!'
kw'en-t (<kw'en-n-t) ye lu? 'Take this wood!'
'This I like, that I hate.'
yo āes-t ii-?é 'Oh, how beautiful is this!
ta q-s-kw'en-t-x? ii-cî? 'Don't take that one.'
l qe? s-č-n-wis-t l ci? īu? s-č-čm-asqt
'Above us there is heaven.'
t ci? 'in that time'
l ci? 'there'
i t ci? 'in whatever place'
çi? č ci? 'still further'
ye 1-?e 'here, in this place'
ye t-?e 'by here'
ye č-?e 'towards this place'
ye tî-?e 'from this place (or time)'
ye 1-?e u 1-?e 'He remains here.'
ye t-?e u šyust 'He passes here.'
ye tî-?e u ?iṁś 'He started from here.'
ye č č-?e 'a little this way'
c-x'uy-š ye č-?e 'Come here!'
c-wām-iš ye č-?e 'Come here quick!'
ye 1-?e čîn x'm-qn-cut, 1 ci? nem čîn ḋn-čînt
'Here I am safe, there I will be in danger.' (D II p. 395)
ye tî-?e′ m es-ta?x'-l-ūs (-l- ?)
'what will follow hereafter, from this moment, from this place'
še? s-?esēl s-?ən?i? u čîn es-č-ča?l-ēls
'These two months I have been sick.'
čin x'uy, še čin naqʷ Še čin sust Še kʷ pulst-m
'I went, well I stole, well I drank, well I was beaten.'
še s-ʔasl-ásqt  'It is now two days; two days ago.'
še s-kʷinš-ásqt  'How many days ago?'
*Še-n-ép  'Look here, here it is.'
*Še-hē?  'Look there, it is there.'
ha šeʔ (]< Šeʔ-i 'these-continutive') īu? a-s-oos-lscút
'Is that the thing you lost?'
in-xm-énč īu? šeʔ  'I do like that.'
īu? šeʔ u čin n-ʔaxl-élš  'I think the same.'
īu? šeʔ u čin ʔaxʷ-kʷún-m  'I say the same.'
īu? šeʔ u čin ʔaxíl-m  'I do the same.'
še šeʔ  'That will do!'
šeʔ nʔu? i xes-t kʷeht še es-č-čaʔl-élš : šeʔ nʔu?
n-py-élš, nʔu? n-xʷp-élš
'He is now well, now sick, now glad, now sad.'
šeʔ ʔu-ʔ-ús-i-s īu? we nʔu? es-oós-t, m šeʔ eít-wič-i-s
'He looks for the lost one, though it be only one, until he finds it again.'
šeʔ īu? a-s-kʷuy  'Behold your mother!' (D I p. 503)
īu? xʷl šeʔ  'Why!'
īu? šeʔ s-ʔxal-šal-t  'in that day'
FOOTNOTES

1 Some examples in context of the use of the word č-naqs:
č-naqs s-qltmix’ u ?esčl ǚu? sx’-six’-lt
‘A man had two children.’
c-qua?t em es-č-ça?i-ěl’s-i ‘A woman is sick.’
t č-qua?t ttwit pul-s-t-s iu? i-š-šā? ‘A boy killed my cow.’
qet č-náq-s-i ‘We are one by one.’
c-qua? ‘someone, somebody’ ta č-qua? ‘nobody’
i č-qua? ‘only one’ i **či-i-naq ‘all alone’

2 Note that ne plus the day translates 'next...day' and iu? s-
plus the day 'last ...day':
ne č-ac-ěm ‘next Sunday’ iu? s-č-ça?i-ásq ‘last Wednesday’
iu? s-č-i-e ‘last Saturday’

Note also the following developmental derivations:
iu? mos-q’t-ílš (< mus-asq’t-ílš) ‘the fourth day having come’
ne q-s-mos-q’t-ílš (stress ?) ‘when the fourth day comes’
Cf. also s-či-č-asq’t (‘nominal-turn-day’) ‘week’ as in:
tlci? s-či-č-asq’t iu? nex’ kwi’čic iu? nóx’-nox’u
‘After one week his wife came too.’ (Bible p. 34)

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 Spokane (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.

Vogt states that 'the demonstrative meaning [of ye] is strength-
ened by the particle ?e (p. 69 n. 201).

Vogt analyzes ďi?e as iu? plus ye (p. 69 n. 201); Carlson anal-
yzes i-i-?e (i-i-ci?) as 'secondary-special-this (that near you)' (p. 58).

Cf. ?e ‘remain’.  

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The interest of this and the preceding twelve examples lies in the root-like forms 1?e, t?e, 2?e, and t1?e. There are obvious connections between these and the particles 1, t, 2, and t1 (see 7.3.1.-7.3.4.).
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>1?ew</td>
<td>ñestm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-kuuy</td>
<td>tuñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qecč</td>
<td>ɨqâqce?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sín-ce?</td>
<td>sì-sn-ce?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sx&quot;-s-m?em</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-nk&quot;-six&quot;</td>
<td>s-nk&quot;-six&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-čičše?</td>
<td>i-čičše?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c?-ups</td>
<td>i-c-c?-ups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-češt</td>
<td>i-s-čew (i-?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-me?ï</td>
<td>s-k&quot;uk'î</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čëpe?</td>
<td>qëne?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-sîle?</td>
<td>či-čyë?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunš</td>
<td>s-q&quot;s?-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čëpe?</td>
<td>s-sîle?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûpye?</td>
<td>tûpye?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ilâwye?</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qëne?</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
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<tr>
<td>či-čyë?</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-sîle?</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
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<td>qëne?</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>či-čyë?</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-me?î</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qëne?</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>či-čyë?</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-me?î</td>
<td>s-ìw-elt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>icečč</td>
<td>'wife's mo or sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**ɛy-ɛlt</td>
<td>'wife's fa's mo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>įw-ɛstn</td>
<td>'stepmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**σestm</td>
<td>'v's sis, br's wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ʒ?ɛlp</td>
<td>'son's widow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe?-ć̣wś</td>
<td>'middle child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-χaʔxēʔ</td>
<td>'hus's fa or br'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**ɛy-ɛlt</td>
<td>'hus's fa's fa or late br's son's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>įw-ɛstn</td>
<td>'stepfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**σestm</td>
<td>'sister's husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʒêweʔ</td>
<td>'brother-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-nejʔ-ix</td>
<td>'daughter's hus'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: NAMES OF INDIAN TRIBES

Parenthesized forms are in Post's orthography.

*oq'ic?e? (ogoize) Banak Indians
s-č-ś'í-śn-ś (s-chkoshini) Blackfeet
**s-n-x'1-sśint (nngulshawnt) Blood Indians
s-čwíle? (s'cheule) Chewelah Indians
s-čic-wi (s-chizui) Coeur d'Alenes
n-x'tu (nguto) Cree and Sioux Indians
**ooq'ist-čmn (okoistemen) Crees of the North
stémči (stemchi) Crow Indians
**s-n-gos-dę'-sśint (snkaioskaes'chint) Gros Ventres
**či'l-e? (chilene) Indians on the Columbia
**s-n-pōy-lś-i (snpoielshi) Indians around a tributary
of the Columbia
**s-náy-čst-i (snaichsti) Lake Indians (Colville)
i-c-chí'-Če? (izizimize) Little Robes
**s-x'y-čl-p-i (sgoielpi) Kettle Indians
**šilk'la? (šilkola) Kootenais (Idaho)
s-qíše? (škalise);
  s-qíš? **ulkw (škalise ulku)
sa?páptni (saapten) Kootenais (Montana)
**оqínáqsin (okinaksin) Nez Perces
**s-iaq-étk'-m-sśint (šiaktekikums'chint) Okinangan
qalispél-m-s (kalisplems) Upper Pend d'Oreilles
s-źs'-Če? (s'chesize) Lower Pend d'Oreilles
**snó'e (snoe) Piegans, a Blackfoot tribe
s-n-x'm-Čn?e (sngumene) Snake Indians
s-n-tu?-t'é? (sntoto) Spokanes
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.

sé-l-iš s-túliχ (selish stoligu) Bitterroot
**n-pa-paá (npapaá) Place on the Bitterroot
**s-n-ayc-čst-m (snaizchstem) Bonner (Blackfoot)
**qalnii? (kalnii), Camas Prairie
**qalnii?-tx'á (kalniitgoa)
* qlí-e? (kalie), Place in Camas Prairie
**qlí-ópíp (kaliepip)
**s-n-i-čoy (sinichoi) Little Camas Prairie between Agency and O’Keefe’s Place

**némia (némia), Crow Creek
**epi-némia (epi nemia) Flat Creek
s-iaq-čtk (siaketiku) Head of the Lake
**s-n-iápa (sniapa)
**m-qn-čtk (chemkanetiku) Mud Creek, Foot of Flathead Lake
*mal-t-čixʷ [-t- ?] (maltegu) Fort Benton or Fort Owen
**qʷel (koel) Frenchtown
**čilmelšs (chilmelshs), Helena
nélí xʷ?it lu? múl-iš (nelí goeit lu mulish)
*s-xʷtip-qín (sgutipkein) Hellgate (near Missoula)
**niič (niika) Jocko Agency
*s-čtíp (s’čhillip) Junction of Pond d’Orcille and Jocko

