An edition of Father Post's Kalispel grammar

Brenda J. Speck

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AN EDITION OF FATHER POST'S KALISPEL GRAMMAR

By
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B.A., University of Montana, 1971
Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
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ABSTRACT

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

Director: Anthony Mattina

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

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

Particles, the other Kalispel word-class, are discussed in chapter 7. They are uninflected forms which add special reference to predicates (predicate particles) and show relationships between predicates (complement particles) and between clauses (clause particles). The last chapter introduces a number of "restricted words", words which do not undergo a wide range of inflection or derivation and have acquired rather restricted functions.
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The Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus at Gonzaga University has provided the Xerox copy of the typed manuscript used in writing this thesis for which I am grateful.

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

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

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1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have completely reorganized the morphology sections analyzing Kalispel forms into (uninflected) particles and (inflected) predicative words which are all basically verb-like. This was necessary because Post had endeavored to establish Kalispel word classes based on the word-class distinctions of English and other Indo-European languages, distinguishing "primitive nouns" (e.g. father, horn, stone, wagon) from "derived nouns" even though he had recognized the predicative force of words of all classes.  
8
Thus, I have organized the discussion of Kalispel morphology into 6 chapters (3-8). Chapter 3, *Roots*, discusses and exemplifies the intransitive nature of all roots, and their propensity for transitivization. In addition I discuss here the personal and possessive pronoun proclitics and affixes, which serve to add personal reference to roots. In chapter 4, *Basic Morphological Constructions*, I discuss the inflectional categories of roots: "aspect", "plural", and "diminutive". Kalispel diminutives belong to a grammatical category akin to that of plurals and fit naturally in this section. In chapter 5 I present the range of derivational patterns of all Kalispel roots including "nominal", 'have', "directional", "instrumental", "success", "benefactive", "middle", "reflexive", "imperative", "aspectual", and "modal" affixes, and "multiple derivations" ("detransitivized" stems and "transitivized"
stems). In chapter 6 I discuss compounds (forms with two roots) and complex words (words with lexical affixes). In chapter 7 I discuss particles, uninflected forms that add special reference to predicates and show relationships between predicates or clauses, while Post had treated such forms severally as adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, and articles. In the last chapter a number of "restricted words" are introduced, words that do not undergo a wide range of inflection or derivation and which have acquired somewhat restricted functions. Included here are Post's "numeral adjectives", "demonstrative pronouns", "days of the week", and "absolute pronouns".

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

Post's treatment of Kalispel phonology amounts to a very brief

Key to the Pronunciation. There Post discusses a consonant system

represented by the following symbols:

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

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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
  p: [p] & t: [t] & z: [c] & \text{ch: } [\text{ç}] & k: [k^\prime] & k: [q] & k: [q^\prime] \\
  p: [\text{p}^\prime] & t: [t^\prime] & z: [\text{ç}^\prime] & t1: [\text{t}^1] & \text{ch: } [\text{ç}^\prime] & k: [\text{q}^\prime] & k: [\text{q}^\prime] \\
  s: [s] & i: [i] & \text{sh: } [\text{s}] & \text{gu: } [\text{x}^\prime] & g: [\text{x}] & \text{go: } [\text{x}^\prime] & h: [h] \\
  m: [\text{m}] & n: [n] & l: [l] & i: [\text{y}] & u: [\text{w}] \\
  m: [\text{m}^\prime] & n: [\text{n}^\prime] & l: [\text{l}^\prime] & i: [\text{y}^\prime] & u: [\text{w}^\prime]
\end{array}
\]

The following sections 2.1.-2.7. will explain how Post's ortho-

graphy 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 \( n\) where one would
expect \( n\):

chechem : č-čeh

kokomeus : q\(\prime\)-q\(\prime\)n-ews

'where'

'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]:

- $m$emple : $n$ple? 'you, yours (pl.)'
- $k$aemple : $q$e?nple? 'we, ours'

2.2. Laterals

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

2.2.1. $l$ : [l], $t$ : [l]

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

Cases of $l$ presumably standing for [t] include:

- muslopecstaskat : mus-i-?upn-čst-ásqt 'Lent'
- smeel : s-me?l 'man's brother's son or daughter'
- iletgoa : yētiš'ā 'now'
- geil : -Saharan 'scarcely, nearly'
- znīl : cniic 'they, theirs, he, his'
- pizechl : picčl 'leaf, leaves'
- seulku : sewi-k'ī 'liquor'
- pelpilku : pei-piki'ī 'women'
- uelkup : weik'-p 'descend'
- lkoctistie : iq'-ut-istik-yē? (yē? ?) 'prostrated'
- -elze : -ēiče? 'inside of anything, the whole'
- -elgu : -ēič'ū 'house'
- -alka : -aiq 'smell, grain, fruit'
- kael- : *qc?i- 'offspring'

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

mei : máli (stress ?) 'to heal'
iskoïka : ʔisk'?l-ʔ (-q ?) 'scatter'
sickeul : s-lče-wí 'wooden raft'

2.2.2. 1 : [n]

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

telteleuie : ʔtn?-ʔtnwéye? 'bat (mammal)'

2.2.3. tl : [t]

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

tlaka : ʔaʔ 'hot, warm'
gatlzin : ʔx̣-cin 'horse'
kuitlt : ʔẉil 'several, other'
tlil : ʔil 'dead'

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

nkuitellemiis : nk'w-il-ʔl-mi-s 'companion in death'
slokum : s-ʔuk'w-m '(wild) carrots'
ptagozch : ʔx̣-aʔx̣'cč 'bare-breasted'

The last two might be typographical errors.

In one word tl stands for [t̪]:
goetle : x̣ʔile 'without delay'

2.3. Palatals

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

shemen : šmeňh 'enemy'
chshit : čšť 'watch, guard'
chelsh : čelš 'hand'
-ench : -enč  
'stomach'

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

szech : s-češt  'man's wife's brother or sister's husband'
tshieus : či?-čěš  '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-č ey-leťxw  'shady place'
es'chemtchinelgu : es-č-t-čněixw (-t- ?)  'standing outside'
s'höi : s-hoy  'always'

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

es'shite : es-štī  'tree'
ie ch'chee : ye č eť-eť  'a little this way'
chgt'elsi : čxťt-ťěls-i  'angry'
s'sile : s-sileť  'woman's grandfather'
s'sii : *ssiť  'man's uncle'

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

miliegu'lse : *mil-ǐxw-ěls-i (mil ?)  'rest'
chita's : čtas  'lean, poor'
l'es-eimeus : l es-?oym-čěš  'cross'

2.4. Velars and Post-velars

2.4.1. Unrounded Post-velar Stops

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

k : [q]

-klein : -qin  'head, hundred'
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 [kʷ, kʷu, kʷu, qʷ, qʷu, qʷu, qʷo] and ku stands for [kʷ, kʷu, kʷu, kʷu] and in a very few cases for [qʷ].

ko : [kʷ]
skoalshin : s-kʷal-šin 'crane (bird)'
skoangan : s-kʷan-xmlns 'slave, captive'
koleuti : *kʷl-éwt-i 'They sit/live together.'

ko : [kʷu]
koie : kʷu?é 'I'
lkot : lkʷ-ut 'far'
ko : kʷu 'me'
tkooti : tkʷ?-út-i 'march'
komi : kʷmi? 'would to God'
(cf. also komi : du'mi 'take away')
ko : [k'u]
- skoi : s-k'u'uy 'mother'
- skomelt : *s-k'uumm-lt 'virgin'
- kol : k'u'l 'work, make, do'
- nko : nk'u? 'one'

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

ko : [q'u]
- koeit : q'eeit 'carry on the back'
- golko : x'oldq' 'wagon'
- gololks : *x'q'-alqs 'snore'

ko : [q'u]
- tkom : 'q'u-m 'She sews.'
- lktot : 'q'-ut 'He was lying there.'

ko : [q'u]
- komi : q'umî 'take away'
- snkotlishin : s-n-q'u-šn 'stocking'

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

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

ku : [k']
- luku : luk' 'wood'
- kutkuiteps : k'-k'itps 'flea'
- kuinsh : k'inš 'how many'

ku : [k'u]
- kup : k'up 'push'
- egulanem : ex'k'un-m 'say, speak'
ku : [k'u]
    skukui : s-k'uk' i  'woman's brother's child'

ku : [q']
    skuselt : s-q' s?-elt  'nephew'
    sku'li : s-q'u?i  'wasp'
    kolkuelti : q'1-q'elt-i  'speaking'

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

Two roots are inconsistently written, as follows:

\*tuk'(u) 'set down, laid down'
    ntkueusem : n-\*tk'-ews-m  'I place it in common.'
    tkukuelp : tk'-k'elp  'camp'
    ntkoichen : n-\*tk'-i\*hn  'placed on the back'
    sntkominten : s-n-\*tk'-min-tn  'place to lay one in'

nk' u? 'one'
    snkuskeligu : s-nk'qélix'w  'neighbor'
    nkoeu'i : nk'ewi  'one boat'
    nkoalko : nk'-alq'w  'cross'

2.4.3. (Post)velar Fricatives

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

g : [χ]
    gaka : xaq  'pay'
    sgalgalt : s-χl-χal-t  'day'
    chgeilps : čxil-ps  'gray'
    gemt : χem-t  'heavy'
    azga : ?ačχ  'watch, look at'
tag : tax 'bitter'
pagpagt : px-pax-t 'wise one'
keigtem : qixt-m 'fond of, wish to have'
go : [xʷ]
goizits : xʷic-i-t-s 'He cut it off for him.'
sgoelemen : s-xʷel-mn 'the devil'
aigo : ?ayxʷ 'tired'
gopt : xʷup-t 'He's lazy.'
pgomilsh : pxʷm-ilš 'scattered'

gu : [xʷ]
guigueiúl : xʷi-xʷey-úl 'beast, animal'
squimteku : s-xʷuym-tkʷ 'ice'
zitgu : citxʷ 'house'
lgup : lxʷu-p 'He got hurt.'
sgusigult : sxʷ-sixʷ-1t 'child, children'

go : [xʷ]
goeit : xʷ?it 'many'
goemi : xʷe?-m-í 'flying, pl.'
goeus : xʷé?-us 'I hang it up.'
gomi : xʷmi 'please'
igomutie : *ixʷ-m-útye? 'sewed together'
sogoelgu : s-oxʷ-eixʷ³ 'hut'
spipogoshin : s-n-Ítxʷ-šin 'nail foot-wound'
ngokopusaks : *n-xʷukʷ-po?š-aqs (po?š ?) 'forking road'

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

ogtelt : oxt-élt 'baby'
ntogkein : n-t̩xʷ-qin 'noon'
togamenzut : toxʷ-mn-cút 'amend himself'
ntogaks : n-t̩xʷ-aqs 'straight road'
chelug : ŋluxʷ 'evening'
tugti : túxʷ-t-i 'flying'
In one word gu represents \( [x^{\prime}\circ] \):

\[
guagualigu : \; *x^{\prime}\circ-x^{\prime}olx^{\prime} \quad \text{\textquoteleft fox\textquoteright}\
\]

2.5. Glottals

2.5.1. ?

Glottal stops are never indicated in Post's transcriptions.

- sinze : \( \sin-ce? \quad \text{\textquoteleft man's younger brother\textquoteright} \)
- goelechst : \( \chi^{\prime}e?1-\tilde{e}\tilde{c}st-i \quad \text{\textquoteleft hasten, work quickly\textquoteright} \)
- uz : \( ?uc \quad \text{\textquoteleft perhaps, question of possibility\textquoteright} \)
- eumin : \( e?u-m\acute{\text{i}}n \quad \text{\textquoteleft peeler\textquoteright} \)
- aip : \( a?i-p \quad \text{\textquoteleft to run\textquoteright} \)
- s'cheit : \( s-\tilde{c}\tilde{e}it \quad \text{\textquoteleft spider\textquoteright} \)

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

\[ ?V \]

- kual : \( k^{\prime}?al \quad \text{\textquoteleft to grow\textquoteright} \)
- szeesh : \( s-\tilde{c}\tilde{e}\tilde{e}\tilde{s} \quad \text{\textquoteleft stress \textquoteright} \)
- gees : \( *x^{\prime}?es \quad \text{\textquoteleft content\textquoteright} \)
- leeu : \( l?ew \quad \text{\textquoteleft man's father\textquoteright} \)
- eep : \( ?e\tilde{p} \quad \text{\textquoteleft wipe\textquoteright} \)
- eem : \( ?em \quad \text{\textquoteleft feed\textquoteright} \)
- smeem : \( s-m?em \quad \text{\textquoteleft woman\textquoteright} \)
- shiit : \( \tilde{s}?it \quad \text{\textquoteleft first\textquoteright} \)
- nziilsh : \( n-\tilde{c}?-i\tilde{l}\tilde{s} \quad \text{\textquoteleft go upstream\textquoteright} \)
- chlpoosatiku : \( *\tilde{c}?i-p?os-\tilde{a}tk^{\prime} \quad \text{\textquoteleft foam on water\textquoteright} \)
- smooot : \( s-m?ot \quad \text{\textquoteleft smoke\textquoteright} \)
- szooliguelgu : \( s-\tilde{c}?ulix^{\prime}-\tilde{e}ix^{\prime}\tilde{w} \quad \text{\textquoteleft deer hide\textquoteright} \)
- izuzuups : \( i-c?-ups \quad \text{\textquoteleft woman's younger sister\textquoteright} \)
- tlutluus : \( \acute{\lambda}u?-\acute{\lambda}?-\acute{u}s \quad \text{\textquoteleft to look for\textquoteright} \)
- tkooti : \( tk^{\prime}?-\acute{u}t-i \quad \text{\textquoteleft march, walk\textquoteright} \)
- koop : \( q^{\prime}?up \quad \text{\textquoteleft It is tanned\textquoteright} \)
- spoos : \( s-p?us \quad \text{\textquoteleft heart\textquoteright} \)
saaimes : s-ʔaym-s  'hate'
lee : *lʔe°  'remain here'

[Vʔ]
geen : xeʔn  'forbid'
uee : weʔ  'to call'
smeel : s-meʔi  'man's brother's child'
ιee : ieʔ  'end up, arrive'
skussee : s-qʷseʔ  'son'
sgagee : s-χaʔxeʔ  'woman's husband's father or brother'
tee : teʔ6  'ʔ'
shiimil : **šiʔ-mil  'exceedingly'
tiim : tiʔm  'to melt'
spiikalk : s-piʔq-áłq  'fruits'
kaliι : qliʔ  'lake'
chiiestusementgu : *č-šiʔt-s-t-ús-m-n-t-xʷ  (-s-t ?)  'You keep your eyes on it.'
skuuí : s-qʷuʔi  'wasp'
iyu : iʔuʔ  'sting, lance'

Unusual here is the double [Vʔ] sequence:

mee : meʔeʔ  (stress ?)  'send away'

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

kae : qeʔ  'we, our, us'
snkaezin : s-n-qeʔ-cín  'Holy Communion'
cholzkac : čolsqeʔʔ  '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'
kołinchehepi : kʷi-n-čeh-ép-i  'He opens the door of the lodge.'
ah : ?ah  'Is it so!'
Where Carlson and Vogt record [ha] for the 'interrogative' particle, Post writes a. In a number of other cases it is Carlson who records h where Post and Vogt do not:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post and Vogt</th>
<th>Carlson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>han-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-</td>
<td>hin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-</td>
<td>hec-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anuí</td>
<td>hanwĩ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6. Glides

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

ioko : yoq" 'to tell lies'
topie : tũpye? 'woman's grandparent or child'
meie : meye 'to tell, show, teach'
koai : ḵ̣ay 'black'
uenš : wenš 'to dance'
skaleu : s-qlew 'beaver'
cheulshi : ẹ̄́w-š-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-x̣elwi? 'husband'
guigueiul : x̣i-x̣ey-ũi 'beast, animal'
ziu : cyu 'before, not yet'
liumstemp : liw-m-s-t-ũm 'bell ring'
sisius : si-sy-ũs 'brave, smart'

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

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

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

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

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:

- guizîts : xuic-i-t-s  'He gave it to him.'
- goizîts : xuic-i-t-s  'He cut it off for him.'
- skuui : s-q'u?i  'wasp'
- skooi : s-q'ul  'dust'
- chin zgup : čin cx'u-p  'I am growing feeble.'
- chin zgop : čin *cx'u-p  'I am growing better.'
On the other hand, allophonic variation accounts for Post's transcription of a few cases of presumed /u/ as o:

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

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

- **a**: e
  - itgoas: ?îtxw?e?-'s 'his camas'
- **e**: a
  - mei: máli (?) 'to heal' (meiemgu 'healed breast')
- **i**: e
  - -isshin: -ësšn 'stone' (gasisshin 'beautiful stone')
  - kuin: k?en 'take, grab'
  - siin: syen (siyén) 'to count'
  - koiz: q'wèc 'full' (nkoizelze 'full (person)')
  - lip: ëep 'dwindle' (chines ëipsi 'my fire is going out')
  - skim: s?e-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.

