An edition of Father Post's Kalispel grammar

Brenda J. Speck
The University of Montana

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

Recommended Citation
https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/6123

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mail.lib.umt.edu.
AN EDITION OF FATHER POST'S KALISPEL GRAMMAR

By
Brenda J. Speck
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

Approved by:

[Signatures]
Chairman, Board of Examiners

[Signature]
Dean, Graduate School

[Signature]
Date: Aug 2, 1977
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 diminutiv. 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.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ................................................................. ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................ iii

Chapter
1. INTRODUCTION ......................................................... 1

2. PHONOLOGY ............................................................ 11
   2.1. Labials and Alveolars ........................................ 11
   2.2. Laterals .......................................................... 12
       2.2.1. 1: [t], 1: [1] ........................................ 12
       2.2.2. 1: [n] .................................................. 13
       2.2.3. t1: [Â] .................................................. 13
   2.3. Palatals ............................................................ 13
   2.4. Velars and Post-velars ....................................... 14
       2.4.1. Unrounded Post-velar Stops ........................ 14
       2.4.2. Rounded (Post)velar Stops ........................ 15
       2.4.3. (Post)velar Fricatives .............................. 17
   2.5. Glottals ............................................................ 19
       2.5.1. ? ....................................................... 19
       2.5.2. h ....................................................... 20
   2.6. Glides .............................................................. 21
   2.7. Vowels .............................................................. 22
   2.8. Stress ............................................................... 24
   2.9. Morphophonemic Alternations ............................ 25

3. ROOTS ................................................................. 30
   3.1. Intransitive Constructions ................................. 30
       3.1.1. Expanded Intransitive Constructions .............. 31
       3.1.2. Possessive Intransitives ............................ 32
           3.1.2.1. Unmarked 3rd person poss. intrans. ......... 32
           3.1.2.2. Poss. intrans. pronoun proclitics .......... 33

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
3.1.2.3. Possessive intransitive paradigm .......................... 33
3.1.2.4. Special forms ......................................................... 36
3.1.2.4.1. 2nd p. intransitive with
1st p. plural possessor ................................................. 36
3.1.2.4.2. 1st p. plural intrans.
with 2nd p. possessor .............................................. 36
3.1.2.4.3. 1st p. plural intrans.
with 3rd p. possessor .............................................. 36
3.1.2.4.4. Possessor-less intrans. ........................................ 36

3.2. Transitive Constructions .................................................. 37
3.2.1. Actor Referents ...................................................... 37
3.2.2. Goal Referents ....................................................... 38
3.2.2.1. Unmarked third person goals ...................... 38
3.2.2.2. 1st p. pl. actor, 3rd p. goal ...................... 39
3.2.2.3. Indefinite actor, 3rd p. goal ...................... 39
3.2.2.4. First person singular goal ......................... 39
3.2.2.5. Second person singular goal ....................... 40
3.2.2.6. First person plural goal .......................... 42
3.2.2.7. Second person plural goal ......................... 43
3.2.3. Transitive Imperatives ............................................. 44

4. BASIC MORPHOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTIONS ............................... 49
4.1. Aspect .............................................................................. 49
4.1.1. es- 'actual' ................................................................. 49
4.1.2. -i 'continuative' ............................................................ 50
4.1.3. -t 'stative' ................................................................. 50
4.1.4. qi- 'subjunctive' ............................................................ 51
4.1.4.1. qi- 'wishing; obligation; future' .................. 51
4.1.4.2. qi- 'dative of advantage' .............................. 53
4.2. Plural .............................................................................. 53
4.2.1. Reduplicative Plural Affixation .......................... 53
4.2.2. ui- 'plural' ................................................................. 55
4.2.3. -?i- 'plural' infix ............................................................. 55
4.2.4. Suppletive Plurals ..................................................... 55
4.2.5. Special Forms .................................................. 56
   4.2.5.1. Reduplicated singul ars .................................. 56
   4.2.5.2. Unmarked number ........................................... 57
   4.2.5.3. -éws/-élis plural forms .................................. 57
   4.2.5.4. Singular forms with plural force .......................... 58

4.3. Diminutives ....................................................... 59
   4.3.1. Diminutive Reduplicative Prefix ............................ 59
   4.3.2. i- 'diminutive' ............................................... 59

5. DERIVATION .......................................................... 64

5.1. Derivational Prefixes ............................................. 64
   5.1.1. s- 'nominal' .................................................... 64
   5.1.2. epî- 'have' ..................................................... 64
   5.1.3. Directionals ................................................... 66

5.2. Derivational Suffixes ............................................. 70
   5.2.1. -min, -tin, -min-tn 'instrumental' ......................... 70
   5.2.2. -nù 'transitive success' .................................... 73
   5.2.3. -nûnt 'intransitive success' ................................. 73
   5.2.4. -šiš 'indefinite benefactive' ................................. 73
   5.2.5. -m 'middle' .................................................... 74
   5.2.6. -ist 'reflexive' ................................................ 75
   5.2.7. Intransitive Imperatives .................................... 76
   5.2.8. Aspectual Suffixes ............................................ 76
      5.2.8.1. -lwis 'iterative' ......................................... 77
      5.2.8.2. -(w)ilš 'developmental' .................................. 77
      5.2.8.3. Reduplicative -(V)C₂ 'inchoative' ................. 77
      5.2.8.4. -émn 'habitual' ........................................... 78
   5.2.9. Modal Suffixes ................................................ 79
      5.2.9.1. -éls 'volitive, state of mind' ......................... 79
      5.2.9.2. -úš 'given to...' ....................................... 79
      5.2.9.3. (-m)-ut 'capability' ..................................... 80

5.3. Multiple Derivations ............................................. 80
   5.3.1. Detransitivized Stems ....................................... 80
      5.3.1.1. -wé?xʷ 'reciprocal' .................................... 81
      5.3.1.2. -cůt 'reflexive' ......................................... 81

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
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 Zerox copy of the typed manuscript (dated 1904) obtained by Anthony Mattina in 1970 from Fr. W. Schoenberg, who at that time was in charge of the archives.

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

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

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

After spending the years 1891-1895 at Sacred Heart Mission, DeSmet, Idaho, Post labored six years in Alaska at Akulurak, Holy Cross and St. Michael's missions. An 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 Spokan cognates in Carlson's Spokan dictionary, not a simple task, given not only that the orthographies were very different, but also that I first had to identify correctly the Kalispel grammatical constructions. Typically these include several affixes, which Post did not segment, and may be accompanied by particles which Post inconsistently joined to the words or wrote separately. This task was particularly difficult since I knew very little about the phonology, morphophonemics, and grammar of Salishan languages. I entered each item tentatively identified as a root on a card, listing there other forms also based on that root. I collated all the forms found in Post on about 700 cards. I found cognates for about two-thirds of the roots in Carlson's Spokan dictionary and in Vogt's Kalispel-English dictionary. I discovered cognates for many of the remaining roots by searching through Dr. Mattina's Colville and comparative Salish files (these forms are preceded by an asterik 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 asteriks 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 *čecem* 'where'. While this form is almost certainly based on the root *čen* 'interrogative locative', it has an unexplained final *m*, and an initial element *če* which could be either a reduplicative prefix *č-* or a
particle ᵃ '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 nkuinagalelsmen 'feel, think the same as'. There are two plausible analyses for this: nkw-i-n-?axl-éls-mn ('one-compound connective-locative-similar-volitive-instrumental') and nkw-i-n-?axl-éls-mn ('locative-under-locative-similar-volitive-instrumental'). Both analyses are tentative, and while the first would place the n- 'locative' prefix abnormally between the two roots of a compound, 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.
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. PHONOLGY

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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
  p & t & z & ch & k \\
  s & i & sh & g & h \\
  m & n & l \\
\end{array}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
p: [\tilde{p}] & t: [\tilde{t}] & z: [\tilde{c}] & t1: [\tilde{\tilde{t}}] & ch: [\tilde{\tilde{c}}] & ku: [k^\prime] & k: [\tilde{\tilde{q}}] & ko: [\tilde{\tilde{q}}^\prime] & [?] \\
s: [s] & i: [\tilde{i}] & sh: [\tilde{s}] & gu: [x^\prime] & g: [\tilde{x}] & go: [x^\prime'] & h: [h] \\
m: [m] & n: [n] & l: [\tilde{l}] & i: [\tilde{y}] & u: [w] \\
m: [\tilde{m}] & n: [\tilde{n}] & l: [\tilde{\tilde{l}}] & i: [\tilde{\tilde{y}}] & u: [\tilde{\tilde{w}}] \\
\end{array}
\]

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 \_m where one would expect \_n:

chechem : č-čeh  
'deep'

kokomeus : q^\prime-q^\prime n-os\_s  
'horse of one or two years'
Two other examples include _m_ in place of the expected _n_, reflecting perhaps some assimilation to the following [p]:

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

2.2. Laterals

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

2.2.1. 1 : [i], ɨ : [1]

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

Cases of ɨ presumably standing for [i] include:

muslopenchstaskat : mus-ɨ-?upn-čst-ásqt 'Lent'
smeel : s-me?ɨ 'man's brother's son or daughter'
ietelgoa : yeti?xá 'now'
geil : ɨxɨx 'scarcely, nearly'
znik : cnić 'they, theirs, he, his'
pizech1 : picčɨ 'leaf, leaves'
seulk : sewi-kɨ 'liqueur'
pelpilikui : pei-pi?kɨ 'women'
uelkup : weikɨ-p 'descend'
lkotistie : iqɨ?-u?t-ɨst-ye? (ye??) 'prostrated'
-elze : -e?ič? 'inside of anything, the whole'
-elgu : -e?ix? 'house'
-alka : -a?ɨq 'smell, grain, fruit'
kael- : *qc?i- 'offspring'

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

mei : mali (stress ?) 'to heal'
iskolka : ?isk'1-q (-q ?) 'scatter'
sicheul : s-1c-eM 'wooden raft'

2.2.2. l : [n]

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

telteleuie : t'n?-t'n-wéye? 'bat (mammal)'

2.2.3. tl : [ʎ]

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

tlaka : ʎaqli 'hot, warm'
gatzin : ʎ-cin 'horse'
kuitlt : ʎ'iwát 'several, other'
tlil : ʎil 'dead'

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

nkuitellemiis : nk'w-1-ʎ1-mi-s 'companion in death'
slokum : s-k'uk'-m '(wild) carrots'
ptagozch : pʎ-ax'cč 'bare-breasted'

The last two might be typographical errors.

In one word tl stands for [ʔt]:
goelx : ʎ'qtle 'without delay'

2.3. Palatals

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

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 [tʃ]:

szecht : s-ćešt 'man's wife's brother or sister's husband'
tshieus : či?-ćeš 'forever'

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

s'cheilegu : s-će-y-leťxʷ 'shady place'
es'chemtchinelu : es-ťm-t-ćnéixʷ (-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-šit 'tree'
ie ch'chee : ye č ć-e? 'a little this way'
ch'gut'telsi : č-xʷt-t-ěls-i 'angry'
s'sile : s-sile? '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-ťxʷ-ěls-i (mil ?) 'rest'
chita's : čtas 'lean, poor'
l'es-eimeus : l es-?eym-ćěš '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 [ʨ].

k : [q]

-kein : -quin 'head, hundred'
-aks : -aqs 'end, nose, road'
-alks : -alqs 'clothing, shirt'
ki- : qi- 'subjunctive'
lak : laq 'sit, sg.'
kgamin : qx-min 'horn'
pik : piq 'white'

k : [q]

tlaka : qa'q 'hot, warm'
skaspeui : s-qsp-ewi 'old boat'
nak : naq 'rotten (of animals)'

2.4.2. Rounded (Post)velar Stops

The rounded velars and post-velars are grossly under-differentiated in Post's orthography. Thus, ko stands for [k̈, k'w, k'u, k'w, q'w, q'w, q'u, q'w] and ku stands for [k'w, k'w, k'w, k'w] and in a very few cases for [q'w].

ko : [k̈]
skoalshin : s-k'al-šin 'crane (bird)'
skoangan : s-k'an-xn 'slave, captive'
koleuti : *k'1-ewt-i 'They sit/live together.'

ko : [k'w]
ko'e : k'w 'bite'
milko : milkw 'whole, all'
smekot : s-mek'-t 'snow (on the ground)'
iskol : ?isk'1l 'scatter, throw away'

ko : [k'w]
koie : k'uy?e 'I'
lkot : lk'-ut 'far'
ko : k'w 'me'
tkooti : tk'-út-i 'march'
komi : k'umi? 'would to God'
(cf. also komi : d'umi 'take away')
ko : [k'w]
skoi : s-k'wuy 'mother'
skomelt : *s-k'wum-lt 'virgin'
kol : k'wil 'work, make, do'
nko : nk'w? 'one'

ko : [q'w]
alko : -alq' 'long cylindrical object'
koel : q'wel 'ripe, ready to eat'
zkoakoi : čq'-aq'-i 'He is crying.'

ko : [q'w]
koeit : q'weit 'carry on the back'
golko : x'old' 'wagon'
gokolks : *x'q'-alqs 'snore'

ko : [q'u]
tkom : t'q'u-m 'She sews.'
lkot : lq'-ut 'He was lying there.'

ko : [q'u]
komi : q'umí 'take away'
snkotlishin : s-n-q'ušn 'stocking'

ko : [q'w]
komkan : q'om-qn 'hair'

ku : [k'w]
uku : ?uk' 'carry/bring'
skukuez : s-k'-k'?ec 'night'

ku : [k'w]
luku : lub 'wood'
kutkuiteps : k't-k'?eps 'flea'
kuinsh : k'ınš 'how many'

ku : [k'w]
kup : k'up 'push'
egukanem : eβ'-k'um-m 'say, speak'
ku : [k'u]

skukui : s-k'u-k'i

'woman's brother's child'

ku : [q']

skuselt : s-q's?-elt

'nephew'

skuui : s-q'u?i

'wasp'

kolkuelti : q'u-q'elt-i

'speaking'

Finally, Post writes uk for [k'u] three times, and k for [q'] once:

ituk : i-tuk'w

'It's rotten.'

melluk : melk'w

'being spread'

slukelgu : s-luk'w-ix'w

'log house'

olkshis : olq'-šiš

'help'

Two roots are inconsistently written, as follows:

\text{tuk}^{(u)} \ 'set down, laid down'

ntkueusem : n-tk'w-ews-m

'I place it in common.'

tkukuelp : tk'-k'-elp

'camp'

ntkoichen : n-tk'-ičn

'placed on the back'

sntkominten : s-n-tk'-min-tn

'place to lay one in'

nk'u? \ 'one'

snkuskeligu : s-nk'-sqélix'w

'neighbor'

nkoeu : nk'-ewi

'one boat'

nkoalko : nk'-alq'w

'cross'

2.4.3. (Post)velar Fricatives

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

g : [x]

\text{gaka} : xaq

'pay'

\text{sgalgalt} : s-χl-χal-t

'day'

\text{chgeilps} : čxil-ps

'gray'

\text{gnt} : χem-t

'heavy'

\text{azga} : ?ačχ

'watch, look at'
tag : tạx 'bitter'
pagpagt : pạx-pạx-t 'wise one'
keigtem : ǳiuxt-m 'fond of, wish to have'
go : [xʷ]
goizits : xʷic-í-t-s 'He cut it off for him.'
sgoelemen : s-xʷel-mm 'the devil'
aigo : ?aỳxʷ 'tired'
gopt : xʷup-t 'He's lazy.'
pgomilsh : pxʷm-ilš 'scattered'
gu : [xʷ]
guigueiúl : xʷi-xʷey-úl 'beast, animal'
squimtekú : s-xʷuym-tkʷ 'ice'
zitgu : citxʷ 'house'
lgp : lxʷu-p 'He got hurt.'
sgusigult : sxʷ-sixʷ-út 'child, children'
go : [xʷ]
goeit : xʷ?it 'many'
goemi : xʷe?-m-i 'flying, pl.'
goeus : xʷé?-us 'I hang it up.'
gomi : xʷmi 'please'
ingomutie : *ixʷ-m-útye? 'sewed together'
sogoelgu : s-oxʷ-eixʷ³ 'hut'
snîpogoshin : s-n-lpxʷ-šin 'nail foot-wound'
ngokopusaks : *n-xʷukʷ-po?š-aqs (po?š ?) 'forking road'

Occasionally og stands for [xʷ] and ug for [xʷ]:

ogtel : ?oxt-él 'baby'
ntogkein : n-txʷ-qin 'noon'
togamenzut : toxʷ-mn-cút 'amend himself'
ntogaks : n-txʷ-aqs 'straight road'
chelug : ɢluxʷ 'evening'
tugti : túxʷ-t-i 'flying'
In one word gu represents [χ'ω]:

guagualigu : *χ'ω-χ'olx' 'fox'

2.5. Glottals

2.5.1. ?

Glottal stops are never indicated in Post's transcriptions.

sinze : sīn-ce? 'man's younger brother'
goelechiti : χ'e?l-čst-i 'hasten, work quickly'
uz : ?uc 'perhaps, question of possibility'
eumin : eʔu-mín 'peeler'
aip : aʔi-p 'to run'
s'cheit : s-če?it 'spider'

On occasion Post's geminate vowels correspond to [ʔV] or [Vʔ]
sequences.

[ʔV]

kuaal : k'ʔal 'to grow'
szeesh : s-čeʔěš (stress ?) 'shame'
gees : *χʔes 'content'
leeu : lʔew 'man's father'
eep : ?eʔp 'wipe'
eem : ?em 'feed'
smeem : s-mʔem 'woman'
shiit : ŝʔit 'first'
nziilsh : n-čʔ-ilš 'go upstream'
chipoosatiku : *č-ʔ-pʔos-átk' 'foam on water'
smoot : s-mʔot 'smoke'
szooliguelgu : s-čʔulix'-éix' 'deer hide'
iizuzuups : i-cʔ-ʔ?ups 'woman's younger sister'
tlutluus : ʔuʔ-ʔʔ-ús 'to look for'
tkooti : tkʔʔ-út-i 'march, walk'
koop : qʔʔup 'It is tanned.'
spoos : s-pʔus 'heart'
20

saaimes : s-?aym-s  'hate'
lee : *l?e^5  'remain here'

[V?]
geen : xe^n  'forbid'
uee : we?  'to call'
smeel : s-me?i  'man's brother's child'
ïee : ie?  'end up, arrive'
skussee : s-q"se?  'son'
sgagee : s-CHA?xe?  'woman's husband's father or brother'
tee : te?6  '?'
shiimil : **si?-mil  'exceedingly'
tiim : ti?m  'to melt'
spiikalk : s-pi?q-áìq  'fruits'
kalii : qìli?  'lake'
chiitestusementgu : *č-śi?3-s-t-ús-m-n-t-x" (-s-t ?)  'You keep your eyes on it.'
skuüi : s-q"u?i  'wasp'
ìuu : ìu?  'sting, lance'

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

[qe?] and [qê?] are consistently transcribed kae by Post:
kae : qe?  'we, our, us'
snkaezin : s-n-ge?-cín  'Holy Communion'
cholzkac : čóisqe?7  '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'
kolincchehepi : *kì-n-čeh-ép-i  'He opens the door of the lodge.'
ah : ?ah  'Is it so!'
Where Carlson and Vogt record [ha] for the 'interrogative' particle, Post writes a. In a number of other cases it is Carlson who records h where Post and Vogt do not:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post and Vogt</th>
<th>Carlson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>han-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-</td>
<td>hin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-</td>
<td>hec-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anuí</td>
<td>hanwí? (?anwí?) 'you, sg.'</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 : yoqʷ 'to tell lies'
- topie : tůpyeʔ 'woman's grandparent or child'
- meie : meyé 'to tell, show, teach'
- koai : qʷay 'black'
- uensch : wenš 'to dance'
- skaleu : s-qlew 'beaver'
- cheulshi : čɛw-leş-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-xėlwiʔ 'husband'
- guigueiul : xʷi-xʷey-úi 'beast, animal'
- ziu : cyu 'before, not yet'
- liumstem : liw-m-s-t-ėm 'bell ring'
- sisius : si-sy-ūs 'brave, smart'

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

- tpieut : tpy-owt 'things are standing'
2.7. Vowels

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

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
guźîts : & x'\text{ič}-i-t-s & \text{'He gave it to him.'} \\
goźîts : & x'\text{ic}-i-t-s & \text{'He cut it off for him.'} \\
skûuí : & s-q'\text{u}i & \text{'wasp'} \\
skóøi : & s-q'\text{uí} & \text{'dust'} \\
chin zgup : & čin cx'\text{u}-p & \text{'I am growing feeble.'} \\
chin zgop : & čin *cx'\text{u}-p & \text{'I am growing better.'} \\
\end{align*}
\]
On the other hand, allophonic variation accounts for Post's transcription of a few cases of presumed /u/ as o:

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

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

- **a:** e
  - itgoas: ?ítxwe?-s 'his camas'
- **e:** a
  - mei: máli (?) 'to heal' (melemgu 'healed breast')
- **i:** e
  - -isshin: -esşn 'stone' (gasisshin 'beautiful stone')
  - kuin: k'en 'take, grab'
  - siin: syen (siyén) 'to count'
  - koiz: q'eč 'full' (nkoizelze 'full (person)')
  - lip: ēp 'dwindle' (chines āipsi 'my fire is going out')
  - skim: sđe-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]

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

paulegu : paa-úlex’  'burnt land'

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

paag : jąαx  'cure'
skool : s-ʔui  'dust'

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

siin : siyén (syen)  'to count'

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

zuut : cut  'behavior'
teləmiis : ʔ1-mi-s  'companions in death'

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

čin pu-pus-é·nč  'I am most sorry.'
kʷtú·n-t įu? i-s-ʔm-énč  '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) \( n \) of the possessive prefixes in- 'my' and an- 'thy' and of the proclitic čin 'I' is lost before \( s- \) 'nominal'. (Cf. also 6 below.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i-s-}k'\text{uy} & \quad \text{(< in-s-}k'\text{uy}) & \quad \text{'my mother'} \\
\text{a-s-p'us} & \quad \text{(< an-s-p'us}) & \quad \text{'your heart'} \\
\text{i čin } & \quad \text{čes, u ta i či (< čin) } & \quad \text{*s-č'es} \\
& \quad \text{'}I am not (?) well, I am not contented.'
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čmen} & \quad \text{'enemy'} & \quad \text{šmey-s} & \quad \text{'his enemy'} \\
\text{tap-mín} & \quad \text{'arrow'} & \quad \text{tap-mí-s} & \quad \text{'his arrow'} \\
\text{n-čaw-mm} & \quad \text{'prayer'} & \quad \text{n-čaw-mi-s} & \quad \text{'his prayer'}
\end{align*}
\]

3) -s 'third person possessive' becomes -c after \( s \) or \( ň \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ju? s-čes-t-s} & \quad \text{ju? s-tiš-c (}< s-}t\text{iš-s) ju? s-p'us-c} \\
& \quad \text{(}< s-p'us-s) ju? J.C.} \\
& \quad \text{'}How good and sweet is the heart of J.C.' (D II p. 438)
\end{align*}
\]

4) \( i \) of qí- 'subjunctive' is lost before \( s- \) 'nominal', es- 'actual', eī- 'back' and epí- 'have'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{či q-s-il'míx'w} & \quad \text{'}I want to be chief.'} \\
\text{či q-es-il'míx'w} & \quad \text{'}I want always to be chief.'} \\
& \quad \text{(for the deletion of } n \text{ of čin before qí-, see 6 below)} \\
\text{i-q-eī-x'ič-ī-t-m} & \quad \text{'}I wish to give it again.'} \\
\text{swet q-ep-stō? i?i?ō} & \quad \text{'}Who may own this?'
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ep-s-p'us} & \quad \text{'}He has a heart.'} \\
\text{čin ep-sx'w-six'w-lt} & \quad \text{'}I have children.'
\end{align*}
\]
6) n of in- 'my', an- 'thy', and čin 'I' deletes before qî- 'subjunctive'.

i-qî-nóxʷ-noxʷ
'I want her for my wife.' (D II p. 430)
čí qî-ilmixʷ
'I want to be the chief.'

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

'I visit the sick.'

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

a-s-ʔąčx-m
'Thou lookest at him.'

9) e of qe? 'we' becomes a before qî- 'subjunctive'.

qa? qî-n-χ-s-élče?-i
'Let us have clean vessels.' (D I p. 164)

10) Two identical contiguous consonants simplify:

i-s-ʔem-mín > i-s-ʔem-in 'my food'
s-n-mi-p-m-íst-tn > s-n-mi-p-m-íst-n 'confessional'

11) Metathesis: VC₂ of weak roots followed by unstressed suffixes metathesizes (C₂V):

kʷné-m (< kʷen-m) 'He took (something),'
čin es-ʔkʷú-m-i (es-ʔůkʷ-m-i) 'I am lying down.'

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

y-es-ʔu?-áq-i-t-m (in-es-ʔu?-áqs-i-t-em)
'I sting the nose of his...'

13) The first and third persons of the simple transitive paradigms, underlying /-n-t-en/ and /-n-t-es/, respectively, delete e then t when the root is stressed. Subsequently -n-n simplifies to -n by rule 10 above, and n vocalizes to i before s (rule 2 above), yielding -i-s.
27

(See also 3.2.2.1.)

wič-n (< wič-n-t-en) 'I see it.'
kwúl-i-s (< kwúl-n-t-es) 'I made it.'

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

kwúl-ci-t (< kwúl-en-n-t-si-et) 'We took thee.'
wič-n-c-n (< wič-n-t-si-en) 'I have seen thee.'

Third person actor forms with stressed roots are -n-c (< -n-c-s < -n-t-si-es)

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'.

nk'wo?-qin (< nk'w'q-cin) 'hundred'
?amó-t-qn (< ?emut-qin) 'old Indian god'
-aposq-qn (< -ep-us-qin) 'mouth, lips, throat'

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

y-es-maq-q-ám (< in-es-maq-q-émem) 'I forbid him to start.'
y-es-psa-p-ám (< in-es-psa-p-émem) 'I surprise him.'
es-psa-p-s-t-án (< es-psa-p-s-t-én) 'I make him wonder.'
y-es-psa-p-mán-m (< in-es-psa-p-mín-m) 'I wonder at him.'
psa-p-má-n (< psa-p-mín-n-t-en) 'I admire him.'
**es-pat-n-t-án (< es-pat-n-t-én) 'I poultice it.' (D I p. 479)
y-es-tma-i-t-ám (< in-es-tam-i-t-ém) 'I kiss his...'
tma-n-t-án (< tam-n-t-én) 'I kiss it.' (D I p. 564)
tma-i-t-án (< tam-i-t-én) 'I kiss his...'
tma-n-t-ák' (< tam-n-t-ék') 'Kiss his...'
n-tam-cé-n (< n-tam-cín-n-t-en); y-es-n-tam-can-m
'I kiss his mouth (lips).' (-cin 'mouth')
n-tam-cán-t (< n-tam-cín-n-t) 'Kiss his mouth (lips).'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
y-es-tm-áčs-m (< in-es-tam-ečs-m) ; ́tm-áčs-n (< ́tam-ečs-n-t-en)
'I kiss his hand.' (-ečs(t) 'hand')

n-́tm-ačs-n-t (< n-́tam-éčs-n-t) 'Kiss his hand!'
n-čal-átk™ (< n-čal-étk™) 'cold water'
či-p?os-átk™ (< či-p?os-étk™) 'foam on water'
es-č-s-čl-áws (< es-č-s-čil-ėws) 'thing hanging'
es-č-s-čl-ális (< es-č-s-čil-ėlis) 'things hanging'
čin  es-k̮i-n-čn-m-áp-i (< es-k̮i-n-čan-m-ėp-i) 'I lock the door.'
FOOTNOTES

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

2 Personal communication with Dr. Mattina.

3 Cf. Incashola's sx? -elx'.

4 -elx' remains unexplained, but cf. Vogt's cu'lix'elx' and Carlson's ?-ulix'-elx'.