*s-n-λay (snlai), Missoula
**s-n-iayc-čst-m (snaizchstem)
*s-n-pá-m-qn-čtk (snpotlenkanetiku) Morrigeau’s Place (Jocko)
**lintswé (lintsue)  Prairie below mouth of Jocko
**n-ci-cik’i (nzezekui) Plains (Horse Plains)
**suménna (sumena) Place between Plains and Kalnii
*k’i-n-can-ép (kolinzanep) Post Creek (McDonald's)
**k’i-nčéme (kolinzeme) Post Creek
s-n-yól-mn St. Ignatius Mission
## Appendix D: Kalispel Borrowings of French Proper Names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalispel Name</th>
<th>French Name</th>
<th>Kalispel Name</th>
<th>French Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atół</td>
<td>Adolphe</td>
<td>swasá</td>
<td>Joachim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amcló</td>
<td>Ambrois</td>
<td>cosép</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antclé</td>
<td>Andre</td>
<td>cwapí</td>
<td>Josephine</td>
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<tr>
<td>asolíq</td>
<td>Angélique</td>
<td>susét</td>
<td>Josette</td>
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<tr>
<td>ayustá</td>
<td>Augustin</td>
<td>súl</td>
<td>Jules</td>
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<td>pasíl</td>
<td>Basile</td>
<td>solí</td>
<td>Julie</td>
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<tr>
<td>pérwél</td>
<td>Benoit</td>
<td>yustá</td>
<td>Justin</td>
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<td>pisamá</td>
<td>Benjamin</td>
<td>lolá</td>
<td>Laurent</td>
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<td>salót</td>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>lasá</td>
<td>Lazare</td>
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<tr>
<td>tetotí</td>
<td>Dorothea</td>
<td>lowisó</td>
<td>Louise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etwál</td>
<td>Edouard</td>
<td>masalá</td>
<td>Marcellin</td>
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<td>woní</td>
<td>Eugenie</td>
<td>maltá</td>
<td>Martin</td>
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<td>Ferdinand</td>
<td>molís</td>
<td>Maurice</td>
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<td>plaís</td>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>pelasí</td>
<td>Pelagie</td>
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<td>silisíq</td>
<td>Frédéric</td>
<td>pnitás</td>
<td>Prudence</td>
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<td>George</td>
<td>alimó</td>
<td>Raymond</td>
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<td>Grégoire</td>
<td>apéél</td>
<td>Raphael</td>
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<td>Guillaume</td>
<td>lamín</td>
<td>Remi</td>
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<td>alqapé</td>
<td>Rigobert</td>
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<td>usalí</td>
<td>Rosalie</td>
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<td>myas, nyas</td>
<td>Ignace</td>
<td>supí</td>
<td>Sophie</td>
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<td>upél</td>
<td>Hubert</td>
<td>usúl</td>
<td>Ursule</td>
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<td>pinás</td>
<td>Venantius</td>
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<td>Victor</td>
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<td>čilóm</td>
<td>Jerome</td>
<td>mitwál</td>
<td>Victoire</td>
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<tr>
<td>san patí</td>
<td>J. Baptiste</td>
<td>pasá</td>
<td>Vincent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san pyel</td>
<td>J. Pierre</td>
<td>patalís</td>
<td>Vitalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saná malí</td>
<td>Jeanne Marie</td>
<td>saqalí</td>
<td>Zacharlie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 'negative'

ta 'negative, no' is usually uninflected; often it participates in various grammatical constructions, usually with the suffix -m.¹

ta ep-c-x'uy 'None came.'
ta y-ep-s-c-wék'-m 'I concealed none.'
ta-m čin es-ʔaym-t-i 'I am not getting mad.'
čin es-tam-icitx‘ 'I have no house.'
čin es-tam-sqáxe 'I have no horse.'
ta-m kʷ y-es-ʔačx-m 'I don't look at thee (now and then).'
ta kʷ y-es-ʔačx-m 'I habitually/never look at thee.'
ta-m čin ḥaym-t OR ta i-s-ʔaym-t 'I was not angry.'
ta-m ḥaym-t OR ta s-ʔaym-t 'He was not angry.'
ta i-s-ʔal-qʷelt 'He did not speak.'
ta i-q-es-ʔaym-t-i 'I will never get mad.'
ta a-q-es-naq‘ 'You must never steal.'
ta q-es-č-ʔ-ʔils-m-ist iu? t i-s-hv-ɛlt 'The son of my late brother never cared for me (never minded me).'
ta **x'uy m q-eį-wič-t-x‘ 'You will never see me again.'
we ne tį-p-ėys, ne ta s-tį-p-ėys m čin ?uš 'Whether it rains or not, I will go.'
ne eį-c-x'uy, ne ta q-eį-c-x’uy, ta q-es-ʔačx-s-t-m-n 'If he came back or not, I will not look at thee anymore.'
kʷ y-es-canw-n-m ta 'I tell you "no".'
ta q-s-n-py-als-i łu? **q'aw-q'-t
'The wicked shall not rejoice.'
ta k'u q'-l-q'elt-s u k'u ח'el-s-t-s
'Without speaking to me, he left me.'
ta k' q-s-č-x't-t-els-i, m k' **χ1-χal-m-îst
'You should rebuke without getting mad.'
če ta 'Not yet.'
ta pi-s-tém
'ta **x'yuy
'Never.'
ta 'without'
če ta ; u ta 'necessarily'
ta q-s-ta-m 'not at all'
ta n'k'u? 'not once'
Cf. also **ta-wi 'I know not' (?):
**ta-wi ח'a čeň
'I don't know whither he went.' (Bible p. 92)

čen 'which, where, what'
čen łu? tî ?esél 'Which of the two?'
čen ye tî ?esél 'Which of these two?'
čen ci? tî ?esél 'Which of those two?'
ec-s-čeň 'What is the matter?'
ec-s-čeň-i 'How is that?'
čin ec-s-čeň 'What do I?'
k' ec-s-čeň-i 'How may that be? (What do you say?)'
q-ec-s-čeň m ta 'And why not? (Surely!)'
ec-s-čeň łu? a-s-čâ?l 'How is your infirmity?'
y-ec-s-čeň-m ; es-če? -s-t-n 'What do I do to him?'
es-če? -s-t-m-n 'What did I do to thee?'
es-če? -s-t-m 'What has been done to him?'
es-če? -i-m-n² 'What did I do to you?'
ec-s-čeň łu? s-pum-s 'What color is it?'
k' ec-s-čeń-áiqs 'What color is your shirt?'
k' ec-s-čeń-îce? 'What color is your blanket?'
l čeň u ec-?aḫîl łu? 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?

'the, something'

What will I do with it? (D I p. 555)

Of what use will it be to me? (D I p. 555)

What shall I do with it? (D I p. 302)

'the, what is it good for?'

'What color is it?'

'What is it; what do you want?'

'Of what tribe are you?'

'Of what country are you?'

'What kind of blanket is it?'

'What art thou after?'

'Whereby?'

'Why? Wherefore?'

'something'

'nothing'

'when'

'how long ago, when'

'since when'

'some future day'

'never'

'who, whose, whoever'

'Who died?'

'Who art thou?'

'Who may it be?'

'Whose is it to be?'
t swet u k'ul-n-c  'Who made thee?'
swe t 'u? a-s-k'egst  'What is thy name?'
'i u? swet u x'uuy č-šey  'Whoever went there.'
swe t 'u? a-s-žalit-m  'Whom did you call?'
swe t 'u? a-s-cün-m  'Of whom did you speak?'
l swet u x'ič-i-t-x'  'To whom did you give it?'
swe t u epi-x'č-cin a-s-naq' OR swe t u naq'-m-i-t-x' 'ui?
'μx'-c in  'Whose horse did you steal?'
k' qe?i-swēt OR t swet u k' s-q'śo'-s  
'Whose son art thou?'
'i u? ne te? swet u nʔuix' m pulst-m  
'Whoever goes in is killed.'
tc? swet  'someone'
ta swet  'noone'
či n(t) 'say what?'
či n esʔe-čiŋ-i (?)  'What do I say?'
k' qe-čiŋ (?)  '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-méniq  'I have just now smoked.'
put u q-s-li-i-m-i  'He is about dying.'
put u ecʔažil  'just alike'
put u ?aniq  'exactly in summer'
pút-i  'yet, still'
pút-i s-cuω  'He is still absent.'
pút-i k' es-q'q'ōw  
'Thou art still (up to this time) a fool.'
pút-i es-ti-péys-i ecʔažil t s-piʔ-s-céʔ?  
'It is still raining like yesterday.'

tli ci?  'more'
tli ci? tli ci?  'more and more'
pič'-pič'-ut 'u? in-lʔeu, u 'u? an-lʔeu tli ci? pič'-pič'-ut  
'My father is old, but yours is older.'
Judas Iscariot was worse than Pilate.

'Already often did I give you and I wish to give you many more.'

He is richer than we are.

milk', melk' 'whole, all'
es-milk' 'all, all over'
es-č-milk'-ic' 'all around'
es-č-milk'-čne' '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? téye? 'You do nothing but sin.'
milk'-m-s-t-s n-py-els 'They do nothing but rejoice.'
milk'-m-s-t-n s-čen-s-cút-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? téye? 'They do nothing but mischief.'
milk'-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-n-x"c-x"c-čls 'You treasure up torments.'
k'u č-s-milk'-m-i-t-x' īu? i-q-s-q"n-q"ih-t 'You do nothing but misery to me.'
t Adam īu qe? melk'-š-i-l-s īu? téye?; t J.C. īu qe? melk'-š-i-l-s īu? t ĩes-t 'Adam merited evil, and J.C. good things for us.'
esiyá? 'all'

n-wis-t t ī esiya? 'He is the highest of all.'
esiyá? īu? t še'y u k'u q-s-špí-m-s ne-m šp-n-t-en 'I will whip whoever whips me.'