- oost: oós-t 'lost'
- paap: paáp 'caught fire'
- gaa: xaá 'fan'
- chaaz: č-aác 'cling'
But some presumed long vowels are recorded short:

$$\text{paulegu : paa-úlex}$$ 'burnt land'

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

$$\text{paag : ʔaχ}$$ 'cure'
$$\text{skool : s-ʔuî}$$ 'dust'

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

$$\text{siin : siyén (syen)}$$ 'to count'

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

$$\text{zuut : cut}$$ 'behavior'
$$\text{tellemiis : ʔl-mi-s}$$ 'companions in death'

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

$$\text{čin pu-pus-é·nč}$$ 'I am most sorry.'
$$\text{k'tu·n-t iu? i-s-xm-énč}$$ '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 make throughout the grammar, are presented here.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-s-k'uy</td>
<td>'my mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-s-p'us</td>
<td>'your heart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i čin čes, u ta i či</td>
<td>'I am not (?) well, I am not contented.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šmeň</td>
<td>'enemy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šmeý-s</td>
<td>'his enemy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ťap-mín</td>
<td>'arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ťap-mí-s</td>
<td>'his arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-ćaw-mn</td>
<td>'prayer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-ćaw-mí-s</td>
<td>'his prayer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) -s 'third person possessive' becomes -c after s or ť.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ĭu? s-čes-t-s ľu?</td>
<td>'How good and sweet is the heart of J.C.' (D II p. 438)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ťiš-c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt; s-ťiš-s) ľu?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-p'us-c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt; s-p'us-s) ľu?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>či q-s-ilmix</td>
<td>'I want to be chief.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>či q-es-ilmix</td>
<td>'I want always to be chief.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(for the deletion of ṇ of čin before qŁ-, see 6 below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-q-ei-x'ič-i-t-m</td>
<td>'I wish to give it again.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swet q-ep-stě? ľi?č</td>
<td>'Who may own this?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5) ĭ of epŁ- 'have' is deleted before s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ep-s-p'us</td>
<td>'He has a heart.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin ep-sx'c-six'-lt</td>
<td>'I have children.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6) n of in- 'my', an- 'thy', and č in 'I' deletes before qî- 'subjunctive'.

\[\text{I want her for my wife.} \] (D II p. 430)
\[\text{I want to be the chief.} \]

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

\[\text{I visit the sick.} \]

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

\[\text{Thou lookest at him.} \]

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

\[\text{Let us have clean vessels.} \] (D I p. 164)

10) Two identical contiguous consonants simplify:

\[\text{my food!} \]

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

\[\text{He took (something).} \]
\[\text{I am lying down.} \]

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

\[\text{I sting the nose of his...} \]

13) The first and third persons of the simple transitive paradigms, underlying /-n-t-en/ and /-n-t-es/, respectively, delete e then t when the root is stressed. Subsequently -n-n simplifies to -n by rule 10 above, and n vocalizes to i before s (rule 2 above), yielding -i-s.
(See also 3.2.2.1.)

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

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

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

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

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

(See also 3.2.2.5.)

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

\[\text{’nk’o?-qin} (< \text{’nk’o?-qin}) \quad \text{'hundred'}\]
\[\text{’emot-qn} (< \text{’emot-qn}) \quad \text{'old Indian god'}\]
\[\text{-aposqn} (< \text{-aposqn}) \quad \text{'mouth, lips, throat'}\]

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

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

n-ťm-áčs-n-t (< n-ťam-Ččs-n-t) 'Kiss his hand!'
n-čal-átkw (< n-čal-Čtkw) 'cold water'
či-p?os-átkw (< či-p?os-Čtkw) 'foam on water'
es-č-s-čl-áws (< es-č-s-čil-Čws) 'thing hanging'
es-č-s-čl-ális (< es-č-s-čil-Člis) 'things hanging'
čin es-kw-i-n-čn-m-áp-i (< es-kw-i-n-čan-m-Čp-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 scxʷ-elixʷ.


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

6 This must be cognate with Colville itiʔ, ataʔ '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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\& 'died' \\
\& 'cut/saw' \\
\& 'ripe' \\
\& 'elder brother' \\
\& 'skin, hide' \\
\& 'fish' \\
\& 'deep snow' \\
\& 'wagon'
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\& 'break' \\
\& 'rotten (wood)' \\
\& 'evil, bad' \\
\& 'father (girl's)'
\end{align*}
\]

3.1. Intransitive Constructions

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\& 'I' \\
\& 'thou' \\
\& 'we' \\
\& 'you'
\end{align*}
\]

Third person singular and plural is unmarked.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\& 'I died.' \\
\& 'We died.'
\end{align*}
\]
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 \( \text{es-}^1 \) 'actual', \( \text{-i} \) 'continuative', \( \text{-m} \) 'middle', \( \text{-t} \) 'stative', and \( \text{-p} \) 'non-control'.\(^2\) All of these affixes except \( \text{-i} \) 'continuative' also occur in transitive derivations.\(^3\)

- \( \text{cin} \) es-\( k'u'l \) 'I am made.'
- \( \text{cin} \) es-\( k'u'l\)-i 'I am made; I work.'
- \( \text{cin} \) \( k'u'l\)-m 'I worked.'
- \( \text{cin} \) es-\( ?uk\)' 'I am brought/carried.'
- \( \text{cin} \) es-\( ?uk\)'-i 'I am brought; I bring/carry.'
- \( \text{cin} \) \( ?uk\)'-m 'I bring/carry.'
- \( \text{cin} \) es-\( ?a?l \) 'I am continually unwell.'
- \( \text{cin} \) es-\( ?a?l\)-m-i 'He is sick.'
- \( \text{cin} \) es-\( ?a?l\)-m-i 'I am continually unwell.'
- \( p \) es-\( ?\)-esél-i 'You are two by two.'
- \( \text{çal}\)-t 'It is cold.'
- \( \text{es-suk}\)'-t-i 'It is swollen.'
- \( \text{cin} \) es-cúw-t-i 'I say.'
- \( \text{maw-p} \) 'It broke accidentally.'
- \( \text{cin} \) sli-p 'I mistook unintentionally.'
- \( \text{es-taal-p-m-ı} \) 'It becomes loose.'
3.1.2. Possessive Intransitives

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Possessive Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in-</td>
<td>'my'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>'thy'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td></td>
<td>'his/their'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe?</td>
<td></td>
<td>'our'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- in-i?ew  'He is my father.'  qe? l?ew  'He is our father.'
- an-i?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 x. 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:

- cît-x-w-s  Pierre  'It is Peter's house.'
- x₂-ci-s  i-s-q'séʔ  'It is my son's horse.'
- s-₆-k'uy-s  k'₁-n-cut-n  'She is the Mother of God.'
- s-p'us-c  k'₁-n-cut-n  'It is the heart of God.'
- čeʔ  įuʔ  x'es-t  an-xc-núm-tn  'Where are your nice clothes?'
- x'₁  i-s-k'ʷt-s-qëltč  u  ?ayxʷ-t  įuʔ  in-n-č-ʔemt-éw-s-tn
  'On account of corpulency my horse is tired out.'
3.1.2.2. Possessive intransitive pronoun proclitics. Third person intransitives are not the only intransitives to receive possessive markers. In fact all other intransitive forms may receive possessive markers. The intransitive personal pronouns of the possessive forms are the proclitics given above in 3.1., except for the first person singular which is the proclitic k'w.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive Form</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>k'w</em></td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k'</td>
<td>'thou'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qe?</em></td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p</em></td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intransitive possessives translate in English as predicate nominatives:

- *k'w in-1?éw*  | 'Thou art my father.'
- *k'w 1?éw-s*  | 'I am his father.' (D I p. 546)
- *in-ilmix'-m* | 'He is my chief.'
- *a-sín-ce?*   | 'He is thy younger brother.'
- *k'w ec-wé?'-m-s* | 'I am his calling (he calls to me).' (Bible p. 3)
- *k'w **čentrée-s t s-túlix'w* | 'You are the Lord of the world.'
- *in-ńox'-nox'w 1?u? Marie* | 'I have Mary for wife (Mary is my wife).' (Bible p. 3)
- *an-1?éw 1?u? k'w1-n-cut-n* | 'You have God for father (God is your father).' |
- *k'w an-ilmix'-m, k'w an-k'w1-n-cút-n* | 'I am thy chief, I, thy God.'

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

\[ k\text{-}u\ a\text{-}s\text{-}c\text{-}lić \quad 'I am thy bound one; I am the one bound by thee.' \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Person Referent</th>
<th>Possessor 1 sg.</th>
<th>Possessor 2 sg.</th>
<th>Possessor 3 General</th>
<th>Possessor 1 pl.</th>
<th>Possessor 2 pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>k'w u a-s-c-lic</td>
<td>k'w u s-c-lic-s</td>
<td>k'w u s-c-lic-sp</td>
<td>k'w u s-c-lic-sp</td>
<td>k'w u s-c-lic-sp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>k'w i-s-c-lic</td>
<td>k'w s-c-lic-s</td>
<td>k'w s-c-lic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 General</td>
<td>i-s-c-lic</td>
<td>a-s-c-lic</td>
<td>s-c-lic-s</td>
<td>qe? s-c-lic</td>
<td>s-c-lic-sp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>p i-s-c-lic</td>
<td>p s-c-lic-s</td>
<td>p s-c-lic-s</td>
<td>p s-c-lic</td>
<td>p s-c-lic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1

POSSESSIVE INTRANSITIVE PARADIGM WITH STRESSED ROOT líc 'bind'
3.1.2.4. Special forms. Special forms with first person plural and with second and third person possessor are explained in sections 3.1.2.4.1. - 3.1.2.4.4. below.

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  qa & \text{ sx'-six'-lt-il-t} \quad \text{'We are your children.'} \\
  qa & \text{ px'-ut-il-t} \quad \text{'We are your fathers.'} \\
  qa & \text{ es-qa'czę-il-t} \quad \text{'We are your looking (you look at us).'} \\
  qa & \text{ *es-čšt-ıull-t} \quad \text{'We are your guarding (you guard us).'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  qa & \text{ sx'-six'-lt-il-s} \quad \text{'We are his/their children.'} \\
  qa & \text{ es-qa'czę-il-s} \quad \text{'We are his/their looking (he looks at us).'} \\
  qa & \text{ *es-čšt-ıull-s} \quad \text{'We are his/their guarding (he guards us).'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  k^u & \text{ es-lći-m} \quad \text{(NOT: k^u es-laći-m-s) 'I am being bound by someone.'}
\end{align*}
\]
'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).'

'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-ʔeys-n (< n-ʔeys-n-t-n) 'I pay for it.'

es-n-ʔey-s-t-n 'I pay for it.'

n-ʔey-i-t-n 'I pay him his.'

n-ʔey-š-t-n 'I pay for him, help him paying.'

3.2.1. Actor Referents

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

- en 'I'
- et 'we'
- ex' 'thou'
- ep 'you'
- es 'he/they'
The vowel of the suffix is retained with weak roots and deleted with stressed roots or following -ši 'benefactive'.

3.2.2. Goal Referents

Goal referents are marked in various ways:

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

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

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

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

Other examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?uk'-n</td>
<td>'I bring/carry it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čew-s-n (&lt;čew-us-n)</td>
<td>'I wash his face.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?-čēs-n</td>
<td>'I sting his hand.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?-áqs-n</td>
<td>'I sting his nose.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?-ús-n</td>
<td>'I sting his face.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-qe?-či-n (&lt;n-qe?-cin-n-t-en)</td>
<td>'I gave Holy Communion to him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul-n-t-én</td>
<td>'I burn it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*čηst-n-t-en</td>
<td>'I guard it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īi-n-t-én</td>
<td>'I cause him to die.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?-n-t-én</td>
<td>'I wound/lance it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sq-n-t-én</td>
<td>'I split it.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. Cause him to stop.'
2. I make him to rejoice.'
3. I wound the hand of his...'
4. I sting the nose of his...'
5. I carry his...'
6. I guard his...'
7. I split his...'
8. I pray for him.'
9. I tell him news.'
10. I split for him (help him split).'
11. 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 qa? 'first person plural actor'.

qa? ?ín-t-m (< ?ín-n-t-em) 'We ate it.'
qa? cun-t-m (< cún-n-t-em) 'We said it.'

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

?ín-t-m (< ?ín-n-t-ém) 'Someone ate it, it is eaten.'
cun-t-m (< cún-n-t-ém) '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:

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

3.2.2.4. The proclitic k'ul 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 ?aćχ-i-s 'He looked at me.'
k’u čaw-š-t-s 'He prayed for me.'
k’u x’ič-i-t-s 'He gave it to me.'
k’u c-qi?-ši-t-s 'He wrote to me.'

čin nt-els k’u x’ič-i-t-x'w 'I thought thou to have given it to me.'
k’u ?aćχ-n-t-m 'Someone looked at me.'
k’u cun-t-m 'Someone told me; I have been told.'
k’u xalît-n-t-m 'I have been invited by someone.'
k’u n?-awqtn-t-m 'I was admonished by someone.'
k’u lć-n-t-m 'Someone has bound me; I have been bound.'
k’u k’n-t-em 'I have been taken by someone.'
k’u x’ič-i-t-em 'Someone gave it to me; it was given to me.'
k’u mx’-i-t-em 'My thing has been snowed upon.'
k’u es-caw-š-t-m 'Someone prays for me.'
k’u c-qi?-ši-t-m 'Someone has written to me.'

xes-t k’u n-l?o-n-t-ćem 'I deserve to be put in jail.'

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

*čšt-n-ci-n (<<čšt-n-t-sí-en) 'I guarded thee.'
es-mi-i-ci-n (<<es-mi-i-t-sí-en) Ļu? q-s-q’l-q’el-t-m
'I know what you say.'
?ačχ-n-c-n (<<ačχ-n-t-si-en) 'I looked at thee.'
n-xl-χél-i-c-n Ļu? a-s-q’se? 'I scare your son.'
k’ul-i-c-n Ļu? a-s-q’se? 'I sent your son.'
k'ul-i-c-n ̣tu?  i-s-q'w sé?  'I sent my son for you.'  
(D I p. 32)

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

*čšt-n-ci-t (< *čšt'n-t-si-et)  'We guarded thee.'
**čcoq-n-ci-t  'We cured thee.'
?ačx-n-c-t (< ?áčx'n-t-si-et)  'We looked at thee.'
*čšt'n-ci-s (< *čšt'n-t-si-es)  'He guarded thee.'
?ačx-n-c (< ?áčx'n-t-si-es)  'He looked at thee.'
k"en-c (< k"en-n-t-si-es) 10  '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-?ačx-s-t-m-n  'I looked at thee.'
*es-čšt's-t-úm-n  'I guarded thee.'
čaw-š-t-m-n  'I prayed for thee.'
mi-mi-ši-t-m-n  'I told news to thee.'
es-?ačx-s-t-m-s  'He looked at thee.'
*es-čšt's-t-úm-s  'He guarded thee.'
čaw-š-t-m-s  'He prayed for thee.'
mi-mi-ši-t-m-s  'He told news to thee.'
es-?ačx-s-t-m-t  'We looked at thee.'
*es-čšt's-t-úm-t  'We guard thee.'
čaw-š-t-m-t  'We prayed for thee.'
mi-mi-ši-t-m-t  'We told news to thee.'

n-čxl-čel-š-t-m-n ̣tu?  a-s-q'w sé?  'I scare your son for you.'
es-?n-čn ĕnc-s-t-x̣tu?  t šeỵ u es-?áym-s-t-m-s  
'Love those who hate thee.'