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

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

7 For [s] is unexplained.

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

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


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

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

- Ail 'die'
- Nic 'cut/saw'
- Pyaq 'ripe'
- Qecq 'elder brother'
- Qett 'skin, hide'
- Swewl 'fish'
- Qwest 'deep snow'
- Xwilq 'wagon'

- Lič 'bind'
- **ı̯up 'lean/poor'
- 1?ew 'father (boy's)'
- Tu'm 'mother (girl's)'
- Qili? 'lake'
- S̱eneš 'stone'
- Čelš 'hand'

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

- Qa?u 'break'
- Iteye? 'evil, bad'
- Itükw 'rotten (wood)'
- Ñestám 'father (girl's)'

3.1. Intransitive Constructions

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

- Čin 'I'
- Qe? 'we'
- Kʷ 'thou'
- P 'you'

Third person singular and plural is unmarked.

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

- Čin 'I died.'
- Qe? 'We died.'
k'ul 'Thou died.' p äl 'You died.'
äl 'He/they died.' čin ća?l 'I was sick.'
čin ćenút 'I dwell.' čin ćenê 'I go on my way.'

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

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

3.1.1. Expanded Intransitive Constructions

Normally, roots are accompanied by affixes, the most common of which are es-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'ul 'I am made.'
čin es-k'ul-i 'I am made; I work.'
čin k'ul'-m 'I worked.'
čin es-?uk 'I am brought/carried.'
čin es-?uk'-i 'I am brought; I bring/carry.'
čin ?uk'-m 'I bring/carry.'
čin es-ća?l 'I am continually unwell.'
ća?l-m-í 'He is sick.'
čin es-ća?l-m-í 'I am continually unwell.'
p es-č-esél-i 'You are two by two.'
čal-t 'It is cold.'
es-suk'ü-t-i 'It is swollen.'
čin es-cûw-t-i 'I say.'
ma?v-p 'It broke accidentally.'
čin sli-p 'I mistook unintentionally.'
es-taal-p-m-í 'It becomes loose.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
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'
- **an-** 'thy'
- **qe?** 'our'
- **-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-?ew** 'He is my father.'
- **qe? l?ew** 'He is our father.'
- **an-?ew** 'He is thy father.'
- **l?ew-mp** 'He is your father.'
- **l?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**.

- **i** 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 **k**. 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.'
- **x?l-ci-s i-s-q'sé?** 'It is my son's horse.'
- **s-?k?uy-s ?kw1-n-cut-n** 'She is the Mother of God.'
- **s-p?us-c ?kw1-n-cut-n** 'It is the heart of God.'
- **če? ũu? ?xes-t an-xc-nûm-tn** 'Where are your nice clothes?'
- **x?l i-s-k'?t-s-qéltč u ?ayx'-t ũu? in-n-č?-emt-š̌w-tn** 'On account of corpulency my horse is tired out.'
33

'All tu? in-\(\chi\)-cîn nem an-\(\chi\)-cîn tu? k'\(\nu\)en
'My horse died; it is thy horse I will take.'
y-es-k'\(\nu\)ul-m 'It is my doing (I am doing/making it).'
a-s-k'\(\nu\)ul-m 'It is thy doing (thou art doing/making it).'
es-k'\(\nu\)ul-m-s 'It is his/their doing (he/they are doing it).'
qe? es-k'\(\nu\)ul-m 'It is our doing (we are doing/making it).'
es-k'\(\nu\)ul-m-p 'It is your doing (you are doing/making it).'

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

\[\begin{align*}
k'\(\nu\) & \quad 'I' & \quad \text{qe?} & \quad 'we' \\
k' & \quad 'thou' & \quad p & \quad 'you' \\
\end{align*}\]

Intransitive possessives translate in English as predicate nominatives:

\[\begin{align*}
k' & \quad \text{in-l'ew} & \quad 'Thou art my father.' \\
k'\(\nu\) & \quad \text{l'ew-s} & \quad 'I am his father.' (D I p. 546) \\
in-il'mix'\(\nu\)-m & \quad 'He is my chief.' \\
a-sin-ce? & \quad 'He is thy younger brother.' \\
k'\(\nu\) & \quad ec-wé'-m-s & \quad 'I am his calling (he calls to me).' (Bible p. 3) \\
k'\(\nu\) **člčič-s t s-túlix\(\nu\) & \quad 'You are the Lord of the world.' \\
in-nöx'-nox\(\nu\) tu? Marie & \quad 'I have Mary for wife (Mary is my wife).' \\
an-l'ew tu? k'\(\nu\)-n-cut-n & \quad 'You have God for father (God is your father).' \\
k'\(\nu\) an-il'mix'\(\nu\)-m, k'\(\nu\) an-k'\(\nu\)-n-cut-n & \quad 'I am thy chief, I, thy God.'
\end{align*}\]

3.1.2.3. Possessive intransitive paradigm. The complete posses-
sive intransitive paradigm is given in Table I. below. The transla-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
tions of these forms can be inferred on the model of the following:

\[ k'\text{u a-s-c-lić} \quad 'I am thy bound one; I am the one bound by thee.' \]
### TABLE 1

POSSESSIVE INTRANSITIVE PARADIGM WITH STRESSED ROOT \( \text{lic}^{3} \) 'bind'

<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></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(^{\text{u}}) a-s-c-lic(^{3})</td>
<td>k(^{\text{u}}) s-c-lic(^{3})-s</td>
<td>k(^{\text{u}}) s-c-lic(^{3})-mp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>k(^{\text{w}}) i-s-c-lic(^{3})</td>
<td>k(^{\text{w}}) s-c-lic(^{3})-s</td>
<td>k(^{\text{w}}) s-c-lic(^{3})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 General</td>
<td>i-s-c-lic(^{3})</td>
<td>a-s-c-lic(^{3})</td>
<td>s-c-lic(^{3})-s</td>
<td>qe(^{?}) s-c-lic(^{3})</td>
<td>s-c-lic(^{3})-mp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl.</td>
<td>qe(^{?}) s-c-lic(^{3})-il-t</td>
<td>qe(^{?}) s-c-lic(^{3})-il-s</td>
<td>qe(^{?}) s-c-lic(^{3})-il-t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>p i-s-c-lic(^{3})</td>
<td>p s-c-lic(^{3})-s</td>
<td>p s-c-lic(^{3})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35
3.1.2.4. Special forms. Special forms with first person plural and with second and third person possessor are explained in sections 3.1.2.4.1. - 3.1.2.4.4. below.

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

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

3.1.2.4.2. First person plural intransitives with second person possessor suffix -\text{\texttt{ull}} (-\text{\texttt{il}} with a stressed root), plus -t 'your (sg. and pl.)'. 5

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

3.1.2.4.3. First person plural intransitives with third person possessor also suffix -\text{\texttt{ull}} (-\text{\texttt{il}} with a stressed base), plus -s 'his/their'.

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{k}^{w}\text{ u es-}1\text{či-m} & (\text{NOT: k}^{w}\text{ u es-}1\text{či-m-s}) \text{I am being bound by someone.}'
\end{align*}
\]
'Someone looks at me (I am looked at by someone).'

'Someone looks at thee (thou art looked at by someone).'

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

'Someone looks at us (we are looked at by someone).'

'Someone looks at you (you are looked at by someone).'

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

```
n-ʔey-s-n (< n-ʔey-s-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-š-t-n 'I pay for him, help him paying.'
```

3.2.1. Actor Referents

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

- en 'I'
- 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:

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

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.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{k’uł-n} & \text{'I made it.'} \\
\text{es-k’uł-s-t-n} & \text{'I made it always.'} \\
\text{k’uł-i-s} & \text{'He made it.'} \\
\text{k’uł-s-t-s} & \text{'He made it always.'} \\
\end{array}
\]

Other examples:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{?uk’-n} & \text{'I bring/carry it.'} \\
\text{čew-s-n (<čew-us-n)} & \text{'I wash his face.'} \\
\text{iu?-ěčs-n} & \text{'I sting his hand.'} \\
\text{iu?-áqs-n} & \text{'I sting his nose.'} \\
\text{iu?-ús-n} & \text{'I sting his face.'} \\
\text{n-qe?-cí-n (<n-qe?-cín-n-t-en)} & \text{'I gave Holy Communion to him.'} \\
\text{ul-n-t-én} & \text{'I burn it.'} \\
\text{*ćěšt-n-t-en} & \text{'I guard it.'} \\
\text{ki-n-t-én} & \text{'I cause him to die.'} \\
\text{iu?-n-t-éč} & \text{'I wound/lance it.'} \\
\text{sq-n-t-én} & \text{'I split it.'} \\
\end{array}
\]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
'I cause him to stop.'
'I make him to rejoice.'
'I wound the hand of his...'
'I sting the nose of his...'
'I carry his...
'I guard his...'
'I sting his...'
'I split his...'
'I pray for him.'
'I tell him news.'
'I split for him (help him split).'
'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 (<?iin-n-t-em) 'We ate it.'
qe? cun-t-m (<?cun-n-t-em) 'We said it.'

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

?iin-t-m (<?iin-n-t-em) 'Someone ate it, it is eaten.'
cun-t-m (<?cun-n-t-em) 'Someone said it, it is said.'
?ačx-n-t-m 'Someone looked at them.'
x’ič-i-t-m 'Someone gave it to him.'
s’ti-p-éys-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:

'lt was done by my younger brother.'

'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.

\[ k\'u \ ?\acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{c}}\check{x}-i-s \] 'He looked at me.'
\[ k\'u \ \check{\text{c}}\text{aw}-\acute{\text{s}}-t-s \] 'He prayed for me.'
\[ k\'u \ x\acute{\text{u}}\text{i}\acute{\text{c}}-i-t-s \] 'He gave it to me.'
\[ k\'u \ c-\acute{\text{q}}\acute{i}?-\acute{\text{s}}\acute{i}-t-s \] 'He wrote to me.'
\[ \check{\text{c}}\text{in} \ nt-\text{els} \ k\'u \ x\acute{\text{u}}\text{i}\acute{\text{c}}-i-t-x^\prime \]
'I thought thou to have given it to me.'
\[ k\'u \ ?\acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{c}}\check{x}-n-t-m \] 'Someone looked at me.'
\[ k\'u \ \text{cun}-t-m \] 'Someone told me; I have been told.'
\[ k\'u \ \check{\text{xal}}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{t}}-n-t-m \] 'I have been invited by someone.'
\[ k\'u \ n-\text{?awqn}-t-m \] 'I was admonished by someone.'
\[ k\'u \ \text{lc}-n-t-m \] 'Someone has bound me; I have been bound.'
\[ k\'u \ k\'\check{\text{n}}-t-em \] 'I have been taken by someone.'
\[ k\'u \ x\acute{\text{u}}\text{i}\acute{\text{c}}-i-t-em \] 'Someone gave it to me; it was given to me.'
\[ k\'u \ m\acute{\text{x}}-i-t-em \] 'My thing has been snowed upon.'
\[ k\'u \ \text{es-\check{c}}\text{aw}-\acute{\text{s}}-t-m \] 'Someone prays for me.'
\[ k\'u \ c-\acute{\text{q}}\acute{i}?-\acute{\text{s}}\acute{i}-t-m \] 'Someone has written to me.'
\[ \check{\text{xes}}-\text{t} \ k\'u \ n-\text{l}\acute{\text{o}}-n-t-\acute{\text{e}}m \] 'I deserve to be put in jail.'

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

\[ *\check{\text{c}}\acute{\text{e}}\check{\text{t}}-n-c\acute{i}-n \ (< *\check{\text{c}}\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{t}}-n-t-\text{si-en}) \] 'I guarded thee.'
\[ \check{\text{e}}\text{s-mi}-i-\text{ci}-n \ (< \text{es-mi-i-t-\text{si-en}) \ iu? \ q-s-q^\acute{\prime}l-q^\acute{\prime}el-t-m \]
'I know what you say.'
\[ \acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{c}}\check{x}-n-c-n \ (< \acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{c}}\check{x}-n-t-\text{si-en}) \] 'I looked at thee.'
\[ n-\text{xl}-\acute{\text{xel}}-i-c-n \ iu? \ a-s-q^\acute{\prime}se? \]
'I scare your son.'
\[ k\'\check{\text{ul}}-i-c-n \ iu? \ a-s-q^\acute{\prime}se? \]
'I sent your son.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
k'ul-i-c-n ńu? ı-s-q'sé?

'I sent my son for you.'
(D I p. 32)

n-ńe?-cín-i-c-n ńu? a-s-q'sé?

'I gave Holy Communion to your son.'

*čšt'-n-ci-t (< *čšt'-n-t-sí-et) 'We guarded thee.'

**ččq-n-ci-t 'We cured thee.'

?ačx'-n-c-t (< ?áčx'-n-t-sí-et) 'We looked at thee.'

*čšt'-n-ci-s (< *čšt'-n-t-sí-es) 'He guarded thee.'

?ačx'-n-c (< ?áčx'-n-t-sí-es)10 'He looked at thee.'

k'en-c (< k'en-t-sí-es) 'He took thee.' (D I p. 330)

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

es-'áčx'-s-t-m-n 'I looked at thee.'

*es-čšt'-s-t-úm-n 'I guarded thee.'

šaw-š-t-m-n 'I prayed for thee.'

mi-mi-ší-t-m-n 'I told news to thee.'

es-'áčx'-s-t-m-s 'He looked at thee.'

*es-čšt'-s-t-úm-s 'He guarded thee.'

šaw-š-t-m-s 'He prayed for thee.'

mi-mi-ší-t-m-s 'He told news to thee.'

es-'áčx'-s-t-m-t 'We looked at thee.'

*es-čšt'-s-t-úm-t 'We guard thee.'

šaw-š-t-m-t 'We prayed for thee.'

mi-mi-ší-t-m-t 'We told news to thee.'

n-xl-čel-š-t-m-n ńu? a-s-q'sé? 'I scare your son for you.'

es-čm-čnš-s-t-šu? šey u es-ąym-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ačx-n-c-t</td>
<td>&quot;Someone looked at thee (we looked at thee).&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mč-x-n-ci-t</td>
<td>&quot;Thou hast been snowed (we have snowed thee).&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ćaw-š-t-m-t</td>
<td>&quot;Someone prays for thee (we pray for thee).&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(Bible p. 34)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iu? a-s-c-k'én téye? ńe ei-q'1-q'il-i-ci-t</td>
<td>'Your sins are already forgiven you.' (Bible p. 60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iu? k' es-n-q'n-m-ítúmš-i (-m-?) nem ei-c-n-q'n-m-n-ci-t</td>
<td>'If thou art merciful to people, people will also be merciful to thee.' (Bible p. 66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta a-q-ei-k'i-n-čs-tín, ńi tlcí? m čs-t-ši-t-m-t</td>
<td>'Sin no more, lest worse should befall thee.' (Bible p. 63)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -iul (-i with stressed base) replaces -n-t, -s-t, or -t-t. The proclitic qeʔ and the suffix -l mark first person plural goal. Second person singular and plural actor is -t. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qe? *čščt-iul-l-t</td>
<td>'You (sg. or pl.) guarded us.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe? *čščt-iul-l-s</td>
<td>'He/they guarded us.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe? ačx-š-l-t</td>
<td>'You (sg. or pl.) looked at us.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe? ačx-š-l-s</td>
<td>'He/they looked at us.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe? **čltič-š-l-s t č&quot;old&quot;</td>
<td>'He gave us a wagon (made us the owners).' (D I p. 50)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

qeʔ ْچاَو-ش-ی-ل-ت 'You (sg. or pl.) prayed for us.'
qeʔ ْچاَو-ش-ی-ل-س 'He/they prayed for us.'
qeʔ ْمی-می-شی-ی-ل-ت 'You (sg. or pl.) told news to us.'
qeʔ ْمی-می-شی-ی-ل-س 'He/they told news to us.'

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

qeʔ ْاچخ-ی-ل-ت 'Someone looked at us (you looked at us).'  
qeʔ ْءاخ-ش-ی-ل-ت 'Someone prays for us (you pray for us).'  
qeʔ ْءاخ-ش-ی-ل-س 'Someone gave it to us (you gave it to us).'  
qeʔ ْمک-ش-ی-ل-ت 'We got snowed (you snowed us).'

kʷ swet ین ne qaʔ q-e١-١١١١-ذ m یu؟ t ِۡeۡy u qeʔ c-kšul-l-1-t  
'Who art thou that we may tell it to those who sent us hither.'  
(Bible p. 50)

3.2.2.7. Simple, causative, and relational transitives with second person plural goals also replace -n-t, -s-t, and -1-t, respectively, with -ıul (-1 with stressed root). The second person plural goal suffix is -m which follows -ıul and precedes the actor suffixes.

*شی-ش-ی-ل-م-ن 'I guarded you.'  
*شی-ش-ی-ل-م-ت 'We guarded you.'  
*شی-ش-ی-ل-م-s 'He/they guarded you.'  
؟اچخ-ی-م-ن 'I looked at you.'  
؟اچخ-ی-م-t 'We looked at you.'  
؟اچخ-ی-م-s 'He/they looked at you.'

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

ْچاَو-ش-ی-م-ن 'I prayed for you.'  
ْچاَو-ش-ی-م-t 'We prayed for you.'
ćaw-š-i-m-s  'He/they prayed for you.'
mi-mi-ši-i-m-n  'I told news to you.'
mi-mi-ši-i-m-t  'We told news to you.'
mi-mi-ši-i-m-s  '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.)

?acx-i-m-t  'Someone looked at you (we looked at you).'
ćaw-š-i-m-t  'Someone prays for you (we pray for you).'
x'ič-i-m-t  '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:

?uk'-n-t  'Bring/carry it!'
ćew-s-n-t (< cew-us-n-t)  'Wash his face!'
n-?eys-n-t  'Pay for it!'
ulí-n-t  'Burn it!'
*čši-i-n-t  'Guard it!'
sđe-n-t  'Split it!'
č'tm-aldq'-n-t  'Kiss the cross!'
n-tam-acs-n-t (< n-tam-čěs-n-t [see 2.9.])  'Kiss his hand!'
n-tam-cin-n-t (< n-tam-cin-n-t [see 2.9.])  'Kiss his mouth!'
xaq-n-t  'Pay them from the last to the first!'

µi x'ič-i-t  'Please give it to him.'
k'u mi-cí-i-t  i-s-qµl-q'él  'Interpret my words.'
mi-mi-ši-t  'Tell him news!'
čaw-š-t 'Pray for him!'
n-ʔey-š-t 'Pay for him!'
ʔuʔ-ši-t 'Lance for him!'
sq-ši-t 'Split for him (help him split)!'

-ᵯ is suffixed to these forms for plural reference:

kʷúl-n-t-ᵯ 'Make ye it!'
ací-n-t-ᵯ 'Tie ye it!'

Causative transitives suffix -ekʷ in imperative form. With a stressed root, -s-t-ekʷ reduces to -s-kʷ.₁³ -ᵯ marks plural reference:

es-n-ʔey-s-kʷ 'Pay for it!'
es-kʷúl-s-kʷ 'Make it!'
es-kʷúl-s-kʷ-ᵯ 'Make ye it!'
es-ac-s-t-ékʷ 'Tie it!'
es-ac-s-t-ékʷ-ᵯ 'Tie ye it!'

Not well understood is -ekʷ 'imperative, sg.' added to apparently simple transitive stems, as in the following case:

ʔuʔ-n-t-ékʷ 'Lance it!'
FOOTNOTES

1 Post gives examples of ec-, allomorph of es-: ec-?axîl 'it is like', ec-milk '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:

- qa?u-p 'It was broken by accident.'
  (es-qa?u 'It is broken.')
- hemî-p 'It is getting cloudy.'
- miy-p 'It becomes evident.'
- ñáá-p 'It caught fire accidentally.'
- xami-p 'It is dry.'
- mx٠٠u-p 'It snows.'
- čin es-wéik'p-i 'I descend (from heaven, mountain...).'  
- es-mx٠٠p-m'i 'It snows.'
- ča?u-p-éple? 'The handle broke.'
- ti-p'éys 'It rains.'
- či-ml-p-éne? 'flooded all over'
- xam-p-ulo?x 'a place dry accidentally'
- sli-p 'He made a mistake.'

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

I have borrowed Carlson's terminology for these affixes. He describes the function of 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 -m[ł] 'instrumental'. (Vogt pp. 28-29 nn. 68-69, p. 42 n. 113, p. 51 n. 150, p. 59 nn. 167, 169)

Post does not discuss the cooccurrence restrictions of these affixes.

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

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

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

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

es-ac-s-t-én 'I tied it constantly.'
naq'-m-l-t-én 'I stole this from Peter.'
\text{naq}^{\prime \prime}\text{-š-t-én}\quad \text{'I stole for Peter, helped him stealing.'}

\text{\textsuperscript{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)

\text{\textsuperscript{9}} Carlson shows affrication of -\text{ts} to -\text{c} in similar forms in Spokane.

\text{\textsuperscript{10}} Note that Post shows \text{k'\text{en}} as a strong root in this form and as a weak root in \text{k'\text{n-ci-t}} above.

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

\text{\textsuperscript{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).

\text{\textsuperscript{13}} Carlson states that -k' replaces -t 'control' ['transitive'] for the imperative of causative stems in Spokane (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>Kalispel</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čin es-wíl</td>
<td>'I am burned.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-čéw-s</td>
<td>'My face is washed.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-wíč</td>
<td>'I am seen.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-n-?ėys</td>
<td>'I am paid for; I am bought.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-x'ūy</td>
<td>'I go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-itúk&quot;</td>
<td>'I rot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-salúse?</td>
<td>'It hails.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-q&quot;úp</td>
<td>'It is tanned.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-k&quot;en</td>
<td>'It is taken.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-láq</td>
<td>'It is buried.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-č-túx&quot;</td>
<td>'It is added.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-ióc</td>
<td>'It is smashed.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
es-nič
'es-nic
'es-nimap
'es-púte
'es-țey
'es-milk
'es-xim
čin es-q'ác-qn
čin es-q'ul-eps²

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

4.1.2. -i 'continuative'

-ı 'continuative' always cooccurs with es-'actual' in simple
intransitive constructions:
čin es-yúl-i
čin es-wenš-i
čin es-țey-cn-i
čin es-țey-čst-i
čin es-țens-i
čin es-k'ne-y
čin es-țx'ů-y
čin es-țaw-i
čin es-țačx-i
čin es-wán-i
čin es-six"-i ; čin es-six" 
čin es-țisk'y-i ; čin es-țisk'y 
čin es-nič-i ; čin es-nič 
čin es-q'eyl-i
čin es-țep-s-i
čin **es-móyx-i

'I dance (women only).'</n
'I dance (men only).'</n
'I take revenge by my words.'
'I take revenge by my actions.'
'I start, change place.'</n
'I take, hold on.'
'I dry clothes.'
'I recite.'
'I look on.'
'I hasten.'</n
'I am poured out.'
'I am thrown away.'
'I am cut, sawed.'</n
'I solicit, invite (to do right or wrong).'</n
'My fire is going out.' (D II p. 146)
'I practice Indian juggling to find out enemies.'

4.1.3. -t 'stative'

-stative' is added to roots in constructions which often translate in English as predicate adjectives:
k’tun-t  'It is big, great, high, tall.'
q’eč-t  'It is full.'
ḫem-t  'It is heavy.'
ḥic-t  'It is hard by nature.'
ḥax-t  'It is lively, quick (inanimate).'
pšîl-t  'It is thick (cloth or the like).'
*ḫul-t  'It is thick (tree or the like).'
čin ʔa[ym-t  'I was angry.'
čin es-ʔa[ym-t-i  'I am mad.'
k’u es-ʔa[ym-t-i  'One is vexed, angry (on se fache).'</čin  xsi-t-i  'I become good.'

4.1.4. qi- 'subjunctive'

qi- 'subjunctive' occurs in both transitive and intransitive constructions. i of qi- 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 qi-. (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. qi- 'wishing; obligation; future'

či q-s-xš-t-i  'I want to be good.'
či q-es-xš-t-i  'I want always to be good.'
q-s-κ’ul-n  'I want to do it.'
q-es-κ’ul-s-t-n  'I wanted always to do it.'
i-qi-nóx’-ñox’  'I want her for my wife.' (D II p. 430)
či q-s-ʔl-ʔelt-i  'I have the wish to talk.'
či q-es-ilmix’  'I want always to be a chief.'
‘u? χ’l t i-q-s-ʔix MX u es-čq’-áq’-i  'On account of my wishing to start, he is crying.'
a-qa-s-x’ič-ı-t-m  'Thou must give it to him.'
'You must give me some food.'
'You deserve to be flogged.'
'One must have been angry.'
'One must be angry.'
'Make me a whip.'
'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)
4.1.4.2. qi- 'dative of advantage'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>qi-swet u k^w es-k^úl-i</th>
<th>'For whom are you working?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-qi-k^uy?é</td>
<td>'For me.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi-cn\itc</td>
<td>'For him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha qi-k^uy?é</td>
<td>'Is it for me?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-qi-an\itw?</td>
<td>'It is for thee.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha qa? qi-qe?mpl^é?</td>
<td>'Is it for us?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2. Plural

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

4.2.1. Reduplicative Plural Affixation

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

a) a reduplicative prefix, C\_1C\_2- of root:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-^c^m</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-k^Ist-elt</td>
<td>'angel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**s-pl^m-cm^5</td>
<td>'mouth, lip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-qap^s^l</td>
<td>'wing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-k^A-us</td>
<td>'face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q^léwi</td>
<td>'onion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-mq^w-ewt</td>
<td>'hillock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-^c^m-^c^m</td>
<td>'bones'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-k^l-k^Ist-elt</td>
<td>'angels'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**s-pl-pl^m-cm</td>
<td>'mouths, lips'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-qp-qap^s^l</td>
<td>'wings'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-k^t-k^A-us</td>
<td>'faces'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q^l-q^léwi</td>
<td>'onions'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-mq^w-moq^w-t-^lé?x^w (-t- ?)</td>
<td>'hillocks'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
es-moq' 'mountain' es-moq' 'mountains'
χ'olq' 'wagon' χ'olq' 'wagons'
s-xelwi? 'husbands' s-xelwi? 'husbands'
s-k'uy 'mother' s-k'uy 'mothers'
q̃-min 'horn' q̃-min 'horns'
s-qltmix' 'man' s-qltmix' 'men'
s-?u?-?śin 'foot, leg' s-?u?-?śin 'feet'
s-?e?y-le?x' 'shady place' s-?e?y-le?x' 'shady places'
nic-mn 'saw' nic-mn 'saws'
slaq 'mosquito' slaq 'mosquitoes'
s-ne?lce 'elk' s-ne?lce 'elk, pl.'
s-qlew 'beaver' s-qlew 'beaver, pl.'
?olí-n 'belly' ?olí-n 'bellies'
xes-t 'good one' xes-t 'good ones'
k'tun-t 'big one' k'tun-t 'big ones'
*ylit-t 'bulky one' *ylit-t 'bulky ones'
č-naqs 'one' č-naqs 'one'
ec-?axil 'one like to' ec-?axil 'those like to'
es-k'ul 'They work here and there, not together; each one is working.'
čaq 'We go together.'
cin es-xl 'I often gather people.'
č-bǐ 'They are three by three.'
em qe? č-nq-naqs-mi-l-s m qe?'č-bǐ' 'He will judge us one by one.'

b) a reduplicative prefix C₁(V)- of root:
s-će?it 'spider' s-će?it 'spiders'
s-ćt-m-sqélix' 'half-breed' s-ćt-m-sqélix' 'half-breeds'
s-k'al-śin 'crane (bird)' s-k'al-śin 'cranes (bird)'
s-q'se? 'son' s-q'se? 'sons'
s-ćw-axn 'arm' s-ćw-axn 'arms'
c) a reduplicative prefix VC- (or VC₁C₂- if the root is bi-consonantal):

s-ox'-éix' "hut"  s-ox'-ox'-éix' 'huts'

s-ups  'tail'  s-ups-ups  'tails'

čin es-ac-ac-m-í 'I break some (as horses).'
čin es-č-oý-oý-ítúmsš 'I mock people often.'
(Cf.: čin es-č-oý-m-í 'I mock someone.')

4.2.2. \textit{ui-} 'plural'

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item sín-ce? 'younger brother'  uí-sín-ce? 'younger brothers'
  \item naq'-émn 'thief'  uí-naq'-émn 'thieves'
  \item q'ñ-q'íñ-t 'poor one'  uí-q'ñ-q'íñ-t 'poor ones'
  \item yo-yó-t 'strong one'  uí-yó-yó-t 'strong ones'
  \item px-pax-t 'wise one'  uí-px-pax-t 'wise ones'
  \item nox'-nox' 'wife'  uí-nox'-nox' 'wives'
\end{itemize}

4.2.3. -?-'plural' Infix

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

es-k'ú?lí-i 'They work (collectively).'