še'y īu? ilmix'-m sqelix' sēy īu? **es-n-ši?-čin t ī esiya? īu? sqelix' u īu? k'ī-n-cut-n īu? **es-n-ši?-čin t ī esiya?
The Indian chief is over all the people, and God is over all the chiefs.'

'sic 'new, recent, just now, finally'

'lu? il-ilmix'-m 'I think he will perhaps see me.'

cin nte x'wa nom k'wu wîc-i 'Will you go fishing with the hook? I intend.'

cin nt-êls-i k'wu q-s-wiç-m-s 'I desire him to see me.'

cin es-nt-êls-i x'wa k'wu a-s-taq-q nú-n-m 'I am thinking that you are cheating me.'

cin es-nt-êls-i k'wu a-q-s-taq-q nú-n-m 'I think you are perhaps cheating me.'

nom k'wu q-qûye? cin es-nt-êls-i 'I think as if I were angry.' (D I p. 108)

cin ?ex'-k'ûn 'I speak so.'

cin ?ex'-k'ûn-m t Pierre 'I say the same as Peter.'

'nte 'to think'

'k'^u x'^c-s-menx'^-i 'I give it to him.'

cin x'^c-s-menx'^ 'I give tobacco.'

cin x'^c-elx'^ 'I give a house.'

k'wu x'^c-i-šl-mi-s 'He gave me an axe.'

k'wu x'^c-i-š¾-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'w sp'-n-t-es t s-q"-q'se?; k'w **q-s-paq-q-i 'The little boy whipped me; you deserve it, you must pay for it.'

nem **paq-q ii-ci? iq"-ist-em
'Ah, that lying tongue will pay for it.'

wiy 'after, done, finished'
čin wi-s-k'u1-m 'After I had worked.'
ne čin wi-s-k'u1-m 'After I shall have worked.'
ne put wi-s-čaw-m 'right after prayer' (D I p. 608)

axw 'win'
čin es-axw-p-sqaxe? 'I lose a horse.'
y-es-axw-p-sqaxe? 'I win his horse.' (D I p. 586)

čic 'arrive' is used in the construction n-čic-n-ús to mean 'the beginning':
čin es-n-čic-n-ús 'I am at the beginning.'
qe? n-čic-n-ús-n-t-m įu? mus-i-?upn-čst-ásqt 'We are at the beginning of Lent.'
yeti xa 1 s-či-šal-t n-čic-n-ús įu? s-pqni?-s Marie 'Today is the beginning of the month of May.'

qixt 'wish for, fond of' for objects belonging to one already:
y-es-qixt-m ; qixt-m-n 'I am fond of it, I wish for it.'
qixt-m-n-t-xw įu? an-ul-ulí-m 'You are fond of your money.'

qexw 'wish for, like to have' for objects not in one's possession:
y-es-qexw-mín-m ; qexw-mi-n 'I wish for it, like to have it.'
qexw-mín-t-xw įu? 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.'
še ?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-t  ḫu? s-ḫwél-mn OR ḫu? q-s-yo-yo-s-cút-i ḫu? l s-ḫwél-mn  'Be thou strong against the devil.'

lem 'contented, not displeased'
'J.C. crucified was content, happy, was not displeased.'

py-els 'rejoicing' (D II p. 177)
es-n-py-ěls-i ḫu? J.C. ḫu? eI-Ál-sqélixʷ-i
'J.C. rising from the dead was rejoicing.'

ie? '?'
čin n-ie?-p-ús l s-mekʷ-t
'At the end I found myself in the snow.'

hoy 'end, finally'
hoy ḫu? i-q-s-šéye-i-t-m ḫu? i-s-c-kʷ-ul
'Finally I must tell you what I did.'
hoy el-wič-t-m-n čin nt-els kʷ xil
'Finally I see you again; I thought you had died.'
še? hoy                  'enough'
su (< suxʷ 'know') 'yes, I know it, I will it'
unéxʷ, uné  'true, yes, it is so'
čut 'half'
s-čut                  'one half, one part'
čmiš 'only, alone'
i s-čmiš ; i miš       'alone, only'
če i s-čmiš āu? i-s-kũy
i čin čmiš
'I have only the mother anymore.'
'I am the only one.'

qasìp 'long ago'
iu? t s-qasìp
ne q-s-qasìp
ne qasìp
'in olden times'
'at the longest'
'after a long time'

iš-út 'bottom, below'
n-iš-út
l n-iš-út
l iš-út
l kũ-iš-út
'inside'
'below, down inside'
'below, at the bottom'
'under, below'

kũinš 'how many (things)'
č-kũn-kũinš
xwu kũinš
'te' n-kũinš-ãqsm
kũinš kũ c-s-pën-tč
kũinš-wîlš āu? in-ũx-čin
šeũ s-kũinš-ãsqt
čin kũinš-ãsqt
'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.'

xwu?i(t) 'much, many (things), often'
č-xwu?i-xwu?it
'ta s-xwu?it
'many (persons)'
'not often'

lwet 'few (things), few times'
č-luwet
'few (persons)'

miš 'too, too much, greatly' (Cf. also *mi in 6.1.)
miš-xes-t
'the best'

**šiw-mil 'beyond measure'
čen āu? **šiw-mil ťes-t
'Which is the best?'

**ši?-čin 'first rate' (See also esiya?)
**es-n-ši?-čin 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-él 'in my presence before me'

**čitelci' 'behind, against, opposite'
**s-čitelci? (OR **s-či?-tiči? ?) 'against, face to face, opposite'
1 **s-čitelci?-s 'behind'

FOOTNOTES

1-m has not been identified. It cannot be 'middle' because it precedes lexical suffixes.

2 Why no i 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 \( k'wul \) 'do, make, work':

1. ĉin es-\( k'wul \)-i; ĉin es-\( k'wul \) 'I am made, baptized, married.'
   \( k'wul-iś \) 'Make! Baptize! Marry!'

2. ĉin es-\( k'wul \)-l-i; ĉin \( k'wul \)-l 'I am getting made.'
   \( k'wul-l-iś \) 'Get made!'
   es-\( k'wul \)-l-i \( ṭu? \) in-\( cítx \) 'My house is building up.'
   we y-es-\( k'wul \)-m, u ta s-\( k'wul \)-l 'I was working at it, yet it did not get made. There was no making.'

3. ĉin es-\( k'wul \)-i; ĉin \( k'wul \)-m 'I am working.'
   \( k'wul-iś \) 'Work!'

4. y-es-\( k'wul \)-m; \( k'wul \)-n 'I make it.'
   \( k'wul-n-t \) 'Make it!'

5. y-es-\( k'wul \)-i-t-m; \( k'wul \)-i-t-n 'I make his (it belonging to him).'
   \( k'wul-i-t \) 'Make his...!

6. y-es-\( k'wul \)-š-t-m; \( k'wul \)-š-t-n 'I work for him, help him.'
   \( k'wul-š-t \) 'Work for him, help him!'

7. y-es-\( k'wul \)-š-m; \( k'wul \)-š-m-n 'I make it for others.'
   \( k'wul-š-m-n-t \) 'Make it for other!'

8. ĉin es-\( k'wul \)-š-i; ĉin \( k'wul \)-š-m 'I work for others.'
   \( k'wul-š-iś \) 'Work for others.'

9. qe? es-\( k'wul \)-š-t-wé?x'-i 'We work for one another.'

10. qe? es-\( k'wul \)-n-wé?x'-i 'We make/doctor one another.'

11. ĉin es-\( k'wul \)-ist-i; ĉin \( k'wul \)-ist 'I make myself.'

12. ĉin es-\( k'wul \)-m-ist-i; ĉin \( k'wul \)-m-ist 'I fix, prepare myself.'
   \( k'wul-m-ist-ś \) 'Fix, prepare thyself!'