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

?ąčx-n-c-t 'Someone looked at thee (we looked at thee).'
mx'-n-ci-t 'Thou hast been snowed (we have snowed thee).'
čav-š-t-m-t 'Someone prays for thee (we pray for thee).'
t Raguel čnız-i-s: ne čin ʾil m sic esiyá? m ʾixič-i-c-t
'Rachel said to him: "When I die all will be given to thee."' (Bible p. 34)
ěu? a-s-c-kʾén ʾeye? ḫe ei-qʾil-qʾil-i-cǐ-t
'Your sins are already forgiven you.' (Bible p. 60)
iu? kʾ es-n-qʾh-m-ʾitūmš-i (-m- ʾ?) nem ei-c-n-qʾh-m-n-cǐ-t
'If thou art merciful to people, people will also be merciful to thee.' (Bible p. 66)
ta a-q-eį-kʾi-n-čs-tín, ʾxi tlci? m ʾcs-t-ši-t-m-t
'Sin no more, lest worse should befall thee.' (Bible p. 63)
iu? ʾšeį m ?ałį-s-t-x’ ěu? a-s-škʾ-sqēlįx, ěu? t šeį nem
ei-t∧-ałį-s-t-m-t 'As you do to your neighbor, so he will do to you.' (Bible p. 70)

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

qeʔ *čšt-iuľ-i-t 'You (sg. or pl.) guarded us.'
qeʔ *čšt-iuľ-i-s 'He/they guarded us.'
qeʔ *ąčx-i-i-t 'You (sg. or pl.) looked at us.'
qeʔ *ąčx-i-i-s 'He/they looked at us.'
qeʔ **čltič-i-i-l-s t ʾx’oldį
'He gave us a wagon (made us the owners).' (D I p. 50)

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

qe? čaw-š-i-l-t 'You (sg. or pl.) prayed for us.'
qe? čaw-š-i-l-s 'He/they prayed for us.'
qe? mi-mi-ší-i-l-t 'You (sg. or pl.) told news to us.'
qe? mi-mi-ší-i-l-s'11 'He/they told news to us.'

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

qe? ?ačx-i-l-t 'Someone looked at us (you looked at us).'
qe? es-čaw-š-i-l-t 'Someone prays for us (you pray for us).'
qe? es-x'č-i-l-t 'Someone gave it to us (you gave it to us).'
qe? mč'-iul-l-t 'We got snowed (you snowed us).'
kw' swet lu? ne qa? q-e1-cún-m iu? t šey ū qe? c-k'ul-i-l-t 'Who art thou that we may tell it to those who sent us hither.'

(Bible p. 50)

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

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

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

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

?acx-i-m-t 'Someone looked at you (we looked at you).'
čawš-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!'
čewš-n-t (< čew'-us-n-t) 'Wash his face!'
n-?eyš-n-t 'Pay for it!'
ulí-n-t 'Burn it!'
*čšiš-i-n-t 'Guard it!'
sdq'-n-t 'Split it!'
č'tmałq'-n-t 'Kiss the cross!'
n-?em-ačš-n-t (< n-tem-éčš-n-t [see 2.9.]) 'Kiss his hand!'
n-tem-ca-n-t (< n-tem-cin-n-t [see 2.9.]) 'Kiss his mouth!'
xaq-n-t ū? tľ ?eè-éwt u č ec-šáit 'Pay them from the last to the first!'
n-?ey' i-t 'Pay him his...!'?
?uk'-i-t 'Carry his...!'
*čšiš-i-t 'Guard his...!'
sdq'-i-t 'Split his...!'
luš-i-t 'Sting his...!'
mi x'ič-i-t 'Please give it to him.'
k'u mi-cíš-i-t ū? i-s-q'1-q'el 'Interpret my words.'
mi-mi-ši-t 'Tell him news!'
čaw-š-t  
'n-ʔey-š-t  
ʔuʔ-ši-t  
šq-ši-t  

's-t 'Pray for him!'  
'Pay for him!'  
'Lance for him!'  
'Split for him (help him split)!'  

-i is suffixed to these forms for plural reference:  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{kůl-n-t-i} & \quad 'Make ye it!' \\
\text{ací-n-t-i} & \quad 'Tie ye it!' 
\end{align*} \]

Causative transitives suffix -ek\(^w\) in imperative form. With a stressed root, -s-t-ek\(^w\) reduces to -s-k\(^w\). -i marks plural reference:  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{es-n-ʔey-s-k\(^w\)} & \quad 'Pay for it!' \\
\text{es-kůl-s-k\(^w\)} & \quad 'Make it!' \\
\text{es-kůl-s-k\(^w\)-i} & \quad 'Make ye it!' \\
\text{es-ac-s-t-ék\(^w\)} & \quad 'Tie it!' \\
\text{es-ac-s-t-ék\(^w\)-i} & \quad 'Tie ye it!' 
\end{align*} \]

Not well understood is -ek\(^w\) 'imperative, sg.' added to apparently simple transitive stems, as in the following case:  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{ʔuʔ-n-t-ék\(^w\)} & \quad 'Lance it!' 
\end{align*} \]
FOOTNOTES

1 Post gives examples of ec-, allomorph of es-: ec-?axíl 'it is like', ec-milkw 'all' (Bible p. 4).

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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{q}a?u-p & \quad \text{It was broken by accident.} \\
\text{(es-}q\text{a?u} & \quad \text{It is broken.}) \\
\text{he}m\text{i}-p & \quad \text{It is getting cloudy.} \\
\text{miy}-p & \quad \text{It becomes evident.} \\
\text{paá}-p & \quad \text{It caught fire accidentally.} \\
\text{xa}m\text{i}-p & \quad \text{It is dry.} \\
\text{mx}^x\text{u-p} & \quad \text{It snows.} \\
\text{c}h\text{in es-wé}lkw-p-i & \quad \text{I descend (from heaven, mountain...).} \\
\text{es-mx}^x-p-m-í & \quad \text{It snows.} \\
\text{q}u-p-ëple? & \quad \text{The handle broke.} \\
\text{ti-p-ëys} & \quad \text{It rains.} \\
\text{c}i-ml-p-ëne? & \quad \text{flooded all over} \\
\text{xm-p-ulo}xw & \quad \text{a place dry accidentally} \\
\text{sl}i-p & \quad \text{He made a mistake.} \\
\text{(Cf. also sli-p-p ["He got into a mistake."] in which p is treated as part of the root.)}
\end{align*}\]

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 endingless forms) but is in some deeper sense involved and affected. In other words, there seems to be more emphasis on direct participation than in the other forms" (1972, p. 75). Carlson states that "a primary suffix -p expresses specific 'lack of control' on the part of the subject," and "another aspectual element is the suffix //-/t//, which comes directly after the base. This element seems to be a 'stative'" (1972, pp. 75, 121).

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

Post does not discuss the cooccurrence restrictions of these affixes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Note that Post shows kũen as a strong root in this form and as a weak root in kũn-ci-t above.

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

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

Carlson states that -kũ replaces -t 'control' ['transitive'] for the imperative of causative stems in Spokan (1972, p. 91). Vogt lists two sequences of suffixes in Kalispel -s-kũ and -s-t-ekũ, 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čin es-wíl} & \quad \text{I am burned.}' \\
\text{čin es-ćéw-s} & \quad \text{'My face is washed.'} \\
\text{čin es-wíč} & \quad \text{'I am seen.'} \\
\text{čin es-n-?éys} & \quad \text{'I am paid for; I am bought.'} \\
\text{čin es-x'úy} & \quad \text{'I go.'} \\
\text{čin es-itúk}\wedge & \quad \text{'I rot.'} \\
\text{es-salúse?} & \quad \text{'It hails.'} \\
\text{es-q'úp} & \quad \text{'It is tanned.'} \\
\text{es-k'én} & \quad \text{'It is taken.'} \\
\text{es-láq} & \quad \text{'It is buried.'} \\
\text{es-č-túx}\wedge & \quad \text{'It is added.'} \\
\text{es-ióc} & \quad \text{'It is smashed.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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**es-níč** 'It is cut.'
**es-nímląp** 'It is frozen (water).'
**es-pút?e** 'He is respected.'
**es-qéy** 'It is written.'
**es-mílkʷ** 'It is whole, all (quantity).'
**es-χiixʷ** 'It is unripe, raw.'
čin es-q’áac-qn 'I wear a hat.'
čin es-q’il-éps² 'I wear a necktie.' (DII p. 436)

### 4.1.2. -i 'continuative'

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

- čin es-yúł-i 'I dance (women only).'
- čin es-wénš-i 'I dance (men only).'
- čin es-q’ey-cn-i 'I take revenge by my words.'
- čin es-q’ey-čst-i 'I take revenge by my actions.'
- čin es-ʔimš-i 'I start, change place.'
- čin es-k’né-y 'I take, hold on.'
- čin es-čx’u-y 'I dry clothes.'
- čin es-ʔáw-i 'I recite.'
- čin es-ʔ’áčx-i 'I look on.'
- čin es-wán-i 'I hasten.'
- čin es-síxʷ-i; čin es-síxʷ 'I am poured out.'
- čin es-ʔískʷ1-i; čin es-ʔískʷ1 'I am thrown away.'
- čin es-níč-i; čin es-níč 'I am cut, sawed.'
- čin es-qéyl-i 'I solicit, invite (to do right or wrong).'
- čin es-řép-s-i 'My fire is going out.' (DII p. 146)
- čin **es-móyx-i 'I practice Indian jugglery to find out enemies.'

### 4.1.3. -t 'stative'

- 'stative' is added to roots in constructions which often translate in English as predicate adjectives:
51

k’tun-t                           'It is big, great, high, tall.'
q’eč-t                           'It is full.'
ţem-t                            'It is heavy.'
ţic-t                            'It is hard by nature.'
ţax-t                            'It is lively, quick (inanimate).' 
piii-t                            'It is thick (cloth or the like).' 
**yul-t                           'It is thick (tree or the like).' 
čin ?aym-t                        'I was angry.'
čin es-ʔaym-t-i                   'I am mad.'
k’u es-ʔaym-t-i                   'One is vexed, angry (on se fache).'  
čin ʔs-t-i                       'I become good.'

4.1.4. qi- 'subjunctive'

qi- 'subjunctive' occurs in both transitive and intransitive constructions. 1 of qi- is deleted before s- 'nominal', 3 es- 'actual', e1- 'back', and epi- '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-ʔs-t-i                    'I want to be good.'
či q-es-ʔs-t-i                   'I want always to be good.'
q-s-ʔu1-n                        'I want to do it.'
q-es-ʔu1-s-t-n                   'I wanted always to do it.'
i-qi-nox’-nox’                   'I want her for my wife.'  (D II p. 430)
či q-s-q’l-q’elî-t-i              'I have the wish to talk.'
či q-es-ilmix’                    'I want always to be a chief.'
īu? w1 t i-q-s-ʔśëk u es-ćq’-ąq’-i  
   'On account of my wishing to start, he is crying.'

a-q-s-ʔśić-1-t-m                  'Thou must give it to him.'
k'u a-q-s-x'wëc-i-t-m s?-iín 'You must give me some food.'
taq-s?-iín-n-t-x'w' iu? es-xi'w 'Don't eat those not ripe.'
k'u a-q-s-k'wul-i-t-m qí-qix'-mm 'Make me a whip.'
k' q-s-ici-m 'You deserve to be flogged.'
k'ne u k' q-s-ici-m 'You should be flogged.'
k'u q-s?-aym-t 'One must have been angry.'
k'u q-s?-aym-t-i 'One must be angry.'
k'u cúw-i-s či q-s-k'wul-i 'He told me to work.'
iu? i-q-s-k'wul-m 'my having to make it'
iu? i-q-s-k'wul 'what I have to make'
iu? i-q-s-c-k'wul 'what I had to make'
qa? qí-n-ṣxs-éiče?

'Let us have clean vessels.' (D I p. 164)
iu? q-s-k'wul-n-t-x'w' te? s-te'm, k' q-s-çaw-i 'When you wish to do some work, you should pray.'
k'en-t a-qí-ac-sqáxe?-tn 'Take your rope to tie your horse.'
taq a-qí-e-k'i-n-čs-tín, xi tlc? m čs-t-ší-t-m-t 'Sin no more, lest worse should befall thee.' (Bible p. 63)
iu? ne k' q-s-n-mi-p-m-íst-i m k' čaw-m 'Before confessing you must pray.'
iu? q-s-šl-m-i, šey čaw-m 'Before dying, he prayed.'
k'u q-s-ilmix'-m 'One may be chief.'
i-qí-citx' 'The house is for me (my house-to-be).'
a-qí-sič-m 'The blanket is for thee (thy future blanket).'
qí-qí-gaq-qí-s 'The hat is for him (his hat-to-be).'
a-qí-n-ṣxs-tín 'It is for thy good (thy future good).'
qí-çč-númt-s iu? i-s-q'se?

'It is a coat for my boy (my boy's future coat).'
k'en-t ye s-ç?ulix'-élx', an-l?ew qí-še?-ší-s 'Take this deer skin for a pair of shoes for your father.'
k' swet iu? ne qa? q-ei-cùn-m iu? t šey u qe? c-k'ul-i-l-t 'Who art thou that we may tell it to those who sent us hither.' (Bible p. 50)
ne q-s-mós-qt-ilš  'when the fourth day will have come'
q-s-nk'ux?-i  'one by one (things)'
q-s-c-nq-naqs-i  'one by one (persons)'
q-s-?esél-i  'two by two (things)'
q-s-c-tesél-i  'two by two (persons)'

4.1.4.2. qi- 'dative of advantage'
qi-swet u k' es-k'ul-i  'For whom are you working?'
i-qi-k'uy?è  'For me.'
qi-cniic  'For him.'
ha qi-k'uy?è  'Is it for me?'
a-qi-anwi?  'It is for thee.'
ha qa? qi-qe?nplé?  'Is it for us?'

4.2. Plural

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

4.2.1. Reduplicative Plural Affixation

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

a) a reduplicative prefix, C1C2- of root: 4

\begin{align*}
\text{s-čôm} & \quad \text{'bone'} \quad \text{s-čôm-čôm} \quad \text{'bones'} \\
\text{s-k'1st-elt} & \quad \text{'angel'} \quad \text{s-k'1st-elt} \quad \text{'angels'} \\
\text{**s-plim-cn} & \quad \text{'mouth, lip'} \quad \text{**s-plim-cn} \quad \text{'mouths, lips'} \\
\text{s-qapúsíl} & \quad \text{'wing'} \quad \text{s-qapúsíl} \quad \text{'wings'} \\
\text{s-k'á-us} & \quad \text{'face'} \quad \text{s-k'á-us} \quad \text{'faces'} \\
\text{q'léwi} & \quad \text{'onion'} \quad \text{q'lewi} \quad \text{'onions'} \\
\text{i-mq'ewt} & \quad \text{'hillock'} \quad \text{i-mq'ewt} \quad \text{'hillocks'} \\
\end{align*}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>es.moq'w</td>
<td>'mountain'</td>
<td>es.m̄a'-moq'w</td>
<td>'mountains'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʕ̪olq'w</td>
<td>'wagon'</td>
<td>ʕ̪l-ʕ̪olq'w</td>
<td>'wagons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-xēlwi?</td>
<td>'husbands'</td>
<td>s-xl-xēlwi?</td>
<td>'husbands'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-k'uy</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>s-k'i-k'uy</td>
<td>'mothers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q̣-min</td>
<td>'horn'</td>
<td>q̣-q̣-min</td>
<td>'horns'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-q̣ltmix'w</td>
<td>'man'</td>
<td>s-ql-q̣ltmix'w</td>
<td>'men'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ʔuʔ-šin</td>
<td>'foot, leg'</td>
<td>s-ʔuʔ-ʔuʔ-šin</td>
<td>'feet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čey-le?x'u</td>
<td>'shady place'</td>
<td>s-čey-čey-le?x'u</td>
<td>'shady places'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nič-mn</td>
<td>'saw'</td>
<td>nič-nič-mn</td>
<td>'saws'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-laqs</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
<td>s-laq-laqs</td>
<td>'mosquitoes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-nēc-1č'</td>
<td>'elk'</td>
<td>s-neč-nēc-1č'</td>
<td>'elk, pl.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-qle涂抹</td>
<td>'beaver'</td>
<td>s-ql-qle涂抹</td>
<td>'beaver, pl.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?olí-n</td>
<td>'belly'</td>
<td>?olí-ʔolí-n</td>
<td>'bellies'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x̃es-t</td>
<td>'good one'</td>
<td>x̃es-x̃es-t</td>
<td>'good ones'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'tun-t</td>
<td>'big one'</td>
<td>k'tk'tun-t</td>
<td>'big ones'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**yul-t</td>
<td>'bulky one'</td>
<td>**yul-yul-t</td>
<td>'bulky ones'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č-naqs</td>
<td>'one'</td>
<td>č-nq-naqs</td>
<td>'one by one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ec-ʔax̃il</td>
<td>'one like to'</td>
<td>ec-ʔx-ʔax̃il</td>
<td>'those like to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

They left one by one; each one went out.

They go one by one.

We go together.

I often gather people.

They are three by three.