4.2.4. Suppletive Plurals

Some plural roots replace their singular counterparts:

\begin{itemize}
  \item s-k'ú-k'ínum-ít 'little one'  s-c-ch-číl 'little ones'
  \item k'ú-k'únum-c' 'small one'  s-c-ch-číl 'small ones'
  \item ?eč-s-wíš 'erect one'  tpy-éšt 'standing ones'
  \item es-šit 'tree'  s-čl-číl 'trees'
\end{itemize}
s-m'em 'woman'
s-tq-lscut 'goods'
čin es-?emút
qe? es-?ay-éwt-i
čin es-qéc-ilš
qe? es-č"ulš-sš-i
čin es-oý-n-cút-i
qe? es-čwa-čwe-s-m-i
čin es-čč-s-wiš-i
čin es-téš-ilš-i
qe? es-tptí-p-m-i
čin es-túxt-i
qe? es-čwe'-m-i
čin es-kwé-y; čin kwé-ne-m
čin es-č'umí; čin č'um-m
y-es-čx't-p-mín-m
qe? es-ch-fy'-čls-m
čin es-čkú-m-i
čin es-qamín-i
qe? es-qamín-i

Some suppletive plural forms exist alongside regular plurals:
čin es-q1-qélit-i 'I talk.'
qe? es-q1-qélit-i; qe? es-qam-qam-ilš-i 'We talk.'
čin es-č1-m-i 'I die.'
qe? es-č1-m-i; qe? es-čmí?-p-m-i 'We die.'
čin es-n-čúx'i 'I enter.'
qe? es-n-čúx'-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>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'fisheggs'</td>
<td>'leaves'</td>
<td>'dog(s)'</td>
<td>'year(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rattlesnake(s)'</td>
<td>s-pentč</td>
<td>'book(s)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'horse(s)'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'hair(s)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fish'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'louse, lice'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stone(s)'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'prayer(s)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bowels'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'egg(s)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.5.2. A few forms have unmarked number:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'fisheggs'</td>
<td>'leaves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rattlesnake(s)'</td>
<td>s-pentč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'horse(s)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fish'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stone(s)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bowels'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'egg(s)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-ntps-ews</td>
<td>'jointed, joint'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
s-n-tsps-élis  'joints'
sin-ce?-éws  'They are brothers.'
qe? sin-ce?-élis  'We are all brothers.'
ec-?x-?axl-élis  'They all look the same.'
y-es-nox"-nox"-éws-m  'I join the two in matrimony.'
y-es-nox"-nox"-élis-m  'I join several couples in matrimony.'
cin es-lič-éws-i  'I tie two.'
cin es-lič-élis-i  'I tie a number of them, two by two.'
**es-čqat-éws  'piled up'
**es-čqat-élis 10 'things piled up'

Note the different meanings of the following pairs:
s-n-čp-éws  'soul'  s-n-čp-élis  'souls of one'
s-n-č-čp-éws  'souls of many'
n-čl-éws  'bridge'  n-čl-élis  'bridges'
n-čl-čl-éws  'bridges'

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

Ae x"?it u n-?awqn-c-n ûu? k" i-s-nk"-sx"-sîx", u ta k"u es-séw-ne?-m-s-t-x"  'Already often have I warned you, my brothers, and never have you listened to me.'

i anwi? u čin es-q"1-q"êlt-i 1 k" s-wi?-wi?-mûmt  '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:

qe? es-tk"-út-i OR čin es-tk"-út-i  'We march off.'
čin es-tk"-tk"-út-i  'We go several in several bands.'
qe? es-n?-es-sél OR čin es-n?-es-sél  'We both ride on the same horse.'
in-n-č-?ay-ut-éws-tn  'Our riding horses, our riding outfit.'
(Cf.:  in-n-č-?emt-éws-tn  'My riding horse.')
4.3. **Diminutives**

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

- `s-ti-p-ey`s 'rain'  
- `**s-lw-eyes` 'little rain'  
- `n-q'-q'sh-im-ch-i-šn` 'dog'  
- `s-ši'-ti'-q'-čime` 'little dog'  
- `im-imaye?` 'frog'  
- `**qal-qal-áqs` 'small frog'

Often, however, Kalispel diminutives are formed by affixation.

### 4.3.1. Diminutive Reduplicative Prefix

A reduplicative prefix, `iɪ`- of the root, indicates a diminutive:

- `čin es-ši-ši'-ki-ši`-i` 'I work.'  
- `čin es-ši-ši'-ki-ši`-i` 'I work a little.'  
- `nići`-mn  
- `nići`-ni`' 'saw'  
- `nići`-ni`' 'little saw, knife'

### 4.3.2. `i-` 'diminutive'

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

  - `ul-ulí-m` 'money'  
  - `i-ul-ulí-m` 'little money'  
  - `s-x'-tip` 'rib'  
  - `s-i-x'-tip` 'little rib'  
  - `es-mół'w` 'mountain'  
  - `es-i-mół-mół`-12 'little mountain'  
  - `x'olq`w` 'wagon'  
  - `i-x'olq-x'olq`w` 'little wagon'  
  - `sipi` 'rope'  
  - `i-si-spi` 'little rope'  
  - `cśpin` 'neck'  
  - `i-cśpin` 'small neck'  
  - `*i-ši-ši'-ki-ši`-i` 'small person'  
  - `i-x'ip-x'ip-ec`-14 'short (thing)'  
  - `čin es-oý-n-cút-i`  
  - `čin es-oý-n-cút-i` 'I laugh.'  
  - `čin es-ši'-ni-ši`-i` 'I eat.'  
  - `čin es-ši'-ni-ši`-i` 'I eat a little.'  
  - `čin es-ši'-ni-ši`-i` 'I am angry.'  
  - `čin es-č-x'ip-x'ip-čl-čl`-i` 'I was a little angry.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Čin</th>
<th>es-ʤsp-m-ī</th>
<th>'I stay long.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Čin</td>
<td>es-ʤ-ʤsp-m-ī</td>
<td>'I stay a little long.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čin</td>
<td>es-n-sȗxʷ-neʔ-i</td>
<td>'I understand.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čin</td>
<td>es-n-₁-sȗ-sxʷ-neʔ-i</td>
<td>'I understand a little.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FOOTNOTES

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

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

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

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

Cf. also the following reduplicative patterns:

qvey1-qveit 'lively in running'
qvey3-qvemt 'lively in working'

5 Cf. Carlson's s-pli-á-m-cn.

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

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

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

čin es-čew-iš-i 'I grow old.'
qe? **es-čew-iš-i 'We grow old.'
čin es-ciw-ulś 'I climb up a ladder.'
qe? **es-čw-ěw-ulś 'We climb up a ladder.'
čin es-iáq-š1ś-i (-š1ś ?) 'I sit down.'
qe? es-iáq-q-wi 'We sit down.'

This reduplicative suffix is also seen in:

- e-čiw-t (e- ?)'the last one'
e-čw-ěw-t 'the last ones'
čaq" 'cry'
čq"-aq" 'crying'
k'wil 'red'
k'w-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:

ilāwyè? 'man's great-grandfather'
i-čičše? 'older sister'
či-čye? 'sister's daughter's son'
čéwe? 'woman's brother-in-law'
ɪqaqcə? 'woman's older brother'
qóncə? 'woman's sibling's son's son, grandmother'
qaqe? 'man's mother's sister'
s-q"se? 'son'
xə?xe? 'woman's husband's father or brother'
síle? 'woman's grandfather or sister's daughter's son'
ɪuyye? 'woman's grandparent or grandchild'
χəpə? 'man's grandfather'
q"tâx"we? 'louse, lice'
s-x"u-x"we? 'ant'
ʔu-ʔuse? 'egg(s)'
ʔɪtx"we? 'camas'

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

10 Perhaps the pair es-č-s-čl-áws 'thing hanging', es-č-s-čl-ális '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).
Vogt has esiamogu.

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

14 e in this form is unexplained.
5. DERIVATION

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

5.1. Derivational Prefixes

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

5.1.1. s- 'nominal'

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

- s-xes-t 'goodness'
- s-k'wul 'the work'
- s-k'tun-t 'greatness'
- s-teye? 'badness'
- s-lk'ut 'distance'
- s-qa'sip 'old thing'
- s-c-c-cox 'wilfully'
- hoy-s-t-s iii? s-c-q'l-q'elt-s 'He stopped to talk.'
- i-s-c-xaa u xa-p
  'I fanned it (my fanning) and it did not (?) cool off.'
- i cin xes, u ta i ci s-s-x?es
  'I am not (?) well, I am not contented.' (D I p. 162)
- u pentč u či s-ćč-s-wiš iii? i s-n-lcu-ti-s qe?
  '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 qi- 'subjunctive' (which deletes i before epi-) and the possessive prefixes. i of epi- deletes
before $\_$.  

\begin{align*}
\text{čin epi-ul-ulí-m} & \quad \text{I have some money.}' \\
\text{k'uuy?é u čin epi-ul-ulí-m} & \quad \text{It is my money.'} \\
\text{k'uuy?é u čin ep-sx'-síx'-lt} & \quad \text{He is my child.'} \\
\text{swet q-ep-sté? íi-?é} & \quad \text{Who may own this?'} \\
\text{swet ep-sté? íi-cí?} & \quad \text{Who owns that?'} \\
\text{anwí? k' ep-sté? ; anwí? k' q-ep-sté?} & \quad \text{'It is yours; it must belong to you.'} \\
\text{swet q-ep-síč-m íi-?é} & \quad \text{qe?mplé?} \\
\text{Who may own this blanket. We do.} \\
\text{šey ju? q-ep-sté? ju? k'íl-n-cut-n} & \quad \text{'It belongs to God.'} \\
\text{ep-s-p?ús} & \quad \text{'He has a heart.'} \\
\text{čin epi-s?áym-t} & \quad \text{I had some anger.'} \\
\text{ta y-epi-ec?-axíl} & \quad \text{I have none of the kind.'} \\
\text{ta y-ep-síč-m} & \quad \text{I have no blanket.'} \\
\text{čin ep-s-c-k'úl} & \quad \text{'I have made some.' [I have-what-I-made} \\
\text{anwí? u k' ep-s-c-k'úl} & \quad \text{It is you that made it.'} \\
\text{k'uuy?é u čin ep-s-c-k'úl} & \quad \text{'I have made it.'} \\
\text{nem čin ep-s-c-níč} & \quad \text{'I shall have some sawed.'} \\
\text{swet u ep-s-c-šíl ye luk'} & \quad \text{Who chopped this wood.'} \\
\text{čin epi-šá-cín} & \quad \text{I have a horse.'} \\
\end{align*} 

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 ilsya):

\begin{align*}
\text{ju? tí es-č-ča?l-éis-i, epi-ţaş u epi-es-míx't-i} & \quad \text{Some of the sick are getting better, some are dying.'} \\
\text{epi-ţés-t, u epi-ţöye?} & \quad \text{There are some good, there are some bad. OR He has some good ones and some bad ones.'} \\
\text{ep-sqélix' ju? ta es-wič-s-t-n} & \quad \text{There are people I never saw.'}
\end{align*}
There are fruits I don't like.'
There is a dog there.'
'There are already people in church.'
'It is a fraction.'
'None came.'
'None are missing.'

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

epi-k'úl-n 'There are some I have made.'
epi-wék'-n-t-x' 'There is something that you concealed.'
epi-k'úl-i-t-n 'There are some I have made for him.'
epi-x'ic-i-c-n 'There are some I gave to you.'
epi-wék'-i-c-n 'There are some I concealed from you.'
	a  epi-wék'-n 'I did not hide any.'
	a  q-epi-wék'-i-t-m  iu? q'áy-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 *ei-* 'back' attach to the root, following es- 'actual'. *ei-* precedes es- but follows qí- 'subjunctive' which then deletes i.

*ei-* 'again, once more, back'

'He went back.'
'I return; I go again.'
'I am starting again.'
'I give it again.'
'I wish to give it again.'
'I do it again.'
'one again, one more'
'now moon.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
y-es-wič-m 'I see it again (find a lost object).'
ne qepc m qe? ei-wič-t-wéʔxʷ-i
'Next spring we shall see each other again.'
ei-ʔxʷ-t-ʔi-n ʔu? i-s-xólwi?
'I like (find good) again my husband.' (D I p. 166)

Sometimes ei- is transliterated 'really, truly, indeed':

ei-mii-ʔ-lt-ʔi-n-άλqʷ-μi-n-t-m (-ʔi-?, -μi-n-?) l es-ʔeym-ew, 
   ei-ʔil laq-n-t-m
'He was indeed crucified, truly died, and was buried.'
1 *s-ʔa-ʔlqʷ qe? *es-mii-ixʷ-éls-i, nei 1 šey s-ʔi-χal-t u
   *ei-mii-ixʷ-éls-m ʔu? *kʷi-n-cut-n 'We rest on Sundays
   because on that day God indeed rested.' (D I p. 359)

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

ei-t-ʔolqʷ-ší-t-n
   'I helped him in return.'
kʷu t-meʔeʔ-μi-s u ei-t-meʔeʔ-μi-n
   'He sent me away first, and in return I sent him away.'
(Cf. uiei 'again, another time', section 7.4.1.)

t- 'before, ahead, in advance'
čin t-xʷuy; čin es-t-xʷuy 'I go ahead.'
es-t-μi-s-t-én 'I knew it before.'
y-es-t-ʔačx-m 'I look at it before.'

n- 'inside, in, after, locative'
čin n-xʷuy; čin n-xʷuy-m 'I go after someone.'
es-n-ʔukʷ 'It lays in.'
n-ʔuʔ-li 'He is born in, conceived.'
y-es-n-ʔačx-m 'I look inside.'
čin es-n-ʔuʔ-p 'I go back, pull back (as horses).'
n-ʔest 'deep water'
i n-xal 'clear water'
i n-ʔaŋ 'warm water'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
i n-činhu 'dark room'  
es-n-mí-p ‘accused’  
n-wis-t 'high'

n- with verbs of motion may signify motion by land along the river:

čin n-ʔayʷt 'I go down the river by land.'
n-x’y-íst-i 'He travels by the side of the water.'
n-čʔ-ílší ‘He comes up the river by land.’

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

y-es-čʔ-ʔačxʷ-éws-m 'I look upwards.'
čin es-čʔ-1ukʷ 'I am going after wood.'
es-č-ul-ulí-m-i 'He is after money.'
kʷ č-s-teh 'What did you want?'
ʔaym-t-m-n 'I was mad at him.'
čʔ-ʔaym-t-m-n 'I was mad on his account.'
ʔayxʷ-t-m-n 'I was tired of him.'
čʔ-ʔayxʷ-t-m-n 'I was tired on his account.'

ha č-pu-pus-éč-m-n-t-xu⁵ ʔu? ʔéye? a-s-c-kʷén

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

'(In good part) with a good intention did I speak.’
kʷ qʷl-qʷelt č-ʔéye?

‘You spoke with a bad intention.’
ilmíxʷ-m ʔu? č-šey u kʷ qʷl-qʷelt

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

y-es-čʔ-ti-s-cút-m ʔu? i-s-n-ac-ʔqít

‘I am proud of (on account of) my dress.’
cs-č-lčʔ-s-t-m 'I remain continually near him.'
y-es-čʔ-ʔemút-m 'I stay with (near) him.'
čʔ-ʔemút-m-n ʔu? ilmíxʷ 'I stay with (near) the chief.'
y-es-čʔ-xyʔ-uy-m ; č-xyʔ-uy-n-t-én ; č-xyʔ-uy-m-n⁶

‘I visit him [I go to be near him].’
t swet u es-č-1ćî?-m-s įu? J.C. l s-n-öe?-cîn
'Who remains with (near) J.C. in the Holy Communion?'
č-mlk^-m-asqt '(until) the whole day'

(See also 5.2.1. and 6.2.)

c_- 'hither, from there'
čin es-c-x'uy ; čin c-x'uy 'I come (hither, from there).'</y-es-c-?ćx-m
'I look at it from there.'
čî- 'upon, above'
či-tûk^w 'It is placed upon.'
es-či-tûk^w 'It is on top.'
y-es-či-ćôy-m 'I write over it.' (D I p. 254)

k^wî- 'under' (when the object is immediately under so that the
above rests on the lower)
1 qe? k^wî-iś-út 'under us'
k^wî-tk^w-u-n-t įu? l a-s-ću?-cîn 'Place it under thy foot.'
es-k^wî-tûk^w '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 įu? es-čs-cûn-m-s 'Of whom is he speaking?'
y-es-če?nî-m 'I forbid him.'
y-es-čs-če?nî-m 'I forbid it.'
čs-če?i-s-t-én įu? séwî-k^w 'I forbid the whiskey.'
čs-n-?awqn-m įu? s-n-mi-p-m-îst 'I exhort him to confession.'
y-es-čs-q^l-q^eldt-m 'I speak of him/it, about it.'
y-es-čs-môy-e-i-t-m (stress ?) 'I teach him that.'
l s-čs-açm 'there about, near by'

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

cs-k^wî-?n-cûn-m-p (-m- ?) 'It is shut.'
5.2. Derivational Suffixes

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>мин</td>
<td>'(It's a) trap.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>мин-tн</td>
<td>'(It's a) trap.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-э?u-мин</td>
<td>'(It's) what I use to peel.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>е?u-мин-tn</td>
<td>'(They're) the peelings.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>щл-мин</td>
<td>'axe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-щл-мин-tn</td>
<td>'axe-handle' (Di I p. 575)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te?—мин</td>
<td>'hammer (person's)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-э?ax-мин</td>
<td>'my stretcher (what I use)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-э?ax-мин-tn</td>
<td>'what is used to stretch me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qэ?u-p-тн , qэ?u-p-мин-тн</td>
<td>'fracture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-s-э?em-ин (&lt; i-s-э?em-мин)</td>
<td>'my food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-s-э?em-ин-тн</td>
<td>'my food to feed others'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qиэ?мин , qиэ?мин-тн</td>
<td>'whip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xэ?мин</td>
<td>'shavings'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xэ?мин-тн</td>
<td>'jack plane'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*э?тэ-мин</td>
<td>'instrument to brand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*э?тэ-мин-тн</td>
<td>'what is to be branded'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>э?тэ-мин</td>
<td>'material (salt) to be added'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>э?тэ-мин-тн</td>
<td>'what the material is added to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
n-čaw-mn    'prayer'
qx-min    'horn'
k'wi-ox'-mín , k'wi-ox'-mín-tn    'fence'
y-es-k'ul-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-šu?-mín-m    'I use that to lance.'
y-es-čs-t-mín-m    'I find it good.'
qč-ac-mín-s (< qč-ac-mín-s) Louis    'Let it be Louis' trap.'
s-qlew ac-mín-ti-s (< ac-mín-tin-s)    'a beaver's trap'
čyu es-či?-mín-m ye či?-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-yes-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'
oös-ti-s    'cause of ruin'
pu-pus-čžč-tn    'cause of sorrow'
č-x"uy-tn    'the reason why he goes'
'the reason why he rejoices'
'the reason why he suffers'
'the reason of my sorrow'
'what makes a thing known, sign, mark'
'what one is mad for'
'what one is glad for'
'what one is sorry for'
'what one goes for'
'what one is thrown away for'
'to be people's confessor' (Balt. p. 4)
'That will be the sign that makes the infant known.' (Bible p. 43)
'You deserve hell for your sins.'
'The thief deserves to go to hell.'

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

's-n-čaw-mm
's-n-čw-oiq-tn
's-n-čw-m mín-tn
's-n-sā-lis-tn (-lis ?)
's-n-yo-yo-t- īlš-tn
*s-n-čw-k-tn (OR s-n-čw-tn ?)
's-n-čw-aq-mm
's-n-čw-min-tn
's-n-qw-le-p-tn
**s-n-lcu-tn
's-n-čw-śm-śm-els-tn
's-n-mi-p-m-śt-tn (ś s-n-mi-p-m-śt-tn)
5.2.2. -nü 'transitive success'

-nú 'transitive success' (always stressed) is added to roots before the transitive affixes. With -nü 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.

kⁿ-nú-n (⟨kⁿen-nú-n-t-en⟩) 'I succeed in taking it.'
nič-nú-n (⟨nič-nú-n-t-en⟩) 'I succeed in cutting it.'
šu?-nú-n (⟨šu?-nú-n-t-en⟩) 'I succeed in lancing it.'
šu?-nú-n-t 'Success in lancing!'
kⁿ-i-nú-n (⟨kⁿi-nú-n-t-en⟩) 'I succeed in making it.'
šq-q-nú-n (⟨šq-q-nú-n-t-en⟩) 'I succeed in splitting it.'
šq-q-nú-n-t 'Succeed in splitting it!'
mi-p-nú-n (⟨miy-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. -numt 'intransitive success'

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

čin wič-númt 'Finally I perceived it.'
čin xⁿt-p-numt 'I succeeded in running away.'
uta ṑi-kⁿ-mi-p-númt ye we *čšt-n-cút-i-s, u esiyá?
es-qⁿew-i 'And there were none of those who perceived it; all were drunk.' (Bible p. 36)

5.2.4. -šiš 'indefinite benefactive'

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

čin es-kⁿùš-i 'I work for others.'
čin kⁿùš-m 'I work for others.'
y-es-\textsuperscript{2}k\textsuperscript{m}uí\textsuperscript{s}-m 'I do it for others.'
y-es-n-\textsuperscript{2}ýëys-s\textsuperscript{s}-m 'I buy it for others.'
y-es-\textsuperscript{2}viu\textsuperscript{2}-šís-s\textsuperscript{2}-m 'I lance it for others.'
y-es-s\textsuperscript{2}šís-s\textsuperscript{2}-m 'I split it for others.'

5.2.5. \textit{\textsuperscript{2}m} 'middle'

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item ćin es-ćëw-s\textsuperscript{2}-m 'I wash my face.'
  \item ćin es-w\textsuperscript{2}ič-m 'I see (something).'
  \item ćin es-n-\textsuperscript{2}éys-m 'I pay for (something).'
  \item y-es-x\textsuperscript{2}l-x\textsuperscript{2}št\textsuperscript{2}-lt\textsuperscript{2}-m 'I cause/make him to live.'
  \item y-es-c-x\textsuperscript{2}uy\textsuperscript{2}-m 'I cause him to come.'
  \item y-es-n-py-êls\textsuperscript{2}-m 'I make him to rejoice.'
  \item qe? s\textsuperscript{2}in-ce\textsuperscript{2}-m-\textsuperscript{2}il-s 'He made us his brothers.'
\end{itemize}

with the corresponding continuative intransitives:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ćin es-ćëw-s\textsuperscript{2}-i 'My face is washed; I wash my face.'
  \item ćin es-w\textsuperscript{2}ič-i 'I am seen; I see (something).'
  \item ćin es-n-\textsuperscript{2}éys-i 'I am bought; I buy (something).'
  \item ćin es-x\textsuperscript{2}l-x\textsuperscript{2}št\textsuperscript{2}-lt\textsuperscript{2}-i 'I live.'
  \item ćin es-c-x\textsuperscript{2}uy 'I come.'
  \item ćin es-n-py-êls\textsuperscript{2}-i 'I rejoice.'
  \item qe? s\textsuperscript{2}in-ce\textsuperscript{2}-\textsuperscript{2}il-s 'We are his brothers.'
\end{itemize}

Other examples of \textit{\textsuperscript{2}m} 'middle' stems:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ćin es-t\textsuperscript{2}k\textsuperscript{2}ú\textsuperscript{2}-m\textsuperscript{2}-i ; ćin es-t\textsuperscript{2}uk 'I am lying down.'
  \item ćin es-l\textsuperscript{2}ič-m\textsuperscript{2}-i ; ćin es-lič 'I am being bound.'
  \item ćin es-\textsuperscript{2}qa\textsuperscript{2}u\textsuperscript{2}-m\textsuperscript{2}-i ; ćin es-\textsuperscript{2}qa\textsuperscript{2}u 'I am being broken.'
  \item ćin es-\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{2}št\textsuperscript{2}ół\textsuperscript{2}-m\textsuperscript{2}-i ; ćin es-\textsuperscript{2}št\textsuperscript{2}ół 'I go ahead.'
\end{itemize}
čin ec-?ex-’k’un-m ; čin ec-?ex-’k’un-i 'I speak so.' (D I p. 108)
čin es-ulí-m 'I burn (something).'
čin es-ul-m-í 'I burn (something); I am burned.'
čin ací-m 'I tied.'
čin *es-čýa-m-i 'I solicit, coax (to evil).'  
čin es-a?í-p-m-i (stress ?) 'I run.'
čin es-čip-m-í 'I hunt.'
čin es-Ál-m-í 'I die.'
y-es-Álí-m 'I cause him to die.'
čin es-Ál-p-m-í 'I stop.'
y-es-Álí-p-m 'I cause him to stop.'
y-es-citx-’m 'I am using that house.'
y-es-sič-m 'I use that blanket.'
y-es-xî-cín-m 'I use that horse.'
čin es-qe?-sín-m-i 'I use a shoe.'
čin es-iú?-m 'I wound/lance it.'
y-es-ulí-m 'I burn it.'
y-es-sqé-m 'I split it.'
y-es-?uk'-m 'I bring/carry it.'
y-es-čów-s 'I wash his face.'
y-es-wič-m 'I see it.'
y-es-n-?éys-m 'I pay for it.'
y-es-n-xól-m 'I fear him, am afraid of him.'
y-es-ýálk'-m 'I bend it (making a circle).'
*y-es-čští-m 'I guard it.'
y-es-çaq-m 'I pay him (for work or services).'

5.2.6. -ist 'reflexive'

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

čin es-n-mi-p-m-ist-i 'I accuse myself, confess.'
čin k’úl-ist 'I make myself.'
čin k’úl-ist čin sqólíx‘ 'I become man (J.C.).'
čin *es-čšt-m-ist-i 'I take care of myself.'
čin es-?ep-ist-i 'I wipe myself.'
čin es-?ep-m-ist-i 'I myself wipe something belonging to me.'
čin es-vám-ist-i 'I walk quickly, hasten.'
čin es-qʷii-m-ist-i 'I strive, busy myself.'
čin es-tu-m-ist-i 'I buy/sell/trade.' (D I p. 595)
tøyé? tâu? s-yóqʷ-ist 'It is bad to tell lies.'
iqʷ-t-ist-ye? (-ye? ?) 'prostrated' (Bible p. 64)
čin *es-čs-t-m-ist-i 'I force myself, do violence to myself.'
kʷ q-s-n-mi-p-m-ist-i, pen ta a-q-s-n-mi-p-štumš 'Accuse yourself, but don't accuse other people.' (See also 5.3.1.2.)

5.2.7. Intransitive Imperatives

-š or -ysi 'imperative singular' and -wi 'imperative plural'

are added to roots, statives, and intransitive reflexives:

kʷūl-iš 'Work!'
ilmixʷ-iš 'Be ye chief!'
χé̃s-t-iš 'Be good!'
ʔaym-t-š 'Be angry!'
āil-š 'Die!'
aci-yš 'Tie!'
*płcmí-yš 'Turn over!'
n-mi-p-m-ist-iš 'Confess!' n-mi-p-m-ist-wi 'Confess ye!'
χé̃s-t-iš ilmíxʷ-š 'Be a good chief!'
χé̃s-t-wi ilmíxʷ-wi 'Be ye good chiefs!'
ʔukʷ-š 'Bring/carry (something)!'
n-ʔéys-iš 'Buy/pay for (something)!'
wič-iš 'See (something)!'
ułí-yaš 'Burn (something)!'
čaw-s-išl2 'Wash your face!'

5.2.8. Aspectual Suffixes

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

5.2.8.1. -lwís 'iterative' (always stressed)
čin es-qéy-m 'I write/wrote.
čin es-qi?-m-lwís-i 'I write often.
čin es-k'úl-m 'I made.'
čin es-k'í-m-lwís-i 'I make/made often.'
čin es-x'ist 'I walk(ed) off.
čin es-x'st-lwís-i 'I often walk.'
čin es-čéw-m 'I washed.'
čin es-čéw-m-lwís-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'íst-ilš 'I rise from reclining position.'
čin es-χs-χs-m-ilš-i 'I am growing good, perfect.'
čin es-yo-yo-t-ilš-i 'I am growing strong.'
čin y-es-yo-yo-t-ilš-m 'I make him grow strong.'
čin es-χs-t-ilš-i OR čin es-χs-t-wilš-i
'I am becoming good, getting better.'
čin es-k'tn-t-ilš-i OR čin k'tn-t-wilš-i
'I am growing big.'
čin es-χe?k'-ilš-cut-i
'I practice sorcery (Indian superstitious medicine).'