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13. čin es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-š-cút-i  'I work for myself.'
14. čin es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-n-cút-i  'I make by myself; I have myself baptized.'
15. čin es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-s-cút-i  'I make, doctor myself.'
16. y-es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-\textsubscript{m} ; \textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m-n  'I use it to make something.'
\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m-n-t  'Use it to make something!'
17. y-es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-\textsubscript{m}-i-t-m  'I use his (it that belongs to him).'  
18. \textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m-n  'instrument or the materials to work on'
19. y-es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-nú-n-m ; \textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-nú-n  'I succeed in making it.'
\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-nú-n-t  'Succeed in making it!'
20. y-es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-nú-i-t-m  'I succeed in doing his...'
21. \textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-i-ut-m  'that can be made, possible to be made'
22. y-es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m-út-m ; \textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m-út-m-s-t-n  'I can make that.'
23. čin es-i-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-i  'I work little, do little work.'
24. čin ei-es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-i  'I work again.'
25. čin es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m-\textsubscript{lwis}-i  'I am working often, now and then.'
26. y-es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m-lwis-m ; \textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m-lwis-n  'I do it often.'
27. y-es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m-lwis-i-t-m  'I do often his (it belonging to another).'
28. čin es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-túmš-i (\texttextsuperscript{<}-itumš)  'I work for people.'
29. čin es-n-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-t-élš-s-i  'I wish to work, to be busy.'
30. čin es-n-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-élš-i  'I wish to do something.'
31. y-es-n-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-élš-m ; n-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-élš-m-n  'I wish to do it.'
32. y-es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-élš-s-m ; \textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-élš-n  'I make them both together, splice them, marry them.'
\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-élš-n-t  'Make them both together, splice them, marry them!'
33. qe? es-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-élš  'We are made together, are married.'
34. y-es-č-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m  'I work on it, adorn it, embroider it.'
35. y-es-č-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-mn  'the time to, reason why to work, my time to work'
36. y-es-č-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-i-t-m  'I work on his, embroider his...'
37. čin es-n-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-i  'I am born in, am made in, work in...'
38. čin es-n-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m  'I work in...'
39. y-es-n-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m ; n-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m-n  'I work in that place.'
40. n-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-mn  'the way of doing, behavior'
41. čs-i-in-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-mn  'my bad behavior'
42. y-es-t-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-m ; t-\textsuperscript{k}\textsubscript{w}l-n  'I do it before, prepare it.'
43. cin t-kwł̄-i  'I was born before.'
44. y-es-t-kwł̄-i-m  'I bring him forth before.'
45. s-kwł̄  'the doing, the working'
s-c-kwł̄  'what is done, made'
46. cin ep-s-c-kwł̄  'I have some made.'
kuyò cin ep-s-c-kwł̄  'I myself have done it.'
47. kwl̄-n-cut-n  'the Maker, God'
48. s-kwl̄-n-cut-n  'the Divinity, the makership'
49. kwl̄-n-cut  'God, the one that makes by himself'
50. y-es-kwl̄-kwl̄-n-cut-n-m; kwl̄-kwl̄-n-cut-n-m-m  'I treat him as God.'
51. sx̌-kwl̄-m  'charged to work, workman'
52. kwl̄-m-emm  'a busy-body'
53. kwl̄-kwl̄-m-ul  'habitual worker, he that likes to work'
54. kwl̄-ś-cut-n  'that helps working'
in-kwl̄-ś-cut-n  'my helper in work'
55. i-s-nkwl̄-i-kwl̄  'made, baptized, married or ordained with me; husband or wife'
56. i-s-nkwl̄-i-kwl̄-i  'husband/wife'
57. y-es-nkwl̄-i-kwl̄-m; nkwl̄-i-kwl̄-m-m  'I am made, married with him.'
nkwl̄-i-kwl̄-m-i-s Joseph  'She was married with Joseph.'
58. y-es-nkwl̄-i-kwl̄-l-m; nkwl̄-i-kwl̄-l-m-m  'I am born, got married with him.'
59. cin es-kwl̄-eix̌(-i)  'I have a house built; they are building it.'
kwl̄-eix̌-s-t  'Have a house built!'
60. cin es-kwl̄-eix̌-i; cin kwl̄-eix̌-m  'I am building a house.'
kwl̄-eix̌-iš  'Build a house.'
61. y-os-kwl̄-eix̌-m; kwl̄-eix̌-n  'I am building that house.'
kwl̄-eix̌-n-t  'Build that house!'
kwl̄-es-kwl̄-eix̌-m-s  'He is building my house.'
62. y-os-kwl̄-eix̌-i-t-m; kwl̄-eix̌-i-t-n  'I build the house of his...'
kwl̄-es-kwl̄-eix̌-i-t-m-s iu? i-s-qwse?  'He builds my son's house.'
63. y-es-kwl̄-eix̌-ś-t-m; kwl̄-eix̌-ś-t-n  'I help him building a house.'
64. čin es-n-šš-šš-sš-i
'I wish to build a house.'
65. i-sx-šš-šš-sš-m
'my house builder'
66. čin es-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I am acting chief.'
67. y-es-šš-šš-sš-m ; šš-šš-sš-m-n
'I treat him as a chief.'
68. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-m
'I got a husband.'
69. y-es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-m ; šš-šš-sš-šš-m-n
'I take him for husband.'
70. čin es-šš-šš-sš-pš-šš-uš-i
'I act as father/mother, as god father.'
71. y-es-šš-šš-sš-pš-šš-uš-m ; šš-šš-sš-pš-šš-uš-m-n
'I take/treat him as my parent.'
'I act as a brother, altar boy.'
'I take him for my brother.'
74. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I got a husband.'
75. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I treat him as a big fellow.'
76. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I act as a big fellow.'
77. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I act the good.'
78. y-es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-m ; šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-m-n
'I treat/make him good.'
79. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I act the mother.'
'I take her as my mother.'
81. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I play the woman, the coward.'
82. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I act as the last.'
'I take him as the last, despise him.'
84. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I act the fool.'
85. y-es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I treat him as a fool.'
86. y-es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I treat him like a coward.'
87. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I act the lazy.'
88. y-es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I think him lazy.'
89. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I settle down, take a homestead.'
90. y-es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I settle on that spot.'
91. čin es-šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'I make arrows, arm-balls.'
šš-šš-sš-šš-sš-i
'Make arrows!'
92. y-es-k'úl-1-m ; k'úl-1-n
k'úl-1-n-t
*I produce it."

93. i-s-k'úl-1
i-s-c-k'úl-1
*my being born'

94. in-k'úl-1-tn
*what makes me to be born'

95. čin es-n-k'úl-1-i ; čin n-k'úl-1-m
* I conceive/born inside.'

96. y-es-n-k'úl-1-m ; n-k'úl-1-n ;
y-es-n-k'úl-1-ce?i ; n-k'úl-1-ce?m-n
*I conceive him or it.'

97. čin es-c-k'úl-1-i ; čin es-c-k'úl-1-ce
*I am coming to light, being born.'

98. i-s-n-k'úl-1 ; i-s-n-k'úl-1-ce?
*My being conceived, my conception.'

99. įu? i-s-č-k'úl-1 ; i-s-č-k'úl-1-ce?
*my birth'

100. įu? in-č-k'úl-1-tn ; in-č-k'úl-1-ce?tn
*my generation'

101. įu? i-s-n-č-k'úl-1-tn
*my birthplace'

Derivation and inflection of ?axil 'similar, same as, act the same as':

1. ec-?axil

2. čin ec-?axil t amví?
*I am like you.'

3. qe? ec-?axil t k'úl-n-cut-n
*We are like to God.'

4. l swet u k' ec-?axil
*Whom are you like to?'

5. l Ĳe? u čin ec-?axil
*I am like that.'

6. Ĳi-či? u čin ec-?axil-cut
*My behavior is like his.'

7. il ci? u ec-?axil
*It is exactly as that, not changed.'

8. il 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. ip ec-?x-?axil-ús
*You both look exactly the same.'

11. ec-?axil-ús t l?ew-s
*He looks like his father.'

12. Įu? i-s-nk'úl-1-c-?xil (c ?)
*my fellow, the one like me'

13. q-s-ec-?axil-s-n-x'c-x'c-m-éls-t-x' įu? t naq'w-émn
*You made me suffer like a thief.'

14. y-ec-?axil-m ; ec-?axil-s-t-n
*I made him like, treat him like.'
15. qc? q-s-k'ul-m iu? sqélix' q-ec-?axīl-i t qc?nplë?
   'Let us make man like to us.' (Bible p. 1)

16. k' iaq-šīš ec-?axīl t k' sqélix' 
   'You sit there like an Indian (as if you were an Indian).'

17. qc? n-q'ih-m-1-l-t ec-?axīl t qc? es-n-q'ìh-čn-če?x' 
   'Have mercy on us, as we have mercy on each other.'

18. l čeň m ec-?axīl-s-qasip m es-n-x'c-x'c-čëls iu? l esulìp 
   'How long will they suffer in hell?'

19. m ec-?axīl-s-qasip iu? t q-s-n-pë-ëls iu? xš-čès-t iu? l 
   s-č-čm-asqët 'As long as the good ones shall rejoice in heaven.'

20. k'mi? čìn ec-?axīl-s-x'cq'ì-w-i t Marie 
   'Would that I were as pure as the B.V. Mary!'

21. iu? t ec-?axīl x'q'ì-it k' sust, t šey u ec-?axīl k' tün-t 
   u k' n-čm-p-cin 
   'The more you drink, the more you thirst.' (D II p. 394)

22. sél-iš q'xìse? ta ec-?axīl-s-tiš t s-čic-wi 'The camas of 
   the Salish is less sweet than that of the Coeur d'Alene.'

23. čìn ec-?axīl-s-k'tün-t t anwi? 
   'I am as big as you.'

24. k' ec-?axīl-s-čës-t t Louis 
   'You are as good as Louis.'

25. ta y-ec-?axīl-s-yo-p-yëw-t (yew ?) 'I am not so strong.'

26. l šey u ec-?axīl-s-1k' ut 
   'that far'

27. k'mi ec-?axīl 
   'may it be so'

28. č-s-n-?axīl 
   'in like manner' (Bible p. 109)

29. l čeň u ec-?axīl ; l čeň m ec-?axīl 
   'How?'

?axīl with n- 'locative' and -čëls 'volitive' means 'to think the same 
with' as:

30. l anwi? u čìn es-n-?axīl-čëls-i 
   'I think the same as you do.'

31. n-k'ì-n-?axīl-čëls-m-n-c-n 
   'I think the same as you do.'

32. čìn n-?axīl-čëls t Pierre 
   'I think the same as Peter.'

33. y-čs-n-?axīl-čëls-mn ; n-?axīl-čëls-n 
   'I think so of him.'

34. k'uu n i-n-?axīl-čëls-m-n-t-x' ; 
   l k'uyèo u k' es-n-?axīl-čëls-i 
   'You think the same as I do.'

35. y-čs-n-k'ì-n-?axīl-čëls-m ; n-k'ì-n-?axīl-čëls-m-n 
   'He has the same opinion with me.'
36. a-q-s-n-k'i-n-?axl-ён-m ?u? J.C.
    k'i q-s-n-k'i-n-?axl-ён-m-s t J.C.
    'You and J.C. must be of the same opinion.' (D I p. 8)
37. čin n-?axl-ён-m-ist ?u? 1 k'i-n-cut-n 'I think of myself
    like God; I think of myself as God thinks of me.'
38. n-?axl-ён-m-n-c-n t cniic 'I think you are like him.'
39. ?axl-člúx 'every evening'
40. ?axl-s-k'u-k'ec 'every night'
41. ?axl-á ; ?axl-ásqt 'daily'

Cf. also xii (related to ?axi ?)