He will judge us one by one.

b) a reduplicative prefix C1(V) - of root:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-čey?it</td>
<td>'spider'</td>
<td>s-č-čey?it</td>
<td>'spiders'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-č-t-m-sq̣elix'w⁶</td>
<td>'half-breed'</td>
<td>s-č-č-t-m-sq̣elix'w⁶</td>
<td>'half-breeds'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-k'alk-lšin</td>
<td>'crane (bird)'</td>
<td>s-k'usk-aš-lšin</td>
<td>'cranes (bird)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-q'u'se?</td>
<td>'son'</td>
<td>s-q'u-q'u'se?</td>
<td>'sons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čw-ax̃n</td>
<td>'arm'</td>
<td>s-č-čw-ax̃n</td>
<td>'arms'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c) a reduplicative prefix VC- (or VC\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}- if the root is bi-consonantal):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated Root</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-ox\textsuperscript{w}-éix\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>'hut'</td>
<td>s-ox\textsuperscript{w}-ox\textsuperscript{w}-éix\textsuperscript{w}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ups</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
<td>s-ups-ups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ċin es-ac-ac-m-ī</td>
<td>'I break some (as horses).'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ċin es-č-oỳ-oỳ-ìùmš</td>
<td>'I mock people often.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cf. ċin es-č-oỳ-m-ī | '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.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated Root</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sín-ce?</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
<td>uï-sín-ce?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naq\textsuperscript{w}-ēmn</td>
<td>'thief'</td>
<td>uï-naq\textsuperscript{w}-ēmn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q\textsuperscript{w}h-q\textsuperscript{w}ūn-t</td>
<td>'poor one'</td>
<td>uï-q\textsuperscript{w}h-q\textsuperscript{w}ūn-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo-yó-t</td>
<td>'strong one'</td>
<td>uï-yo-yó-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>px-pax-t</td>
<td>'wise one'</td>
<td>uï-px-pax-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nox\textsuperscript{w}-nox\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
<td>uï-nox\textsuperscript{w}-nox\textsuperscript{w}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3. \texttt{-?} 'plural' Infix

\texttt{-?} is infixed after the stressed vowel of some third person actor intransitive forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infixed Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| es-k\textsuperscript{w}ū?ì-i | 'They work (collectively).'

4.2.4. Suppletive Plurals

Some plural roots replace their singular counterparts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suppletive Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-k\textsuperscript{w}h-im-ìt</td>
<td>'little one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k\textsuperscript{w}h-yùm-ìc\textsuperscript{9}</td>
<td>'small one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?eč-s-wíś</td>
<td>'erect one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es-šit</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-chêl-êl</td>
<td>'trees'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Some suppletive plural forms exist alongside regular plurals:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čin} & \quad \text{es-}q^\prime\text{āl}\text{-}q^\prime\text{āl}\text{-}t\text{-}i & \quad \text{I talk.} \\
\text{qe?} & \quad \text{es-}q^\prime\text{āl}\text{-}q^\prime\text{āl}\text{-}t\text{-}i & \quad \text{We talk.} \\
\text{čin} & \quad \text{es-}k^\prime\text{āl}\text{-}m\text{-}i & \quad \text{I die.} \\
\text{qe?} & \quad \text{es-}k^\prime\text{āl}\text{-}m\text{-}i & \quad \text{We die.} \\
\text{čin} & \quad \text{es-n}\text{-}m^\prime\text{x}^\prime\text{āl}\text{-}x\text{-}t\text{-}m \quad \text{I enter.} \\
\text{qe?} & \quad \text{es-n}\text{-}m^\prime\text{x}^\prime\text{āl}\text{-}x\text{-}t\text{-}m & \quad \text{We enter.}
\end{align*}
\]

4.2.5. Special Forms

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

4.2.5.1. A number of roots are reduplicated in the singular:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Singular Form</th>
<th>Plural Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭxʷ-ṭxʷ-ut</td>
<td>'old'</td>
<td>qʷ-h-qʷih-t</td>
<td>'poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šl-šal-t</td>
<td>'steep'</td>
<td>šh-sañ-t</td>
<td>'mild'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʷl-xʷilt</td>
<td>'debt, alive'</td>
<td>xʷ-s-xʷist-n</td>
<td>'stilts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭn-ṭnaye?</td>
<td>'frog'</td>
<td>kʷli-kʷalí</td>
<td>'corn, maize'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**n-pí-pí-aqs</td>
<td>'hog, pig'</td>
<td>s-čl-sal-t</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ḍp-ḍp-éne?</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
<td>sl-sil-t</td>
<td>'difficult'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**xt-ḥítne?</td>
<td>'daggar'</td>
<td>**xʷl-xʷal</td>
<td>'sheep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʷl-kʷi1-t</td>
<td>'purple'</td>
<td>ḳʷt-ṱʷi1ps</td>
<td>'flea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ul-ulí-m</td>
<td>'iron, metal, coin'</td>
<td>ṭn?-tn?wéy?</td>
<td>'bat (bird)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lič-lič-t</td>
<td>'valiant'</td>
<td>*xʷ-xʷat</td>
<td>'strenuous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-ṭxʷ-ut</td>
<td>'old person'</td>
<td>kʷ-kʷusá</td>
<td>'star'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-č-wáv-p-us</td>
<td>'tear'</td>
<td>s-xʷu-xʷye?</td>
<td>'ant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʷč-xʷolxʷ</td>
<td>'fox'</td>
<td>ya-yáʔt</td>
<td>'rare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**xʷa-xʷáʔt</td>
<td>'brave, strong in war'</td>
<td>ḋu?-ṭu?-éłeʔ</td>
<td>'thorn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A few singular forms with a reduplicative C₁- prefix added to the root prefix i- directly to the root consonant in the plural:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Singular Form</th>
<th>Plural Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-twit</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
<td>t-i-twit</td>
<td>'boys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-qʷ-qʷseʔ</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
<td>s-qʷ-i-qʷseʔ</td>
<td>'boys'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḁqʷ-ḥʷn-ews</td>
<td>'horse of one or two years'</td>
<td>ḍqʷ-i-ḥʷn-ews</td>
<td>'horses of one or two years'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.2.5.2. A few forms have unmarked number:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Singular Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ekʷn</td>
<td>'fish eggs'</td>
<td>picči</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʔ-úleʔxʷ</td>
<td>'rattlesnake(s)'</td>
<td>s-pentč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʷč-cin</td>
<td>'horse(s)'</td>
<td>n-ʔʷ-šm-čín-šn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čwῆl</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
<td>ḍiʔ-mín-tn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-pum</td>
<td>'hair(s)'</td>
<td>ōm-qn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-šenš</td>
<td>'stone(s)'</td>
<td>qʷtáxʷeʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-tx-čenč</td>
<td>'bowels'</td>
<td>n-čaw-mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḱu-ʔúseʔ</td>
<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>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-nᵗpʰs-ews</td>
<td>'jointed, joint'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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s-n-tps-élis  'joints'
sin-ce?-éws  'They are brothers.'
qe? sin-ce?-élis  'We are all brothers.'
ec-?x?-axl-élis  'They all look the same.'
y-es-nox'-nox'-éws-m  'I join the two in matrimony.'
y-es-nox'-nox'-élis-m  'I join several couples in matrimony.'
čin es-lič-éws-i  'I tie two.'
čin es-lič-élis-i  'I tie a number of them, two by two.'
**es-čqat-éws  'piled up'
**es-čqat-élis  'things piled up'

Note the different meanings of the following pairs:
s-n-χp-éws  'soul'  s-n-χp-élis  'souls of one'
s-n-χ-χp-éws  'souls of many'
n-χl-éws  'bridge'  n-χl-élis  'bridges'
n-χl-χl-éws  'bridges'

4.2.5.4. Speakers often use second person singular forms with plural force:
Ae x’?it u n-?awqn-c-n  lu? k’w i-s-nk’-sx’-síx’, 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.'

l anwi? u čin es-q’1-q’él-t-i l k’w s-wi?-wi?-mát  '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-út-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-ğ-es**  'rain'   **s-ğ-es**  'little rain'
- **n-q'ñ-ši-čn-šn**  'dog'   **s-ğ-čm-čme**  'little dog'
- **i-hi-μye?**  'frog'   **qal-qal-âqs**  'small frog'

Often, however, Kalispel diminutives are formed by affixation.

4.3.1. Diminutive Reduplicative Prefix

A reduplicative prefix, $C_1$, of the root, indicates a diminutive:

- ċin  es-š-wúl-i   'I work.'
- ċin  es-š-wúl-i   'I work a little.'
- níč-mn   'saw'
- ní-híč-ríl   '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'ip   'little rib'
- es-móq'w   'mountain'   es-i-móq'-w   'little mountain'
- x'olq'w   'wagon'   i-x'olq'-w   'little wagon'
- sí-pí   'rope'   i-sí-pí   'little rope'
- čspin   'neck'   i-č-čspin   'small neck'
- *i-k'w-šim-ál-a-q'w13   'small person'
- i-x'w-i-x'weč-t14   'short (thing)'
- ċin  es-ôy-n-cút-i   'I laugh.'
- ċin  es-i-ôy-n-cút-i   'I laugh a little.'
- čin os-ʔin   'I eat.'
- čin es-ʔin-i   'I eat a little.'
- čin es-č-x'w-t-t-čls-i   'I am angry.'
- čin es-č-š-i-x'w-t-t-čls-i   'I was a little angry.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quechua</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čin es-ʔsp-m-í</td>
<td>'I stay long.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-ʔ-ʔsp-m-í</td>
<td>'I stay a little long.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-n-súxʷ-neʔ-i</td>
<td>'I understand.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-n-1-sú-sxʷ-neʔ-i</td>
<td>'I understand a little.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FOOTNOTES

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

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

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

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

Cf. also the following reduplicative patterns:

s-miʔtuʔ 'fort' s-miʔ-t-miʔtuʔ 'forts'
qʷeyʔ-ʔit 'lively in running'
qʷeyʔ-ʔmt 'lively in working'

5Cf. Carlson's s-pli-ʔ-m-cn.

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

7Post lists cîtXʷ as the plural of cîtXʷ 'house'; perhaps this is another instance of -ʔ- infix (cîtXʷ).

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

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

This reduplicative suffix is also seen in:
e-čiw-t (e-) 'the last one'
e-čw-čiw-t 'the last ones'
čaq" 'cry'
čq"-aq" 'crying'
k’-il 'red'
k’-k’-1-1 'warm (heat from sun)'

9 This suffix of unknown meaning is presumed to be present in
other forms where I have not segmented it:

ilawye? 'man's great-grandfather'
i-čičšo? 'older sister'
či-čyé? 'sister's daughter's son'
čéwe? 'woman's brother-in-law'
čqaqce? 'woman's older brother'
qénc? 'woman's sibling's son's son, grandmother'
qaxe? 'man's mother's sister'
s-q’se? 'son'
xa?xé? 'woman's husband's father or brother'
síle? 'woman's grandfather or sister's daughter's son'
ťupye? 'woman's grandparent or grandchild'
čépo? 'man's grandfather'
q”tāx’we? 'louse, lice'
s-x”ú-x”ye? 'ant'
?u-ùse? 'egg(s)'
?ítx”e? 'camas'

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

10 Perhaps the pair es-č-sčl-áws 'thing hanging', es-č-sčl-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).
12 Vogt has estanoqū.

13 -a- is a diminutive infix. See -a?-y, 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-čes-t 'goodness'
- s-čes 'the being well'
- s-čuł 'the work'
- *s-č’es 'the being contented'
- s-č’tun-t 'greatness'
- s-č’up-t 'laziness, weakness'
- s-t’ye 'badness'
- s-če’šš (stress ?) 'shame'
- s-lč’-ut 'distance'
- s-č’em 'the painting red'
- s-časip 'old thing'
- i-s-c-čuł 'what I made'
- s-c-c-c ox 'wilfully'

hoy-s-t-s ’iu? s-c-q’l-q’elt-s 'He stopped to talk.'
i-s-c-čaax u čaa-p

'I fanned it (my fanning) and it did not (?) cool off.'

i čin čes, u ta i čiś *s-č’es

'I am not (?) well, I am not contented.' (D I p. 162)
u pentic u či s-čč-s-wiš ’iu? i *s-n-lcu-ti-s qe?

R’ki-n-cut-n 'And I was always standing in the house of our Lord.'

5.1.2. epi- 'have'

epi- occurs in intransitive forms and precedes es- 'actual', s- 'nominal', and n- 'locative', but follows qi- 'subjunctive' (which deletes i before epi-) and the possessive prefixes. i of epi- deletes
In third person intransitive, epi normally translates 'he/she/it/they has/have...'. Often, however the absence of a "possessor" requires that it be translated as 'there is/are ... some' (cf. French ilya):

\[ \text{èu? tì es-č-ca?1-éis-i, epi-ðax u epi-es-mîx't-ì} \]

'Some of the sick are getting better, some are dying.'

\[ \text{epi-xès-t, u epi-tôye} \]  
\[ \text{There are some good, there are some bad. OR He has some good ones and some bad ones.} \]

\[ \text{ep-sqèlixw èu? ta es-wić-s-t-n 'There are people I never saw.'} \]

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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 epš- are sometimes transitivized, as in the following examples:

epš-kṹ ’il-n
epš-wék’-n-t-x’
epš-kṹ ’il-i-t-n
epš-x’ic’-i-c-n
epš-wék’-i-c-n
epš-wék’-n
epš-wék’-i-t-m
There are some I have made.
There is something that you concealed.
There are some I have made for him.
There are some I gave to you.
There are some I concealed from you.
I did not hide any.
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 qi- 'subjunctive' which then deletes ī.

ei- 'again, once more, back'
ei-x’uy
čin ei-x’uy
čin ei-es-’īmš-i ; čin ei-’ūnš
y-ei-es-x’ic’-i-t-n ; ei-x’ic’-i-t-n
i-q-ei-x’ic’-i-t-m
y-ei-es-k’ṹ ’il-m
ei-nk’u?
ei-tēš-ilš īu? s-’ūmēni?

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.'
y-es-wic 'I see it again (find a lost object).'
ne qepc m qe? es-wic-t-wei x-i
'Next spring we shall see each other again.'
es-xis-t-min 1u? i-s-xelwi?
'I like (find good) again my husband.' (D I p. 166)

Sometimes es- is translated 'really, truly, indeed':

es-miix-ipt-pto min-a!q-mi-n-t-m (-c-, -min-?) 1 es-?eym-?w, es-nil laq-n-t-m
'He was indeed crucified, truly died, and was buried.'
1 *s-c-ac-?w qe? *es-mii-ix-?is-i, nei ni s-xl-xl-t u
*es-mii-ix-?is-m 1u? xl-n-cut-n 'We rest on Sundays
because on that day God indeed rested.' (D I p. 359)

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

es-t-o!q sii-t-n 'I helped him in return.'
k'<u t-me?e?-mi-s u es-t-me?e?-mi-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'

es-t-xuy; es-t-xuy 'I go ahead.'
es-t-mi-s-t-en 'I knew it before.'
y-es-t-?ax-m 'I look at it before.'

es-t-xuy; es-t-xuy 'I go after someone.'
es-n-tuk 'It lays in.'
en-kul 'He is born in, conceived.'
y-es-n-?ax-m 'I look inside.'
'es-n-w?aw-p 'I go back, pull back (as horses).'

es-n-est 'deep water'
i n-xl 'clear water'
i n-laq 'warm water'

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

- čin n-ʔaχʷt 'I go down the river by land.'
- n-ʔax'-ist-i 'He travels by the side of the water.'
- n-ʔaʔ-ílš-i '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-č-ʔaχʷ-éws-m 'I look upwards.'
- čin es-č-luχʷ 'I am going after wood.'
- es-č-ul-ulí-m-i 'He is after money.'
- kʷ č-s-te'm 'What did you want?'
- ?aym-t-m-n 'I was mad at him.'
- č-ʔaym-t-m-n 'I was mad on his account.'
- ?ayxʷ-t-m-n 'I was tired of him.'
- č-ʔayxʷ-t-m-n 'I was tired on his account.'

- ha č-pu-pus-éhč-m-n-t-xʷ5 ū? t'eyé a-s-c-kʷ'en
  'Are you sorry for (on account of) the sins you committed?'

- č-ʔes-t u čin qʷʔ1-qʷel't
  '(In good part) with a good intention did I speak.'
- kʷ qʷʔ1-qʷel't č-téye'
  'You spoke with a bad intention.'
- ilmixʷ-m ū? č-šeyʔ u kʷ qʷʔ1-qʷel't
  'It is the president of whom (on whose part) you speak.'

- y-es-č-kʷti-s-cút-m ū? i-s-n-ac-ldí't
  'I am proud of (on account of) my dress.'
- cs-č-lcíʔ-s-t-m 'I remain continually near him.'
- y-es-č-ʔemút-m 'I stay with (near) him.'
- č-ʔemút-m-n ū? ilmixʷ 'I stay with (near) the chief.'
- y-es-č-xʷuy-m ; č-xʷuy-n-t-én ; č-xʷuy-m-nβ
  'I visit him [I go to be near him].'