5.2.8.3. Replicative suffixation -(V)C₂ of root, 'inchoative'
(D II p. 163):
i čin sil 'I am wrong.'
i čin sil-il 'I become wrong, am getting into wrong.'
es-níč 'It is sawed.'
es-níč-č 'It is getting sawed.'
es-síl 'It is chopped.'
es-síl-il 'It is getting chopped.'
sil-il 'It got chopped.'
es-síx' 'It is poured out.'
six\~w-x\~w 'It got poured out.'
es-n-six\~w 'It is filled (with liquid).'
n-six\~w-x\~w 'It got filled.'
es-ioc 'It is smashed.'
loc-c 'It got smashed.'
es-x\~waq\~w 'It is ground.'
x\~waq\~w-\~d\~w 'It got ground.'
sli-p 'He made a mistake.'
sli-p-p\~14 'He got into a mistake.'
es-li\~c 'It is bound.'
li\~c-c 'It got bound.'
k'cici\~c 'It is falling.'
k'cici\~c-\~c 'It is going to fall.'
es-k'up 'It is pushed, stirred.'
k'up-p 'It got stirred.'
es-sax\~w 'It is being split.'
sax\~w-x\~w 'It got split.'
melk\~w 'It is being spread.'
melk\~w-x\~w 'It got spread, spread itself.'
i-s-x\~wic\~c-\~c 'It is my gift (given by me).'</i-s-x\~wic\~c-\~c-\~s 'It is my gift (given to me).'</i-s-x\~wic\~c-\~c-s 'I am deceived, cheated.'</i-s-x\~waq 'I let myself be seen, can be seen.'
čin es-tāq-q-m-i (stress ?)'The rod became a snake.'
čin es-wič-č(-i) 'The dust became mosquitoes.'

5.2.8.4. ~emm 'habitual' (D II p. 6)
čip-~emm 'hunter'
če\~epes-~emm 'bashful one'
\~acx-~emm 'looker on'
\~ax\~w-lqs-~emm 'snorer'
x\~st-~emm 'walker'
ptax\~w-m-~emm 'spitter'
\~iin-~emm 'eater'
čs-cn-~emm 'bad talker'
sust-~emm 'drunkard'
iq\~w-ist-~emm 'liar (addicted to tell lies)'
q'1-lurnt-émn (-lumt ?)  'story-teller'

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

\[
\text{\textbackslash i\textbackslash u\textbackslash t\textbackslash s\textbackslash } s-naq'-\textbackslash émn \textbackslash \textquoteright \textbackslash s\textbackslash é\textbackslash y\textbackslash \textbackslash t\textbackslash u\textbackslash ? \textbackslash c\textbackslash -x\textbackslash uy\textbackslash -tn \textbackslash \textbackslash l esul\textbackslash ip
\]

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

čin es-n-qi?-m-éls-i (-m- ?)  'I wish to write.'
čin es-n-?iin-éls-i  'I have appetite, wish to eat.'
čin es-n-sust-éls-i  'I wish to drink.'
čin es-n-x'uy-éls-i  'I wish to go.'
čin *es-ši?-éls-i  'I consent, give permission.'
čin *es-n-ši?-éls-i  'I consent to marriage.'
čin es-n-sl-p-éls-i  'I am deceived, mistaken in my judgement.'

y-es-?aç-x-m \textbackslash i\textbackslash u\textbackslash ? es-č-ča?1-éls-i

'I visit the sick (those who are sick).'</n
čin es-n-x'uy-éls-i, u ta i-q-s-x'uy

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

\[
\text{ta y-es-n-x'uy-éls u pë\textbackslash n \textbackslash či q-s-x'uy}
\]

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

\[
k' \textbackslash n-k'\textbackslash \textbackslash i-n-?a\textbackslash \textbackslash x\textbackslash l-éls-m \textbackslash ĭu\textbackslash ? J.C.
\]

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

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

(always stressed)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čaw-čaw-m-úł} & \quad \text{'given to praying'} \\
k'\text{w1-k'\textbackslash w1-m-úł} & \quad \text{'given to working'} \\
q'\text{l-q'ìt-úł} & \quad \text{'given to talking'} \\
či-čip-úł & \quad \text{'given to hunting'}
\end{align*}
\]
5.2.9.3. (-m)-ut^15 'capability' expresses aptitude, power, or ability to do something.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y-es-k' wipe-ut-m</td>
<td>'I can make that.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-es-ac-w wipe-ut-m</td>
<td>'I can catch it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-es-x'aq' wipe-ut-m</td>
<td>'I can grind it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x' wipe-ut-m</td>
<td>'It can go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta s-x' wipe-ut-m</td>
<td>'It can't go.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k' wipe-1 wipe-ut-m</td>
<td>'It can be made.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta s-k' wipe-1 wipe-ut-m</td>
<td>'It can't be done.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uć-ć wipe-ut-m (&lt;-wić-ć wipe-ut-m)</td>
<td>'It is visible.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lć-ć wipe-ut-m</td>
<td>'It can be bound.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mus-ls-ut-m</td>
<td>'He can be trusted.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta s-syen-ut-m</td>
<td>'It can't be counted.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But, cf. also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1k' wipe</td>
<td>'far'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tk' wipe-út-i</td>
<td>'march, walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iq' wipe</td>
<td>'He was lying there.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iš' wipe</td>
<td>'under'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p' wipe</td>
<td>'old'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?xʷ is the reciprocal affix attached to a transitive stem.

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

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

qe? es-č-yoqʷ-n-wé?x^w 'We are slandering one another.'
qe? es-ʔaym-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-olqʷ-š-t-wé?x^w 'We are helping one another.'

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

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

\[\begin{align*}
- n - t - cút & \quad - n - cúť \\
- s - t - cút & \quad - s - cúť \\
- ŋi - t - cút & \quad - ŋi - cúť \\
- i - t - cút & \quad - i - cúť \\
\end{align*}\]

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

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

- ačx-n-cut-n  'looker on (one who looks)
- ƙw'-n-cut-n  'God, maker by himself'
- ƙm-enč-n-cut-n  'lover'
- ƙp-n-cut-n  'cleanser'
- ƙčšt-n-cut-n  'guardian'
- **qap-n-cut-n  'friend to death'
- in-ƙ'eit-n-cut-n  'He that carries me.'
- n-ƙ'Å-m-n-cut-n  'who has pity'

n-kwe-cin-cut-i-s t ƙw'-n-cut-n
'He that sings the praises of God.'

ƙw' n-kwe-cin-cut-i-s t Marie
'I sing the praises of Mary.' (D I p. 423)

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

* -n-t-(é)m
* -s-t-(é)m
-š(i)-t-m
-ł-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-ł-t-m  'I pay him his...'
- y-es-ƙw'-ul-ł-t-m  'I make his... (something belonging to him).'
- y-es-ƙ'uk'-ul-ł-t-m  'I carry his...'
- *y-es-ƙčšt-ł-t-ém  'I guard his...'
- y-es-ƙq-ł-t-ém  'I split his...'
- y-es-ƙu?-ł-t-ém  'I sting his...'
- y-es-ƙu?-łq-ł-t-m  'I sting the nose of his...'
- y-es-ƙu?-łč-ł-t-m  'I wound the hand of his...'
- y-es-ƙw'-ul-š-t-m  'I do it for him, help him doing it.'
- y-es-ƙaw-š-t-m  'I pray for him in his stead.'
- y-es-ƙ₁-ši-t-m  'I die for him in his stead.'
5.3.2. Transitivized Stems

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

n-ʔeys-n-n
n-ʔeys-n-t
n-ʔe-q?-cín-n-m-n
naq’-m-n Pierre
iu?-éčs-m-n
citx’-m-n ci citx’
ści-m-n ci stič-m
x’olq’-m-n ci x’olq’
iju? qepc u č-x’uy-m-n-cí-n

'I use it to pay, to buy.'
'Use it to pay, to buy.'
'I receive it in Holy Communion.'
'I stole Peter; I stole from Peter.'
'I wound my hand with it.'
'I used that house.'
'I used that blanket.'
'I use that wagon.'
'in spring when I paid you a visit'
n-ʔeʔ-s-m-n "I receiv e the body of J.C.'
qeʔ-šín-m-n "I have leather shoes.'
sič-m-n "I have the red blanket on.'
xč-čin-m-n "I have the gray horse.'
*č-šiʔt-s-t-úš-m-n-t-xw (-s-t ?) ču? a-sič-m či naq'w
'Th e keep your eyes on your blanket lest it be stolen.'
čěn ču? i-s-méňxʷ naq"-m-n-t-ém t ttwít
'Where is my tobacco? It has been stolen by a boy.'
ʔey-čst-m-s-t-m-n 'I avenged you.' (D I p. 111)
n-ʔeʔ-s-cín-m-i-t-n 'I receive his...in Holy Communion.'
č-χs-m-i-ci-n ču? an-cút 'I feel good for your conduct.'
qेʔ-šín-m-i-c-n ču? an-ʔeʔ-šín 'I have on your shoes.'
nóxʷ-noxʷ-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-ʔeʔ-s-m-n (-intran. benefactive-middle-transitive first p. sg.)
'I buy it for others.'
n-ʔeʔ-s-m-n-t 'Buy it for others.'
naq'w-š-m-n Pierre 'I stole Peter from others (from his masters).' 
čůl-š-m-n 'I do it for others.'
sq-šiš-m-n 'I split it for others.'
ču?-šiš-m-n 'I lance it for others.'
k'u n-k"i-n-ʔaxl-ěls-m-n-t-xw (-votitive-middle-tran-tran-you)
'I think the same as you do.'
n-k"i-n-ʔaxl-ěls-m-n-c-n 'You think as I do.'
k"i-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.'
čůdů-ú-ú-ú-ú-ú m-út-m-s-t-n 'I can grind it.'

Instrumental intransitive stems are frequently transitivized:
k'ul-m-n (< k'ul-min-n-t-en) 'I did use it.'
ac-mí-n (< ac-mín-n-t-en) 'I use it to tie.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>xs-t-mi-n</code> (&lt; <code>xes-t-min-n-t-en</code>)</td>
<td>'I find it good.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n-?eys-m-n</code> (&lt; <code>n-?eys-min-n-t-en</code>)</td>
<td>'I use it to pay, to buy.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n-?eys-m-n-t</code></td>
<td>'Use it to pay, to buy.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>k'u mo?e?-mî-n-t-m</code></td>
<td>'Someone has refused me.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>iu?-mî-n</code> (&lt; <code>iu?-mîn-n-t-en</code>)</td>
<td>'I use that to lance.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>xs-t-min-m-n</code></td>
<td>'I find it good.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>qi?-min-m-n ci qi?-mîn</code></td>
<td>'I use that pen, paper.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ac-min-m-n</code></td>
<td>'I use it to tie.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>iu?-mîn-m-n</code></td>
<td>'I use that to lance.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>iu?-mîn-m-i-t-n</code></td>
<td>'I use his...to lance.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Other "transitivized" intransitive stems are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>yo-yo-t-ilîs-t-n</code> (&lt; <code>yo-yo-t-ilîs-s-t-n</code>)</td>
<td>'I make him grow strong.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n-py-el-s-t-n</code> (&lt; <code>n-py-êls-s-t-en</code>)</td>
<td>'I make him to rejoice.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See also 5.1.2. *[epi-]*)
FOOTNOTES

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

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

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

4. Some forms which translate with 'have' in English do not have epi-:
   čin kwteixw
   čin suyap-sqåxe?
   čin q̀iy-alqs

5. -enč? Related to -enč?

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

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

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

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

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

11. Carlson analyzes Spokan -yš as -m 'middle' plus -š 'imperative'
1972, p. 93).

12. Why did e (ćew-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 -uilš [-wilš]" (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-k’i-pax-m-út-i 'I can think, am capable of reflection.'

ta s-k’i-pax-m-út 'He can not think, has not the use of reason.' (D I p. 451)

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

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

6.1. Compounds

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

če in  es-ş?aw-s-?îts-i (ş?aw 'enough' - ?îts 'sleep')
'I don't care to sleep.'
ché in  es-ş?aw-s-?îîn-i (ş?aw 'enough' - ?iîn 'eat')
'I don't care to eat.'
šxî-i-cû-n-t (šxîuy 'go' - cu(n) 'say')
'Go and tell him!'
šge?-cû-n-t (šge? 'look for' - cu(n) 'say')
'Look for him and tell him!'
ché in  tix'?-î nóx'?-nox'? (tix'? 'get' - nóx'?-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.

ḵ?uš? 'work, do, make'
ché in  es-k?š?l-î-ilmix'? (ilmix'? 'chief') 'I am acting as chief.'
y-es-k?š?l-î-ilmix'?-m OR k?š?l-î-ilmix'?-m-n 'I treat him as chief.'
ché in  es-k?š?l-î-þx'?-út-i (þx'?-ut 'old, parent') 'I act as a parent.'
y-es-k?š?l-î-þx'?-út-m OR k?š?l-þx'?-ut-m-n 'I treat him as a parent.'
čin es-šew-six'-šix'-lt-i (sx'-six'-lt 'child, children')
'I got a child.'
y-es-šew-six'-šix'-lt-m
'I treat him as a child.'
čin es-šew-l-šew-qin-t-i (qin 'poor') 'I act the poor.'
y-es-šew-l-šew-qin-t-m OR šew-l-šew-qin-t-m-n
'I treat him as poor.'
čin es-šew-l-šew-'ěc-ěwet-i ('ěc 'last') 'I act as the last.'
y-es-šew-l-šew-'ěc-ěwet-m
'I treat him as the last.'
čin es-šew-l-šew-n-cut-n (šew-n-cut-n 'God')
'I act as God.'
y-es-šew-l-šew-n-cut-n-m OR šew-l-šew-n-cut-n-m-n
'I treat him as God.'

Cf. also: čew-l-šew-mi-n (-n?) (čew 'bad') 'his bad ways'
$k'^{tun}$ 'big, great' (Note that unstressed u is deleted, and that $n \rightarrow \text{i}$ before $-s$ or $-i$.)

$k'^{ti}$-t-s-m?ôt (m?ôt 'smoke') 'big smoke'
$k'^{ti}$-t-s-p?ús (p?ús 'heart') 'big heart'
$k'^{ti}$-t-s-qeltč 'big body'
$k'^{ti}$-t-s-k'is-k's (k'is 'hen') 'turkey'
$k'^{ti}$-t-s-psay-ê?2 (psay-ê? 'fool') 'a great fool'
$k'^{ti}$-t-i-qp-êîće? (qp-êîće? 'plate') 'big plate'
$k'^{ti}$-t-i-š?it (š?it 'first') 'by far the first'
$k'^{ti}$-t-i-px-ðað-t (px-ðað 'wise') 'by far the wisest'
$k'^{ti}$-t-i-ðês-t (ðês 'good') 'by far the best'

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

*s-mi-i-l?éw (l?éw 'father') 'worthy father'
*s-mi-i-ðx-wút (ðx-wút 'old') 'worthy parent'
*s-mi-s-k'uy 'worthy mother'
*s-mi-s-k'îl-n-cut-n (k'îl-n-cut-n 'God') 'true God'
*s-mi-s-px-ðað-t (px-ðað 'wise') 'true sage'
*s-mi-i-ðx-cín (ðx-cín 'horse') 'excellent horse'

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

sqm-sqélîxw (sqélîxw 'man') 'worthless man'
sqm-i-ç-naqs (ç-naqs 'one person') 'worthless fellow'
sqm-s-m?em (m?em 'woman') 'false woman'
sqm-i-ðx-cín (ðx-cín 'horse') 'worthless horse'
sqm-i-n-cut-n (mi-n-cut-n 'one who knows') 'false teacher'

**ši?s 'instead of'

$iu? \, çi \, *q-s-ši?s-çaw-i \, [çaw \, 'pray']$, čn ?itš 'Instead of praying, I slept.'

$iu? \, ne \, *q-s-ši?s-x?en-t-ëx?' [x?en \, 'forbid'] \, k'^{wëht} \, tî \, ci? \, u \, n-?awq-t-xw' 'Instead of checking him, you encourage him.'

$iu? \, qa? \, *q-s-ši?s-?aym-t-m-n-t-m \, [?aym \, 'mad, angry']$, m qe? çaw-š-t-m 'Instead of getting mad at him, we should pray for him.'
J.C. ūu? **q-s-ši?s-1?è-1-s (-1?) [l?e 'stay, remain'], t
čnitc u ąqży-alqs èk'-n-t-és **qi-n-i-qlčlp-n-cút-i-s
'Instead of remaining here himself, J.C. left the priests to hold
his place.'

š?it 'first'3
š?it-maʔ-sqélix4 (sqélix 'man, men') 'first people'
*š?it-miš-élt (stress ?) (*miš '?', -élt '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-áłqs 'new dress' ąqży-alqs 'black gown, priest'
piq-áłqs 'white gown' či-qlč-alqs 'overcoats'
kwi-iš-t-álqs6 'underwear' s-ąsp-alqs 'old clothes'
sot-áłqs 'knitted shirt' x̂-áłqs 'plenty of clothing'
čm-p-alqs 'hem of a garment' x̂s-alqs 'good dress'
čin es-tw-álqs-i 'I buy a shirt.'
čin s-qltmix'-alqs 'I dress as (like) a man.'
čin mʔ-em-áłqs 'I dress as a woman.'
čin suyap-áłqs 'I dress as an American.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
-âlqweeney 'cylindrical object'
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{âlic-âlq} & \quad \text{'hard wood'} \\
\text{χam-âlq} & \quad \text{'dry wood'} \\
**\text{essalq-âlq} & \quad \text{'crooked wood'} \\
\text{y-es-č-tm-âlq} & \quad \text{'I kiss the cross (the wood).'} \\
\end{align*}
\]
-âlq 'smell, grain, fruit, spouse'
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{χs-âlq} & \quad \text{'good smell'} \\
\text{čs-âlq} & \quad \text{'bad smell'} \\
\text{x'1-âlq} & \quad \text{'who is divorced'} \quad \text{(D I p. 176)} \\
\text{k'v-l-âlq} & \quad \text{'His seed is coming out.'} \quad \text{(D I p. 176)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
-aqs 'road; nose; food; point'
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nk'v-aqs} & \quad \text{'one road'} \\
\text{lk'v-ut-âqs} & \quad \text{'distant road'} \\
\text{n-sul-âqs} & \quad \text{'frozen road'} \\
\text{n-tx'v-âqs} & \quad \text{'straight road'} \\
\text{n-?asl-âqs} & \quad \text{'two roads'} \\
\text{n-k'tn-âqs} & \quad \text{'large road'} \\
\text{n-čm-aqs} & \quad \text{'point of knife'} \\
\text{sk'v-aqs} & \quad \text{'swollen nose'} \\
\text{y-es-šu?-âqs-m} & \quad \text{'I sting his nose.'} \\
\text{n-x'v-k'po?-âqs} & \quad \text{'forking road'} \\
**\text{čn-qaw-âqs} & \quad \text{'some, several'} \quad \text{(?)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
-aqsmweeney 'species, kind'
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{es-n-iya'?-qsm} & \quad \text{'all kinds'} \\
\text{n-k'tn-aqsm} & \quad \text{'dear (expensive)'} \\
\end{align*}
\]
-aqsusweeney 'band, family'
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{če?i-aqsus} & \quad \text{'three families'} \\
\text{nk'v-aqsus} & \quad \text{'one family'} \\
\text{?upn-aqsus} & \quad \text{'ten families'} \\
\end{align*}
\]
-ásqt 'day; sky, weather' \quad \text{(D I pp. 21, 34)}
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xs-ásqt} & \quad \text{'good day/weather'} \\
\text{č-čs-ásqt} & \quad \text{'bad day/weather'} \\
\text{č-čxs-ásqt} & \quad \text{'clear sky'} \\
\text{s-č-čm-ásqt} & \quad \text{'sky, heaven'} \\
\text{č-ąxI-ásqt} & \quad \text{'sky-like'} \\
**\text{čhans-p-ásqt} & \quad \text{'cloudy sky'} \\
\end{align*}
\]
-âxî 'arm'

âwâxî 'broken arm'
wis-šn-âxî 'long arm'
skwâxî 'swollen arm'
ča?1-âxî 'sore arm'
čm-âxî 'last (in the row)'
iw? i s-čm-âxî 'at the last end, in the extreme'

-âx'cê 'chest, breast'
č-ča?1-âx'cê 'sore breast'
phasis-âx'cê 'bare-breasted'

-cìn 'mouth, word, food'

n-q'ân-q'ân-cìn 'poor speaker'
s-n-âq?-cìn 'Holy Communion'
s-up-cìn 'beard'
**sn-pe?x'-cìn 'fair face'
shoy-cìn 'end of speech'
nk'cìn 'one word'
čsi-p-cìn 'one out of provisions' (D I p. 648)
y-es-n-âq?-cìn-m 'I give Holy Com. to him. OR I receive H. C.'
y-es?aw-cìn-m OR ?aw-cìn-m-n 'I speak disrespectfully to him.'

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

s-čch-čést 'right hand'
s-tum-čést 'thumb'
iyús-čést 'dirty hand'
q'n-čést 'contracted hand'
q'x'-qin-čést 'finger-nails'
n-čk'-čést 'walking cane'
s-č-cl-cl-čést 'branches'
č-čq'-čést 'broken branches'

s-iox'-čn-čést 'wound in hand'
s-k'ya-lek'-cn-čést 'bracelets'
mus-čést 'who hopes to succeed (does his best)'
y-es-iw?-ečs-m 'I sting his hand; I wound my hand with it.'
y-es?tm-čést-m 'I kiss his hand.'
čin es-xwe?l-čést-i 'I work quickly, hasten.'

-ëčë? 'the whole; inside of anything'

n-ëx-ëčë? 'all good inside'
n-iš-ut-ëčë? 'down inside'
n-q'ëč-ëčë? 'full person'
n-k'tn-ëčë? 'big gun, cannon'
n-x'k'ù-ëčë? 'clean inside, clean vessel'
čin n-mäl-ëčë? (?) 'I am all dirty inside.'
-elixw 'tribe, people'
    nk'êlixw 'one tribe'  
tix'êlixw 'of another tribe'
    esiya?elixw 'all nations'  
s-teinxelixw 'of what tribe?'  
s-nêelixw 'compatriot (of the same tribe)'
-elp 'floor'
    *s-êcs-le?xw-êlp-tn 'a broom (to sweep inside the house)'
    tk'êelp (< tk'êelp)9 'camp'
-elps 'neck, back part of the neck' (D II p. 252)
    **ê-yul-êps 'thick-necked'
    s-cxil-êps (< s-cxül-êls) 'gray (necked) horse'
    Cf. also: s-oj-êps 'neck, back part of the neck'
-els 'front'; *miit-éls 'the presence, front part of a person'
    i-s-mii-êm-êls 'my presence'
    s-mii-êm-êls-c 'his presence'
    âu 1 s-mii-êm-êls 'before someone'
-elt 'child, young one'
    ?ox't-êlt 'baby'  
    s-q's?-êlt 'nephew'
    *s-k'um-êlt 'pure virgin'  
    s-têw-êlt 'orphan'
    sic-ît 'new-born child'  
    s-thâ-êlt 'daughter'
    šuth-êlt 'little daughter'  
    s-k'ê-im-ît 'baby, boy, girl'
    čiaq't-cê?-êlt (stress ?) 'chicks coming out of the shell'
    (D I p. 352)
-eai 'luck'
    čin ix'p-eai 'I had the luck to escape.' (D II p. 232)
-eixw 'house, skin, cloth, cover'
    s-lêixw 'log house'  
    x'tn-eixw 'big house'  
    s-pum-êixw 'hairy skin'  
    ç'ay-êixw 'black cloth'
    **x'êl-x'al-êixw 'sheep's skin'  
    s-neč-iče?-ixw 'elk's skin'
    čin x'ê-eixw 'I give a house.'  
    čm-p-eixw 'rear of the house'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
"one (another) house (room)"

'breast'

'a sore breast'  'put on the breast'

'healed breast'

'cow-milked, milk' (D I p. 282)

'insides, stomach'

'costive'  'belly-ache'

'ear; food'  'all over')

'left ear'

'cropped ear'

'deaf in one ear'

'willing to hear'

'believes what he hears'

'desirable food'

'food given to me'

'He hides provisions.'

'one out of provisions' (D I p. 640)

'I give provisions.'

'I hold by laying hands on.'

'wet all over'

'covered all over'

'I am fallen upon by the morning light. The morning light falls upon me.' (D II p. 135)

'hair; foot (tree, door), helm of boat' (n- -ep 'food; back of a person) (k' i-n- -ep 'door')

'one hair'

'two hairs'

'cut logs'

'foot of a tree'

'lacking food'

'plenty of food'

'looked at from behind'

'helms-man, pilot'

'Indian goddess, dwelling at the foot' (D II p. 116)

'passing by the door'
**če-?če-swis-ėp**  'standing by the door'

čin es-akhir-čwilėp-i  'I shut the door of the lodge (tent).'
čin es-akhir-šnėp-i  'I shut the wooden door.'
čin es-akhir-čm-ąp-i  'I lock the door.'
čin es-akhir-čehkčėp-i  'I open the door of the lodge.'
čin es-akhir-čehkčėp-i  'I unlock and open the door.'
čin es-akhir-čm-ąp-i  'I break a door open (breaking the hinges).'

**ępest**  'chin'

IU-ępest  'stung on the chin'

-ęple  'handle' (če-ęple  'authority, boss') (D II p. 201)

q-p-ęple  'the handle broke'

**qs-ęple**  'the broken handle'

če-tesl-ęple  'He has two masters.'

če-talexęple  'He is looked for by superiors.'

če-kulst-ęple  'He is sent by a superior.'

če-xeńęple  'forbidden by boss'

če-tm-ęple  'orphan (without boss)'

-epi  'lower part of the back, buttocks'

spęcpu-p  'whipped on the back' (D II p. 22)

IU-ępim  'wounded on the back'

-essn  'stone, grain, kernel'

nkećessn  'one stone/grain'
ktnessn  'big stone'

xsećessn  'beautiful stone'
x'yessn  'sharp-pointed stone'

-ęstye  'grass'

sxesęstye  'good grass (hay)'

scesęstye  'poor grass' (D II p. 170)

-ekw  (-k)  'water'

sxsętekw  'broth'
nċalątkw  'cold water'

nsisįk'w  'pure water'
nmalk'w  'troubled water'

sxuytk  'ice'

či-pıosątkw  'foam'
i q"ooy-k'10 'calm water' n-k'wil-k' 'red water (wine)'
n-xal-k' 'clear water' ?ocq?-étk' 'spring of water'
**s-č-tč-étk' 'a skin raft'
s-iš-étk' 'broad water (Flathead Lake)'
s-λx-étk' 'fast water (Spokane Falls)'

-éwi (-u) 'boat'
nk'w-éwi 'one boat' če?i-éwi 'three boats'
s-qsp-éwi 'old boat' ćs-éwi 'bad boat'
sic-uł 'new boat' s-lč-éwi 'wooden raft'
č-s-tem-éwi11 'without boat'

-éws 'back; fellow, partner' (n- éws 'between, among, in common')
es-ća?1-éws 'sore back' č-k'wtn-éws 'big belly'
č-sk'w-éws 'swollen belly' es-ac-éws 'tied together'
n-ć-éws 'bad among the good'
n-x'wst-éws 'walks among others'
y-es-čic-éws-m 'I bore it through.' (D II p. 398)
y-es-nšist-éws-m 'I pass through a city.'
y-es-n-tk'-éws-m 'I place it in common.'
n-tk'-éws-n ič? ćolq'w 'I gave the wagons in common.'
qe? es-čm-enc-éws-i 'We love one another.'