1. xii k'tun-t 'pretty big'
2. xii čin ?itš 1 s-k'u-k'ec 'I slept enough during the night.'
3. xii t i-s-ʔiin 'I ate scarcely anything.'
4. č-n-xii u k'u-i-s ?u? s-n-sus-tn 'In like manner he took the chalice.'
5. xii x'?it 'a good many'
6. xii-ʔe (-ʔe ?) 'nearly, nearly, almost'
7. xii-ʔe u ʔil 'He almost died.'
APPENDIX G: SUMMARY OF AFFIX ORDERING

Prefixes:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in- 'my'</td>
<td>qī- 'subjunctive'</td>
<td>ei- 'back'</td>
<td>es- 'actual'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>an- 'thy'</td>
<td></td>
<td>epī- 'have'</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>č- 'towards'</td>
<td>s- 'nominal'</td>
<td>t- 'before'</td>
<td>čs- 'about'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>čī- 'upon'</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kʷī- 'under'</td>
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<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c- 'hither'</td>
<td>n- 'locative'</td>
<td>i- 'diminutive'</td>
<td>Lexical</td>
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<td>Prefixes</td>
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<td>uī- 'plural'</td>
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### Suffixes:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-p 'non-control'</td>
<td>Lexical Suffixes</td>
<td>-t 'stative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-min 'instrumental'</td>
<td>-ut 'capability'</td>
<td>-m 'middle'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-šiš 'benefactive'</td>
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<td>-els 'volitive'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-ist 'intr. reflexive'</td>
<td>-n 'simple tran.'</td>
<td>-t 'tran.'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-numt 'intr. success'</td>
<td>-s 'causative'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-lwis 'iterative'</td>
<td>-i 'relative'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-(w)ilš 'developmental'</td>
<td>-ši 'tran. benefactive'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-uš 'given to...'</td>
<td>-šul 'suppletive plural'</td>
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<td>-nu 'tran. success'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-we?x 'reciprocal'</td>
<td>-iš 'intr. imperative, sg.'</td>
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<td>-cút 'tran. reflexive'</td>
<td>-wi 'intr. imperative, pl.'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-emm 'habitual'</td>
<td>-i 'continuative'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ek 'tran. imperative'</td>
<td>-tn 'instrumental'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive Goal Suffixes</td>
<td>-mp 'your'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-s 'his/their'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive Actor Suffixes</td>
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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 asteriks 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, ě, ě, h, kʷ, kʷ, l, ɬ, ɬ, m, ṭ, n, p, ɺ, q, q̣, q̣, q̣, s, š, t, ɭ, w, ʒ, x, x̣, y, ɭ, ?.

aáč <áć, ac(ɭ) [aaz, az(ɭ)] 'tie, catch' (C)
**áiq [aik] 'plenty'
amwíʔ [anuiʔ] 'thou' (V)
aw(ú) [au] 'drip' (cf. also waw) (C)
aʔi [ai] 'run' (stress ?) (V)

esulíp [esolip] 'hell' (I)
**essáiq [essalk] 'crooked'
esiyáʔ [esia] 'all (in number)' (cf. iyáʔ) (V)
e?u  [eu]  'peel'  (V)

ilâwyé?  [ilauie]  'man's great-grandfather'  (I)
ilmix'  [ilimigu]  'chief'  (V)
ituk'  [ituk]  'rot (of wood)'  (C)
iyá?  [ia]  'all'  (cf. esiyá?)  (V)
iyús  [iins]  'dirty (bruised)'  (I)

olq'  [olk]  'help'  (V)
oós<oos, os  [oos, os]  'lost'  (C)
oç'  [ogo]  'fence'  (V)
o'y  AS IN o'y-n-cút  [oincut]  'laugh, sg.'  (V)

unéx', uné  [onegu, une]  'yes, true'  (V)

cuk'  [zku]  'pull'  (C)
cuk'  AS II:  ck'y-ešt-n  [zkuechst]  'rod, walking cane'  (V)
cil  [zill]  'five'  (V)
cm  AS IN s-c-ch-elt  [szizimelt]  'children';  i-c-ch-ice?
   [izizimize]  'Little Robes'  (C)
cu(n)  [zu(n)]  'say'  (cf. cuw)  (C)
**cenel  [zenel]  'his/theirs'
cnič  [zniz]  'he/they'  (C)
cut  [zuut]  'advice, behavior'  (C)
citx'  [zítgu]  'house'  (C)
cuw  [zu]  'say'  (cf. cu(n))  (C)
*cx'u  [zgu]  'growing feeble'  (Cv. ca?x'  'tired')
**cx'u  [zgo]  'growing better'
c?  AS IN  i-c-c?-ups  [izuuups]  'woman's younger sister'  (C),
c?-ups  [zuups]  'man's younger sister',  c?-up-âws  [zupeeus]  
'sister'
ce?  AS IN  s-pi?-s-cé?  [spizelt]  'yesterday'  (C),  sin-ce?
   [sinze]  'man's younger brother'  (C)
ci?  [zii]  'that, there'  (C)

čal,  čcil  [zal, zel]  'cold'  (C)
čil  [zil]  'stand, stick out, pl.'  (C)
 čom [zom] 'bone' (C)
čan [zan] 'tight' (C)
*čin(t) [zin(t)] 'say what' (Cv)
čaq' AS IN čq'-áq'-i [zkoākoi] 'crying' (V)
čsi [zesi] 'consumed, gone' (C)
češt [zccht] 'man's brother-in-law' (C)
čk [zku] 'wash' (C)
čxil [zgeil] 'like to, same as' (cf. ?axíl) (C)
čoq' [zogo] 'intend, mean to' (C)
č? AS IN n-č?-ilš [niilsh] 'go upstream by land' (C)
č?ulix' AS IN č?ulix'-élx' [zooliguelgu] 'deer skin' (C)
ča?l [zaal, zal, zael] 'sore, ache' (V)
če?eš [zeesh] 'shame, bashful' (V)
čic [chiz] 'arrive' (C)
čche [chezehe] 'right (hand)' (V)
**čcq [zcho] 'cure'
ččik'ě [chizike] 'left (hand)' (V)
čičšê AS IN i-čičšê [lich'tshe] 'man or woman's older sister' (C)
**čhans AS IN čhans-p-ásqt [chehanspaskat] 'cloudy sky'
čl AS IN čl-aws [chilaus] 'thing hanging' (C)
**člcin AS IN člcin-m-s-t-x' [chlzinmstgu] 'thou stoodest by him'
**člilpost [chilpost] 'ours'
čelš [chulsh] 'hand' (C)
**člitič [chelitich] 'lord'
čilvieš [chiluize] 'bushel (barrel)' (I)
čtip [chitip] 'hunt' (C)
**čemp AS IN čmp-nux' [chempnug] 'cloudy weather'
čmiš [chemish] 'only, alone' (Cf. miš) (C)
*čam [cham] 'consumed by fire' (Cv. kni 'take away')
*čin [chin] 'hate' (Cv. kim 'hate')
čen [chen] 'gather' (V)
čnm AS IN es-čnm-p-qín [es chinempkein] 'got blind' (C)
čnaqš [chináks] 'one (person)' (C)
čnx'u [chengu] 'hold on to, touch' (C)
**čene? [chene] 'mine'
čen [chen] 'what, where' (C)
**čqat AS IN čqat-ew [chkautes] 'piled up'
*čšit [chshit, chit] 'watch, guard' (V)
**čet AS IN či-čet-k [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?em ?] 'watch, look after' (I)
**čx'ect [chgoezt] 'Monday'
čy AS IN **čy-elt [chiel't] 'woman's late brother's son's son'
**čya [chia] 'solicit, coax (to evil)'
čye? AS IN či-čyé? [chichie] 'sister's daughter's son' (C)
či? AS IN či?-ews [tshieus] 'forever' (I); n-tk'-či?-sqáxe?-tn [ntkochiskagaeten] 'saddle' (C)
če?îles, če?î- [cheîes, chei-] 'three' (V)
čič(i) [chize] 'a long object lays' (C)
čče?t [chichet] 'near, close' (V)
čeh(k') [chokhu] 'open' (C)
čolsqe? [cholzkae] 'outside' (C)
člux' [chelug] 'evening' (C)
čem [chem] 'extremity, last' (also a root in many words with lexical suffixes, particularly body parts) (C)
čiim [chim] 'dark' (C)
čint [chint] 'be afraid for someone' (V)
čes [ches] 'bad' (C)
čspin [chespin] 'neck' (C)
čut [chut] 'half' (C)
**čitlcí? [chittelzi] 'opposite, against, behind'
*čit [chit] 'cut' (Cv. kêt, Cr. čet 'cut off completely')
čaw [chau] 'pray' (V)
čiw AS IN čiw-ulsh [chiulsh] 'climb a ladder, sg.' (V)
čuw(u) [cho] 'absent, empty' (C)
čewile? [chauple ?] 'snake' (I)
čeweʔ [chaue] 'woman's brother-in-law' (I)
čew AS IN čew-lš-i [cheulshi] 'old, aged' (C)
čex'(ú) [chegu] 'dry (clothes)' (C)
čey [chei] 'shade' (C)
č?elp [cheelp] 'widow of man's son' (I)
čéʔit [cheit] 'spider' (V)
čiʔenm [hehenem] 'eight' (V)
hemi [hemi] 'getting cloudy, fog' (C)
hoy [hoi] 'end' (C)