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t swet u es-č-icí?-m-s įu? J.C. l s-n-qe?-cín

'Who remains with (near) J.C. in the Holy Communion?'
č-mlk'-m-asqít

'(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-?áčx-m 'I look at it from there.'
či- 'upon, above'
čí-tük’w 'It is placed upon.'
es-čí-tük’w 'It is on top.'
y-es-čí-qéy’-m 'I write over it.' (D I p. 254)

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

l qe? k’wi-iš-út 'under us'
k’wi-tk’w-u-n-t įu? l a-s-ču?-šíin 'Place it under thy foot.'
es-čí-tük’w 'It is under.'

Perhaps here belongs also **če- 'about' (prefixed only to verbs that in the primitive meaning refer to persons):
y-es-če-cún-m 'I speak about it.'
swet įu? es-če-cún-m-s 'Of whom is he speaking?'
y-es-če?ni-m 'I forbid him.'
y-es-če-če?ni-m 'I forbid it.'
če-če?i-s-t-én įu? sèwi-k’w 'I forbid the whiskey.'
čè-n-?awqm-m įu? s-n-mi-p-m-ist 'I exhort him to confession.'
y-es-če-q’l-q’él-t-m 'I speak of him/it, about it.'
y-es-če-méy’-e-t-m (stress ?) 'I teach him that.'
l s-če-ašm 'there about, near by'.

Some of these directional prefixes cooccur in the same form as in the following examples:
cs-k’wi-n-cún-m-p (-m- ?) 'It is shut.'
es-\textsuperscript{k}i-n-če-p & 'It is open.' \\
čin ei-c-xuy & 'I come back, come again.' \\
čin ei-c-ʔumš & 'I return from finished trip.' \\
t-\textsuperscript{k}i-páx-iš & 'Think before [think ahead]!' \\

5.2. Derivational Suffixes 
5.2.1. -min, -tin, -min-tn 'instrumental' 

-\textsuperscript{min}, -tin, or -min-tn (< -min-tin) 'instrumental' suffixed to a root forms an intransitive stem. Instrumental stems formed with -min usually refer to a tool being used, those with -min-tn to the object of the instrument's use.\textsuperscript{7} However, this distinction is not always clear (D II p. 208).

\begin{align*}
ac-\textsuperscript{mín} & \quad '(It's a) trap.' \\
ac-\textsuperscript{mín-tn} & \quad '(It's a) trap.' \\
in-eʔu-\textsuperscript{mín} & \quad '(It's) what I use to peel.' \\
eʔu-\textsuperscript{mín-tn} & \quad '(They're) the peelings.' \\
šl-\textsuperscript{mín} & \quad 'axe' \\
s-šl-\textsuperscript{mín-tn} & \quad 'ax-\textsuperscript{e} -handle' (D I p. 575) \\
teʔ-\textsuperscript{mín} & \quad 'hammer (person's)' \\
ineʔax-\textsuperscript{mín} & \quad 'my stretcher (what I use)' \\
ineʔax-\textsuperscript{mín-tn} & \quad 'what is used to stretch me' (D I p. 6) \\
qʔu-p-\textsuperscript{tín}, qʔu-p-\textsuperscript{mín-tn} & \quad 'fracture' \\
i-sʔeʔm-\textsuperscript{ín} (< in-sʔeʔm-\textsuperscript{mín}) & \quad 'my food' \\
i-sʔeʔm-\textsuperscript{ín-tn} & \quad 'my food to feed others' \\
qix\textsuperscript{w}-\textsuperscript{mín}, qix\textsuperscript{w}-\textsuperscript{mín-tn} & \quad 'whip' \\
x\textsuperscript{w}-\textsuperscript{mín} & \quad 'shavings' \\
x\textsuperscript{w}-\textsuperscript{mín-tn} & \quad 'jack plane'\textsuperscript{8} \\
*č-\textsuperscript{tč-}\textsuperscript{mín} & \quad 'instrument to brand' \\
*č-\textsuperscript{tč-}\textsuperscript{mín-tn} & \quad 'what is to be branded' \\
č-tx\textsuperscript{w}-\textsuperscript{mín} & \quad 'material (salt) to be added' \\
č-tx\textsuperscript{w}-\textsuperscript{mín-tn} & \quad 'what the material is added to'
\end{align*}
n-ćaw-mn 'prayer'
q̣-min 'horn'
k'w-i-oḫ'-mín , k'w-i-oxt'-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-ı ; čin ac-mín-m 'I use traps.'
y-es-ũ?-mín-m 'I use that to lance.'
y-es-čs-t-mín-m 'I find it good.'
qıl-ac-mín-s (< qıl-ac-mín-s) Louis 'Let it be Louis' trap.'
s-qlew ac-mín-tí-s (< ac-mín-tín-s) 'a beaver's trap'
čyu es-qi?-mín-m ye qi?-mín
'This pen has not been used as yet.'

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

y-es-čs-t-mín-m ıu? n-ćaw-mn
'I am well affected by the prayer (the prayer affects me well).'
y-es-c-q̣'-q̣"u-mín-ı ıu? sewl-k'
'The liquor affects me.' (D II p. 7)
y'es-yaa-mín (stress ?)
'I fear him, am in reserve, not free with him.'

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

čip-tin 'anything used for hunting'
n-čs-tin 'that makes good'
n-čs-tin 'that makes bad (sins)'
n-q̣"l-q̣"el-tn 'word'
n-py-eš-tın 'cause of happiness'
oós-tı-s 'cause of ruin'
u-ıı-pus-čhč-tn 'cause of sorrow'
č-x'uy-tn 'the reason why he goes'
\[\text{č-n-py-els-tn} \quad \text{Č-n-x}^\text{c-x}^\text{c-m-els-tn} \quad \text{(m- ?)} \]

'the reason why he rejoices'  
'the reason why he suffers'  
'the reason of my sorrow'

\[\text{in-č-pu-pus-čm-tn} \quad \text{č-miy-tn} \quad \text{č-?aym-tn} \quad \text{č-lem-tn} \quad \text{č-n-pu-pus-čm-tn} \quad \text{č-x}^\text{x}^\text{uy-tn} \quad \text{č-x}^\text{x}^\text{el-tn} \]

'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'

\[\text{qī-n-mi-p-m-íst-i-s} \quad (\text{qī-n-mi-p-m-íst-tn-s}) \]

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

\[\text{šēy īu? qī-č-mi-tį-s īu? s-k}^\text{k}^\text{im-Įt} \]

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

\[\text{ēye? a-s-c-kį-en šēy īu? a-qī-č-x}^\text{x}^\text{uy-tn č-esulip} \]

'You deserve hell for your sins.'

\[\text{ēye? s-naq}^\text{q}^\text{ım-én šēy īu? č-x}^\text{x}^\text{uy-tn 1 esulip} \]

'The thief deserves to go to hell.'

\[\text{s- } \text{'nominal'} \quad \text{plus n- } \text{'locative' prefixed to an instrumental stem} \]

expresses 'place where' or 'instrument used':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s-n-čaw-mn} & \quad \text{church'} \\
\text{s-n-q}^\text{w}^\text{oiq-tn} & \quad \text{farm'} \\
\text{s-n-qi?-mín-tn} & \quad \text{school'} \\
\text{s-n-sd-lis-tn} & \quad \text{'saw mill'} \\
\text{s-n-yo-yo-t-ǐlš-tn} & \quad \text{'confirmation'} \\
\text{*s-n-ływ-tn} & \quad \text{a ferry'} \\
\text{s-n- elementType}^\text{aq}^\text{m-nn} & \quad \text{'a mill'} \\
\text{s-n-تكلم-min-tn} & \quad \text{'place to lay one in'} \\
\text{s-n-q}^\text{w}^\text{le-p-tn} & \quad \text{'oven'} \\
\text{*s-n-lecu-tn} & \quad \text{'room'} \\
\text{s-n-qm-qm-els-tn} & \quad \text{'meekness'} \\
\text{s-n-mi-p-m-įst-n} & \quad \text{'confessional'}
\end{align*}
\]
5.2.2. -nú 'transitive success'

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

-\text{nú-nú-n} (< k\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-nú-n-t-en) 'I succeed in taking it.'
-\text{nú-nú-n} (< nič-nú-n-t-en) 'I succeed in cutting it.'
-\text{nú-nú-n-t} 'Success in lancing!'
-\text{k\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-nú-n} (< k\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-u\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-nú-n-t-en) 'I succeed in making it.'
-\text{sq-\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-nú-n} (< saq-\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-nú-n-t-en) 'I succeed in splitting it.'
-\text{sq-\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-nú-n-t} 'Succeed in splitting it!'
-\text{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'

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

-\text{čin wič-numt} 'Finally I perceived it.'
-\text{čin x\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-p-numt} 'I succeeded in running away.'
-\text{u ta epı-k\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-mi-p-numt ye we *čš\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-n-čút-i-s, u esiyā? es-q\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-wę-i} 'And there were none of those would be guardians who perceived it; all were drunk.' (Bible p. 36)

5.2.4. -šiš 'indefinite benefactive'

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

-\text{čin es-k\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-u\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-š-i} 'I work for others.'
-\text{čin k\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-u\text{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}}-š-m} 'I work for others.'
5.2.5. -m 'middle'

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

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{čin es-ćěw-s-m} & \quad \text{I wash my face.}' \\
\text{čin es-wźč-m} & \quad \text{I see (something).}' \\
\text{čin es-n-ćęys-m} & \quad \text{I pay for (something).}' \\
\text{y-es-x'1-x'ňilt-m} & \quad \text{I cause/make him to live.}' \\
\text{y-es-c-x'uy-m} & \quad \text{I cause him to come.}' \\
\text{y-es-n-py-ěls-m} & \quad \text{I make him to rejoice.}' \\
\text{qe? sín-ce?-m-ıl-s} & \quad \text{He made us his brothers.}'
\end{align*} \]

with the corresponding continuative intransitives:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{čin es-ćěw-s-i} & \quad \text{My face is washed; I wash my face.}' \\
\text{čin es-wźč-i} & \quad \text{I am seen; I see (something).}' \\
\text{čin es-n-ćęys-i} & \quad \text{I am bought; I buy (something).}' \\
\text{čin es-x'1-x'ňilt-i} & \quad \text{I live.}' \\
\text{čin es-c-x'uy} & \quad \text{I come.}' \\
\text{čin es-n-py-ěls-i} & \quad \text{I rejoice.}' \\
\text{qe? sín-ce?-ı1-s} & \quad \text{We are his brothers.}'
\end{align*} \]

Other examples of -m 'middle' stems:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{čin es-tk'u-m-i} & ; \text{čin es-túk'} & \text{I am lying down.'} \\
\text{čin es-lič-m-i} & ; \text{čin es-lič} & \text{I am being bound.'} \\
\text{čin es-qa'u-m-i} & ; \text{čin es-qa'u} & \text{I am being broken.'} \\
\text{čin es-šńit-m-i} & ; \text{čin es-šńit} & \text{I go ahead.'}
\end{align*} \]
čin ec-?ex'-k"ûn-m ; čin ec-?ex'-k"ûn-i 'I speak so.' (D I p. 108)
čin es-ulí-m
čin es-ul-m-í 'I burn (something); I am burned.'
čin ací-m 'I tied.'
čin **es-čyá-m-i 'I solicit, coax (to evil).' (stress ?)
čin es-a?i-p-m-i 'I run.'
čin es-číp-m-í 'I hunt.'
čin es-šl-í-m 'I die.'
y-es-šlí-m 'I cause him to die.'
čin es-šl-p-m-í 'I stop.'
y-es-šlí-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-xâ-cín-m 'I use that horse.'
čin es-še?-šín-m-í 'I use a shoe.'
čin es-šú?-m 'I wound/lance it.'
y-es-ulí-m 'I burn it.'
y-es-sqé-m 'I split it.'
y-es-šuk'-m 'I bring/carry it.'
y-es-čév-s 'I wash his face.'
y-es-wič-m 'I see it.'
y-es-n-šéys-m 'I pay for it.'
y-es-n-šél-m 'I fear him, am afraid of him.'
y-es-yâlk'-m 'I bend it (making a circle).' *y-es-čští-m 'I guard it.'
y-es-xâq-m 'I pay him (for work or services).'

5.2.6. -ist 'reflexive'

-ist 'reflexive' is added to intransitive or middle forms: 10
čin es-n-mi-p-m-íst-i 'I accuse myself, confess.'
čin kuš-ist 'I make myself.'
čin kuš-ist čin sqólíx' 'I become man (J.C.).'
čin *es-čšt-m-íst-i 'I take care of myself.'
čin es-ʔep-íst-i 'I wipe myself.'
čin es-ʔep-m-íst-i 'I myself wipe something belonging to me.'
čin es-ván-íst-i 'I walk quickly, hasten.'
čin es-qwî-m-íst-i 'I strive, busy myself.'
čin es-tu-m-íst-i 'I buy/sell/trade.' (D I p. 595)
tôye? ū? s-yòq'-ist 'It is bad to tell lies.'
îq'-t-íst-ye? (-ye? ?) 'prostrated' (Bible p. 64)
čin *es-čs-t-m-íst-i 'I force myself, do violence to myself.'
kʷ q-s-n-mi-p-m-íst-i, pen ta a-q-s-n-mi-p-îtûmš 'Accuse yourself, but don't accuse other people.'

(See also 5.3.1.2.)

5.2.7. Intransitive Imperatives

-š or -yš'11 'imperative singular' and -wi 'imperative plural'
are added to roots, statives, and intransitive reflexives:

kʷúl-iš 'Work!'
ilmix'-iš 'Be ye chief!'
ches-t-iš 'Be good!'
?aym-t-š 'Be angry!'
šil-š 'Die!'
ací-yaš 'Tie!'
*pîmî-yaš 'Turn over!'
n-mi-p-m-íst-iš 'Confess!' n-mi-p-m-íst-wi 'Confess ye!'
chez-t-iš ilmix'-š 'Be a good chief!'
chez-t-wi ilmix'-wi 'Be ye good chiefs!'
?uk'-š 'Bring/carry (something)!'
[n-ʔòys-iš 'Buy/pay for (something)!'
wič-iš 'See (something)!'
ulí-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. -lwis 'iterative' (always stressed)

čin es-qi⁻m 'I write/wrote.'
čin es-qi⁻m-lwis-i 'I write often.'
čin es-k'ūl-m 'I made.'
čin es-k'ūl-m-lwis-i 'I make/made often.'
čin es-x'ist 'I walk(ed) off.'
čin es-x'st-lwis-i 'I often walk.'
čin es-čew⁻m 'I washed.'
čin es-čew⁻m-lwis-i 'I often wash.'

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

čin es-tēš-ilš-i 'I rise from sitting position.'
čin es-x'ist-ilš 'I rise from reclining position.'
čin es-šs-šs-m-ilš-i 'I am growing good, perfect.'
čin es-yo-yo-t-ilš-i 'I am growing strong.'
y-es-yo-yo-t-ilš-m 'I make him grow strong.'
čin es-šs-t-ilš-i OR čin es-šs-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-šeš-k'wilš-cut-i 'I practice sorcery (Indian superstitious medicine).'

5.2.8.3. Reduplicative 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-nič 'It is sawed.'
es-nič-č 'It is getting sawed.'
es-šil 'It is chopped.'
es-šil-il 'It is getting chopped.'
šil-il 'It got chopped.'
es-six 'It is poured out.'
six'-x' 'It got poured out.'
es-n-six' 'It is filled (with liquid).'
n-six'-x' 'It got filled.'
es-loc 'It is smashed.'
loc-c 'It got smashed.'
es-x'aq' 'It is ground.'
x'aq'-q' 'It got ground.'
sli-p 'He made a mistake.'
sli-p-p' 'He got into a mistake.'
es-lič 'It is bound.'
lič-c 'It got bound.'
k'cič 'It is falling.'
k'cič-č 'It is going to fall.'
es-k'up 'It is pushed, stirred.'
k'up-p 'It got stirred.'
es-sáx' 'It is being split.'
sáx'-x' 'It got split.'
meš' 'It is being spread.'
meš'-q' 'It got spread, spread itself.'
i-s-x'ič-š 'It is my gift (given by me).'
i-s-x'ič-č-š 'It is my gift (given to me).'
čin es-táq-q-m-i (stress ?)'I am deceived, cheated.'
čin es-wič-č(-i) 'I let myself be seen, can be seen.'
ču? k'č-ečst-n k'ul-İ t s-čewile?
'The rod became a snake.'
ču? mal-t k'ul-İ t sl-aqs
'The dust became mosquitoes.'