-éwt 'together' (also -éwt ?)
?qy-éwt 'live together'
qe? qy-éwt-i 'We live together.'
ťpy-éwt 'stand together'
qe? tpy-éwt 'We stand together.'
qamn-éwt 'lay down together'
qe? qamn-éwt 'We lay down together.'
?eč-éwt 'last one'
i-mq'w-éwt 'hillock' (a hillock in a group ?)

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

-éys  'rain, snow' (n- -éys 'tooth')

s-ís-w-éys  'little rain'  k'w-t-k'wtn-éys  'large flakes'
s-ís-ti-p-éys  'rain'  es-ís-ti-p-éys-i  'It rains.'
n-ís-x-s-éys  'good tooth'  n-ís-x-s-éys  'bad tooth'
n-ís-ca?l-éys  'tooth-ache'  n-ís-q?u-p-éys  'broken tooth'
n-ís-tx'-éys  'hollow tooth'

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

s-ís-sp-ìce?  'old blanket'  s-k'w-il-ìce?  'red blanket'
k'wtn-ìce?  'large robe'  č-ìce?  'bad cot/blanket'
č-aw-p-ìce?  'wet all around'  č-q'w-ì-ìce?  'poorly clad'
č-ís-ì-'ìce?  'shining all around'

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

es-n-mî-ìcn  'hump-backed'  n-?emt-ìcn  'sit on the back'
n-ís-k'w-ìcn  'placed on the back'

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

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

-lscut  'goods'

χs-lscut  'good goods'  os-lscut  'lost goods'
s-tq-lscut  'goods'  s-qamn-lscut  'goods, pl.'
s-tk'-lscut  'what kind of goods'

-ìniwt  'side (person, road)'

s-ìox'-ìniwt  'side-wound'  s-n-ìcm-ìniwt  'loins, sides'

-ìqìt  (-ìqiyt)  'shoulder; covering'

s-n-ìcm-ìqìt  'shoulder blade'  n-ìq'-ìq'-ìqìt  'suspenders'
s-n-ac-ìqìt  'clothes, coat'  n-qlot-ìqìt  'shovel'

*s-n-ìcni-ìqìt  (-i- ?)  'top of shoulder'

čin es-n-ìxi-ìqìt-i  'I carry a piece of wood on the shoulder.'
čin es-n-ìtk'-ìqiýt-i  'I carry something on the shoulder.'
-itumš 'people'
sx'-k'-itumš (< sx'-k'ul-itumš) 'messenger (sent)'
sx'-su-itumš (< sx'-sew-itumš) 'messenger (asking)'
s-x'1-x'ilt-itumš 'saving of people'
čin es-χalt-itumš-i 'I ask for people.'
čin es-n-q'h-itumš-i 'I pity people.'

-nuxw 'weather'
k'1-k'1-nuxw 'sunny weather' χs-nuxw 'good weather'
**cmp-nuxw 'cloudy weather' ča?1-tm-nuxw ('tm ?)' 'cold weather'
či?-nuxw ('čeh-nuxw') 'what kind of weather'

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

13 nలuo?-qin 'one hundred' x'am-qn 'red-painted head'
s-čoh-qin 'brain' č-yal-qn 'crown'
q'ac-qin 'hat, cap' k'ton-qn 'big head'
n-tx'-qin 'mid-day' milk'-qn 'round head'
č-pax'-qin 'shining head' *n-čs-tn-qin ('tn ?)' 'bad seed'
es-čnm-p-qin 'got blind' n-k'ton-qn 'big-voiced'
?amót-qn (< ?emut-qin) 'old Indian god (dwelling at the top)'
(D I p. 116)
y-es-топ-qн-m 'I bend it over (as the head of a tree).'
č-k'ton-qн 'big mountain'
č-?amót-qн 'dweller on the mountain'

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

**-sčint 'person, people'

**syaw-sčint 'patient people'
yo-yo-sčint 'powerful men'
s-x'ye?-sčint 'ant-people (Blackfeet)'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
s-lq-etkw-m-sčint (-m- ?) 'people from the foot of Flathead Lake'

*-snux′ 'worthy of'

lm-lem-snux′ 'worthy of being liked'
*čam-čam-snux′ 'worthy of hatred'
?am-*am-snux′ (?aym-*aym-snux′)16 'worthy of anger'
n-čl-čl-snux′ 'inspiring fear'
s-či-xm-čenč-snux′ 'lovely, that desires to be loved'

-sqāxe′ 'cattle, beast, horse'

kʷt-sqāxe′ 'big horse'
pxʷ-t-sqāxe′ ( pxʷ-ut-sqāxe′) 'old horse'
n-tkʷ-či?-sqāxe? -tn 'saddle'
s-n-tpy-čw-t-sqāxe? -tn 'stable'
čin **es-kʷ-sqāxe′? 'I go to buy a horse.'
čin xʷč-sqāxe′? 'I give a horse.'

-šin 'foot, leg, root'

qʷl-šin 'ripe roots' s-n-qʷuA-šn 'stockings'
?umnéšn 'wild goat' q?u-šin 'broken leg'
s-ixʷ-šin 'foot-wound' wis-šn 'long'
s-n-ipxʷ-šin 'nail foot-wound'
s-dsp-i-če?-šin 'old shoe'

-úle?x′ 'land, place; times'

xam-łe?x′ 'dry place' qic-le?x′ 'hard place'
cš-úle?x′ 'bad country' q⁸-in-le?x′ 'green fields'
ti?m-le?x′ 'moist soil' nhóy-le?x′ 'deserted place'
xʔ-úle?x′ 'rattlesnake' če?i-úle?x′ 'three times'
mís-łe?x′ 'four times' c1-čst-úle?x′ 'five times'
s-cs-úle?x′-tn 'a broom (to sweep outside the house)'

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

cš-us 'ugly face' xʷem-ús 'red-painted face'
s-c-kʷtn-us 'big fire' s-n-čic-n-ús (-n ?) 'beginning'
n-ča?1-ús 'sore neck' č-ča?-ča?1-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'-ús 'hooked in one eye'
cin *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.'
cin es-plč-ús-i 'I return, go back before reaching.'
y-es-ţu?-úús-m 'I sting his face.'
cin es-ta?x'-l-ús(-i) (-l- ?) 'I advance, proceed.'
y-es-x'y-ús-m ţu? i-s-q'sé? 'I came with my son.'
y-es-x't-p-ús-m 'I run away with her.'
n-?uiix'-ús-n 'I went in with him; I brought him in.'

-útya?, -útye? '?'

*s-q'm-útya? 'coin'
qi?-m-útya? (-m- ?) 'paper money' (D II p. 245, I p. 254)
*lcp'-m-útye? (-m- ?) 'sewed together (a sack)' (D I p. 369)
*tp-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'um-áposqn 'small-mouthed'
sk'-áposqn 'swelled mouth, lips'
čam-áposqn 'dry throat' (D I p. 143)
ţu?-áposqn 'stung in the lips'
ţax-áposqn 'bitter mouth'
-čnetk' (< -cin-étk') 'shore'
ľaq-lš-čnetk' 'sitting on the shore'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
-čneixʷ (< -ičn-čixʷ)  'front of the house'

  es-čm-t-čnéixʷ (-t- ?)  'standing outside'
  čm-čneixʷ  'yard in front of the house'
  tpy-čt-čnéixʷ  'those standing outside'
  xʷst-čneixʷ  'passing before the house'

-qnel (< -qin-čł)  'shot, bite'

  nkʷ-qnel  'one shot'
  n-?as1-qnél  'two shots'
  n-śsl-qnel  'good bite'

-usqn (< -ús-qin)  'top of head'\(^{18}\)

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

6.2.2. Lexical Prefixes

In this section, three lexical prefixes are listed, glossed, and exemplified:\(^{19}\)

*qe?i-  'offspring, child'

  qe?i-David  'son of David'
  **qe?i-xʷ1-xʷ1  'lamb'
  qe?i-kʷ1-n-cút-n  'son of God'

pu?-  'spouse'

  pu?-sqélisxʷ  'wife/husband of an Indian'
  pu?-suyápi  'wife/husband of a whiteman'
  pu?-Paul  'Paul's wife'
  pu?-Marie  'Mary's husband'
  kʷ pu?-č-sél  'You have two wives.'

sxʷ-  'charged to, appointed to do, fellow, partner, companion'

(D I p. 503, D II pp. 15, 142)

  sxʷ-?ačx-m  'spectator'
  sxʷ-kʷul-m  'workman'
  sxʷ-kʷne-m  'policeman'
  sxʷ-pxʷom-m  'distributor'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
(Cf. also i-sx"-six"-lt 'my born fellow, my child'; i-s-nk"-six" 'my fellow born, brother or sister'.)
FOOTNOTES

1 Post lists the following forms amongst his examples:
   čs-i-in-ḵ'ul-mn ('bad-comp. con.-my-make-instr.') 'my bad ways'
   čs-i-an-ḵ'ul-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?sqilx'.

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

6 Comparative evidence (see Colville) suggests that išut is seg-
   mentable (< yVS-ut), and if it is, then -ut is likely to be a lexical
   suffix, here occurring in combination with another lexical suffix.
   (See -ut 'capable' in 5.2.9.3. and 1k'-ut-aqs, ḡx'-t-sqáxe? below.)

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

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

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

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

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

12 -ił 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 -s\-čint (s-čint ?) is a root, then these are compounds.

The Colville cognate \?-im suggests that a is the vocalization of \_; the \_ remains unexplained.

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

This form seems to indicate that \-aql\- 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: țem 'last, extremity', țes 'bad', xes 'good', k\*tun 'big, great', ș\?it 'first', and nk\?u? 'one'. **a\-iq 'plenty of' must also be the root of the following words (which would otherwise lack a root):

**a\-iq-\-álqs 'who has plenty of cloth'

**a\-iq-\-élx\^ 'who has plenty of lumber'

**n-\-a\-iq-\-ép 'who has plenty of food'

Three others participate in compounds: sqm 'worthless', *mi 'excellent, worthy' and **ș\?-i-\-mi\* 'exceedingly' (see 6.1.).

Post gives sx\^ as a prefix used in forming "nouns indicating people's profession or work."

Carlson lists sm\- 'poor little' and pu?\- 'spouse' as lexical prefixes (1972, p. 100).
7. PARTICLES

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

- citx'w
- x'uy
- ac-mín
- y-es-n-đe?cín-m-i-t-m
- s-čs-úle?x'-tn

'It's a house.'
'He/she/it goes.'
'It is a trap.'
'I receive his...in Holy Com.'
'It's a broom to sweep outside.'

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

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

7.1. Clause Particles

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

7.1.1. Interrogative ha, uc

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

ha nom k'w x'uy

'Will you go?'
ha ta k'w čaw-m 'Did you not pray?'
ha x'a m k'w x'uy 'Shall you perhaps go?'
ha q-s-qix'-i-c-n 'Should I drive him for you?'
ha ta k'w x'uy 'And did you not go?'
k'u es-čalit-m-s t q'ay-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 ʻail 'Is it that I should die?'
?uc m čin x'1-x'ilt 'Who knows if I will be alive?'
ha nem k'w x'uy ?uc 'Will you go? Who knows.'
?acx-s-t-s ne ?uc ʻaχ-s-t-és
'They looked at him, whether he would cure him.' (D I p. 616)
čin c-x'uy ?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 ?iḥš 'I will start for my trip.'
nem k'w ʻilmix'-m 'One will be chief.'
nem k'w ?aym-t 'One will be angry.'
χ'a nem č-šn-ci-n 'Perhaps I will follow thee.'
nem t k'uy?e m n-q'ñ-mín-c-n 'I shall have pity on thee.'
pi-s-teh m k'w čiip 'When will you go hunting?'
l čičeq t nem qe? tk'w-k'w-elp 'On some near place we will camp.'
nem či?-ʻows m qe? s-n-py-els l s-č-čm-asqt
'Forever we shall rejoice in heaven.'

7.1.3. Desiderative k'wmi?

k'wmi? 'would that!' marks the clause it introduces as desiderative.
k'lm? čin tš’-mn-cut 'Would to God that I would amend myself.'

k'lm? wič-n-t-x’w įu? a-q-s-n-q’w-h-ín įu? tî an-k’w-l-n-cút-n
['Would that you-see-it sub. your-pity(favor) sub. from your-God'] 'Would that you obtain your favor from God.'

7.1.4. Apodotic k’ne

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

k’w įu? ta k’w čaw-m, k’ne u k’w oós-t
'If you had not prayed, you would have been lost.'

k’w įu? č-x’uy-m-n, k’ne u wič-t-n
'If I had paid him a visit, I would have seen him.'

A special apodotic interrogative clause is introduced by the sequence k’n a (< k’ne ha):

k’n a u čin x’uy 'Should I go?'

k’w ta maly-ém-n-c-n (-ém ?) k’n a u k’w x’l-x’ilt
'If I had not given thee that medicine, should you be alive?'

7.1.5. we 'to no avail'

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

?em we čin q’ili-m-íst, u ta s-1k’w-n-t-én
'Though I did my best, I could not succeed.'

č-šn-t-ex’w ?em we x’l s-teśm įu? t k’ili ‘Thou didst follow him, while the others deserted him.' (D II p. 440)

we y-es-k’ul-m 'Though I made it; I made it indeed.'

we k’uł-n 'Though I had made it.'

įu? we qį-č-šn-cút-i-s J.C. 'Those would be followers of J.C.'

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

we čin q’šl-q’elt, ta s-séw-ne?
'Though I spoke, he did not mind.'
109

u še'y u c-n-tēš-ilš k"tun-t s-wewī we q-s-ḵʷe?-lwīs-m-s īu?
"And there a big fish came towards the shore, as if he
wished to bite the young man." (Bible p. 32)
č-x"c-n-t-es īu? t s-x"qit-s īu? tēye? i-s-c-kʷēn īu? we
s-x"qit īu? in-qʷom-qn 'The multitude of my sins surpasses
even the number of my hair.'
we maš-t īu? in-ck"-ińč *pen t še'y u pul-s-t-n īu?
x"i-x"ey-ūī 'Though my bow was broken, still it was with it
that I killed those animals.'
we kʷ xēs-t u yetix"ā **qʷ-t-īlš
'Though you were good, now you are becoming wayward.'
we čin es-čāw-i u kʷu xalít-i-s in-qēcē
' 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.

ǐu? sqēlixʷ u īu? x"i-x"ey-ūī k"w-1-n-cut-n ep-s-c-k"wūl
'Men and beasts are the work of God.'
u x"w 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"uyʔē ha k"u an-šmēn 'And I, am I then your enemy?'
t k"uyʔē 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 tāp-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"eqt īu? anwiʔ? qeqwēt-s-t-x" īu? n-ḵs-ekt" u yetix"ā
'But you have kept the best wine until now.' (Bible p. 52)
"He left them hanging until evening."

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

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

"I did not sleep until daylight."

"He did not speak up to his death."

"Why did you get angry for no reason."

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

7.1.7. Other Clause Particles

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

tew  'while'

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

cyu  'before, not yet'

"I did not eat as yet."

"I arrived before he died."

"I did not pray yet."

néi  'evidential'

"I believe because you spoke."

Original content is marked with asterisks. Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
ta k'w q-s-n-ḵēl-i néi k'w y-es-č-1cī?-m
'Fear not because I am with you.'
ta q-s-x"ič-i-c-n īu? s-?īn, néi tēye? īu? an-čūt
'I don't give you to eat, because you behaved badly.'

"lest"

χi 'lest'

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

**cušē 'finally' (Bible p. 40)

nex'w 'and, also, besides'²

nex'w ta 'nor'

7.2. Predicate Particles

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

7.2.1. k'w 'evidently'

k'w še'y 'Yet it is so (evidently it is so).'**

k'w cu-t-í : "ta i-q-s-x"uy"

'Yet (apparently) he said, "I will not go."

k'weht mi-p-nū-ys k'w ?eč-unex'-ist īu? Ange

'And they found out that the angel had told the truth.'

u mi-p-nū-ys k'w n-k"īl-k'w

'And he found out that it was wine.' (Bible p. 52)

še'y k'w es-mis-t-ex'w, k'w s-m?em, īu? a-s-n-q'w-in tī

k'w I-n-cut-n 'If you only knew, you woman, your favor from God.' (Bible p. 54)

7.2.2. i 'specially noted'³

i c-čim 'dark (cloudy)' i n-čim 'dark room'
i  xašal 'clear'
i  naq̈ 'rotten (meat)'
i  xam 'dry'
i  čtas 'lean, poor'
i  suy (i  sul) 'uncomfortably cold'
i  šaq̈ 'warm (heat from fire)'
i  šas 'hard accidentally'
i  q'ew 'wicked altogether, drunk'
i  x'uk̈ 'well, clean, all clean'
i  nk'w'u? 'only one'
i  qe?mplé?' 'truly us, only ourselves'
i  k̇ ' čtas 'Thou art always thin,'
i  čin q'ā-q'īh-t 'I am going on to be poor.'
i  ċi si-sy-ús 'I am brave.'
i  k̇ ' caw-m 'You always pray.'
i  čin s-qltmìx̄ 'I am truly a man.'
i  čin q'ay 'I am all black.'
i  k̇ ' tiš 'You are all sweet.'
i  k̇ ' ?aym-t 'You are indeed mad.'
i  k̇ ' s-m?em 'You are indeed a woman, a coward.'
i  wič-t-n u el-sux̄'-n

'As soon as I saw him, I recognized him.' (D I p. 217)

7.2.3. te? 'indefinite'
te? nk'w'? 'some one'
te? ?esel 'some two'
te? k̇ 'winš 'some, not many'
te? nk'w'? 'sometime'
te? k̇ 'winš-âsq̇ t 'some time ago'
te? ; te? nk'w'? **noq ; te? k̇ 'winš 'not often, now and then'
te? m čin x'uy 'I will go sometime.'

7.2.4. Ḩe 'past'
Ḩe šey 'That is enough, that will do.'
x"uy-š, k"i-múl-iš  \( \lambda e \)

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

\( \text{i}\u00b1\text{u} \)  s-x"el-mn  s-?aym-s  \( \text{i}\u00b1\text{u} \)  s-n\( \text{k}^w \)-i-anx-s

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

7.2.5. ne 'future'

(Cf. nem 'future' in 7.1.2.)

\( \text{i}\u00b1\text{u} \)  ne  ta  k'w  es-k"uí-m  nem  k'w  **če-št-m-elt-n

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

\( \text{ne} \)  k'w  q-s-x?it,  m  qa?  č-če?-če?-iš,  m  k'w  c-x"uy

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

\( \text{ne} \)  čalí-p  x"a  ne  ci?  n\( \text{k}^w \)-asqt  m  čin  čiip  ' (It will be)
tomorrow, or (it will be) the day after, I will go hunting.'

\( \text{ne} \)  čin  es-wí-s-?iin,  m  č-x"uy-m-n-cí-n  ' (I will finish
eating and) after my meal I will pay thee a visit.'

\( \text{nem} \)  n-mí-p-n-cí-n  \( \text{i}\u00b1\text{u} \)  ne  k'w  **če-yan-t-x'w

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

7.2.6. x"a 'perhaps'

y-es-čint-m  x"a  es-č-ča?1-éls-i  'I am afraid he may be sick.'

\( \lambda e \)  x"a  wi-s-t-ès  'He may have finished it already.'

x"a  nem  qa?  k"i-čic  'Perhaps we will reach (arrive).'</nem

\( \lambda e \)  x"a  ?iňš  'Perhaps he started already.'

x"a  ta  qa?  q-ep-s-?íin  '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:

\[
\begin{align*}
luk'w & \ y-es-\hat{\text{i}}u-\hat{\text{k}}?-\hat{\text{u}}s-m & \text{I am looking for wood.}' \\
& [\text{It-is-wood} \ I\-\text{look-for-it}] \\
s-\text{pe}k'-m & \ es-\hat{\text{i}}i-s-t-n & \text{I have eaten bitterroot.'} \\
& [\text{It-is-bitterroot} \ I\-\text{have-eaten-it}] \\
q'\nu-q'\hat{n}-t & \text{sqelix}' & \text{They are poor people.'} \\
& [\text{They-are-poor} \ they-are-people] \\
si-sy-\acute{\text{u}}s & \ s-\text{qltmi}x' & \text{He is a smart man.'} \\
& [\text{He-is-smart} \ he-\text{is-man}] \\
k'w & \chi\acute{\text{e}}t k'w s-m?em & \text{Thou art a good woman.'} \\
& [\text{Thou art-good} \ thou \ text{art-woman}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

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. \( \_ \) 'source' (animate source is 'agent'; inanimate source
is 'instrument')

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{naq}'-m-n-t-\acute{\text{e}}m & \ t \text{ttwit} & \text{A boy stole it (it was stolen by a boy).'} \\
& & \text{I know him who insulted me.'} \\
t & \w'\text{i}-n-\text{cut-n} & k'w k'\w'\hat{l}-i-s & \text{God made me.'} \\
es-sux'w-s-t-\acute{\text{e}}n & \text{\( \_ \) ?} \ t \text{sey} & k'w \w'\chi-y-n-\text{cut-n-i-s} \ & \text{I know that Peter is the one who killed my father.'} \\
es-mi-s-t-\acute{\text{e}}n & \text{\( \_ \) ? Pierre u pl-s-t-en \( \_ \) ? in-1?\text{\acute{e}}w} \\
& & \text{I know that Peter is the one who killed my father.'} \\
es-sux'w-s-t-\acute{\text{e}}n & \text{\( \_ \) ?} \ t \text{sey} & k'w \w'\chi-p-n-t-\acute{\text{e}}m \\
& & \text{I know the one who struck me.'} \\
\text{\( \_ \) ?} & \text{sey} & k'w \w'\chi-m-en\acute{\text{c}}-m-s, & \text{\( \_ \) ?} \text{sey} & k'w \w'\chi-m-en\acute{\text{c}}-i-s \\
& & \text{He that loves thee, loves me.'} \\
k'w k'\w'\text{e}?-k'\w'\text{e}?-n-t-s & t n-q'w-q'\w'\text{m-\acute{i}c\text{n-\acute{s}}} & \w'\text{c}\text{\acute{e}}h & \text{ha t \text{sey}} \\
& & \text{A dog bit me. Which one? Is it that one?'} \\
k'w \text{pul-s-t-s} & \text{\( \_ \) ? s-\text{\acute{e}}n\text{\acute{s}}} \\
& & \text{He struck me with a stone.'}
\end{align*}
\]
'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 *he*, just exemplified, *the* optionally marks the "possessor" adjunct to intransitive possessives;

'I am the mother of God.'

'You are the father of Paul.'

'I am the chief of the Kalispels.'

'He is the slave of the devil.'

'You are the lord of the world.'

'We are the masters of our hearts.'

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

'Make a boat (canoe).'

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

'I got wood.'

'I bought tobacco.'

'I ask for bread.'

'Take a dollar.'

'Take some dollars.'
čin wič-m t sqélixw  'I saw some Indians.'
es-čén-iš t s-λukw-m  'Gather some carrots.'
t sipi ɨu? i-sp-ēčst  'My gloves are of skin.'

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

t i-qí-maλy-ém-is-tn (is-em-is ?)  '...I want medicine.'
t i-qí-hí-hc-m  '...I want a knife.'
t i-qí-s-menxw7  '...I want tobacco.'
t s-menxw  '...some tobacco'
t ni-hc-ɨm  '...a knife'

marks a 'time complement' accompanying a future predicate:

t mos-qt m č-ac-éws  'There were yet four days before Sunday.'
ce t mos-qt m č-ac-éws  'There are yet four days before Sunday.'
ce t kwinš-asqt m ţap-sqélixw  če t ?as1-â
  'How many days before Christmas [New Year's]? Yet two days.'
t ci?
  'in that time'

7.3.2. 1 'locative'

The principal function of 1 is to mark an adjunct to the predicate 'locative' as in the following sentences:

es-č-ũḳ̡w ɨu? 1 qi?-mín  'It lays on the book.'
1 qe? s-č-n-vis-t 1 ci? ɨu? s-č-šm-asqt  'Above us there is heaven.' [loc. we towards-high loc. there sub. heaven]
1 qe? k'í-iš-út  u 1 ci? ɨu? s-χ'el-mm
  'Below us there is hell.' [loc. we under-below and loc. there sub. devil] (D II p. 414)

and in the following sentence fragments:

1 šeý  'in there, then'  1 šeý-₁e?x̌w̌  'in that place'
1 s-qepc  'in spring'  1 nḳ̡w'-ule?x̌w̌  'in another place'
1 **k'um  'in the wilderness'  1 s-tůli̱xi̱w  'on earth'
1 n-wis-t  'above, on high'  1 čolşeq?  'outside'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
1 s-ččik’vé 'at the left'
put u 1 šeý 'precisely there'
1 c-n-tl?é-le (-le ?) 'on this side of the river'
1 čw-éxt ; 1 šu-čw-úle?x’ 'in the desert'
1 nisq’ú 'on the other side of the river'
1 es-mílk’w 'everywhere, all over'
1 es-mílk’w-m-úle?x’ (-m- ?) 'all over the world'

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

či q-s-q’1-q’él-t-i 1 amní? 'I will speak with you.'
čin x’uy 1 ... 'I go with...' 
čin es-?emt-í ūu? 1 i-s-χēlwi? 'I live with my husband.'

ilmíx’-m ūu? 1 šeý u k’w es-q’1-q’él-t-i
'It is the chief to whom you speak.'
1 swet u x’ič-i-t-x’ ūu? a-sič-m 1 i-sín-ce?
'To whom did you give your blanket? To my younger brother.'
1 swet ūu? in-q’ác-qn 'Who has my hat (with whom is my hat),'
1 k’uy’ē u ?eč-s-wíš ūu? an-χá-cín
'I have your horse (your horse is with me).'

7.3.3.  $ 'adessive-inessive'
x’uy $ č citx’w 'He went to his house.'
č $ čcoh 'Whither?'
ūu? č šeý m čin x’uy, ta q-s-1k’w-n-t-ex’ k’w q-s-x’uy
'Whither I am going, thou canst not go.'
te? č čcoh 'to some place, somewhere'
ci? č ci? 'still further'
ūu? č ūu? 'thither, yonder'

7.3.4. tǐ 'egressive' (figuratively 'from the time')
c-x’uy tǐ n-iš-út 'He came from below.'
s-n-q’h-n in tǐ k’w1-n-cut-n 'It is the mercy of (from) God.'
ūu? tǐ qe?nh1š? u q’ty-úle?x’w 'He is richer than we are.'
ūu? tǐ nisq’uťg 'from beyond the river'
from morning till evening'
'thence, thenceforth, from there'
'from near'
'from the time of Adam down to Noah'
'than' (?)
'thence, from yonder'
'less than'

7.3.5. \( x'1 \) 'causative'\(^{10}\)

\( \text{cin ?aym-t } x'1 \text{ amwi?} \) 'I am mad for you (on your account).'</n
\( x'1 \text{ amwi? } q-s-x'1-x'1t \) 'He died that we might be saved.'
\( x'1 \text{ amwi? } u \text{ cin pu-pus-énc} \) 'I am sorry about thee.' (D II p. 2)
\( \text{cin pu-pus-énc } iu? x'1 \text{ i-s-c-k'én } ñeye? \)
'I am sorry for my sins.'

7.3.6. \( iu? \) 'subordinate'

Even though \( iu? \) 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:

\( \text{xes-t sqélix'w} \) 'They are good Indians.'
\( \text{xes-t } iu? \text{ sqélix'w} \) 'The Indians are good.'
\( iu? \text{ xes-t sqélix'w} \) 'the good Indians'
\( \text{sqélix'w } iu? \text{ xes-t} \) 'They are the Indians who are good.'

\( \text{Marie } iu? \text{ s-tícm-íš (-iš ?)} \) 'the virgin is Mary'
\( \text{s-tícm-íš } iu? \text{ Marie} \) 'Mary is a virgin.'
\( \text{xes-t } iu? \text{ k'w1-cut-n} \) 'God is good.'
\( \text{k'tun-t } iu? \text{ in-citx'w} \) 'My house is big.'
\( \text{in-x'cín } iu? \text{ ŝax-t} \) 'My horse is the swift one.'