**k'li [kui, koi, ku] 'go' (Post says this is the form x'uy 'go' takes in compound or complex forms.)
k'cič [kozich] 'falling' (I)
*k'lı AS IN k'li-ów [koleut] 'dwell together' (Cv. k'il)
k'lı 'yellow' AS IN s-k'lı-šín [skoalshin] 'cranes (bird)' (V),
k'li-k'alî (i ?) [kulikualı] 'Indian corn, maize'
k'il [kuil] 'red' (C)
k'ul(st) [kul(st)] 'send' (C)

**k'welt AS IN in-k'welt-n-cüt-n [inkoeltenzuten] 'he that loads me'
k'ił AS IN s-k'ıł-us [skulclus] 'face' (C)

**k'um [kum] 'wilderness'

**k'ım AS IN c-k'ım-k'ın-aqs [zkukamenaks] 'hungry one'

**k'emtn [kumten] 'forever, constantly'
k'n AS IN n-k'n-cn-cut [knunzut] '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'ız AS IN s-k'ız-k's-t [skuekust] 'morning, breakfast' (C)
k'is AS IN s-k'iz-k's [skuiskus] 'chicken' (I)
k'usm AS II: k'ık'usm [kukusem] 'chicken' (I)
k'est [kuest] 'name' (C)
k'tun, k'tı [kutun, kuti] 'big, great' (C)

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k'uy?é [koie] 'I' (C)
**k'wé? [kue] 'thine'
k'w?ec AS IN s-k'w-k'w?ec [skukuez] 'night' (C)
k'uk'vi [kukui, kokoi] 'man's father's sister, woman's brother's child, woman's aunt' (C)
k'ui [kol] 'work, make, do' (C)
k'ía[t [kuitlt, kuitit] 'other, several' (V)
*k'um AS IN s-k'um-élt [skomelt] 'virgin' (Cv. sk'umalt)
k'inš [kuinsh] 'several, how much' (C)
k'itps AS IN k'it-k'itps [kutkuiteps] 'flea' (C)
k'uy [ko] 'man's mother' (C)
k'uyum, k'-k'uyum [kuium, kukuium] 'small, young' (C)
k'e?(é) [koe] 'bite' (C)
k'w'al [kuaal] 'grow' (V)
k'w?e[ms [koenems] 'try' (I)

**lcu AS IN s-n-lcu-tn [snlzuten] 'room'
**lcyesto [lziesto] 'left' (?)
1ci? AS IN č-lci?-m-s-t-n [chlziimsten] 'I remain near him.' (I)
lič(i) [lich] 'to tie, bind' (C)
leči 'he's mad' IN lč-lč-t [lichlicht] (?) 'violent person, valiant' (I)
1k' [lk] 'far' (C)
1uk' [luku] 'wood' (C)
1em [lem] 'contented, happy' (C)
1aš [laka] 'bury' (C)
1eš' [leshin] 'hear (from afar)' (V)
*liw [liu] 'ring bell' (Cv., Om. liw)
1k'u [lgu] 'hurt, ache, feel pain' (C)
1?e [lce] 'stay here, remain' (V)
1?o AS IN n-l?o-n-t-ém [nelantem] 'someone was put in jail' (I)
1?ew [leču] 'man's father' (C)

laš [laga] 'friend' (C)
ioc  [ioz]  'smashed' (I)
icccc  [izezch]  'man's wife's mother or sister' (C)
ič  [izi]  'flog' (V)
**ič  AS IN s-č-č-etkʷ  [s'chietchik]  'skin raft'
iahāye?  AS IN  ih-ihāye?  [iamamaie]  'frog(s)' (V)
lep  [lip]  'go out, dwindle' (V)
io  AS IN  iop-qn-m  [iopkanem]  'bend it over (as head of a tree)' (I)
**iup  [iup]  'lean, poor'
iŋxʷ  AS IN  s-n-ŋxʷ-šin  [snipogoshin]  'nail foot-wound' (I)
iq  [iak]  'sit' (C)
iqaqce?  [ikakaze]  'woman's older brother' (C)
iq  [iaka]  'wide' (C)
iqʷ  AS IN  iqʷ-čne?  [ikuene]  'he hides provisions' (I)
iqʷ  AS IN  iqʷ-t-ist-ye?  (-ye? ?)  [ikotistie]  'prostrated',
n-iqʷ-iqʷ-iqʷt-n  [nikikoikiten]  'suspenders' (C)
iqʷ  [iako]  'come in sight, be seen' (C)
iw  AS IN  s-iw-elt  [sieluet]  'orphan', īw-estn  [ilesten]  'man's step-mother, woman's step-father' (C)
iwil  [iuet]  'few, few times' (C)
*iw  [legi]  'rest' (Cv. iw)
*iw  [igo]  'sew' (Cv. iw  'loop, stitch', Sh. lexʷ-m  'patch up')
iw  [logo]  'hole' (V)
iwup  [logop]  'to run away, escape' (V)
iAY  [lai]  'Dolly Varden trout' (C)
i'ae  AS IN  s-č-ši?e  [schliche]  'Saturday' (C)
i'u?(ù)  [luui]  'sting, lance' (C)
?ummol  [iomemel]  'wild goat' (I)
Aic  [tliz]  'hard' (C)
Aukʷ  AS IN  s-âukw-m  [ acknowledgment]  '(wild) carrots' (C)
Ail(i)  [tlil, tell]  'die, stop' (C)
Aaq  [tlaka]  'hot, warm' (C)
Axʷ  [tlegi]  'win' (C)
λαχ [tlaq] 'fast, swift' (C)
λυε? [tliēo] 'boat, canoe' (C)
λε? [tlee] 'look for' (cf. λu?) (C)
λu? [tluu] 'look for' (cf. λe?) (C)
λe?k' AS IN λe?k'-ilš-cút-i [tluilshzuti] 'practice sorcery' (C)
mek' [meko] 'snow' (C)
mal [mal] 'dirt' (C)
múli (stress ?) [mei, mali] 'heal' (C)
múl [mul] 'fetch water' (V)
milk', meik' [milko, melko, melluk] 'whole, all; round' (C)
míli [meli] 'flood' (C)
múl AS IN s-muí-mn [smulemen] 'lance, spear' (V)
mí [mi] 'too, very much, greatly' (V)
meiñ' [menigu] 'smoke' (C)
maq AS IN y-es-maq-q-m [ies makkam] 'I forbid him to start' (Cv. maq 'to stop someone from', C. maq 'to convince')
moq' [moko, mke] 'mountain' (C)
mus, mos [mus, mos] 'four' (C)
mus AS IN mus-1s [musels] 'trusted' (I)
míš [mish] 'only, alone' (cf. čmiš) (C)
niš AS IN š?it-miš-él [shiitemishelt] 'first-born child' (Cv. mix '?')

mav' [mau] 'broken' (C)
mavg' [mogo] 'to snow' (C)
mjxt' [migot] 'sick, dying' (I)
meye [meie] 'tell, show, teach' (C)
míy [mi] 'know' (C)
níy [mi] 'brave, excellent, true, worthy' (Cv. mi 'important', Cm. miy 'be dignified')
níy [mi] 'brave, excellent, true, worthy' (Cv. mi 'important', Cm. miy 'be dignified')
**moxyi [moigai] 'practice Indian jugglery to find out enemies'
moýi [moie, mie] 'tell, show, teach' (cf. meye) (C)
mo?e? (stress ?) [mee] 'refuse, send away' (V)
me?i [meel] 'man's brother's son or daughter' (C)
m?em [meem] 'woman' (V)
mōt [moot] 'smoke' (V)
mi?tú? [mito] 'fort' (I)

mēt [mem] 'play' (C)

mēmt AS IN s-mēmt-šn [smomshin] 'mare' (C)
mēstōm [mestom] 'woman's father' (Why does Post record 6?) (C)

neč AS IN s-neč-icę? [snechelze] 'elk' (C)
nec AS IN s-neč-ix' [snechelu] 'woman's daughter's husband' (C)
nic [nich] 'cut, saw' (C)
nk'o?, nku, nko] 'one' (C)
nimap [nimap] 'frozen (water)' (I)
nun(n)x' [noningu] 'believe' (V)

npicci [pizchil] 'leaf, leaves' (C)

**plimn AS IN s-plimn-cn [spelimenzin] 'mouth, lip' (Cf. C's s-pli-m-cn)

*paa< paa* [paa] 'grey, burnt' (Cv. pa* 'grey', Sh. pe* 'faded, empty')

pi AS IN pi-s-teh [pistem] 'when'; s-pi-s-cę? [spiszé],

s-pi-s-cę?-lt [spiszelt] 'yesterday' (C)

picčı [pizchil] 'leaf, leaves' (C)

**pili AS IN s-pili-cn [spelimenzin] 'mouth, lip' (Cf. C's s-pili-m-cn)

pul(st) [pol(st)] 'kill' (C)
pilś [pilsh] 'enter' (V)