5.2.8.4.  ámm 'habitual' (D II p. 6)

čip-ámm 'hunter'
če'ěš-ámm 'bashful one'
či'č-x-ámm 'looker on'
*č'q'-lqs-ámm 'snorer'
x'st-ámm 'walker'
ptax'-m-ámm 'spitter'
?išn-ámm 'eater'
čs-cn-ámm 'bad talker'
sust-ámm 'drunkard'
iq'-ist-ámm 'liar (addicted to tell lies)'

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qωl-lumt-emn (-lumt ?) 'story-teller'

See also the further s- 'nominal' derivation of naqω-emn 'thief' in:

\[\text{ěnu? s-naqω-emn šey? ěnu? c-x'uy-tn 1 esulip} \]
'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. -ěls 'volitive, state/activity of mind' (always stressed)

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

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

(always stressed)
čaw-čaw-m-ūt 'given to praying'
kωl-kωl-m-ūt 'given to working'
qωl-q'it-ūt 'given to talking'
či-čip-ūt 'given to hunting'

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

\begin{align*}
y\text{-}es-k'\text{-}m\text{-}út-m & \quad \text{'I can make that.'} \\
y\text{-}es-ac\text{-}m\text{-}út-m & \quad \text{'I can catch it.'} \\
y\text{-}es-x'\text{aq}\text{-}m\text{-}út-m & \quad \text{'I can grind it.'} \\
x'\text{y}\text{-}út-m & \quad \text{'It can go.'} \\
ta\text{ }s-x'\text{y}\text{-}út-m & \quad \text{'It can't go.'} \\
k'\text{t}\text{-}l\text{-}út-m & \quad \text{'It can be made.'} \\
ta\text{ }s-k'\text{t}\text{-}l\text{-}út-m & \quad \text{'It can't be done.'} \\
uč\text{-}č\text{-}út-m (\textless{} wič\text{-}č\text{-}út-m) & \quad \text{'It is visible.'} \\
lč\text{-}č\text{-}út-m & \quad \text{'It can be bound.'} \\
mus-sl\text{-}út-m & \quad \text{'He can be trusted.'} \\
ta\text{ }s-syen\text{-}út-m & \quad \text{'It can't be counted.'} \\
\end{align*}

But, cf. also:

\begin{align*}
lk'\text{-}út & \quad \text{'far'} \\
tk'\text{-}út\text{-}i & \quad \text{'march, walk'} \\
iq'\text{-}út & \quad \text{'He was lying there.'} \\
iś\text{-}út & \quad \text{'under'} \\
\'px'\text{-}út & \quad \text{'old'} \\
\end{align*}

5.3. **Multiple Derivations**

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

5.3.1. Detransitivized Stems

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

?acx-n-cút-n 'looker on (one who looks)'
k‘în-cut-n 'God, maker by himself'
xml-enč-n-cút-n 'lover'
?ep-n-cút-n 'cleanser'
*čst-n-cut-n 'guardian'
**qap-n-cút-n 'friend to death'
in-q‘eit-t-n-cút-n 'He that carries me.'
n-q‘âm-m-n-cut-n 'who has pity'

n-k‘n-cin-cút-i-s t k‘în-cut-n
'He that sings the praises of God.'

k‘u n-k‘n-cin-cút-i-s t Marie
'I sing the praises of Mary.'  (D I p. 423)

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

* -n-t-(é)m
* -s-t-(é)m
-š(i)-t-m
-št-(é)m

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

y-es-n-?éy-î-t-m 'I pay him his...'
y-es-k‘ûl-î-t-m 'I make his...(something belonging to him).'
y-es-?âk‘î-î-t-m 'I carry his...'
*y-es-čșt-î-t-ém 'I guard his...'
y-es-sq-î-t-ém 'I split his...'
y-es-tu?-î-t-ém 'I sting his...'
y-es-šu?-âq-î-t-m 'I sting the nose of his...'
y-es-šu?-eč-î-t-m 'I wound the hand of his...'
y-es-k‘ûl-ś-î-t-m 'I do it for him, help him doing it.'
y-es-čaw-ś-t-m 'I pray for him in his stead.'
y-es-šl-šî-î-t-m 'I die for him in his stead.'
y-es-n-żey-š-t-m 'I pay for him, help him paying.'
y-es-mi-mi-ší-t-m 'I tell him news.'
y-es-sq-ší-t-m 'I split for him (help him splitting).'  
y-es-iu?-ší-t-m 'I lance for him.'

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

-ñú-n-tem -ñú-n-m
y-es-kñ-n-ñú-n-m 'I succeed in taking it.'
y-es-mi-p-ñú-n-m 'I succeed in knowing it.'
y-es-šú?-ñú-n-m 'I succeed in lanceing it.'
y-es-sq-šq-ñú-n-m 'I succeed in splitting it.'
y-es-šú?ñ-ñú-n-m 'I succeed in making it.'

5.3.2. Transitivized Stems

Middle and intransitive stems (bases with intransitive derivation-al suffixes) can be "transitivized" by attaching the transitive suffixes (-n-t, -s-t, -ši-t, -i-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-żeys-m-n 'I use it to pay, to buy.'
n-żeys-m-n-t 'Use it to pay, to buy.'
n-çe¿-cin-m-n 'I receive it in Holy Communion.'
aq'ñ-m-n Pierre 'I stole Peter; I stole from Peter.'
šú?-çeš-m-n 'I wound my hand with it.'
citx'-m-n ci citx' 'I used that house.'
sic-m-n ci sic-m 'I used that blanket.'
x'olq'-m-n ci x'olq' 'I use that wagon.'
šú? qepc u č-x'uy-m-n-cí-n 'in spring when I paid you a visit.'
n-ʔe?-cín-m-n-t-x" 'I buy it for others.'
naq"-š-m-n "I stole Peter from others (from his masters)."

"Keep your eyes on your blanket lest it be stolen.'
naq"-m-n-t-úm t ttwit

'Where is my tobacco? It has been stolen by a boy.'

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

n-ʔe?-š-m-n (-intran. benefactive-middle-transitive first p. sg.)
'I buy it for others.'
n-ʔe?-š-m-n-t 'Buy it for others.'
naq"-š-m-n Pierre 'I stole Peter from others (from his masters).'

"I do it for others.'
sq-šiš-m-n 'I split it for others.'
iu?-šiš-m-n 'I lance it for others.'
k’u n-k’i-n-ʔaxl-éls-m-n-t-x" (-volitive-middle-tran-tran-you)
'I think the same as you do.'

n-k’i-n-ʔaxl-éls-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.'

Instrumental intransitive stems are frequently transitivized:

k’u-l-m-n (< k’u-l-min-n-t-en) 'I did use it.'
ac-mí-n (< ac-mín-n-t-en) 'I use it to tie.'

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\(\chi s-t-mi-n\) (\(\chi es-t-m\text{-}m-n-t-en\))  'I find it good.'
\(n\)-?eys-m-n (\(n\)-?eys-m\text{-}m-n-t-en)  'I use it to pay, to buy.'
\(n\)-?eys-m-n-\(t\)  'Use it to pay, to buy.'
\(k'u\ mo?e?-\text{m}i-n-t-m\)  'Someone has refused me.'
\(\text{iu}?-\text{m}i-n\) (\(\text{iu}?-\text{m}i-n-t-en\))  'I use that to lance.'

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

\(\chi s-t-m\text{-}m-n\)  'I find it good.'
\(q\i?\)-\(m\in\)-\(n\)  'I use that pen, paper.'
\(ac-m\in\)-\(m-n\)  'I use it to tie.'
\(\text{iu}?-\text{m}i-n\)-\(n\)  'I use that to lance.'
\(\text{iu}?-\text{m}i-n-m-t-n\)  'I use his...to lance.'

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

Other "transitivized" intransitive stems are:

\(yo-yo-t-\text{il}n\)-\(s-t-n\) (\(yo-yo-t-\text{il}n-s-t-en\))  'I make him grow strong.'
\(n\)-py-\(e\)-\(s-t-n\) (\(n\)-py-\(e\)-\(s-t-en\))  'I make him to rejoice.'

(See also 5.1.2. epi-.)
FOOTNOTES

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

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

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

4 Some forms which translate with 'have' in English do not have epi-:

čin k"tn-eixu 'I have a big house.'
čin suyap-sqáxe? 'I have an American horse.'
čin q"áy-alqs 'I have a black dress.'

5 -enč? Related to -enč?

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

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

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

9 Vogt also mentions s- or sən- cooccurring with -ten 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'
12. Why did e (čew-s) → a in this form?

13. The distribution of these two allomorphs is not understood. Vogt notes that the suffix -ilš is "most often in the form -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-kʷi-pax-m-út-i 'I can think, am capable of reflection.'
ta s-kʷi-pax-m-út 'He can not think, has not the use of reason.' (D I p. 451)

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

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

6.1. Compounds

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

čin es-p’aw-s-?itš-i (p’aw 'enough' - ?itš 'sleep')
'I don't care to sleep.'
čin es-p’aw-s-?iin-i (p’aw 'enough' - ?iin 'eat')
'I don't care to eat.'
x'uy-cú-n-t (x'uy 'go' - cu(n) 'say')
'Go and tell him!'
še?-cú-n-t (še? 'look for' - cu(n) 'say')
'Look for him and tell him!'
čin tix'-i-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.

k’ui' 'work, do, make'
čin es-k’ui'-i-ilmix’ (ilmix’ 'chief') 'I am acting as chief.'
y-es-k’ui'-i-ilmix’-m OR k’ui'-i-ilmix’-m-n 'I treat him as chief.'
čin es-k’ui'-i-þx’-út-i (þx’-út 'old, parent') 'I act as a parent.'
y-es-k’ui'-i-þx’-út-m OR k’ui'-þx’-út-m-n 'I treat him as a parent.'
I got a child.

'I treat him as a child.'

'I act the poor.'

'I treat him as poor.'

'I act as God.'

'Cf. also: 'his bad ways'
k'tun 'big, great' (Note that unstressed u is deleted, and that
n → i before -s- or -q-.)

k'ti-s-m?ó́t (m?ot 'smoke') 'big smoke'
k'ti-s-p?ús (p?ús 'heart') 'big heart'
k'ti-s-qélć (qélć 'body') 'big body'
k'ti-s-k'ís-k's (k'ís 'hen') 'turkey'
k'ti-s-psay-é?2 (psay-é? 'fool') 'a great fool'
k'ti-i-qp-éice? (qp-éice? 'plate') 'big plate'
k'ti-i-š?it (š?it 'first') 'by far the first'
k'ti-i-px-páx-t (px 'wise') 'by far the wisest'
k'ti-i-ñès-t (ñès 'good') 'by far the best'

*mi 'worthy, excellent, true' (D II p. 422)
*s-mi-i-1?éw (1?éw 'father') 'worthy father'
*s-mi-i-px'-út (px'-út 'old') 'worthy parent'
*s-mi-s-k'uy (k'uy 'mother') 'worthy mother'
*s-mi-s-k'l-n-cút-n (k'l-n-cut-n 'God') 'true God'
*s-mi-s-px-páx-t (px 'wise') 'true sage'
*s-mi-i-ñx'-cín (ñx'-cin 'horse') 'excellent horse'

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

sqm-sqélíx' (sqélíx' 'man') 'worthless man'

sqm-i-č-naqs (č-naqs 'one person') 'worthless fellow'

sqm-s-m?em (m?em 'woman') 'false woman'

sqm-i-ñx'-cin (ñx'-cin 'horse') 'worthless horse'

sqm-i-mi-n-cút-n (mi-n-cut-n 'one who knows') 'false teacher'

**ší?s 'instead of'

iu? či **q-s-ší?s-çaw-i [çaw 'pray'], ċn ?itš
'Instead of praying, I slept.'

iu? ne **q-s-ší?s-x?en-t-éx' [x?en 'forbid'] k'émt tí ci? u n-awqn-t-x' 'Instead of checking him, you encourage him.'

iu? qa? **q-s-ší?s-?áym-t-m-n-t-m [?áym 'mad, angry'], m qe? çaw-š-t-m
'Instead of getting mad at him, we should pray for him.'
J.C. left the priests to hold his place.

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.

-alqs 'clothing, shirt, dress'

siq-alqs 'new dress'  q'ay-alqs 'black gown, priest'
piq-alqs 'white gown'  či-qltč-alq 'overcoats'
kwi-iš-t-álqs 'underwear'  s-šsp-alq 'old clothes'
sot-alqs 'knitted shirt'  xš-alq 'plenty of clothing'
čm-p-alq 'hem of a garment'  xš-alq 'good dress'
čin es-tw-álq 'I buy a shirt.'
čin s-qltmix-alq 'I dress as (like) a man.'
čin m'em-álq 'I dress as a woman.'
čin suyap-álq 'I dress as an American.'
-âlq' "cylindrical object"

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Àic-âlq}' & \text{ 'hard wood'} \\
\text{xam-âlq}' & \text{ 'dry wood'} \\
\text{**essalq-âlq}' & \text{ 'crooked wood'} \\
y-es-\text{č-tm-âlq}'-m & \text{ 'I kiss the cross (the wood).'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

-aîq 'smell, grain, fruit, spouse'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čs-aîq}' & \text{ 'good smell'} \\
\text{čs-aîq}' & \text{ 'bad smell'} \\
\text{x'1-aîq}' & \text{ 'who is divorced' (D I p. 176)} \\
\text{k'1'-l-aîq}' & \text{ 'His seed is coming out.' (D I p. 176)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

-aqs 'road; nose; food; point'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nk}'-\text{aqs}' & \text{ 'one road'} \\
\text{lk}'-\text{ut-áqs}' & \text{ 'distant road'} \\
\text{n-sul-áqs}' & \text{ 'frozen road'} \\
\text{n-tx}'-\text{áqs}' & \text{ 'straight road'} \\
\text{n-?asl-áqs}' & \text{ 'two roads'} \\
\text{n-k'tn-áqs}' & \text{ 'large road'} \\
\text{n-čm-áqs}' & \text{ 'point of knife'} \\
\text{sk}'-\text{áqs}' & \text{ 'swollen nose'} \\
\text{y-es-\text{iu?-áqs-m}' & \text{ 'I sting his nose.'} \\
\text{n-x'k'-po?-áqs}' (po? s ?) & \text{ 'forking road'} \\
\text{**čn-qaw-áqs'} & \text{ 'some, several' (?)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

-aqsm'7 'species, kind'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{es-n-iyá?-qsm'} & \text{ 'all kinds'} \\
\text{n-k'tn-áqsm'} & \text{ 'dear (expensive)'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

-aqsus'8 'band, family'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{če?i-aqsús}' & \text{ 'three families'} \\
\text{nk}'-\text{aqsús}' & \text{ 'one family'} \\
\text{?upn-aqsús}' & \text{ 'ten families'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xs-asqt}' & \text{ 'good day/weather'} \\
\text{č-\text{xs-asqt}' & \text{ 'clear sky'} \\
\text{č-\text{?axl-ásqt}' & \text{ 'sky-like'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čs-asqt}' & \text{ 'bad day/weather'} \\
\text{s-č-\text{cm-asqt}' & \text{ 'sky, heaven'} \\
\text{**čhans-p-ásqt' & \text{ 'cloudy sky'}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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-aṣn  'arm'

q'-aṣn  'broken arm'  wis-ṣn-āṣn  'long arm'
sk'-aṣn  'swollen arm'  ča?1-āṣn  'sore arm'
čm-āṣn  'last (in the row)'

iu? 1 s-čm-āṣn  'at the last end, in the extreme'

-āx'cč  'chest, breast'

č-ča?1-āx'cč  'sore breast'  pʰ-āx'cč  'bare-breasted'

-cin  'mouth, word, food'

n-qʷn-qʷ-cin  'poor speaker'  s-n-ʔe?-cín  'Holy Communion'
s-up-cín  'beard'  **n-peʔxʷ-cín  'fair face'
shoy-cín  'end of speech'  nkʷ-cin  'one word'
čsi-p-cín  'one out of provisions' (D I p. 648)

y-es-n-ʔe?-cín-m  'I give Holy Com. to him. OR I receive H. C.'
y-es-pʔaw-cín-m OR pʔaw-cín-m-n  'I speak disrespectfully to him.'

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

s-čćh-ččš  'right hand'  s-tum-ččš  'thumb'
iyús-ččš  'dirty hand'  ʔqʷ-ečš  'contracted hand'
qʷ-ʔin-ččš  'finger-nails'  n-čkʷ-ččš  'walking cane'
s-č-čł-ččš  'branches'  č-ʔqʷ-ččš  'broken branches'
s-ioxʷ-čn-ččš  'wound in hand'
s-kʷiyalkʷ-cn-ččš  'bracelets'
mus-ččš  'who hopes to succeed (does his best)'

y-es-iů?-ečš-m  'I sting his hand; I wound my hand with it.'
y-es-ʔm-áčš-m  'I kiss his hand.'
čin  es-xʷeʔl-ččš-i  'I work quickly, hasten.'