\( \text{cên } iu? \text{ ŝem-t, ye } ti? \text{ ñesél ye } iu? \text{ ŝem-t} \)
'Which of the two is the heavier one? This is the heavy one.'
\( \text{cên } iu? \text{ i-s-ul-m-íńč (-m- ?)} \) 'Where is my gun?'
\( iu? \text{ sqélix'w } u \text{ iu? } x'w'i-x'wey-úi } k'w1-cut-n \text{ op-s-c-k'uí} \)
'Men and beasts are the work of God.'
iu? xes-t nem lem-t

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

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

s-mehx' iu? i-s-c-tu-m-íst

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

yes-ačx-m iu? s-c-ch-elt iu? es-mem-s-cut-i

'I look at the boys playing.'

wič-t-n Paul iu? es-čip-m-í 'I saw Paul hunting.'

s-q'še?-s Pierre iu? es-čil-m-í 'It is Peter whose son died.'
in-čm-nč-cut-n iu? an-čm-nč-cut-n 'He that loves thee, loves me.'

ne ččip iu? Pierre, **itni m pul-s-t-ém

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

s-čex-m iu ?ii-n 'It was bitterroot that I was eating.'
in-čm-čnc iu? es-i-tr-țene? 'I like those who obey.'

yes-n-q'h-min-m iu? n-q'h-mm-cut-i-s iu? sqélix

'I pity him who pities his fellow men.'

n-q'h-min-t iu? an-č-yoq'-n-cut-n

'Be merciful to those who slander you.'

čaw-š-t-s iu? pls-cut-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'1-q'él-t-m

'He to whom you speak is the president.'

ilmix' iu? a-s-c-q'1-q'él-t-m

'It is the president of whom you speak.'

nem čhaq-n-t-ém iu? es-n-sux'-ne?

'Those who obey shall be rewarded.'

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

iu? x'1 t i-q-s-ränš-i u es-čq'-áq'-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.'
When he sees me, he laughs at me.'

'Thievish children will become bad men.'

'If you had not left your house.'

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

| īu? | Marie | 'Mary' | Marie | 'She is Mary.' |
| īu? | kʷi-n-cut-n | 'God' | kʷi-n-cut-n | 'He is God.' |
| īu? | čes-t | 'the good' | čes-t | 'He/she/it is good.' |
| īu? | anwi? | 'thou' |
| īu? | qaśip | 'long ago' |
| īu? | psáy-e? | 'the foolish' |
| īu? | es-āl | 'the dead' |
| īu? | s-pi?-s-cē? | 'yesterday' |
| īu? | kʷul-n | 'my having made it' |
| īu? | y-es-kʷul-m | 'my making it' |
| īu? | īew Paul | 'the father of Paul' |
| īu? | s-kʷanx-i-s | īu? | s-xʷel-mn | 'the slave of the devil' |

7.4. Other Particles

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

7.4.1. Unclear Particles

če 'there remains, yet, in addition'

če i čuw | 'He is still absent.'
če ta i-s-nāqʷ | 'I steal no more.'
'I don't tell lies any more.'
'There were still ten absent.'
'I eat no more; I am not well; I don't eat yet.'
'They touched her with the one remaining cross.'
'and the remainder of your debt' (D II p. 310)

**again, another time**

*I got mad again.'
'He is chief again.'

'now'

'just now'

'If now from there you will tell me here how I should act, I will take your advice.'

'rhetorical interrogative' (with an expected affirmative answer)

'Did you not pray?'
'And is not the devil a liar?' OR 'Certainly the devil is a liar.'
'Drive in my riding horse. And did I not drive it in already?'
'And is not the devil our great enemy? (Surely he is.)'

'a while ago'

'just a while ago'

'after a while'

'the late president' (D II p. 218)

'a while'

'soon'

'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'eo?

yo

yom

k'wéné

ne k'wéné

'Is it so (of surprise)!!'

'of pain'

'Hurrah!'

'Look here, behold!'

'disapproval'

'do not, what do you do'

'Well, courage, go, done, agreed!!'

'What a pity!'

'How, oh (of joy)!!'

'of suffering'

'Wait! Wait a while!'

'Wait a while!'
FOOTNOTES

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

2 Cf. Colville nix 'also'.

3 This is the label Carlson attaches to Spoken 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: ñe-m, n-ñe, and ñé?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 γ of q1- is retained unexpectedly.

8 Cf. also **lqe? as in:
či q-s-q"l-q"elt-i **lqe? anví? 'I will speak with you.'

9 Is this further segmentable?

10 The derivational prefix č- seems to have identical semantic import:

anví? u k" y-es-č-?ãym-t-m 'I am mad for you (on your account).'
y-es-č-pu-pus-éñč-m ḳu? łye? i-s-c-k"én 'I am sorry for my sins.'
anví? ḳu? k" y-es-č-pu-pus-éñč-m
'I am sorry about thee.' (D II p. 2)


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.)'
- anwi? 'thou (It is thou.)'
- nple? 'you (It is you.)'
- cni?c 'he (It is he.)'
- cni?ic 'they (It is they.)'

_anwi?_ 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"lít ū? k"uy?é 'I, indeed, don't wish to talk.'
- țes-t k"u wič-t-x"w t anwi? 'Indeed, well didst thou see me.'
- t k"uy?é u x"w1-x"w1l-s-t-m-n 'It was I who delivered thee.'
- Ļu? ne k" anwi? 'If thou be thine.'
- swet Ļu? ep-s-ul-ul-m-ińč ľi-ľe k"uy?é 'Who owns this gun?'
- ľeč ľu? qe? ľap-mín ye ľu? k"uy?é ci? ľu? anwi? 'Where are our arrows? This is mine, that is thine.'
- swet ľu? s-'tq-šcut ľi-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:

- **čené? 'mine'
- **člipóst 'ours'
- **ščené? 'thine'
- **šlipóst 'yours'
- **ценél 'his/theirs'
8.2. **Numbers**

The cardinal numbers, other than нк'у? 'one', do not participate in a wide range of inflections and derivations. Numerals with the prefix ч_ refer to persons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Things</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>In Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 нк'у?</td>
<td>ч-naqs₁</td>
<td>нк'у-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ?есё?</td>
<td>ч-есёл (&lt; ч-?есёл)</td>
<td>?есё-?, ?асё-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 чё?иёс</td>
<td>ч-чё?-чё?иёс</td>
<td>чё?и-?, ча?и-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 му</td>
<td>ч-mus-ms</td>
<td>му-с-, мос-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 цил</td>
<td>ч-цил-цил</td>
<td>цл-ц(st)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 та?н</td>
<td>ч-та?н</td>
<td>тан-ц(st)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 сиспёл</td>
<td>ч-сиспёл</td>
<td>спл-ц(st)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ?ем</td>
<td>ч-?ем</td>
<td>?ем-и, ха?ем-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 яхат (яхат)</td>
<td>ч-яхат (ч-яхат)</td>
<td>яхат-, яхат-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ?упн</td>
<td>ч-?упн</td>
<td>?упн-ц(st)-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers 11-19 are expressed as 'ten' plus еи- plus the units:

11 ?упн еи-нк'у? (ten again-one)
12 ?упн еи-?есёл (ten again-two)

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

20 ?есё-?упн
30 чё?и-?упн
40 му-и-?упн
50 цил-ч-и-?упн
60 тан-ч-и-?упн
70 спл-ч-и-?упн
80 ?ем-и-?упн
90 яхат-и-?упн

-qin is the lexical suffix for hundred, thus:

100 нк'о?-qин
1,000 ?upn-čst-qn
2,000 ?esl-?upn-čst
10,000 ?upn-?upn-čst-qn

Forms preceded by *iu? q-s- (<* qi-s- 'subjunctive-nominal')
correspond to English ordinals (except 'first' which is ?i, a root
with full inflectional and derivational range).

2nd *iu? q-s-čsél (things) *iu? q-s-č-čsél (persons)
3rd *iu? q-s-čeʔies (things) *iu? q-s-č-čeʔ-čeʔies (persons)

8.3. Days of the Week

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

Monday  nʕʷ-ásqt OR č-ʔapš-eðs(-m) OR **čxʷect
Tuesday  ?aslä-ásqt
Wednesday čʔi-ásqt
Thursday  mos-ʔt
Friday   cl-čst-asqt
Saturday  s-č-ʔč
Sunday/week s-č-ac-ʔéšs²

8.4. Demonstratives

Six morphemes and combinations thereof comprise the demonstrative
set:
ye  'this, these, here'³  ci?  'that, there, beyond'
ye-?'é  'this one, this here'  ci-?'é  'there, not here'⁴
ți-?'é  'this very one'  ți-?i?  'that very one'⁵
še?  'this (indefinite), these'

These enter into a variety of constructions:

mi, k'u x'ič-i-t ci? šl-min  'Please give me that axe!'
k'ën-t (<k'ën-n-t) ye lu'w  'Take this wood!'
  'This I like, that I hate.'
yo xes-t ći-?'é  'Oh, how beautiful is this!'
ta q-s-k'ën-t-x'w ći-?i?  'Don't take that one.'
l qe? s-č-n-wis-t l ci? šu? s-č-čm-asqt
  'Above us there is heaven.'
t ci?  'in that time'
l ci?  'there'
it ci?  'in whatever place'
ci? č ci?  'still further'
ye l-?'é  'here, in this place'
ye t-?'e  'by here'
ye č-?'e  'towards this place'
ye tili-?'e  'from this place (or time)'
ye l-?'e u l-?'e  'He remains here.'
ye t-?'e u șyust  'He passes here.'
ye tili-?'e u ?imš  'He started from here.'
ye č č-?'e  'a little this way'
c-x'uy-š ye č-?'e  'Come here!'
c-wám-iš ye č-?'e  'Come here quick!'
ye l-?'e čin x'îm-qn-cut, l ci? nem čin čn-čint
  'Here I am safe, there I will be in danger.' (D II p. 395)
ye tili-?'e m es-ta?x'î-1-úš (-1- ?)
  'what will follow hereafter, from this moment, from this place'
še? s-?esèl s-pùni? u čin es-č-ča?1-éls
  'These two months I have been sick.'
čin xʰuy, 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-ásqʷt 'It is now two days; two days ago.'
še s-kʷinš-ásqʷt 'How many days ago?'
**še-n-ép 'Look here, here it is.'
**še-hé? 'Look there, it is there.'
ha še'y (< šeʔ-i 'these-continuative') ū? a-s-oos-łscút
'Is that the thing you lost?'
in-xm-énc ū? še'y 'I do like that.'
ū? še'y u čin nʔażl-és 'I think the same.'
ū? še'y u čin ʔeš'-kʰún-m 'I say the same.'
ū? še'y u čin ʔaxil-m 'I do the same.'
šεy 'That will do!'
šεy nʔu? i xeš-t kʷeht še es-č-čaʔ1-és : šεy nʔu?
n-py-els, nʔu? n-xʷp-els
'He is now well, now sick, now glad, now sad.'
šεy žu-ʔ-úš-is ū? we nʔu? es-oós-t, m še'y eš-t-wič-i-s
'He looks for the lost one, though it be only one, until he finds it again.'
šεy ū? a-s-kʷuy 'Behold your mother!' (D I p. 503)
ū? xʷl še'y 'Why!'
ū? še'y s-xl-xal-t 'in that day'
FOOTNOTES

1 Some examples in context of the use of the word č-naqs:
č-naqs s-qltmix' u ?esél ǐu? sx'-six'-1t
'A man had two children.'
č-naqs s-m?em es-č-ca?1-éls-i 'A woman is sick.'
t č-naqs ttwit pul-s-t-s ǐu? i-s-țiá? 'A boy killed my cow.'
qe? č-náqs-i 'We are one by one.'
č-naqs 'someone, somebody' ta č-naqs 'nobody'
i č-naqs 'only one' i **či-i-nâqs 'all alone'

2 Note that ne plus the day translates 'next...day' and ǐu? s-
plus the day 'last ...day':
ne č-ac-èw s 'next Sunday' ǐu? s-ča?i-ásqt 'last Wednesday'
ǐu? s-č-i?e 'last Saturday'

Note also the following developmental derivations:
ǐu? mos-.qt-îlš (<mus-ásqt-îlš) 'the fourth day having come'
ne q-s-mos-qt-îlš (stress ?) 'when the fourth day comes'
Cf. also s-pî-č-asqt ('nominal-turn-day') 'week' as in:
tlci? s-pî-č-asqt u nex' k'î-čic ǐu? nóx'-nox'
'After one week his wife came too.' (Bible p. 34)

3 Vogt gives two forms ye 'this, close to the speaker' and _?e
'here, now' (p. 68-69 n. 201-4). Carlson gives only _?e 'this/these'
for Spokan (1972, p. 65).

I have interpreted ie as ye and ee as ?e. Post states that ye
translates 'now' and that the construction ye...ye translates 'either...
or.' Vogt also notes the use of ye in time expressions.

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

5 Vogt analyzes ií?e as ǐu? plus ye (p. 69 n. 201); Carlson anal-
yzes i-ǐ?e (í-i-ci?) as 'secondary-special-this (that near you)' (p. 5
58).

6 Cf. _?e 'remain'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
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, 2, 3, and t1 (see 7.3.1.-7.3.4.).
## APPENDIX A: KINSHIP TERMS

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses below:

- father (fa)
- mother (mo)
- brother (br)
- sister (sis)
- sibling (sib)
- husband (hus)
- child (ch)
- wife (w)
- daughter (dt)
- grand (gr)

### A man speaks:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l?ew</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-?kuy</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qecč</td>
<td>'elder brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sín-ce?</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sx? -s-m?em</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-nk? -six?</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-čičše?</td>
<td>'elder sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c?-ups</td>
<td>'younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-češt</td>
<td>'w's br or sis's hus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-me?i</td>
<td>'br's child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čépe?</td>
<td>'sib's son's child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-síle?</td>
<td>'sib's dt's child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunš</td>
<td>'sister's child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-?iw-elt</td>
<td>'late br's daughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čépe?</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>túpye?</td>
<td>'gr-son's child or gr-fa's parent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-iláwy'e</td>
<td>'great-grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qéne?</td>
<td>'father's mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>či-čýé?</td>
<td>'mother's mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssi?</td>
<td>'uncle (mo's br)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-kwuk'i</td>
<td>'father's sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qáxe?</td>
<td>'mother's sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>túpye?</td>
<td>'granddaughter'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A woman speaks:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēnest'h</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tů'h</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iqáqce?</td>
<td>'elder brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sí-sn-ce?</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-nk? -six?</td>
<td>'brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-čičše?</td>
<td>'elder sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-c-c?-ups</td>
<td>'younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-šéw (i-?)</td>
<td>'br's wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-q? -s-elt</td>
<td>'sister's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čih? -elt</td>
<td>'sister's daughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ši?</td>
<td>'late br's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-síle?</td>
<td>'gr-fa, dt's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tůpye?</td>
<td>'grand-parent or grandson'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čépe?</td>
<td>'fa's fa, son's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-me?i</td>
<td>'fa's br or son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icećč</td>
<td>'wife's mo or sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**čy-elt</td>
<td>'wife's fa's mo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>įw-estn</td>
<td>'stepmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**sestm</td>
<td>'u's sis, br's wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čʔclp</td>
<td>'son's widow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qeʔ-ėws</td>
<td>'middle child'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: NAMES OF INDIAN TRIBES

Parenthesized forms are in Post's orthography.

*ox'íče? (ogoize) Banak Indians
s-č-q'í-šn-í (s-chkoeshini) Blackfeet
**s-n-x'í-sčint (sngulschint) Blood Indians
s-čowíle? (s'cheuile) Chewelah Indians
s-čic-wi (s-chizuii) Coeur d'Alenes
n-x'i tu (nguto) Cree and Sioux Indians
**oq'íst-čmn (okoistemen) Crees of the North
stémči (stemchi) Crow Indians
**s-n-qyos-çe?-sčint (snkaioskaes'chint) Gros Ventres
**čil-ene? (chilene) Indians on the Columbia
**s-n-póy-lš-i (snpoeielsli) Indians around a tributary
of the Columbia

**s-náy-čst-i (snaichsti) Lake Indians (Colville)
i-c-ch-íče? (izizimico) Little Robes
**s-x'y-čl-p-i (sgoielpi) Kettle Indians
**silk'lá? (silkola) Kootenais (Idaho)
s-qíše? (skalise);
  s-qíše? **ulkw (skalise ulku)
sa?áptni (saapten) Kootenais (Montana)
**oqináqsin (okinaksin) Nez Perces
**s-laq- ét-k'-m-sčint (siaketikums'chint) Okinagan
qalispél-m-s (kalispelms) Upper Pend d'Oreilles
s-čs-íče? (s'chesize) Lower Pend d'Oreilles
**snó?e (snoe) Piegans, a Blackfoot tribe
s-n-x'm-én?e (sngumene) Snake Indians
s-n-tu?-t?ú (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.

sél-iš s-túlix (sélish stolígu) Bitterroot
**n-pa-paá (npapaa) Place on the Bitterroot
**s-n-ayc-čst-m (snaizchstem) Bonner (Blackfoot)
**qalniʔ (kalnni), Camas Prairie
**qalniʔ-txʷá (kalniipto) Place in Camas Prairie
*s-n-aye-eš-m (snaizchstem) Little Camas Prairie between
*qii-eʔ (kaliie) Agency and O'Keefe's Place
**qii-épíp (kaliépíp)
**s-n-ičo (sinítchoi) Crow Creek

**némi (némia),
**épi-némia (épi némia) Flat Creek
s-íaq-étr (síaketiku) Flathead Lake
**s-n-íapa (sniápa) Head of the Lake
*čm-qn-étr (chemkanetiku) Mud Creek, Foot of Flathead Lake
*mal-t-čix [-t- ?] (maltegu) Fort Benton or Fort Owen
**qččl (koel) Frenchtown
**čtrimšš (chilmelshs), Helena
néii xʷʔit ḥu? múli-iš (néii goeit ḥu mulish)
*s-xʷtíp-qín (sgutipkein) Hellgate (near Missoula)
**niiq (niíka) Jocko Agency
*s-čtíp (s'čtíp) Junction of Pend d'Orcille and
*s-n-łay (snłái), Jocko
**s-n-łayc-čst-m (snłaiizchstim) Missoula
*s-n-łá-m-qn-étr (snpelomkanetiku) Morrigeau's Place (Jocko)
**líntswe (lintsue)  Prairie below mouth of Jocko
**n-cí-cik’i (nzezekui) Plains (Horse Plains)
**suména (sumena) Place between Plains and Kalnii
*k’i-n-čan-ép (kotinzanep) Post Creek (McDonald's)
**k’i-ncéme (kolinzeme) Post Creek
s-n-yol-mn St. Ignatius Mission
### APPENDIX D: KALISPEL BORROWINGS OF FRENCH PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalispel Borrowing</th>
<th>French Name</th>
<th>Kalispel Borrowing</th>
<th>French Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atól</td>
<td>Adolphe</td>
<td>swasá</td>
<td>Joachim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amló</td>
<td>Ambroisc</td>
<td>cosép</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antclé</td>
<td>Andre</td>
<td>cwapí</td>
<td>Josephine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aselíq</td>
<td>Angelique</td>
<td>susét</td>
<td>Josette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qyustá</td>
<td>Augustin</td>
<td>súl</td>
<td>Jules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasíl</td>
<td>Basile</td>
<td>solí</td>
<td>Julie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pemwél</td>
<td>Benoît</td>
<td>yustá</td>
<td>Justin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisamá</td>
<td>Benjamin</td>
<td>lolá</td>
<td>Laurent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salóti</td>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>lasá</td>
<td>Lazare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolotí</td>
<td>Dorothea</td>
<td>lowisó</td>
<td>Louise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etwál</td>
<td>Edouard</td>
<td>masalá</td>
<td>Marcellin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woní</td>
<td>Eugenie</td>
<td>maltá</td>
<td>Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palčèn</td>
<td>Ferdinand</td>
<td>molís</td>
<td>Maurice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plaís</td>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>pelásí</td>
<td>Pelagie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silisíq</td>
<td>Frederic</td>
<td>pnitás</td>
<td>Prudence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cosép</td>
<td>George</td>
<td>alimó</td>
<td>Raymond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peliké</td>
<td>Gregoire</td>
<td>apél</td>
<td>Raphael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyám</td>
<td>Guillaume</td>
<td>lamín</td>
<td>Remi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alí</td>
<td>Henri</td>
<td>alqapé</td>
<td>Rigobert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alyét</td>
<td>Henriette</td>
<td>usalí</td>
<td>Rosalie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myas, nyas</td>
<td>Ignace</td>
<td>supí</td>
<td>Sophie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upél</td>
<td>Hubert</td>
<td>usúl</td>
<td>Ursule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isáq</td>
<td>Jacques</td>
<td>pinás</td>
<td>Venantius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čon</td>
<td>Jean</td>
<td>mitwál</td>
<td>Victor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čilóm</td>
<td>Jerome</td>
<td>mitwál</td>
<td>Victoire</td>
</tr>
<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>Zacharie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E: OTHER DATA

I have eliminated from the body of the grammar a number of forms and examples which did not naturally belong where Post had put them. Since one of the main purposes of this edition is to preserve the data contained in the original manuscript, these examples, organized by root, are listed here.

**ta** 'negative'

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

- **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-l-cítx'** 'I have no house.'
- **čin es-tam-sqáxe?** 'I have no horse.'
- **ta-m kʷ y-es-ʔâčx-m** 'I don't look at thee (now and then).'
- **ta kʷ y-es-ʔâčx-m** 'I habitually/never look at thee.'
- **ta-m čin ?aym-t OR ta i-s-ʔaym-t** 'I was not angry.'
- **ta-m aym-t OR ta s-ʔaym-t** 'He was not angry.'
- **ta i-s-qʷl-qʷelt** 'He did not speak.'
- **ta i-q-es-ʔaym-t-i** 'I will never get mad.'
- **ta a-q-es-nâdʷ** 'You must never steal.'
- **ta q-es-č-ʔ-čs-m-ist ḫu? t i-s-lw-ḱelt** 'The son of my late brother never cared for me (never minded me).'
- **ta **x'uy m q-éi-wíč-t-xʷ** 'You will never see me again.'
- **we ne ʧi-p-éys, ne ta s-ʧi-p-éys m čin ?iʔš** 'Whether it rains or not, I will go.'
- **ne ʔi-č-x'uy, ne ta q-éi-c-x'uy, ta q-es-ʔâčx-s-t-m-n** 'If he came back or not, I will not look at thee anymore.'
- **kʷ y-es-caw-n-m ta** 'I tell you "no".'
ta q-s-n-py-êls-i īu? **q'aw-q'-t
'The wicked shall not rejoice.'
ta k'u q'-l-q'elt-s u k'u k'el-s-t-s
'Without speaking to me, he left me.'
ta k' q-s-č-x't-t-êls-i, m k' **ξl-ξal-m-íst
'You should rebuke without getting mad.'
če ta 'Not yet.'
ta pi-s-tēm 'Never.'
ta **x'uy 'Never (fut.).'
ƛ' ta ; u ta 'without'
ta q-s-ta-m 'necessarily'
ta-m k'-k'uy-h-e? 'not at all'
ta nk'u? 'not once'
Cf. also **ta-wi 'I know not' (?):
**ta-wi x'a č-čēn
'I don't know whither he went.' (Bible p. 92)

čēn 'which, where, what'
čēn īu? tî ?esēl 'Which of the two?'
čēn ye tî ?esēl 'Which of these two?'
čēn ci? tî ?esēl 'Which of those two?'
ec-s-čēn 'What is the matter?'
ec-s-čēn-i 'How is that?'
čin ec-s-čēn 'What do I?'
k' ec-s-čēn-i 'How may that be? (What do you say?)'
q-ec-s-čēn m ta 'And why not? (Surely!)'
ec-s-čēn īu? a-s-čā?l 'How is your infirmity?'
y-ec-s-čēn-m ; es-čē?-s-t-n 'What do I do to him?'
es-čē?-s-t-m-n 'What did I do to thee?'
es-čē?-s-t-m 'What has been done to him?'
es-čē?-i-m-n 'What did I do to you?'
ec-s-čēn īu? s-pum-s 'What color is it?'
k' ec-s-čē-aâlq 'What color is your shirt?'
k' ec-s-čē-ice 'What color is your blanket?'
l čēn u ec-?axāl īu? s-pum-s 'What color is it?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
'And how is it that you are sorry?'

'And why did you not tell me?'

'What might be the reason that I should talk?'

'tem' 'what, something'

'y-es-tem-m ; tem-n (\textlangle tem-n-t-en)}

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

'i-qi-n-tem-tn'

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

'y-es-k\textlangle km-s-tem-m-m ; k\textlangle km-s-tem-m-m-n

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

'tem-tn'

's-tem ? u s-pum-s

's-tem'

'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?'

't s-tem'

'Whereby?'

'Why? Wherefore?'

'something'

'nothing'

'when'

'how long ago, when'

'since when'

'some future day'

'never'

'swet 'who, whose, whoever'

'swet u \textlangle km'

'Who died?'

'Who art thou?'

'Who may it be?'

'Whose is it to be?'
1 4 1
196x727 'U' t
swet u k'-n-c
'swet what is thy name?' 'Who made thee?'
swet ?u? a-s-k'uest
'Whoever went there.' 'What is thy name?'
iu? swet u x'uy č-šeý
swet ?u? a-s-xalýt-m
'Of whom did you speak?' 'Whom did you call?'
swet ?u? a-s-cún-m
l swet u x'ic-i-t-x'
'To whom did you give it?'
swet u epi-x'-cín a-s-naq'w OR swet u naq'w-m-i-t-x' iu?
'Who is your son?' 'Whose horse did you steal?'
’x’-cín 'Whose horse did you steal?'
k'w qe?i-swét OR t swet u k'w s-q'soc?-s
k'w qe?i-swét OR t swet u k'w s-q'soc?-s
'Whose son art thou?'
?u? ne te? swet u n-?uix’ m pulst-m
'Whoever goes in is killed.'
te? swet
'the someone' 'someone'
ta swet
'no one'
ćin(t) 'say what?'
ćin es-?e-ćint-i (?e ?) 'What do I say?'
k'w ?e-ćint (?e ?) 'What did you say?' (D I p. 129)
put 'enough, just what is needed'
ha ne-m put
'Will it be enough?'
put u
'already, exactly'
put u i-s-wi-s-méix'w
'I have just now smoked.'
pulst-m
'Whoever goes in is killed.'
pulst-m
'already, exactly'
pulst-m
'Whoever goes in is killed.'
put u q-s-xalým-i
'He is about dying.'
put u ec-xalýl
'just alike'
put u ?aniq
'exact in summer'
put u ?aniq
'yet, still'
pút-i
'He is still absent.'
pút-i s-ćuw
pút-i k'w es-q'w-q'ow
'Thou art still (up to this time) a fool.'
pút-i es-?i-péy-s-i ec-xalýl t s-pi?-s-cé?
'It is still raining like yesterday.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'Judas Iscariot was worse than Pilate.'

χε x"?it u x"iċ-i-c-n u tlcî? x"?it kō q-s-x"iċ-i-t-m

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

tlcî? tî qe?mplê? u q"y-ûle?xẘ

'He is richer than we are.'

milk̓w, meîk̓w 'whole, all'
es-milk̓w 'all, all over'
es-č-milk̓w-iče? 'all around'
es-č-milk̓w-čone? 'all over'
čin es-meîk̓w-m-i ; čin meîk̓w 'I am spreading all over.'
y-es-milk̓w-mi-m (-mi ?) OR milk̓w-m-s-t-n

'I do nothing but that.'
milk̓w-m-s-t-x̊ īu? têye? 'You do nothing but sin.'
milk̓w-m-s-t-s n-py-els 'They do nothing but rejoice.'
milk̓w-m-s-t-n s-łe̓n-s-cût-n 'I do nothing but play.'
milk̓w-m-s-t-s s-n-x"c-x"c-m-els 'They do nothing but suffer.'
milk̓w-m-s-t-s īu? têye? 'They do nothing but mischief.'
milk̓w-nu-n-t-x̊ īu? qix̊-mn 'You deserve the whip.'
milk̓w-m-s-t-s īu? q-s-s-n-py-els

'He gained an immensity of endless joy.'
milk̓w-m-s-t-x̊ īu? a-q-s-n-x"c-x"c-ēls

'You treasure up torments.'
kću č-s-milk̓w-m-i-t-x̊ īu? i-q-s-q"n-q"inh-t

'You do nothing but misery to me.'
t Adam u qe? meîk̓w-š-i-l-s īu? têye? ; t J.C. u qe?
meîk̓w-š-i-l-s īu? t ̊ ̊es-t

'Adam merited evil, and J.C. good things for us.'

esiyá? 'all'
n-wis-t tî esiyá? 'He is the highest of all.'
esiyá? īu? t šeŷ u kću q-s-śpi-m-s ne-m śp-n-t-en

'I will whip whoever whips me.'