**pei AS IN n-pi-pi-aqs [npeipeaks] 'hog, pig'
pīl [pil] 'thick' (C)
peik'i AS IN pei-pik' [peipeikui] 'women' (V)
pu [pum] 'hair, fur' (C)
pentč [pentich] 'always, year' (C)
**paq AS IN paq-q [pakaka] 'pay for'
piq [piq] 'white' (C)
psa(y) AS IN psa-p [psap] 'surprise, wonder at, admire' (C. psa
 'to be scared', Cv. psa 'no sense')
pus AS IN pu-pus-čč [pupusench] 'grief, sorry' (Cf. pus) (C)
**patn [patn] 'poultice'
put [put, pot] 'enough, exact, yet, still' (Cf. pute?) (C)
ptku [ptko] 'pierce, poke, jab' (C)
ptax' [ptago] 'spit' (C)
pute? [pute] 'respected' (Cf. put) (C)
pax [pag] 'smart, wise' (C)
pox'm [pgom] 'distribute, scatter' (V)
piy [pi] 'happy' (C)
ipi? AS IN s-pi?-s-cč [spiszé] 'yesterday' (C)
pös [poos] 'foam' (I)
puüs [poos] 'heart' (Cf. pus) (C)
**pe?x' [peegu] 'fair (face)'
plč(mi) [pelch(mi)] 'turn' (V)
plč AS IN č-plč-ččs(-m) [chptleus(em)] 'Monday' (C)
pač [pta] 'bare, exposed' (C)
peč [ptle] 'bitterroot' (C)
paap [paap] 'catch fire' (V)
pični? [pakani] 'month, moon' (V)
pok' [poko] 'spilled' (C)
pox', pax' [pegu, pagu] 'shining' (C)
pax [paag] 'cure' (C)
pö [pogo] 'old' (C)
pqiaq [piak] 'ripe' (C)
p?aw [pau] 'don't care to' (V)
qec [kez] 'jump, run, sg.' (V)
**qecč [kezch]  'elder brother' (C)
ql AS IN ql-alq [kalalko]  'green wood (not dry)' (I)
**qal AS IN ql-qál-aqs [kalkalaks]  'little frog'
**qil [keil]  'seduce'
**qlčlp AS IN n-i-qlčlp-n-cút-i-s [nkalchelpenzutis]  'He left them to hold his place.' (segments ?)
qalispél [kalispel]  'Kalispel' (V)
qeltč [keiltich]  'meat, body, flesh' (C)
qltmix' [kaltemigu]  'man, Indian' (C)
qlaw [kalou]  'beaver' (C)
qlot AS IN n-qlot-iqít [nkalotikeit]  'shovel' (C)
qii [keii]  '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-éičč? [kapelze]  'plate' (C)
**qap AS IN qap-n-cút-n [kapenzuten]  'friend to death'
qepc [kepzc]  'spring' (C)
qapúsl [kapusel]  'wing (angel's)' (V)
**qas [kas]  'break'
qix' [keigu]  'drive' (C)
qx AS IN qx-min [kgamin]  'horn' (C)
qxáxe? [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? [kalií]  'lake' (C)
qm AS IN qm-elt-n [kamelten]  'starve', qm-qm-els [kamkamel]  'neckness' (C)
qam [kam]  'talk' (V)
qýye? AS IN q-qýye? [kakameic]  'fishing with the hook' (C)
qn [kan]  'contracted (as with arthritis)' (I)
qep AS IN s-qep-qep-čne? [skepkepene]  'sand' (C)
qasip [kasip] 'old, long ago' (V)
qett [kétite] 'skin, hide' (C)
qaw [kao] 'broken' (cf. qaũ) (C)
qixʷ AS IN qixʷ-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')
dixt [keigt] 'fond of, wish to have' (V)
dixʷ AS IN dixʷ-qin-čst [kogkeinchst] 'finger-nail' (C)
dey̌, qǎ [kai] 'write' (cf. qi?) (C)
dawa [kao] 'broken' (cf. qaũ) (V)
deʔ(é) [kae] 'pinched, squeezed; put, stick' (C, V)
diʔ? [ki] 'write' (cf. dey̌) (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'ewi [koleiue] 'onion' (C)
qi [koel] 'cook, ripe, ready to eat' (V)
*q'um AS IN s-q'm-útyaʔ [skomatie] 'coin'
q'in [koin] 'green' (V)
q'iʔn [koin] 'ugly, poor, mean; pity' (V)
q'est [koest] 'deep snow' (I), n-q'est [nkoest] 'deep water' (V)
q'seʔ AS IN s-q'seʔ [skussee] 'son', s-q'sʔ-elt [skuselt] 'nephew' (C)
**q't AS IN q'-q't-ilš [kokotilsh] 'becoming wayward'
q'taxʷeʔ [kottagoe] 'louse, lice' (C)
q'aw, q'aw [koeu, koau] 'drunk, wicked' (C)
**q'aw AS IN q'aw-q'ʷ-t (-q'ʔ?) [koaukot] 'wicked altogether'
q'ey [koi] 'to have plenty' (V)
q'eyʔ [kaimkomt] 'lively in working' (I)
q'uʔ [kuuʔ] 'wasp' (C)
q'awm AS IN s-q'awm-aq'ʔs [skoamaks] 'habitual food' (I)
q'awp [koop] 'tanned, made soft' (V)
q'ic AS IN n-q'ic-tn [koizton] 'woman's late husband's brother' (C)
qweč [koez] 'full' (C)
qił [koil] 'strive, busy oneself' (V)
quli [kooi] 'dust' (C)
qicit [kocit] 'carry on the back' (V)
q'oiq(s) [koik(s)] 'to plant' (I)
q'ula AS IN s-n-q'ula-šn [snkotlishin] 'stockings' (C)
q'ušeši [kotlishi] 'race, jump, pl.' (V)
q'om AS IN q'om-qn [komkan] 'hair' (C)
q'un(i) [kom(i)] 'take (several)' (C)
q'mi? AS IN q'mi?-p [komip] 'died' (C)
q'n AS IN q'-q'n-ews [koikomeus] 'horse of one or two years' (C)
q'usm AS IN n-q'-q'em-šn-ičn-šn [nkokoscheshin] 'dog' (C)
q'may [koai] 'black' (C)
q'oy [koi] 'calm' (I)
q'eyit AS IN q'eyi-q'it [koikot] 'lively in running' (I)
q'e? [koai] 'milk' (C)

sic [siz] 'new, after, recently, just now' (C)
sič [siz] 'blanket' (C)
suk'ú [suku] 'swollen' (C)
sl AS IN sl-aqs [slaks] 'mosquito' (C)
sil [sil] 'wrong' (C)
sul [sul] 'cold' (C)
salůse? [salusse] 'hail' (V)
sėliš [selish] 'Indians from Bitterroot' (C)
sîle? [sile] 'woman's grandfather or sister's daughter's son' (C)
sin AS IN sín-ce? [sinze] 'man's younger brother' (C)
saŋ [san] 'tame, gentle, mild' (C)
spi [spi] 'strike, whip' (C)
sipí [sipi] 'rope, skin' (C)
sqelix' [skelix] 'Indian, people, man' (C)
sqm [skam] 'worthless' (I)
saq, sqe [ski, ske] 'split, crack' (V, C)
sus(t) [sus(t)] 'drink' (C)
s'ssi? [s'sii] 'man's uncle' (Cv)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sispl</td>
<td>'seven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siš</td>
<td>'pure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ste?</td>
<td>'who owns that?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sot</td>
<td>'knitted shirt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sew</td>
<td>'who, what'</td>
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<tr>
<td>sotl</td>
<td>'liquor'</td>
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<tr>
<td>swet</td>
<td>'who, what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>'poured, spill liquids'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sux</td>
<td>'know, recognize, understand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sayx</td>
<td>'near, accompany'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>'split'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy</td>
<td>'brave, smart, bright, strong; much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syen, siyen</td>
<td>'to count'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suyapi</td>
<td>'whiteman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**syaw</td>
<td>'uncomfortably cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se?stem</td>
<td>'man's wife's sister or brother's wife, woman's sister's husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>še</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šal</td>
<td>'steep'</td>
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<tr>
<td>šli</td>
<td>'chop'</td>
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<td>šmen</td>
<td>'enemy'</td>
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<tr>
<td>šin</td>
<td>'shut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šin</td>
<td>'follow, accompany'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šeň(š)</td>
<td>'stone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šuthm</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šet</td>
<td>'tree, standing'</td>
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<tr>
<td>**šiw</td>
<td>'beyond measure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šyst</td>
<td>'pass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šeŷ</td>
<td>'go together, keep company'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>še?</td>
<td>'this, these'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ši?</td>
<td>'consent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**ši?</td>
<td>'exceedingly', 'first rate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**ši's</td>
<td>'instead of'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*š?it. [shiit] 'first, ahead' (C)
*aši't [chit] 'keep your eyes on, guard' (usually with  č-:  č-ši't) (cf. čšit) (Cv. xa't 'watch for')

ta [ta] 'not, no' (V)
tk'u? [tkoo] 'march, walk, pl.' (C)
taâl [tal] 'loose' (V)
tlci? [telzi] 'more' (I)
tl?e AS IN c-n-tl?e-le (-le ?) [zntelele] 'on this side of the river' (I)
tam [tam] 'not' (Cf. ta-m) (V)
tum, tum [tom] 'woman's mother' (C)
tem [tem] 'what, thing' (C)
tus? AS IN s-tus?-elt [stomchelt] 'daughter' (cf. šutus) (C)
tmasus [temmus] 'nothing' (C)
tunš [tonsh] 'man's nephew or niece' (C)
taq [tak] 'touch, hold down with hands' (V)
tes AS IN tês-ilš [teshilsh] 'stand up' (C)
ttwit [tituit] 'boy, young person' (C)
tew [teu] 'buy, sell' (V)
twin [tuin] 'short, lack' (I)
tix[w [tigu] 'get' (V)
tux'(ú) [tgu] 'add' (C)
tux' [tugt] 'flying, pl.' (V)
tx AS IN s-tx-enč [stgench] 'bowels' (V)
tax [tag] 'bitter' (C)
tox[w [tog] 'straight' (cf. ta?x[w) (C)
te?e [teo] 'pound' (C)
t?e [tce] 'passing by here' (V)
ti?m [tiim] 'melt (snow)' (V)
ta?x[w [tag] 'straight' (cf. tox[w) (C)