-eće?  'the whole; inside of anything'

n-χs-eće?  'all good inside'  n-iš-ut-eće?  'down inside'

n-qʷč-eće?  'full person'  n-kʷtn-eće?  'big gun, cannon'
n-xʷkʷu-će?  'clean inside, clean vessel'
čin  n-mál-će? (?!)  'I am all dirty inside.'
-élix‘ ‘tribe, people’

nk‘élix‘ ‘one tribe’
esiyà?-élix‘ ‘all nations’
s-nk‘élix‘ ‘compatriot (of the same tribe)’

-elp ‘floor’

*s-s-élp-t-n ‘a broom (to sweep inside the house)’
tk‘-k‘-élp (< tk‘-k‘-élp) ‘camp’

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

**c-yul-élps ‘thick-necked’
s-çxil-élps (< s-çxíl-elps) ‘gray (necked) horse’
Cf. also: s-ç1-éps ‘neck-kerchief’?

-elst ‘front’; *miit-élst ‘the presence, front part of a person’
i-s-miit-xm-éls ‘my presence’
s-miit-xm-éls-c ‘his presence’
iu? l s-miit-xm-éls ‘before someone’

-elt ‘child, young one’

?ox‘t-élt ‘baby’
s-ç?élt ‘nephew’
*s-k‘um-élt ‘pure virgin’
s-çw-élt ‘orphan’
sic-lt ‘new-born child’
s-thç?-élt ‘daughter’
šutht-élt ‘little daughter’
s-k‘-k‘im-1t ‘baby, boy, girl’
č-iaq‘-cé?-lt (stress ?) ‘chicks coming out of the shell’
(D I p. 352)

-eit ‘luck’

čin ix‘p-eit ‘I had the luck to escape.’ (D II p. 232)

-eix‘ ‘house, skin, cloth, cover’
s-1k‘eix‘ ‘log house’
č?élx‘ ‘three houses/rooms’
štn-eix‘ ‘big house’
š-eix‘ ‘bad house’
s-pum-éix‘ ‘hairy skin’
q‘ay-éix‘ ‘black cloth’

**x‘-x‘al-éix‘ ‘sheep’s skin’
s-néč-če?-ix‘ ‘elk’s skin’
čin x‘če-eix‘ ‘I give a house.’
čm-p-eix‘ ‘rear of the house’
nk'u-eix' 'one (another) house (room)'
-emx' 'breast'
\( \text{ča}1\-\text{emx}' 'a sore breast' \), \( \text{t}k\'-\text{emx}' 'put on the breast' \\
mal-\text{emx}' 'healed breast'
\( \text{s}\-q'-q'\-\text{emx}' 'cow-milked, milk' (D I p. 282)

-\text{enč} 'insides, stomach'
\( \text{q}x\'-p\-\text{enč} 'costive' \), \( \check{\text{č}}\-\text{ca}1\-\text{enč} 'belly-ache' \\
\text{-ene}? 'ear; food' (či-\text{-ene}? 'all over')
\( \text{s}\-\text{ččik}'-\text{ene}? 'left ear' \\
č-x'\text{t-ene}? 'cropped ear' \\
es-tq-\text{ene}? 'deaf in one ear' \\
n-\text{xs-ene}? 'willing to hear' \\
nunmx'-\text{ene}? 'believes what he hears' \\
x'\text{um-m-ene}? 'desirable food' \\
i-s-x'\check{\text{č}}\-n-\text{ene}? (-n- ?) 'food given to me' \\
iq'-\text{ene}? 'He hides provisions.'
\( \text{čs-p-ene}? 'one out of provisions' (D I p. 640)
\check{\text{č}}\text{in} x'\text{t}-\text{n-ene}? (-n- ?) 'I give provisions.'
\check{\text{č}}\text{in} es-tq-\text{ene}?-i 'I hold by laying hands on.'
\check{\text{č}}\text{i-aw-p-ene}? 'wet all over'
\check{\text{č}}\text{i-ilx'-ene}? 'covered all over'
\check{\text{č}}\text{i-štali-p-ene}? 'I am fallen upon by the morning light. The morning light falls upon me.' (D II p. 135)

-\text{ep} 'hair; foot (tree, door), helm of boat' (n- \text{-ep} 'food; back of a person) (\( \check{\text{k}}\text{i-n- -ep 'door'} \\
\text{n}k'-\text{ep} 'one hair' \), \( \check{\text{esl}}\-\text{ep} 'two hairs' \\
*\text{čt-ep} 'cut logs' \), \( \text{s}3\text{m-ep} 'foot of a tree' \\
n\-twin-\text{ep} 'lacking food' \), \( **\text{n-aǐq-ep} 'plenty of food' \\
\check{\text{č}}\text{-n-?ačx-ep} 'looked at from behind'
\( \text{sx}'\text{tx}'-\text{m-ep} (-m- ?) 'helms-man, pilot' \\
?\text{emt-ep} 'Indian goddess, dwelling at the foot' (D II p. 116)
\( \check{\text{k}}\text{i-n-\text{x}c-ep} 'passing by the door' \\

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**č-č-s-wiš-ép** 'standing by the door'
čin es-kʷi-n-kʰl-ép-i 'I shut the door of the lodge (tent).'
čin es-kʷi-n-šn-ép-i 'I shut the wooden door.'
čin es-kʷi-n-čn-m-áp-i 'I lock the door.'
čin es-kʷi-n-čeh-ép-i 'I open the door of the lodge.'
čin es-kʷi-n-čehkʷ-ép-i 'I unlock and open the door.'
čin es-kʷi-n-māw-p-i 'I break a door open (breaking the hinges).'

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

-éple? 'handle' (č-éple? 'authority, boss') (D II p. 201)
q̣u-p-éple? 'the handle broke'
**qs-éple?** 'the broken handle'
č-česl-éple? 'He has two masters.'
č-čačx-éple? 'He is looked for by superiors.'
č-kʷulst-éple? 'He is sent by a superior.'
č-če'n-éple? 'forbidden by boss'
č-tm-éple? 'orphan (without boss)'

-epi 'lower part of the back, buttocks'
sŋ-cǐp-m 'whipped on the back' (D II p. 22)
įu?-ćǐp-m 'wounded on the back'

-essn 'stone, grain, kernel'
nkʷ-essn 'one stone/grain'
kʷtn-essn 'big stone'
χs-essn 'beautiful stone'
χʷy-essn 'sharp-pointed stone'

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

-ekt'w (-k') 'water'
s-χs-ekt'w 'broth'
n-siš-k'w 'pure water'
s-xʷum-kt'w 'ice'
n-čal-átk'w 'cold water'
n-mal-k'w 'troubled water'
či-p'?os-átk'w 'foam'
i 'calm water'  n-k'il-k 'red water (wine)'
n-xal-k 'clear water'  ?ocq?-étk 'spring of water'
**s-č-tč-étk 'a skin raft'
s-ič-étk 'broad water (Flathead Lake)'
s-λx-étk 'fast water (Spokane Falls)'
-ewi (-ui) 'boat'
  nk'-ewi 'one boat'  čeʔi-ewi 'three boats'
s-qsq-ewi 'old boat'  čs-ewi 'bad boat'
sic-uł 'new boat'  s-lč-ewi 'wooden raft'
č-s-tem-ewi 'without boat'
-ews 'back; fellow, partner' (n- ews 'between, among, in common')
  es-čaʔ1-ews 'sore back'  č-k'tn-ews 'big belly'
č-sk'ews 'swollen belly'  es-ac-ews 'tied together'
n-sews 'bad among the good'
n-x'st-ews 'walks among others'
y-es-čic-ews-m 'I bore it through.' (D II p. 398)
y-es-nšist-ews-m 'I pass through a city.'
y-es-ntk'-ews-m 'I place it in common.'
n-tk'-ews-n in? č'olq 'I gave the wagons in common.'
qe? es-xm-enč-ews-i 'We love one another.'
-ewt 'together' (also -ewt ?)
  ?ay-ewt 'live together'
  qe? ?ay-ewt-i 'We live together.'
  tpy-ewt 'stand together'
  qe? tpy-ewt 'We stand together.'
  qamm-ewt 'lay down together'
  qe? qamm-ewt 'We lay down together.'
  ?ec-ewt 'last one'
  i-mq'-ewt 'hillock' (a hillock in a group ?)
*'-őye 'feign, simulate'
čin es-čaʔ-čaʔ1-őye 'I play sick.'
čin es-čq'-q'-aq'-őye 'I feign to weep.'
čin es-ʔitʔ-ʔitsʔ-ēyē' 'I feign to sleep.' (D I p. 244)

-ēys 'rain, snow' (n- -ēys 'tooth')

s-ʔiw-ēys 'little rain' kʷʔtn-ēys 'large flakes'
s-ʔi-p-ēys 'rain' es-ʔi-p-ēys-i 'It rains.'
n-ʔs-ēys 'good tooth' n-ʔs-ēys 'bad tooth'
n-ʔcaʔl-ēys 'tooth-ache' n-ʔu-p-ēys 'broken tooth'
n-ʔixʷ-ēys 'hollow tooth'

-iceʔ 'cover, blanket' (c- -iceʔ 'all around')

s-ʔqsp-iceʔ 'old blanket' s-kʷil-iceʔ 'red blanket'
kʷtn-iceʔ 'large robe' ġs-iceʔ 'bad cot/blanket'
č-aw-p-iceʔ 'wet all around' č-qʷh-qʷh-iceʔ 'poorly clad'
č-ʔpxʷ-iceʔ 'shining all around'

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

es-n-māʷ-icn 'hump-backed' n-ʔemt-icn 'sit on the back'
n-ʔkʷ-icn 'placed on the back'

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

čin es-ʔil-m-i² 'I throw arrows by the hand.'

-lscut 'goods'

xš-lscut 'good goods' os-lscút 'lost goods'
s-tq-lscut 'goods' s-qamm-lscút 'goods, pl.'
s-tmʷ-lscut 'what kind of goods'

-lniʔt 'side (person, road)'

s-ʔoxʷ-lniʔt 'side-wound' s-n-ʔcm-lniʔt 'loins, sides'

-iʔiʔt (-iʔiʔt) 'shoulder; covering'

s-n-ʔcm-iʔiʔt 'shoulder blade' n-ʔiqʷ-ʔiʔiʔt 'suspenders'
s-n-ʔc-iʔiʔt 'clothes, coat' n-ʔlot-iʔiʔt 'shovel'
*s-n-ʔcm-iʔiʔt (-i- ?) 'top of shoulder'

čin es-n-ʔc-iʔiʔt-i 'I carry a piece of wood on the shoulder.'
čin es-n-ʔkʷ-iʔiʔt-i 'I carry something on the shoulder.'
-itumš  'people'

sxw'-k'-itumš (< sxw'-kul-itumš)  'messenger (sent)'
sxw'-su-itumš (< sxw'-sew-itumš)  'messenger (asking)'
s-xw'l-x'ilt-itumš  'saving of people'
čin es-čalt-itumš-i  'I ask for people.'
čin es-n-qh'-itumš-i  'I pity people.'

-nuxw  'weather'

k'l-k'l-nuxw  'sunny weather'
xs-nuxw  'good weather'
**cmp-nuxw  'cloudy weather'
ča?l-tm-nuxw  'cold weather'
či?-nuxw (< čen-nuxw)  'what kind of weather'

-qin  'head, hundred'  (č- -qin 'mountain'; n- -qin 'voice')
nw'-qin  'one hundred'
š-coh-qin  'brain'
qw'ac-qin  'hat, cap'
n-tx'-qin  'mid-day'
č-pax'-qin  'shining head'
es-Čm-p-qin  'got blind'
?amót-qn (< ?emut-qin)  'old Indian god (dwelling at the top)'
(D I p. 116)
y-es-šop-qn-m  'I bend it over (as the head of a tree).'
č-k'ton-qn  'big mountain'
č?amót-qn  'dweller on the mountain'

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

**-sčint  'person, people'

**syaw-sčint  'patient people'
yo-yo-sčint  'powerful men'
s-xw'ye?-sčint  'ant-people (Blackfeet)'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-lq-etk’-m-sčint</td>
<td>'people from the foot of Flathead Lake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-snux’</td>
<td>'worthy of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lm-lem-snx’</td>
<td>'worthy of being liked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ča-čš-snux’</td>
<td>'worthy of hatred'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?am-?am-snux’ (aym-aym-snux’)</td>
<td>'worthy of anger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-χ1-χ1-snux’</td>
<td>'inspiring fear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-χm-χm-čńč-snux’</td>
<td>'lovely, that desires to be loved'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sqāxe?</td>
<td>'cattle, beast, horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’t-sqāxe?</td>
<td>'big horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>px’-t-sqāxe? (px’-ut-sqāxe?)</td>
<td>'old horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-tk’-či?-sqāxe?-tn</td>
<td>'saddle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-n-tpy-čwt-sqāxe?-tn</td>
<td>'stable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin **es-k’-sqāxe?</td>
<td>'I go to buy a horse.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin x’č-sqāxe?</td>
<td>'I give a horse.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-šin</td>
<td>'foot, leg, root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q’1-sšin</td>
<td>'ripe roots'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-n-q’uš-šn</td>
<td>'stockings'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t?umnéľ-šn</td>
<td>'wild goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q?u-sšin</td>
<td>'broken leg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ix’-šin</td>
<td>'foot-wound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wis-šn</td>
<td>'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-n-ipx’-šin</td>
<td>'nail foot-wound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-qs-p-če?-ššin</td>
<td>'old shoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-úle?x’</td>
<td>'land, place; times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χám-le?x’</td>
<td>'dry place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěć-le?x’</td>
<td>'hard place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čs-úle?x’</td>
<td>'bad country'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q’in-le?x’</td>
<td>'green fields'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tí?m-le?x’</td>
<td>'moist soil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-hóy-le?x’</td>
<td>'deserted place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χ?-úle?x’</td>
<td>'rattlesnake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ěći-úle?x’</td>
<td>'three times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>míš-le?x’</td>
<td>'four times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čl-čst-úle?x’</td>
<td>'five times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čs-úle?x’-tn</td>
<td>'a broom (to sweep outside the house)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-us</td>
<td>'face, eye, neck; fire; family; times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čs-us</td>
<td>'ugly face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x’em-ús</td>
<td>'red-painted face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-č-k’tn-us</td>
<td>'big fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-n-čic-n-ús (-n ?)</td>
<td>'beginning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-ča?l-ús</td>
<td>'sore neck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č-ča?-ča?l-ús</td>
<td>'sore eyes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nk'us 'one band, family'
cil-čst-ús 'five times'
če?-če?i-ús 'three times'
či-k'k'ím-ús 'small star'
si-sy-ús 'small star'
n-qlx'-us 'hooked in one eye'
čin *čam-ús
'y-es-n-x'č-š-ús-m (-š- ?) 'I pay it for debts by giving the equivalent.'
y-es-šlč-ús-i 'I return, go back before reaching.'
čin es-ta?x'-l-ús(-i) (-l- ?) 'I advance, proceed.'
y-es-x'y-ús-m ūu? i-s-q'sé? 'I came with my son.'
y-es-x'v-p-ús-m 'I run away with her.'
n-?uix'-ús-n 'I went in with him; I brought him in.'

-útya?, -útye? '?'