īu? ĭlimix̊-m sqélix̊w šeŷ īu? **es-n-śi?-cîn tî esiyá? īu?
sqélix̊w u īu? kćl-n-cut-n īu? **es-n-śi?-cîn tî esiyá?
The Indian chief is over all the people, and God is over all the chiefs.'

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

i sic k' es-t-k'úl-i 'It is finally you begin to work.'
čeh įu? i sic in-qa?-qe?-šin 'Where are my new shoes?'
ha s-qašip ta liw-m-s-t-em 'Did the bell ring long ago? No, just now.'
įu? k' u čs-cín-m-i-s sic čin č-x't-t-els 'When he insulted me, then finally I was angry.'
ne qe? wy-češt m sic m qe? ?iin 'When we shall have finished our work, then finally we will eat.'
i t sic 'only of late'

?ex'-k'ún 'speak, say'
čin ec-?ex'-k'ún-m t čin ?aym-t 'I spoke as if I were angry.' (D I p. 108)
čin es-?ex'-k'ún-i 'I speak so.'
čin ?ex'-k'ún-m t Pierre 'I say the same as Peter.'

nte 'to think'
čin nte x' a nom k' u wíč-i 'I think he will perhaps see me.'
čin nt-šs-i k' u q-s-wič-m-s 'I desire him to see me.'
čin es-nt-šs-i x' a k' u a-s-šaq-q-nú-n-m 'I think you are perhaps cheating me.'
čin es-nt-šs-i k' u a-q-s-šaq-q-nú-n-m 'I am thinking that you are cheating me.'
nom k' q-qwyé? čin es-nt-šs-i 'Will you go fishing with the hook? I intend.'

x'ic 'to give to'
y-es-x'ic'-t-t-m ; x'ic'-t-t-n 'I give it to him.'
čin x'č-s-meňx 'I give tobacco.'
čin x'č-eix 'I give a house.'
k' u x'č-i-šš-mi-s 'He gave me an axe.'
k' u x'č-i-nič-mi-s 'He gave me a knife.' (D I p. 201)
**paq 'to pay for'

čin **paq-q

'I have to pay for it, to suffer for my own deeds.'

k'u sp'-nt-es t s'-q'u-q'se? k'u **q'-s-paq-q-i 'The little boy whipped me; you deserve it, you must pay for it.'

nem **paq-q ḫi-ci? iq'u-ist-ēmm

'Ah, that lying tongue will pay for it.'

wiy 'after, done, finished'

lu? čin wi-s'-k'u-ul-m 'After I had worked.'

ne čin wi-s'-k'u-ul-m 'After I shall have worked.'

ne put wi-s'-čaw-m 'right after prayer' (D I p. 608)

ƛx' 'win'

čin es-ƛx'-'p-sqāxe? 'I lose a horse.'

y-es-ƛx'-'p-sqāxe? 'I win his horse.' (D I p. 586)

čic 'arrive' is used in the construction n-čic-n-úš to mean 'the beginning':

čin es-n-čic-n-úš 'I am at the beginning.'

qe? n-čic-n-úš-n-t-m lu? mus-i-ŋup-čst-āsāt 'We are at the beginning of Lent.'

yetik'á l s-xl-šal-t n-čic-n-úš lu? s-šqni?-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-x' lu? an-ul-ulí-m 'You are fond of your money.'

qex' 'wish for, like to have' for objects not in one's possession:

y-es-qex'-mín-m ; qex'-mi-n 'I wish for it, like to have it.'

qex'-mín-t-x' lu? 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 ᣮem-t-m-n 'I fed thee already.' (D I p. 105)

**wičéµ 'harm'
**y-es-wičéµ-m ; **wičéµ-n 'I bring him harm.'

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 Ʌu? s-Ʌel-mn OR k' q-s-yo-yo-s-cút-i Ʌu? l s-Ʌel-mn 'Be thou strong against the devil.'

lem 'contented, not displeased'
es-lém-t-i Ʌu? J.C. Ʌu? es-č-pť-ptk' mn-áľq'-'i 'J.C. crucified was content, happy, was not displeased.'

py-els 'rejoicing' (D II p. 177)
es-n-py-els-i Ʌu? J.C. Ʌu? ei-Ál-séľix''-i 'J.C. rising from the dead was rejoiceing.'

ie? '?'
čin n-ie?-p-úš Ʌ s-mek'w-t 'At the end I found myself in the snow.'

hoy 'end, finally'
hoy k' i-q-s-méye-i-t-m Ʌu? i-s-c-k'úl 'Finally I must tell you what I did.'
hoy el-wič-t-m-n čin nt-els k' ฮil 'Finally I see you again; I thought you had died.'
še? hoy 'enough'

su (< sux'' 'know') 'yes, I know it, I will it'
unéx'', uné 'true, yes, it is so'
čut 'half'
s-čut 'one half, one part'
čmiš 'only, alone'
i s-čmiš ; i miš 'alone, only'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
če i s-čmiš įu? i-s-k'uy
i čin čmiš
'I have only the mother anymore.'
'I am the only one.'

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

iš-út 'bottom, below'
n-iš-út
1 n-iš-út
1 iš-út
1 k'1-iš-út
'inside'
'below, down inside'
'below, at the bottom'
'under, below'

k'înš 'how many (things)'
č-k'1n-k'înš
x'a k'înš
te? n-k'înš-åqm
k'înš k' c-s-peñ-tč
k'înš-wîlš įu? in-ç-l-cín
šey s-k'înš-åsqt
čin k'înš-åsqt
'how many (persons)'
'perhaps many, several'
'some kinds, some sorts'
'What is your age?'
'How many did my horses become?'
'How many days ago?'
'I remained some days.'

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

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

mil 'too, too much, greatly' (Cf. also *mi in 6.1.)
mi_POWER t
'most high'

**šîw-mil 'beyond measure'
čen įu? **šîw-mil çes-t
'Which is the best?'

**ši?-cín 'first rate' (See also esiya?)
**es-n-ši?-cín n-wis-t
'most high'


Čem 'body'
1 s-n-čem-i-čem-p (-i- ?) 'at your back'
1 s-mič-čem-els 'in my presence before me'

**čitlcí? 'behind, against, opposite'
**s-čitlcí? (OR **s-či?- tl-ci? ?) 'against, face to face, opposite'
1 **s-čitlcí?-s 'behind'

FOOTNOTES

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

2 Why no ḵ of čem?
APPENDIX F: INFLECTIONAL AND DERIVATIONAL RANGE OF ROOTS

In Post's data two roots are exemplified an exceedingly great number of times. A list of these forms provides a good picture of the range of inflection and derivation of Kalispel roots.

Derivation and inflection of the root $\text{k}^\text{ul}$ 'do, make, work':

1. čin es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-i; čin es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$ 'I am made, baptized, married.'
   $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š
   'Make! Baptize! Marry!'
2. čin es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-l-i; čin $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-l 'I am getting made.'
   $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-l-š
   es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-l-i $\text{tu}$? in-$\text{citx}$ 'My house is building up.'
   we y-es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-m, u ta s-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-l 'I was working at it, yet it did not get made. There was no making.'
3. čin es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-i; čin $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-m 'I am working.'
   $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-iš
   'Work!'
4. y-es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-m; $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-n 'I make it.'
   $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-n-t
   'Make it!'
5. y-es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-i-t-m; $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-i-t-n 'I make his (it belonging to him).'
   $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-i-t
   'Make his...'
6. y-es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š-t-m; $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š-t-n 'I work for him, help him.'
   $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š-t
   'Work for him, help him!'
7. y-es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š-m; $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š-m-n 'I make it for others.'
   $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š-m-n-t
   'Make it for others!'
8. čin es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š-i; čin $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š-m 'I work for others.'
   $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š-iš
   'Work for others.'
9. qe? es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-š-t-wě?x'-i 'We work for one another.'
10. qe? es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-n-wě?x'-i 'We make/doctor one another.'
11. čin es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-ist-i; čin $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-ist 'I make myself.'
12. čin es-$\text{k}^\text{ul}$-m-ist-i; čin $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-m-ist 'I fix, prepare myself.'
   $\text{k}^\text{ul}$-m-ist-š
   'Fix, prepare thyself!'
13. čin es-š-cút-i 'I work for myself.'
14. čin es-n-cút-i 'I make by myself; I have myself baptized.'
15. čin es-s-cút-i 'I make, doctor myself.'
16. y-es-šul-m ; šul-m-n 'I use it to make something.'
       šul-m-n-t 'Use it to make something!'
17. y-es-šul-m-t-m 'I use his (it that belongs to him).'</n
18. šul-mn 'instrument or the materials to work on'
19. y-es-šul-nu-n-m ; šul-nu-n 'I succeed in making it.'
       šul-nu-n-t 'Succeed in making it!'
20. y-es-šul-nu-t-m 'I succeed in doing his...'
21. šul-t-m 'that can be made, possible to be made'
22. y-es-šul-mút-m ; šul-mút-m-s-t-n 'I can make that.'
23. čin es-i-kšul-i 'I work little, do little work.'
24. čin ei-es-šul-i 'I work again.'
25. čin es-šul-m-luis-i 'I am working often, now and then.'
26. y-es-šul-m-luis-m ; šul-m-luis-n 'I do it often.'
27. y-es-šul-m-luis-t-m 'I do often his (it belonging to another).'
28. čin es-šul-tumš-i (š-itumš) 'I work for people.'
29. čin es-n-šul-t-éls-i 'I wish to work, to be busy.'
30. čin es-n-šul-éls-i 'I wish to do something.'
31. y-es-n-šul-m-éls-m ; n-šul-m-éls-m-n 'I wish to do it.'
32. y-es-šul-éls-m ; šul-éls-n 'I make them both together, splice
       them, marry them.'
       šul-éls-n-t 'Make them both together, splice them, marry them!'
33. qe? es-šuls 'We are made together, are married.'
34. y-es-č-šuls 'I work on it, adorn it, embroider it.'
35. y-es-č-šul-mn 'the time to, reason why to work, my time to work'
36. y-es-č-šul-t-m 'I work on his, embroider his...'
37. čin es-n-šul-i 'I am born in, am made in, work in...'
38. čin es-n-šul-m 'I work in...'
39. y-es-n-šul-m ; n-šul-m-n 'I work in that place.'
40. n-šul-mn 'the way of doing, behavior'
41. čs-i-in-šul-mn 'my bad behavior'
42. y-es-t-šul-m ; t-šul-n 'I do it before, prepare it.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Aramaic</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>ċin t-k'ul</td>
<td>-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>y-es-t-k'ul</td>
<td>-l-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>s-k'ul</td>
<td>'the doing, the working'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-c-k'ul</td>
<td>'what is done, made'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>ċin ep-s-c-k'ul</td>
<td>'I have some made.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'uy?o ċin ep-s-c-k'ul</td>
<td>'I myself have done it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>k'ul-n-cut-n</td>
<td>'the Maker, God'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>s-k'ul-n-cut-n</td>
<td>'the Divinity, the makership'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>k'ul-n-cut</td>
<td>'God, the one that makes by himself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>y-es-k'ul</td>
<td>-l-n-cut-n-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>sx'ul</td>
<td>-l-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>k'ul</td>
<td>-l-m-emn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>k'ul</td>
<td>-l-m-ul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>k'ul</td>
<td>-l-cut-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in-k'ul</td>
<td>-l-cut-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>i-s-nk'ul</td>
<td>-l-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-s-nk'ul</td>
<td>-l-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>y-es-nk'ul</td>
<td>-l-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nk'ul</td>
<td>-l-m-i-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>She was married with Joseph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>y-es-nk'ul</td>
<td>-l-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>cin es-k'ul</td>
<td>-l-εix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'ul</td>
<td>-l-εix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>cin es-k'ul</td>
<td>-l-εix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'ul</td>
<td>-l-εix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>y-os-k'ul</td>
<td>-l-εix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'ul</td>
<td>-l-εix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>k'ul</td>
<td>-l-εix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>y-es-k'ul</td>
<td>-l-εix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k'ul</td>
<td>-es-k'ul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He builds my son's house.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>y-es-k'ul</td>
<td>-l-εix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
64. čim es-n-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-\textsuperscript{eix’}-\textsuperscript{eis}-i  'I wish to build a house.'
65. i-sx’-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-\textsuperscript{eix’}-m  'my house builder'
66. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-ilm\textsuperscript{i}x’-i  'I am acting chief.'
67. y-es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-ilm\textsuperscript{i}x’-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-ilm\textsuperscript{i}x’-m-n  'I treat him as a chief.'
68. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-xélw\textsuperscript{i}  'I got a husband.'
69. y-es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-xélw\textsuperscript{i}?-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-xélw\textsuperscript{i}?-m-n  'I take him for husband.'
70. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-px’-út-i  'I act as father/mother, as god father.'
71. y-es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-px’-út-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-px’-út-m-n  'I take/treat him as my parent.'
72. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-sín-ce?i  'I act as a brother, altar boy.'
73. y-es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-sín-ce?m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-sín-ce?m-n  'I take him for my brother.'
74. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-sx’-six’-1t-i  'I get children.'
75. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-k’tun-t-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-k’tun-t-m-n  'I treat him as a big fellow.'
76. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-k’tun-t-i  'I act as a big fellow.'
77. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-xś-t-i  'I act the good.'
78. y-es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-xś-t-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-xś-t-m-n  'I treat/make him good.'
79. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-k’uy  'I act the mother.'
80. y-es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-k’uy-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-k’uy-m-n  'I take her as my mother.'
81. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-\textsuperscript{em}  'I play the woman, the coward.'
82. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-?ec-éöt-t-i  'I act as the last.'
83. y-es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-?ec-éöt-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-?ec-éöt-m-n  'I treat him as the last, despise him.'
84. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-psáy-e?i  'I act the fool.'
85. y-es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-psáy-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-psáy-m-n  'I treat him as a fool.'
86. y-os-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-\textsuperscript{m} ?ém-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-\textsuperscript{m} ?ém-m-n  'I treat him like a coward.'
87. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-?x’up-t-i  'I act the lazy.'
88. y-es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-?x’up-t-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-?x’up-t-m-n  'I think him lazy.'
89. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-\textsuperscript{tulix’}  'I settle down, take a homestead.'
90. y-es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-\textsuperscript{tulix’}-m ; \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-s-\textsuperscript{tulix’}-m-n  'I settle on that spot.'
91. čim es-\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-?1l-i ; čim \textsuperscript{k’w’l}-i-?1l-m  'I make arrows, arm-balls.'
\textsuperscript{k’w’l}-iš  'Make arrows!'
92. y-es-k'wul-l-m ; k'wul-l-n
   k'wul-l-n-t
   'I produce it.'
   'Produce it!'
93. i-s-k'wul-l
   i-s-c-k'wul-l
   'my being born'
   'my having been born'
94. in-k'wul-l-tn
   'what makes me to be born'
95. čin es-n-k'wul-l-i ; čin n-k'wul-l-m
   čin n-k'wul-icə?e?-i ; čin n-k'wul-icə?e?-m-n
   'I conceive/born inside.'
96. y-es-n-k'wul-l-m ; n-k'wul-l-n
   y-es-n-k'wul-icə?e?-m-n
   'I conceive him or it.'
97. čin es-č-k'wul-l-i ; čin es-č-k'wul-icə?e-i
   'I am coming to light, being born.'
98. i-s-n-k'wul-l ; i-s-n-k'wul-icə?
   'My being conceived, my conception.'
99. ūi? i-s-č-k'wul-l ; i-s-č-k'wul-icə?
   'my birth'
100. ūi? in-č-k'wul-tn ; in-č-k'wul-icə?-tn
    'my generation'
101. ūi? i-s-n-č-k'wul-l-tn
    'my birthplace'

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

1. ec-?axīl
   'like to, in like manner'
2. čin ec-?axīl t amwí?
   'I am like you.'
3. qe? ec-?axīl t k'w-l-n-cut-n
   'We are like to God.'
4. 1 swet u k' ec-?axīl
   'Whom are you like to?'
5. 1 še'ý u čin ec-?axīl
   'I am like that.'
6. ỉi-ći? u čin ec-?axīl-cút
   'My behavior is like his.'
7. i 1 ci? u ec-?axīl
   'It is exactly as that, not changed.'
8. i t ci? u ec-?axīl
   'He acts as before, no change in him.'
9. čin ?axīl-m t Pierre
   'I do the same as Peter.' (D II p. 326)
10. i p ec-?əx?axīl-ūs
    'You both look exactly the same.'
11. ec-?axīl-ūs t l?ew-s
    'He looks like his father.'
12. ūi? i-s-nk'w-l-c-?ahí (c ?)
    'my fellow, the one like me'
13. q-s-ec-?axīl-s-n-x'c-x'c-m-ōls-t-x' ūi? t naq'w-ōmn
    'You made me suffer like a thief.'
14. y-ec-?axīl-m ; ec-?axīl-s-t-n
    'I made him like, treat him like.'
15. qe? q-s-k^ul-m iu? sqélix w q-ec-?aXíl-i t qe?mplet? 'Let us make man like to us.' (Bible p. 1)

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

17. q? n-q′iM-m-1-l-t ec-?aXíl t qe? es-n-q″h-mm-wé?x w 'Have mercy on us, as we have mercy on each other.'

18. l če̱n m ec-?aXíl-s-qašip m es-n-x"c-x"c-éls iu? l esulīp 'How long will they suffer in hell?'

19. m cc-?aXíl-s-qašip iu? t q-s-n-py-els iu? xš-xes-t iu? l s-č-čm-asq̃t 'As long as the good ones shall rejoice in heaven.'

20. k"mi? čin ec-?aXíl-s-x"k w-i t Marie 'Would that I were as pure as the B.V. Mary!'

21. iu? t ec-?aXíl x"?it k w sust, t šeʃ̃ u ec-?aXíl k"tun-t u k w n-čm-p-cin 'The more you drink, the more you thirst.' (DII p. 394)

22. sël-iš ?itʃ̃e? ta ec-?aXíl-s-tíš t s-číc-wi 'The camas of the Salish is less sweet than that of the Coeur d'Alene.'

23. čin cc-?aXíl-s-k"tun-t t anwi? 'I am as big as you.'

24. k w ec-?aXíl-s-čes-t t Louis 'You are as good as Louis.'

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

26. l šeʃ̃ u ec-?aXíl-s-1k"-ut 'that far'

27. k"mi ec-?aXíl 'may it be so'

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

29. l če̱n u ec-?aXíl ; l če̱n m ec-?aXíl 'How?'

?aXíl with n- 'locative' and -élš 'volitive' means 'to think the same as':

30. l anwi? u čin es-n-?aXíl-élš-i 'I think the same as you do.'

31. n-k′i-n-?aXíl-élš-m-n-c-n 'I think the same as you do.'

32. čin n-?aXíl-élš t Pierre 'I think the same as Peter.'

33. y-cs-n-?aXíl-élš-mn ; n-?aXíl-élš-n 'I think so of him.'

34. k′u n i-n-?aXíl-élš-m-n-t-x w ; l k′uyōč u k w es-n-?aXíl-élš-i 'You think the same as I do.'

35. y-cs-n-k′i-n-?aXíl-élš-m ; n-k′i-n-?aXíl-élš-m 'He has the same opinion with me.'
36. a-q-s-n-į-i-n-?ašl-ėls-m ū? J.C.
   į i q-s-n-į-i-n-?ašl-ėls-m-s t J.C.
   'You and J.C. must be of the same opinion.' (D I p. 8)
37. čin n-?ašl-ėls-m-ist ū? 1 į-į-i-n-cut-n 'I think of myself
   like God; I think of myself as God thinks of me.'
38. n-?ašl-ėls-m-n-c-n t ciic 'I think you are like him.'
39. ?ašl-člúxv 'every evening'
40. ?ašl-s-k"-k"?ec 'every night'
41. ?ašl-á ; ?ašl-ăšq? 'daily'

Cf. also ąii (related to ?ašl ?)
1. ąii k"tun-t 'pretty big'
2. ąii čin ūiš s-s-k"-k"ec 'I slept enough during the night.'
3. ąii t i-s-?-in 'I ate scarcely anything.'
4. č-n-ąii u k"-i-s ū? s-n-sus-tn
   'In like manner he took the chalice.'
5. ąii x"?it 'a good many'
6. ąii-ñe (-ñe ?) 'near, nearly, almost'
7. ąii-ñe u ġil 'He almost died.'
APPENDIX G: SUMMARY OF AFFIX ORDERING

Prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in-</td>
<td>'my'</td>
<td>qā́-</td>
<td>'subjunctive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>'thy'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>č-</td>
<td>'towards'</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>'nominal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>či-</td>
<td>'upon'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c-</td>
<td>'hither'</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>'locative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-p 'non-control'</td>
<td><strong>Lexical Suffixes</strong></td>
<td>-t 'stative'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-min 'instrumental'</td>
<td>-ut 'capability'</td>
<td>-m 'middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-šiš 'benefactive'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-els 'volitive'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ist 'intr. reflexive'</td>
<td>-n 'simple tran.'</td>
<td>-t 'tran.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n̄u mt 'intr. success'</td>
<td>-s 'causative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lwis 'iterative'</td>
<td>-i 'relative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(w)iš 'developmental'</td>
<td>-ši 'tran. benefactive'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-už 'given to...'</td>
<td>-žul 'suppletive plural'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nu 'tran. success'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-we?x' 'reciprocal'</td>
<td>-iš 'intr. imperative, sg.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cút 'tran. reflexive'</td>
<td>-wi 'intr. imperative, pl.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-emm 'habitual'</td>
<td>-i 'continuative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ek' 'tran. imperative'</td>
<td>-tn 'instrumental'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive Goal Suffixes</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-mp 'your'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-s 'his/their'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Transitive Actor Suffixes</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, č, ķ, h, kʷ, k', l, ɬ, ɬ, m, n, p, ĭ, ĭ, q, q', q'', s, s, t, t, w, ɬ, x, x', y, ɭ, ?.

aːc <aːc, ac(ɪ) [aaz, az(ɪ)] 'tie, catch' (C)
**aɪq [aɪk] 'plenty'
awɪʔ [anui] '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)

ilâwye? [ilaui] 'man's great-grandfather' (I)

ilmix" [ilimi] 'chief' (V)

ituk" [ituk] 'rot (of wood)' (C)

iyá? [ia] 'all' (cf. esiyá?) (V)

iyús [iu] 'dirty (bruised)' (I)

olq" [olk] 'help' (V)

os< os, os [oos, os] 'lost' (C)

ox" [ogo] 'fence' (V)

oy AS IN oý-n-cút [oincut] 'laugh, sg.' (V)

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

cuk" [zku] 'pull' (C)

cuk" AS I! ck'-ešt-n [zkuechst] 'rod, walking cane' (V)

cil [zil] 'five' (V)

cm AS IN s-c-ch-elt [szizimél] 'children'; i-c-ch-ice?

[izizimíze] 'Little Robes' (C)

cu(n) [zu(n)] 'say' (cf. cuw) (C)

**cenel [zenel] 'his/their's'

cnič [zní] 'he/they' (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 [izuzuups] 'woman's younger sister' (C),

c?-ups [zuups] 'man's younger sister', c?-up-éws [zupeéus] 'sister'

c? AS IN s-pi?-s-cé? [spizelt] 'yesterday' (C), sin-ce?

[sinze] 'man's younger brother' (C)

ci? [zii] 'that, there' (C)

čal, čcl [zal, zel] 'cold' (C)

čil [zil] 'stand, stick out, pl.' (C)
com [zom] 'bone' (C)

Can [zan] 'tight' (C)

*čin(t) [zin(t)] 'say what' (Cv)

čaq' AS IN čq'-ǎq'i [zkoakoi] 'crying' (V)

čsi [zesi] 'consumed, gone' (C)

češt [zccht] 'man's brother-in-law' (C)

čow [zou] 'wash' (C)

čxil [zeil] 'like to, same as' (cf. ?axíl) (C)

čox' [zogo] 'intend, mean to' (C)

č? AS IN n-č?-ilš [nziilsh] 'go upstream by land' (C)

čʔulix' AS IN čʔulix'-ělx' [zooliguelgu] 'deer skin' (C)

čaʔl [zaal, zael] 'sore, ache' (V)

čeʔeš [zeesh] 'shame, bashful' (V)

čic [chiz] 'arrive' (C)

čche [chezehe] 'right (hand)' (V)

**čcoq [chzok] 'cure'

ččik'é [chizikue] 'left (hand)' (V)

čičše? AS IN i-čičše? [lchit'she] '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' [chlfmmstgu] 'thou stoodest by him'

**člipost [chlipost] 'ours'

čelš [chulsh] 'hand' (C)

**čitič [chltich] 'lord'

čilwiče? [chiluiize] '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. kíh 'take away')

*čih [chim] 'hate' (Cv. kíh 'hate')

čen [chen] 'gather' (V)

čnm AS IN es-čnm-p-qín [es chinempkein] 'got blind' (C)

čnaqs [chinakš] 'one (person)' (C)

čnx'u [chengu] 'hold on to, touch' (C)
**ćene? [chene] 'mine'
ćen [chen] 'what, where' (C)
**ćqat AS IN čqat-és [chkateus] 'piled up'
*ćšit [chshit, chit] 'watch, guard' (V)
**ćet AS IN či-ćet-k' [chitchetiku] 'skin raft'
čtas [chita's] 'lean, poor' (V)
ćew [cheu] 'woman's brother's wife' (C)
ćxil AS IN čxil-ps [chgeilps] 'gray, gray-necked horse' (C)
čx?lem [chašem?] 'watch, look after' (I)
**ćx"ect [chgoezt] 'Monday'
čy AS IN **čy-elt [chielit] 'woman's late brother's son's son'
**ćya [chia] 'solicit, coax (to evil)'
čye? AS IN či-čye? [chichie] 'sister's daughter's son' (C)
či? AS IN či?-és [tshieus] 'forever' (I); n-tk'-či?-sqáxe?-tn
[ntkochiskagaeten] 'saddle' (C)
češes, če?i- [chešes, chei-] 'three' (V)
čić(i) [chize] 'a long object lays' (C)
čić:t [chichot] 'near, close' (V)
čhec(k') [chok(ku)] 'open' (C)
čólśqe? [cholzkae] 'outside' (C)
člux' [chelug] 'evening' (C)
čem [chem] 'extremity, last' (also a root in many words with
lexical suffixes, particularly body parts) (C)
čić(i) [chim] 'dark' (C)
čint [chint] 'be afraid for someone' (V)
čes [ches] 'bad' (C)
čespin [chespin] 'neck' (C)
čüt [chut] 'half' (C)
**čitelči? [chitelzii] 'opposite, against, behind'
*čić [chit] 'cut' (Cv. kät, Cr. čet 'cut off completely')
čaw [chau] 'pray' (V)
čiw AS IN čiw-uls [chiulsh] 'climb a ladder, sg.' (V)
čuw(ū) [cho] 'absent, empty' (C)
čewile? [chauple?] 'snake' (I)
čèwe? [chaue] 'woman's brother-in-law' (I)
čew AS IN čèw-lš-i [cheulshi] 'old, aged' (C)
čex'(ú) [chegu] 'dry (clothes)' (C)
čey [chei] 'shade' (C)
čèelp [cheulp] 'widow of man's son' (I)
čè'it [cheit] 'spider' (V)
ž?enm [hehenem] 'eight' (V)
hemí [hemi] 'getting cloudy, fog' (C)
hoy [hoi] 'end' (C)