*ašč [tech] 'brand' (Cv. tâk)
tišm AS IN s-tišm-iš (-iš ?) [stiichmish] 'virgin' (C)
tuk'(ú) [toko, tku] 'set down, lay down, place' (C)
tulix' [toligu] 'world, country' (V)
tam [tem, tam] 'kiss, suck' (V)
tma? [toma] 'cow' (C)
tone? [tene] 'ear' (V)
tap [tap] 'shot' (C)
tpi [tpi] 'upright, standing up' (C)
tup [top] 'twist into thread, rope' (V)
tps AS IN s-n-tps-ews [sntepseus] 'joint, jointed' (C)
tupye? [topie] 'woman's grandparent or grandchild' (C)
tpy AS IN tpy-ewt [tpieut] 'things standing up' (cf. tpi) (C)
tq AS IN s-tq-1scut [stae1scut] 'goods' (C)
taq AS IN ?aq-q-nu-n [takakanun] 'I cheat him.' (C)
taqn [takan] 'six' (V)
toq'â [tko] 'to sew' (C)
tas [tas] 'leather' (I)
tas [tas] 'hard' (C)
tiš [tish] 'sweet' (C)
tix'l [tigul] 'different, strange' (V)
tyi [ti] 'fall, descend' (C)
téye? [têic] 'evil, bad' (C)
ti?cime AS IN s-ti?-ti?cime [stitichime] 'pup, little dog' (V)
wič [uich] 'see' (C)
wecw [ueku] 'hide' (C)
wi [uili] 'burn' (C)
weicw [uelu] 'descend' (C)
wam [uam] 'hurry, hasten' (I)
wenš [uensh] 'dance (men only)' (C)
wp [up] 'hair' (Cf. wps) (C)
wps [ups] 'tail' (Cf. wp) (C)
wis [uis] 'long' (C)
wis [uish] 'stand up' (C)
waw AS IN s-č-waw-p-us [s'chaaupus] 'tear' (cf. aw) (C)
wiy [ui] 'finish' (C)
we? [uee] 'call' (C)
wi? AS IN s-wi?-númt [suiuínunt] 'young people, good looking' (V)
w?ew [ueu] 'go back, pull back (as horses)' (V, Cv. wiw 'back up')

wéwi [uéuí] 'fish' (C)

x^c AS IN n-x^c-x^c-m-cls [nguzguzmels] 'suffer, torments' (I)
x^iç [guiz] 'give' (C)

**x^wk^w AS IN č-x^k^w-els-m [chgukelsem] 'we attack him'
x^uk^w(ú) [guku] 'clean' (C)
x^uk^w [goko] 'divided, forked' (C)
x^i1l(t) [guil(t)] 'live; debt' (C)
x^Ai [guille] 'whittle' (C)
x^em, x'am [guem, gauam] 'paint (red)' (V)
x^um [gum] 'like, desire' (I)

**x^wumin [gumin] 'forbid'
x^p AS IN n-x^p-els [nigupols] 'sad' (I)

**x's [gus] 'fierce-looking'
x^us [gus] 'pass before (Cv. x^us 'go, hurry')
x^ist [guist] 'walk, sg.' (V)

**x^at AS IN x^x^at [guguat] 'strenuous' (Cv. x^t 'deprive')
x^et [gut] 'hate' (C)
x^tip [gutip] 'rib' (I)
x^ti [guti] 'run, arise' (V)

x^ey AS IN x^i-x^ey-ú [guiguiú] 'beast, animal' (C)
x^uy [gui] 'go' (C)
x^uym AS IN s-x^uym-tk^w [sguimteku] 'ice' (I)
x^uye? AS IN s-x^ú-x^ye? [sgüuie] 'ant' (C)
x^e? 'raise, lift' AS IN č-x^e?^-us [chgoeus] 'hang', x^e?-m-i [goeami] 'fly, pl.' (V)
x^w?i(t) [goe(t)] 'many, much' (C)

**x^w?at AS IN x^a-x^á?t [quaquaat] 'brave, strong in war'

xaá < xña [gaal] 'fan' (C)

xc AS IN xc-núm-tn [gaznumten] 'clothes' (C)
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χl AS IN n-χl-ews [ngaleus] 'bridge' (C)
χal(i) [gal(i)] 'tomorrow, daylight, clear' (C)
**χal AS IN χl-χl-m-ist [galgalemist] 'rebuke'
χel [gcl] 'afraid' (C)
χalit [galit] 'ask, invite' (V)
χelvi? [gelui] 'husband' (C)
χiil [geil] 'just a little' (cf. ?axil, čxil) (V)
χA AS IN χA-cin [gatilzin] 'horse' (C)
χm AS IN χm-enč [gamench] 'like, love' (C)
χam(í) [gam] 'dry' (C)
χem [gem] 'heavy' (C)
χn AS IN χn-nu-n-m [gammunem] 'accidentally' (C)
χepé? [gepe] 'man's grandfather' (C)
χp AS IN s-n-χp-ews [sgapeus] 'soul' (C)
χaq [gaka] 'pay' (C)
χes [ges] 'good' (C)
**χitne? AS IN χt-χitne? 'daggar'
χxanút [gaganut] 'nine' (V)
χiw [geu] 'raw' (C)
χ? AS IN χ?-úle?xw [geulegu] 'rattle-snake' (C)
χa?χé? [gagee] 'woman's husband's father or brother' (C)
χe'n(í) [geen(i)] 'forbid' (V)
*χ?eś [goes] 'content' (cf. χes 'good')

χweč [goz] 'pass by' (V)
χ'ic [goiz] 'cut off' (V)
**χ'al AS IN χ'-l-χ'al [golgoal] 'sheep'
χ'el [goel] 'deserted, leave, abandon' (V)
χ'ölić [gôleko] 'wagon' (C)
χ'ölxw AS IN χ'-ölxlxw [guagualigu] 'fox' (C. s-χ'öxlx, Cv. χ'ölxw)
χ'um [gum] 'feel safe' (I)
χ'up [gop] 'lazy' (C)
χ'aqw [goako] 'grind' (C)
*χ'qw AS IN χ'-q'-alqs [gokolks] 'snore' (Cv. χ'aqw)
χ'it AS IN č-χ't-éne? [chgotene] 'cropped ear' (C)
χ'iy [goi] 'sharp' (V)
χ'ei AS IN χ'ei-ést-i [goelechsti] 'hasten, work quickly' (C)
χ'e?(s) AS IN χ'a-χ'e?eś-m-i (stress ?) [goagosimi] 'laugh, pl.' (V)

*yāa < yā? [iaa] 'in reserve, not free, fearful' (Cv. yā? 'to be backwards')
ye [ie] 'this, these' (V)
yek' AS IN yek'-mín [iekomin] 'refuse' (I)
*yal [ial] 'wrap around' (Sh. yel, yal 'be wound around')
**yul [iul] 'thick' (Cf. also **yul-i 'dance (women only)')
yalk' [ialko] 'bend, crooked' (C)
yel AS IN s-n-yel'-mn [snielenmen] 'St. Ignatius Mission' (I)
yelx' [ilgu] 'covered' (C)
yeq' [ioko] 'lie, slander' (C)
yš [ish] 'below, bottom' (C)
yo? [io] 'strong, learn by heart' (C)
yat AS IN ya-yat [iaaat] 'rare' (I)

*ocque? [ozkae, azkae] 'go out' (C)
*eč [ez] 'last' (C)
*ač' [azga] 'watch, look at' (C)
*eć AS IN *oć-s-wiš [echsuish] 'erect, standing' (C)
*uk' [uku] 'carry, bring' (C)
*ek'n [ekun] 'fisheggs' (I)
*olí [oli] 'belly' (C)
*iš [išen] 'eat' (C)
*uix' [uiagu] 'go' (C)
*em [eem] 'feed' (C)
*emùt [emut] 'sit, sg.' (C)
*iimš [imsh] 'move, start' (C)
*aniq [anika] 'summer' (C)
*enes [ones] 'on my way going' (V)
*upn, *opn [open] 'ten' (C)
?op [ees] 'wipe, wipe off' (C)
?úse? AS IN ?u-úse? [uusse] 'egg(s)' (C)
?iskól [iskol, iskoi] 'scatter, throw away' (C)
?esól, ?as1 [esel, asl] 'two' (C)
?itű [itsh] 'sleep' (C)
?itxʷə? [itgoa] 'camas' (C)
?aw [au] 'recite' (C)
?awən [aukan] 'order, warn, admonish' (I)
?cxʷ AS IN ?cxʷ-k'un [egukune] 'say, speak' (C)
?ax [aga] 'stretch' (C)
?axil [ageil] 'do the same, like' (Cf. ƛ̓ii, ƛ̓x̓il) (C)
?axʷt AS IN n-?axʷt [nagot] 'go down the river by land' (C)
?oxʷt AS IN ?oxʷt-élt [ogtel̓t] 'baby' (C)
?ey [ei] 'take revenge' (I)
**?eiy [ail] 'shaved'
?aym [aim] 'angry, mad' (C)
?eym AS IN ?eym-əws [eimus] 'crossways, cross' (C)
?ey[s] [eis] 'pay for, buy, exchange' (Cv. ?eys 'exchange, change')
?ayxʷ [aigo] 'tired' (C)
?ay AS IN ?ay-əw̓t [aiet] 'dwell, stay home, sit, pl.' (C)
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