**k'ì [kui, koi, ku] 'go' (Post says this is the form x'uy 'go' takes in compound or complex forms.)
k'icič [kozich] 'falling' (I)
**k'ìl AS IN k'ì-ešt [koleut] 'dwell together' (Cv. k'ìl)
k'al 'yellow' AS IN s-k'al-šín [skoalshin] 'cranes (bird)' (V),
k'alí-k'ali (i ?) [kulikuali] 'Indian corn, maize'
k'ìl [kulil] 'red' (C)
k'ul(st) [kul(st)] 'send' (C)
**k'ìelt AS IN in-k'ìelt-n-čút-n [inkoelternuten] 'he that loads me'
k'ì AS IN s-k'ì-us [skultus] 'face' (C)
**k'ùm [kum] 'wilderness'
**k'ùmn AS IN c-k'ù-k'ùmn-aqs [zkukumenaks] 'hungry one'
**k'ùmen [kumen] 'forever, constantly'
k'n AS IN n-k'n-cn-cut [nkunznut] 'sing praises' (C)
k'an AS IN s-k'an-čn [skoangan] 'slave, captive' (Cf. k'en) (C)
k'en(en) [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'ëlipost [kupelipost] 'yours, pl.'
k'ës AS IN s-k'ë-k's-t [skuekust] 'morning, breakfast' (C)
k'ìs AS IN s-k'ìs-k's [skuiskus] 'chicken' (I)
k'ùsh AS II: k'-k'ùsh [kukusem] 'chicken' (I)
k'uest [kuest] 'name' (C)
k'tun, k'ti [kutun, kuti] 'big, great' (C)
k'uyוכ [koie] 'I' (C)
**k'wo? [kue] 'thine'
k'uec AS IN s-k'wo-k'uec [skukuez] 'night' (C)

k'uk'ui [kukui, kokoi] 'man's father's sister, woman's brother's child, woman's aunt' (C)
k'uల [kol] 'work, make, do' (C)
k'uixt [kuitlt, kuitlt] '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 [koi] 'man's mother' (C)
k'uuyum, k'-k'uyum [kuium, kukuim] 'small, young' (C)
*k'ee? (e) [koee] 'bite' (C)
k'ooal [kuaal] 'grow' (V)
k'oo?rms [koenems] 'try' (I)

**lcu AS IN s-n-lcu-tn [snlzuten] 'room'
**1cyesto [zjesto] 'left' (?)
1ci? AS IN č-1ci?-m-s-t-n [chzimsten] 'I remain near him.' (I)
1ić(f) [lich] 'to tie, bind' (C)
1eći 'he's mad' IN 1ć-1ić-t [lichchet] (?) 'violent person, valiant' (I)
1k' [liko] 'far' (C)
luk' [luku] 'wood' (C)
1em [lem] 'contented, happy' (C)
ląq [laka] 'bury' (C)
lešh [leshin] 'hear (from afar)' (V)
*liw [liu] 'ring bell' (Cv., Cm. liw)
lk'ú [lgu] 'hurt, ache, feel pain' (C)
l?e [lce] 'stay here, remain' (V)
l?o AS IN n-l?o-n-t-ém [nelantem] 'someone was put in jail' (I)
l?ow [leću] 'man's father' (C)

läx [laga] 'friend' (C)
ioc [ioz] 'smashed' (I)
icečč [izezch] 'man's wife's mother or sister' (C)
iič [izi] 'flog' (V)
**iič AS IN s-č-č-čtkw [schietchik] 'skin raft'
iaháye? AS IN ih-iháye? [iamamaie] 'frog(s)' (V)
lep [lip] 'go out, dwindle' (V)
lop AS IN lopqn-m [lopanem] 'bend it over (as head of a tree)' (I)
**lup [lup] 'lean, poor'
lpxw AS IN s-n-lpx̂-š̄in [snipogoshin] 'nail foot-wound' (I)
lq [lak] 'sit' (C)
lqáqce? [lakako] 'woman's older brother' (C)
lq [laka] 'wide' (C)
lq AS IN lq̂-Čne? [lkune] 'he hides provisions' (I)
lq AS IN lq̂-t-íst-ye? (-ye? ?) [lkotistie] 'prostrated',
n-lq̂-lq̂-lq̂-lq̂-n̂ [nikikoikeiten] 'suspenders' (C)
ilq [lako] 'come in sight, be seen' (C)
lw AS IN s-lwelt [sluelt] 'orphan', lw-estn [luesten] 'man's step-mother, woman's step-father' (C)
luwet [luet] 'few, few times' (C)
*lxw [legu] 'rest' (Cv. lxw)
*lxw [igo] 'sew' (Cv. lxw 'loop, stitch', Sh. lexw-m 'patch up')
lxw [logo] 'hole' (V)
lxw [ipop] 'to run away, escape' (V)
lay [lai] 'Dolly Varden trout' (C)
lqw AS IN s-č-iqe? [schiće] 'Saturday' (C)
lw?ù [luu] 'sting, lance' (C)
lwùnèl [luomenel] 'wild goat' (I)
lìc [tliz] 'hard' (C)
lìkì AS IN s-nìkì-m [slokom] 'wild carrots' (C)
lìlì [tll, tell] 'die, stop' (C)
lìq [tlaka] 'hot, warm' (C)
lìxw [tlegu] 'win' (C)
kax [tlaq] 'fast, swift' (C)
łage? [tie3] 'boat, canoe' (C)
lae? [tleel] 'look for' (cf. lau?) (C)
lau? [tluu] 'look for' (cf. lae?) (C)
laek' AS IN lek'-ilk'-cute [tlekuilshzuti] 'practice sorcery' (C)
mek' [meeko] 'snow' (C)
mal [mal] 'dirt' (C)
mali (stress?) [mei, mali] 'heal' (C)
mul [mul] 'fetch water' (V)
milk', melk' [milko, melko, melluk] 'whole, all; round' (C)
mili [meili] 'flood' (C)
mul AS IN s-mul-mn [smulmen] 'lance, spear' (V)
mii [mii] 'too, very much, greatly' (V)
menx' [menigu] 'smoke' (C)
maq AS IN ye-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-ls [musels] 'trusted' (I)
mishi [mish] 'only, alone' (cf. chiish) (C)
*mishi AS IN shiimi [hiim] 'first-born child' (Cv. mix '?)
mau' [mau] 'broken' (C)
mux [mogo] 'to snow' (C)
mix't [migot] 'sick, dying' (I)
meye [meie] 'tell, show, teach' (C)
miy [mi] 'know' (C)
*miy [mi] 'brave, excellent, true, worthy' (Cv. mi 'important', Cm. miy 'be dignified')
**moxxi [moigai] 'practice Indian jugglery to find out enemies'
moyi [moie, mie] 'tell, show, teach' (cf. moye) (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)
m?ot [moot] 'smoke' (V)
mi?tú? [mito] 'fort' (I)

n?em [mem] 'play' (C)

n?emt AS IN s-n?emt-šn [smomshin] 'mare' (C)

mmostm [mestom] 'woman's father' (Why does Post record ñ?) (C)

nèc AS IN s-nèc-icè? [snechelze] 'elk' (C)

nèc AS IN s-nèc-ixw [snechelgu] 'woman's daughter's husband' (C)
nic [nich] 'cut, saw' (C)
nk?u?, nko? [nku, nko] 'one' (C)
nimap [nimap] 'frozen (water)' (I)
nun(n)xw [noningu] 'believe' (V)
nple? [empile] 'you, pl.' (C)
naq [naka] 'rotten (meat)' (V)
naqw [nako] 'steal' (C)
nas [nas] 'wet, moist' (C)
nisq?ú [nisko] 'the opposite side of the river' (C)
nte [nte] 'think' (C)
new [neu] 'blow' (C)
naxw [nago] 'to go downstream' (C)

noxw AS IN nòxw-noxw [nogonogo] 'wife' (C), nòxw-nòxw-òwsm [nogonogeusem] 'join two in matrimony' (V)

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

pi AS IN pi-s-teèm [pistem] 'when'; s-pi-s-cè? [spiszé], s-pi-s-cè?-lt [spiszelt] 'yesterday' (C)

picì [pizochl] 'leaf, leaves' (C)

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

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

*npeù AS IN n-pi-pi-aqs [npeipeaks] 'hog, pig'
pìi [pìi] 'thick' (C)
peik'w(i) AS IN pei-pi'k'w [peipeikui] 'women' (V)
pum [pum] 'hair, fur' (C)
pentč [pentic] 'always, year' (C)
**paq AS IN paq-q [pakaka] 'pay for'
pik [pik] 'white' (C)
psa(y) AS IN psa-p [psap] 'surprise, wonder at, admire' (C. psa 'to be scared', Cv. psay 'no sense')
pus AS IN pu-pus-čęč [pupusenč] 'grief, sorry' (Cf. pus) (C)
**patn [patn] 'poul'tice'
put [put, pot] 'enough, exact, yet, still' (Cf. pute?) (C)
ptk'w [ptko] 'pierce, poke, jab' (C)
ptax' [ptagw] 'spit' (C)
pute? [pute] 'respected' (Cf. put) (C)
pax [pag] 'smart, wise' (C)
px'um [pgom] 'distribute, scatter' (V)
piy [pi] 'happy' (C)
pi? AS IN s-pi?-s-cę? [spiszé] 'yesterday' (C)
p?os [poos] 'foam' (I)
p?us [poos] 'heart' (Cf. pus) (C)
**pe?x' [pegu] 'fair (face)'
pič(mi) [pech(mi)] 'turn' (V)
ţ Three AS IN č-pač-čęs(-m) [chtles(em)] 'Monday' (C)
apa [pta] 'bare, exposed' (C)
peč [ptle] 'bitterroot' (C)
pañp [paap] 'catch fire' (V)
pąni? [pakani] 'month, moon' (V)
poq'w [poko] 'spilled' (C)
pox', paq' [pegu, pagu] 'shining' (C)
pax [paag] 'cure' (C)
py'w [pogo] 'old' (C)
pyaq [piak] 'ripe' (C)
p?qaw [pau] 'don't care to' (V)
qec [kez] 'jumb, run, sg.' (V)
qecc [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'
**qlélp AS IN n-i-qlélp-n-cút-i-s [nkalkchelpenzutis] 'He left them to hold his place.' (segments ?)
qalispél [kalispel] 'Kalispel' (V)
qeltč [keltich] 'meat, body, flesh' (C)
qltmix' [kaltemigu] 'man, Indian' (C)
qlew [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)
qamn AS IN s-qamn-lscút [skamnelszut] 'goods, pl.'
qéne? [kéne] 'woman's sibling's son's son, grandmother' (C)
qp AS IN qp-éiče? [kapelze] 'plate' (C)
**qap AS IN qap-n-cút-n [kapenzuten] 'friend to death'
qepc [kepc] 'spring' (C)
qapúsl [kapusel] 'wing (angel's)' (V)
**qas [kas] 'break'
qix' [keigu] 'drive' (C)
qx AS IN qx-min [kgamin] 'horn' (C)
qáxe? [kage] 'man's mother's sister' (C)
qeyl [keil] 'solicit, invite (bribe)' (I)
qe?pnlé? [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? [kalii] 'lake' (C)
qm AS IN qm-elt-n [kamelen] 'starve', qm-qm-els [kamkamels] 'neckness' (C)
qam [kam] 'talk' (V)
qñye? AS IN q-ñýye? [kakameie] 'fishing with the hook' (C)
qñ [kan] 'contracted (as with arthritis)' (I)
qep AS IN s-qep-qep-ñno? [skepkepene] 'sand' (C)
qasíp [kasíp] 'old, long ago' (V)
qêt [këtite] 'skin, hide' (C)
qaw [kaò] 'broken' (cf. qa?u) (C)
qxʷ AS IN qxʷ-p-enč [kagupench] 'costive' (I)
qxʷu AS IN qxʷ-mi-n [kagumin] 'I wish for it, like to have it.'
(C. qxʷ(u) 'to flirt', Cv. qaxʷ 'to flirt')
djxt [keigt] 'fond of, wish to have' (V)
dxʷ AS IN dxʷ-qin-čst [kogkeinchst] 'finger-nail' (C)
dey̌, qaʔy [kaï] 'write' (cf. q?i?) (C)
daʔu [kaò] 'broken' (cf. qaʔw) (V)
dʔéʔ(é) [kae] 'pinched, squeezed; put, stick' (C, V)
dʔí [ki] 'write' (cf. dey̌) (C)
qʷaq AS IN qʷaq-qn [koazkan] 'cap, hat' (C)
qʷil 'cheat' AS IN qʷl-qʷil [kolkoel] 'forgive' (C)
qʷel[t] (kuel[t], kol] 'talk' (C)
qʷé̌wi [koleuw] 'onion' (C)
qʷí [koe] 'cook, ripe, ready to eat' (V)
**qʷum AS IN s-qʷm-útyaʔ [skomatie] 'coin' qʷin [koin] 'green' (V)
qʷiʔ [koin] 'ugly, poor, mean; pity' (V)
qʷost [koest] 'deep snow' (I), n-qʷest [nkoest] 'deep water' (V)
qʷseʔ AS IN s-qʷseʔ [skussee] 'son', s-qʷ'sʔ-elt [skuselt] 'nephew' (C)
**qʷt AS IN qʷ-qʷ-t-ilš [kokotilsh] 'becoming wayward'
qʷtáʔxeʔ [kottagoe] 'louse, lice' (C)
qʷaw, qʷaw [koeu, koau] 'drunk, wicked' (C)
**qʷaw AS IN qʷaw-qʷ-t (=-q? ?) [kouakot] 'wicked altogether'
qʷey [ko] 'to have plenty' (V)
qʷeym AS IN qʷeym-qʷm-m-t [kaimkomt] 'lively in working' (I)
qʷuʔ [kuuʔ] 'wasp' (C)
qʷaʔm AS IN s-qʷaʔm-ʔaqm [skoamaks] 'habitual food' (I)
qʷup [koop] 'tanned, made soft' (V)
qʷic AS IN n-qʷic-tn [koitzon] 'woman's late husband's brother' (C)
q'weč [koez] 'full' (C)
q'uill [koiil] 'strive, busy oneself' (V)
q'uí [kooi] 'dust' (C)
q'éit [kocit] 'carry on the back' (V)
q'oiq(s) [koik(s)] 'to plant' (I)
q'uih AS IN s-n-q'uh-šn [snkotlishin] 'stockings' (C)
q'uiš-e?ši [kotlishi] 'race, jump, pl.' (V)
q'om AS IN q'om-qn [komkan] 'hair' (C)
q'um(I) [kom(i)] 'take (several)' (C)
q'mi? AS IN q'mí?-p [komip] 'died' (C)
q'n AS IN q'-q'n-ews [koikomes] 'horse of one or two years' (C)
q'unsh AS IN n-q'-q'unsh-ičn-šn [nkokeschinshin] 'dog' (C)
q'ay [koai] 'black' (C)
q'øy [koi] 'calm' (I)
q'eyit AS IN q'eyi-q'ít [koikolt] 'lively in running' (I)
q'ë? [koai] 'milk' (I)

sic [siz] 'new, after, recently, just now' (C)
sić [siz] 'blanket' (C)
suk'ú [suku] 'swollen' (C)
sl AS IN sl-aqs [slaks] 'mosquito' (C)
sil [sil] 'wrong' (C)
sul [sul] 'cold' (C)
salúse? [salusse] 'hail' (V)
séliš [selish] 'Indians from Bitterroot' (C)
síle? [sile] 'woman's grandfather or sister's daughter's son' (C)
sin AS IN sín-ce? [sinze] 'man's younger brother' (C)
sah [san] 'tame, gentle, mild' (C)
spi [spi] 'strike, whip' (C)
sípi [sipi] 'rope, skin' (C)
sqelix' [skeligu] 'Indian, people, man' (C)
sqm [skam] 'worthless' (I)
sa4, saje [ski, ske] 'split, crack' (V, C)
sus(t) [sus(t)] 'drink' (C)
s'ssi? [s'sii] 'man's uncle' (Cv)
sispî [sispel] 'seven' (V)
siš [sish] 'pure' (I)
sot AS IN sot-lqs [sotalks] 'knitted shirt' (I)
sëw [seu] 'ask, listen' (V)
sëwI AS IN sëwI-kʷ [seulkü] 'liquor' (V)
swet [suet] 'who, what' (C)
sixʷ [sigu] 'pour, spill liquids' (C)
suxʷ [sugu] 'know, recognize, understand' (C)
say [saga] 'near, accompany' (C)
sayʷ [sago] 'split' (C)
sy AS IN si-sy-ûs [sisius] 'brave, smart, bright, strong; much' (C)
syen, siyen [siin] 'to count' (C, V)
suyápi [suiapi] 'whiteman' (C)
**syaw [siau] 'uncomfortably cold' (I)
se′stem [sestem] 'man's wife's sister or brother's wife, woman's sister's husband' (C)
še AS IN šé-shutm 'sheshutem] 'girl' (C)
šal [shal] 'steep' (V)
šli [shili] 'chop' (C)
šmen 'shemen] 'enemy' (C)
šn [shen] 'shut' (V)
šin [shin] 'follow, accompany' (V)
šeň(§) [shen(sh)] 'stone' (C)
šutm [shutem] 'girl' (V)
šeṭ [shite] 'tree, standing' (C)
**šiw AS IN šiw-mil [shiumil] 'beyond measure'
šyust [shyust] 'pass' (C)
šey AS IN ši?-šey [shishei] 'go together, keep company' (C)
še? [shee] 'this, these' (C)
*ši? [shi] 'consent' (Cv. xe?)
**ši? AS IN **ši?-mîl [shiumil] 'exceedingly', **ši?-cîn [shizin] 'first rate' (cf. šiw)
**ši?s [shiis] 'instead of'
š?it. [shiit] 'first, ahead' (C)
*šǐ?t [chiit] 'keep your eyes on, guard' (usually with č-:
č-šǐ?t) (cf. čši?t) (Cv. xa?t 'watch for')

ta [ta] 'not, no' (V)
tk’u? [tkoo] 'march, walk, pl.' (C)
taál [tal] 'loose' (V)
tlcí? [telzí] 'more' (I)
tl’e AS IN c-n-tl’e-le (-le ?) [inteleel] '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)
tčt? AS IN s-tčt?-el[t] [stomchelt] 'daughter' (cf. šutm) (C)
tn̄mus [tenemus] 'nothing' (C)
tonš [tonsh] 'man's nephew or niece' (C)
taq [tak] 'touch, hold down with hands' (V)
tč AS IN tčš-ilš [teshilsh] 'stand up' (C)
ttwit [tituit] 'boy, young person' (C)
tew [teu] 'buy, sell' (V)
twín [tuin] 'short, lack' (I)
txw [tigw] 'get' (V)
tuxw(ú) [tgu] 'add' (C)
tuxw’t [tugt] 'flying, pl.' (V)
tx AS IN s-tx-enč [stgench] 'bowels' (V)
tax [tag] 'bitter' (C)
toxw [tōg] 'straight' (cf. ta?xw) (C)
te?č [teć] 'pound' (C)
tč’e [tce] 'passing by here' (V)
ti?m [tiim] 'melt (snow)' (V)
ta?xw [tag] 'straight' (cf. toxw) (C)

*čč [tech] 'brand' (Cv. tčk)
țičm AS IN s-tıčm-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)
toma? [toma] 'cow' (C)
tone? [tene] 'ear' (V)
tn?weye? AS IN tn?-tn?weye? [telteleuie] 'bat (mammal)' (C)
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 [staeklscut] 'goods' (C)
taq AS IN taq-q-nú-n [takakanun] 'I cheat him.' (C)
taqn [takan] 'six' (V)
tq"ú [tko] 'to sew' (C)
tas [tas] 'leather' (I)
tas [tas] 'hard' (C)
tiš [tish] 'sweet' (C)
tix'í [tigu] 'different, strange' (V)
tiy [ti] 'fall, descend' (C)
teye? [téc] 'evil, bad' (C)
ti?čime AS IN s-ti?-ti?čime [stitichime] 'pup, little dog' (V)

wič [uich] 'see' (C)
wewu [ueku] 'hide' (C)
wli [uli] 'burn' (C)
weik" [uelku] '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)
wiš [uish] 'stand up' (C)
waw AS IN s-č-waw-p-us [s'chaauapus] 'tear' (cf. aw) (C)
wiy [ui] 'finish' (C)
we? [uee] 'call' (C)
wi? AS IN s-wi?-númt [suiunnumt] 'young people, good looking' (V)
w?ew [ueu] 'go back, pull back (as horses)' (V, Cv. wiw 'back up')

we̱i [ueui] 'fish' (C)

x̱'c AS IN n-x̱'c-x̱'c-m-cls [nguzguzmels] 'suffer, torments' (I)
x̱'ič [guiz] 'give' (C)
**x̱'k' AS IN č-x̱'k'-els-m [chgukeksem] 'we attack him'
x̱'uk'(ú) [guku] 'clean' (C)
x̱'uk' [goko] 'divided, forked' (C)
x̱'il(t) [guil(t)] 'live; debt' (C)
x̱'Ai [guilt] 'whittle' (C)
x̱'em, x̱'am [guem, guam] 'paint (red)' (V)
x̱'um [gum] 'like, desire' (I)
**x̱'umin [gumin] 'forbid'
x̱'p AS IN n-x̱'p-els [nigupols] 'sad' (I)
**x̱'s [gus] 'fierce-looking'
*x̱'us [gus] 'pass before' (Cv. x̱'us 'go, hurry')
x̱'ist [guist] 'walk, sg.' (V)
**x̱'at AS IN x̱'x̱'at [guguat] 'strenuous' (Cv. x̱'t 'deprive')
x̱'et [gut] 'hate' (C)
x̱'tip [gutip] 'rib' (I)
x̱'ti [gutii] 'run, arise' (V)
x̱'ey AS IN x̱'i-x̱'ey-uî [guigueiui] 'beast, animal' (C)
x̱'uy [gui] 'go' (C)
x̱'uym AS IN s-x̱'uym-tk' [gquintku] 'ice' (I)
x̱'uye? AS IN s-x̱'u-x̱'ye? [sguigue] 'ant' (C)
x̱'e? 'raise, lift' AS IN č-x̱'e?-us [chquguus] 'hang', x̱'e?-m-i [goeami] 'fly, pl.' (V)
x̱'ii(t) [goe(t)] 'many, much' (C)
**x̱'at AS IN x̱'a-x̱'at [quaquaat] 'brave, strong in war'

xa̱< x̱'a [gaa] 'fan' (C)
xc AS IN xc-núm-tn [gaznumten] 'clothes' (C)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
\( \chi l \) AS IN \( n-\chi l-\text{ews} \) [ngaleus] 'bridge' (C)
\( \chi l(i) \) [gal(i)] 'tomorrow, daylight, clear' (C)
**\( \chi l \) AS IN \( \chi l-\chi l-m-\text{ist} \) [galgalemist] 'rebuke'
\( \chi l \) [gel] 'afraid' (C)
\( \chi l \) [galit] 'ask, invite' (V)
\( \chi l \) [gelui] 'husband' (C)
\( \chi i \) [geil] 'just a little' (cf. ?axil, čxil) (V)
\( \chi \) AS IN \( \chi \)-cin [gatlzin] 'horse' (C)
\( \chi m \) AS IN \( \chi m-\text{enč} \) [gamench] 'like, love' (C)
\( \chi m(\ddot{i}) \) [gam] 'dry' (C)
\( \chi m \) [gem] 'heavy' (C)
\( \chi n \) AS IN \( \chi n-\nu-\text{n-m} \) [gannunem] 'accidentally' (C)
\( \chi p e\ddot{e} \) [gepe] 'man's grandfather' (C)
\( \chi p \) AS IN \( s-n-\chi p-\text{ews} \) [sngapeus] 'soul' (C)
\( \chi aq \) [gaka] 'pay' (C)
\( \chi e s \) [ges] 'good' (C)
**\( \chi \)itne? AS IN \( \chi t-\chi \)itne? 'daggar'
\( \chi \)am(\dot{i}) [gaman] 'nine' (V)
\( \chi i \) [geu] 'raw' (C)
\( \chi ? \) AS IN \( \chi ?-\text{ule}\text{x}^w \) [geulegu] 'rattle-snake' (C)
\( \chi a ? \) [gagee] 'woman's husband's father or brother' (C)
\( \chi e n(\ddot{i}) \) [geen(i)] 'forbid' (V)
*\( \chi ? \)es [goes] 'content' (cf. \( \chi e s \) 'good')

\( \chi w e c \) [goz] 'pass by' (V)
\( \chi ^{w} i c \) [goiz] 'cut off' (V)
**\( \chi ^{w} \)al AS IN \( \chi ^{w}-\chi ^{w} \)al [golgoal] 'sheep'
\( \chi ^{w} \)el [gool] 'deserted, leave, abandon' (V)
\( \chi ^{w} \)olq\text{x} [golko] 'wagon' (C)
\( \chi ^{w} \)olx\text{x} AS IN \( \chi ^{w}-\chi ^{w} \)lx\text{x} [guagualigu] 'fox' (C. \( s-\chi ^{w} \)ox\text{x}, Cv. \( \chi ^{w} \)ilx\text{x})
\( \chi ^{w} \)um [gum] 'feel safe' (I)
\( \chi ^{w} \)up [gop] 'lazy' (C)
\( \chi ^{w} \)aq\text{x} [goako] 'grind' (C)
*\( \chi ^{w} \)q\text{x} AS IN \( \chi ^{w} \)q\text{x}-alqs [gokolks] 'snore' (Cv. \( \chi ^{w} \)aq\text{x})
χ^t AS IN چ-χ^t-ئنه؟ [chgotene] 'cropped ear' (C)
χ^iy [goi] 'sharp' (V)
χ^e?1 AS IN χ^e?1-ئست-ئ [goelechst] 'hasten, work quickly' (C)
χ^e?(s) AS IN χ^a-χ^e?س-مئ (stress ?) [goagosim] 'laugh, pl.' (V)

*yāa <ya^ [iaa] 'in reserve, not free, fearful' (Cv. ya^ 'to be backwards')
ye [ie] 'this, these' (V)
yek^ AS IN yek^-مئ [iekom] 'refuse' (I)
*yal [ial] 'wrap around' (Sh. yel, yal 'be wound around')
**yu^1 [iul] 'thick' (Cf. also **yu^i 'dance (women only)')
yalk^ [ialko] 'bend, crooked' (C)
yel AS IN س-ئيل-ئمئ [nieleimen] 'St. Ignatius Mission' (I)
yelx^ [ilgu] 'covered' (C)
yoq^ [ioko] 'lie, slander' (C)
y^h [ish] 'below, bottom' (C)
yo? [io] 'strong, learn by heart' (C)
ya?t AS IN یا-یا^ئ [iaiaat] 'rare' (I)

?6cqe? [ozkae, azkae] 'go out' (C)
?e^c [ez] 'last' (C)
?a^h [azga] 'watch, look at' (C)
?o^c AS IN ئا-س-ئيئ [echeuish] 'erect, standing' (C)
?uk^ [uku] 'carry, bring' (C)
?ek^n [ekum] 'fisheggs' (I)
?olí [oli] 'belly' (C)
?i^n [ien] 'eat' (C)
?ux^ [uijgu] 'go' (C)
?em [eem] 'feed' (C)
?emút [emut] 'sit, sg.' (C)
?imh^ [imsh] 'move, start' (C)
?aniq [anika] 'summer' (C)
?ones [ones] 'on my way going' (V)
?upn, ?open [open] 'ten' (C)
?op [ceep] 'wipe, wipe off' (C)
?use? AS IN ?u-?use? [uusse] 'egg(s)' (C)
?iskw[1 [iskol, iskoi] 'scatter, throw away' (C)
?esol, ?asl [esel, asl] 'two' (C)
?itš [itsh] 'sleep' (C)
?itxwe? [itgoa] 'camas' (C)
?aw [au] 'recite' (C)
?awqn [aukan] 'order, warn, admonish' (I)
?cxw AS IN ?cxw-k'un [egukune] 'say, speak' (C)
?ač [aga] 'stretch' (C)
?axil [ageil] 'do the same, like' (Cf. ñi, ñiil) (C)
?ax?t AS IN n-?ax?t [nagot] 'go down the river by land' (C)
?ox't AS IN ?ox't-eilt [ogtelt] 'baby' (C)
?ey [ei] 'take revenge' (I)
**?ayl [ail] 'shaved'
?aym [aim] 'angry, mad' (C)
?eym AS IN ?eym-eës [eimus] 'crossways, cross' (C)
?ey(s) [eei(s)] 'pay for, buy, exchange' (Cf. ?eys 'exchange, change')
?ayx[" [aigo] 'tired' (C)
?ay AS IN ?ay-ënt [aient] 'dwell, stay home, sit, pl.' (C)
BIBLIOGRAPHY


_____. MS. Spokan Dictionary.


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.