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

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

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

i-k'k'ýum-aposqn 'small-mouthed'
sk'-aposqn 'swelled mouth, lips'
čam-aposqn 'dry throat' (D I p. 143)
ču?-aposqn 'stung in the lips'
táx-aposqn 'bitter mouth'

cnetk' (< -cin-étk') 'shore'

táq-lš-cnetk' 'sitting on the shore'
-čneixʷ (< -ičn-eixʷ) 'front of the house'
  es-čm-t-čneixʷ (-t- ?) 'standing outside'
  čm-čneixʷ 'yard in front of the house'
  ṭpy-čwť-čneixʷ 'those standing outside'
  xʷst-čneixʷ 'passing before the house'
-qnel (< -qin-čl) 'shot, bite'
  nkʷ-qnel 'one shot'
  n-ʔasl-qnel 'two shots'
  n-χs-qnel 'good bite'
-usqn (< -ús-qin) 'top of head'
  piq-úsqn 'white on top of head'
  **es-n-ayl-úsqn 'his head-top is shaved' (D I p. 15)

6.2.2. Lexical Prefixes

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

*qeʔi- 'offspring, child'
  qeʔi-David 'son of David'
  **qeʔi-xʷ1-xʷá1 'lamb'
  qeʔi-kʷ1-n-cút-n 'son of God'

puʔ- 'spouse'
  puʔ-sqélixʷ 'wife/husband of an Indian'
  puʔ-suyápi 'wife/husband of a whiteman'
  puʔ-Paul 'Paul's wife'
  puʔ-Marie 'Mary's husband'
  kʷ puʔ-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-ʔałx-m 'spectator'
  sxʷ-kʷul-m 'workman'
  sxʷ-kʷne-m 'policeman'
  sxʷ-pxʷom-m 'distributor'

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| sx⁻³-lič⁻²-m | 'sheriff' | sx⁻³-caw⁻²-m | 'prayer leader' |
|sx⁻³-čx⁻³-lem | 'charged to watch' | sx⁻³-tu⁻³-ist | 'trader' |
|sx⁻³-tq⁻³-u⁻³-m | 'tailor' | sx⁻³-qaq | 'paymaster' |
i-sx⁻³-člip | 'my folks out hunting' |
sx⁻³-sk⁻³-em, sx⁻³-sax⁻³-m | 'wood-splitter' |
i-sx⁻³-naq⁻³ | 'my companion in stealing' |
i-sx⁻³-λil | 'my dead companion' |
sx⁻³-six⁻³-lt | 'my born fellow, my child' |
i-sx⁻³-čuv | 'my absent partner' |
i-sx⁻³-s-m⁷-em (s⁻²-?) | 'my sister' |

(Cf. also i-sx⁻³-six⁻³-lt 'my born fellow, my child'; i-s-nx⁻³-six⁻³
'my fellow born, brother or sister'.)
FOOTNOTES

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

4 Cf. Colville xatma?sqilxʷ.

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

6 Comparative evidence (see Colville) suggests that īšut is segmentable (< 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 1kʷ-ut-aqs, ḡxʷ-t-sqáxeʔ below.)

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

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

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

10 Cf. also n-qʷoy-kʷ (Tony Incashola).

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

12 -il appears to be a root here.

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

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

The Colville cognate _Sim_ suggests that a is the vocalization of _;_ the _ remains unexplained.

If _s núx_ (s-núx?) is a root, then these forms are compounds.

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

Cf. Vogt’s _-apqen_ 'top of head'.

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

**_íaq-álqs_ 'who has plenty of cloth'

**_íaq-éix_ 'who has plenty of lumber'

**_n-íaq-ép_ 'who has plenty of food'

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

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

Carlson lists _sám_ - 'poor little' and _puʔ_ - 'spouse' as lexical prefixes (1972, p. 100).
7. PARTICLES

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

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

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

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

7.1. Clause Particles

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

7.1.1. Interrogative \underline{ha}, \underline{uc}

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

\[
\begin{align*}
ha \ nom \ x^uy & \quad \text{'Will you go?'}
\end{align*}
\]
'Did you not pray?'
'Shall you perhaps go?'
'Should I drive him for you?'
'And did you not go?'
'The father calls for me. Is it Joseph?'

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

'Is it that I should die?'
'Who knows if I will be alive?'
'Will you go? Who knows.'
'They looked at him, whether he would cure him.' (D I p. 616)
'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:

'I will start for my trip.'
'One will be chief.'
'One will be angry.'
'Perhaps I will follow thee.'
'I shall have pity on thee.'
'When will you go hunting?'
'On some near place we will camp.'
'Forever we shall rejoice in heaven.'

7.1.3. Desiderative k'\text{mi}? 

k'\text{mi}? 'would that!' marks the clause it introduces as desiderative.
Would to God that I would amend myself.

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

7.1.4. Apodotic k'ne

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

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

k'w iu? 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'w a (< k'ne ha):

k'w a u čin x'uy 'Should I go?'

k'w ta maly-ém-n-c-n (-ém ?) k'w a u k'w x'w1-x'wil't
'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"il-m-íst, u ta s-1k"-n-t-én
'Though I did my best, I could not succeed.'

č-šn-t-ex' ?em we č'1 s-te emple iu? t k"il't 'Thou didst follow him, while the others deserted him.' (D II p. 440)

we y-es-k"uil-m 'Though I made it; I made it indeed.'

we k"uil-n 'Though I had made it.'

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

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

we čin q"il-q'elt, ta s-séw-ne?
'Though I spoke, he did not mind.'
And there a big fish came towards the shore, as if he wished to bite the young man. (Bible p. 32)

'The multitude of my sins surpasses even the number of my hair.'

'Though I am praying, my older brother called me.'

7.1.6. Conjoining 

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

'And why then did you insult me by your words?'

'And I, am I then your enemy?'

'But you have kept the best wine until now.' (Bible p. 52)
lcyesto es-č-xʷʔ-us u łaux'w

'He left them hanging until evening.'

tl s-kʷo-k's-t u łaux'w u čin člip

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

itu? tl šeyʔ u čin čaʔ, ta y-es-χ-s-t-ilš u yetl̓x̓ʷá

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

ta i-sʔítš u ʔalí-p 'I did not sleep until daylight.'

ta s-q'Í-q'elt u ʔil̓ 'He did not speak up to his death.'
i t̓n̓us u kʷ esʔáym-t-i 'Why did you get angry for no reason.'
qe? es-mi-s-t-́m u t̓eyeʔ ye s-qlt̓mix

'We know that this man is bad.'

xʷI i-s-c-pu-pus-č̓č̓ u čin čqʷ-aq'

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

nkʷu? u nkʷu? 'one by one (things)'

ʔesél u ʔesél 'two by two (things)'

č-ʔesél u ʔč-ʔesél 'two by two (persons)'

7.1.7. Other Clause Particles

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

tew 'while'

tew 1 ciʔ? itu? 1 esʔey-m-́w̵s **es-člc̓ín-m-s-t-xʷ

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

cyu 'before, not yet'

cyu ciʔ? čin ?iʔin 'I did not eat as yet.'

cyu ciʔ? ʔil̓ u čin kʷí-čic 'I arrived before he died.'

cyu čin čaw-m 'I did not pray yet.'

néi 'evidential'

néi čin numnxʷ-́eneʔ, néi kʷ q'í-q'elt

OR néi kʷ q'í-q'elt, xʷI šeyʔ čin numnxʷ-́eneʔ

'I believe because you spoke.'
ta kʷ q-s-n-xēl-i nēii kʷ y-es-č-lciʔ-m
'Fear not because I am with you.'

ta q-s-xʷič-i-c-n īu? sʔiʔn, nēii tēye? īu? an-cūt
'I don't give you to eat, because you behaved badly.'

χ̃i 'lest'

ta a-q-ci-kʷi-n-čs-tín χ̃i tlciʔ m  čs-t-ši-t-m-t
'Sin no more lest worse should befall thee.'

**cuš̓e 'finally' (Bible p. 40)

nexʷ 'and, also, besides'²

nexʷ 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. kʷ 'evidently'

kʷ šeʔy
'Yet it is so (evidently it is so).'

**ce kʷ 'but if' (?)

kʷ cu-t-í: "ta i-q-s-xʷu'y"'
'Yet (apparently) he said, "I will not go."'

kʷemt mi-p-nú-ys kʷ ?eʔ-unexʷ-íst īu? Ange
'And they found out that the angel had told the truth.'

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

šeʔ kʷ es-mi-s-t-éxʷ, kʷ s-mʔem, īu? a-s-n-qʷn-ín tľ
kʷil-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'

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i ḥal  'clear'  
i ḥaq  'rotten (meat)'  
i ḥam  'dry'  
i čtas  'lean, poor'  
i suy (i sul)  'uncomfortably cold'  
i ḥaq  'warm (heat from fire)'  
i ṭas  'hard accidentally'  
i q̱ew  'wicked altogether, drunk'  
i x̱ukw  'well, clean, all clean'  
i nḵw  'only one'  
i qe?nplé?  'truly us, only ourselves'  
i ḵ čtas  'Thou art always thin.'  
i čin q₃ẖ-q̱i̱n-t  'I am going on to be poor.'  
i či si-sy-ús  'I am brave.'  
i ḵ cw̱  'You always pray.'  
i čin s-q̱ḻm̱ixw  'I am truly a man.'  
i čin q̱ay  'I am all black.'  
i ḵ tiś  'You are all sweet.'  
i ḵ ?aym-t  'You are indeed mad.'  
i ḵ s-m?em  'You are indeed a woman, a coward.'

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

7.2.3. te?  'indefinite'

| te? nḵu?  |  'some one'  | te? swet  |  'someone'  |
| te? ṭeś̱l  |  'some two'  | te? s-te̱m  |  'something'  |
| te? kwinš  |  'some, not many'  | te? l čen  |  'somewhere'  |
| te? nḵu?  |  'sometime'  | te? pi-s-te̱m  |  'some time ago'  |
| te? kwinš-āsqt  |  |  |  'some days ago'  |
| te?; te? nḵu?  |  **noq; te? kwinš  |  'not often, now and then'  |
| te? m čin x̱uy  |  |  |  'I will go sometime.'  |

7.2.4. ḫe  'past'

ḫe 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{iu? s-x‘el-mm s-?aym-s \( \lambda e \) s-nk‘i-\( \lambda n \)-s} \\
'The devil hates his former angels, his former friends.'

7.2.5. ne 'future'

(Cf. nem 'future' in 7.1.2.)

\( \text{iu? ne ta k‘w es-\( k‘u \)-l-m nem k‘w } **\( \text{c-} \)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 qe? } \text{c-če?-če?ís, 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 } \text{xlí-p } x‘a \text{ ne ci? } \text{nk‘a-} \text{asq}t \text{ m } \text{cin } \text{čiip} \\
'(It will be) tomorrow, or (it will be) the day after, I will go hunting.'

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

\( \text{nem n-mi-p-n-cí-n } \text{iu? ne k‘u } **\( \text{c-y} \)an-t-x‘} \\
'I will accuse thee, (if) you (will) coax me to evil.'

7.2.6. x‘a 'perhaps'

\( \text{y-es-čint-m } x‘a \text{ es-č-ča?l-él-s-i} \\
'I am afraid he may be sick.'

\( \text{če } x‘a \text{ wí-s-t-és} \\
'He may have finished it already.'

\( \text{x‘a nem qe? } \text{k‘i-čic} \\
'Perhaps we will reach (arrive).'

\( \text{x‘a } \text{če } \text{?míš} \\
'Perhaps he started already.'

\( \text{x‘a } \text{ta qa? q-ep-s-?ín} \\
'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:

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

\[
s\-\text{pe}\-\text{m} \quad es-\text{i}\-\text{í}\-\text{i-s-t-n}
\]
\[\text{I have eaten bitterroot.'} \]
[It-is-bitterroot I-have-eaten-it]

\[
q^w\-\text{n}\-q^w\-h\-t \quad sq\-\text{élix}^w
\]
\[\text{They are poor people.'} \]
[They-are-poor they-are-people]

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

\[
k^w \quad \text{xes-t} \quad k^w \quad s\-\text{m?em}
\]
\[\text{Thou art a good woman.'} \]
[Thou art-good thou art-woman]

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

7.3.1. t 'source' (animate source is 'agent'; inanimate source is 'instrument')

\[
naq^w\-m\-n\-t\-\text{ém} \quad t \quad \text{ttwit}
\]
\[\text{A boy stole it (it was stolen by a boy).'} \]

\[
t \quad k^w\-i\-\text{n-cut-n} \quad u \quad k^\nu \quad k^w\-\text{úl-i-s}
\]
\[\text{God made me.'} \]

\[
est\-\text{sux}^w\-s-t\-\text{én} \quad \text{iu?} \quad t \quad \text{še}\-\text{y} \quad u \quad k^\nu \quad \text{č-oý-n-cut-n-i-s}
\]
\[\text{I know him who insulted me.'} \]

\[
est\-\text{mi-s-t-én} \quad \text{iu?} \quad \text{Pierre u pl-s-t-en} \quad \text{iu?} \quad \text{in-1?éw}
\]
\[\text{I know that Peter is the one who killed my father.'} \]

\[
est\-\text{sux}^w\-s-t\-\text{én} \quad \text{iu?} \quad t \quad \text{še}\-\text{y} \quad u \quad k^\nu \quad \text{s\-p-n-t-ém}
\]
\[\text{I know the one who struck me.'} \]

\[
\text{iu?} \quad t \quad \text{še}\-\text{y} \quad u \quad k^\nu \quad \text{čm-enč-m-s,} \quad t \quad \text{še}\-\text{y} \quad u \quad k^\nu \quad \text{čm-enč-i-s}
\]
\[\text{He that loves thee, loves me.'} \]

\[
k^\nu \quad k^\nu\-e?\-k^\nu\-e\-n-t-s \quad t \quad n\-q^w\-q^w\-\text{sh-ičn-šn} \quad \text{čeh} \quad \text{ha t} \quad \text{še}\-\text{y}
\]
\[\text{A dog bit me. Which one? Is it that one?'} \]

\[
k^\nu \quad \text{pul-s-t-s} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{s-šenš}
\]
\[\text{He struck me with a stone.'} \]
With what did he strike you? With a stone? A piece of wood? Metal?

'One killed him with a club.'

'Give me some of your bread.'

'He changed it into bread.'

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

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

'I am the mother of God.'

'I am 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.'

'You 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 sqelix'w
'es-čén-iš t s:',
sípi icult i-sq-čst
"I saw some Indians.'
"Gather some carrots.'
"My gloves are of skin.'

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

| t i-qi-maly-ém-is-ttn (-em-is ?) | '...I want medicine.' |
| t i-qi-hi-ńč-mń | '...I want a knife.' |
| t i-qi-s-menx'w? | '...I want tobacco.' |
| t s-menx'w | '...some tobacco' |
| t ni-ńč-mń | '...a knife' |

marks a 'time complement' accompanying a future predicate:

t mos-qt m č-ac-éws 'There were yet four days before Sunday.'
če t mos-qt m č-ac-éws 'There are yet four days before Sunday.'
če t k'miš-asqt m tap-sqelix'w če t ?as1-a

'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-ück'w ik? 1 qi?-mın | 'It lays on the book.' |
| l qe? s-ć-n-wis-t 1 ci? 1u? s-č-ćm-asqt | 'Above us there is heaven.' [loc. we towards-high loc. there sub. heaven] |
| l qe? k'ii-iš-úñ u 1 ci? 1u? s-x'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-le?x'w | 'in that place' |
| 1 s-qepc | 'in spring' | 1 nk'w-úle?x'w | 'in another place' |
| 1 **k'um | 'in the wilderness' | 1 s-tulix'w | 'on earth' |
| 1 n-wis-t | 'above, on high' | 1 čolsqé? | 'outside' |
1 s-ččik'é 'at the left'  1 es-čch-ččst 'at the right'
put u 1 šey  'precisely there'
1 c-n-tl?é-le (-le ?) 'on this side of the river'
1 čw-oxt ; 1 ču-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."

ci q-s-q'1-q'él-t-i 1 am'1? 'I will speak with you.'
čin x'uy 1 'I go with...'
čin es?-emt-i 1 i-s-čélwi? 'I live with my husband.'
ilmix'w-m 1 šey u k'w 1 q-s-q'1-q'él-t-i
  'It is the chief to whom you speak.'
1 swet u x'ic-i-t-x' 1 i-sic-m 1 i-sín-ce?
  'To whom did you give your blanket? To my younger brother.'
1 swet 1 i-q'ác-qn 'Who has my hat (with whom is my hat)'
1 k'uy'é u 1 eč-s-wiš 1 i-q'1 an-x?-cín
  'I have your horse (your horse is with me).'

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

7.3.4. tì 'egressive' (figuratively 'from the time')
c-x'uy tì n-iš-út  'He came from below.'
s-n-q'á-h-in tì k'w-n-cut-n  'It is the mercy of (from) God.'
šey tì qe?nplé? u q'y-úle?x'w  'He is richer than we are.'
šey tì nisq'út  'from beyond the river'

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

Even though \(\text{i}\) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(\chi\)es-t sqe\text{\(\ell\)i}x}^w & \quad \text{They are good Indians.}' \\
\text{\(\chi\)es-t } \text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ sqe\text{\(\ell\)i}x}^w & \quad \text{The Indians are good.'} \\
\text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{\(\chi\)es-t sqe\text{\(\ell\)i}x}^w & \quad \text{'the good Indians.'} \\
\text{sqe\text{\(\ell\)i}x}^w \text{ i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ \(\chi\)es-t} & \quad \text{'They are the Indians who are good.'} \\
\text{Marie } \text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ s-ti\text{\(\text{c}\)}m-i\text{\(\text{s}\)} (-i\text{\(\text{s}\}) ?)} & \quad \text{'the virgin is Mary'} \\
\text{s-ti\text{\(\text{c}\)}m-i\text{\(\text{s}\)} } \text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ Marie} & \quad \text{'Mary is a virgin.'} \\
\text{\(\chi\)es-t } \text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ \(k\)w\[n-cut-n} & \quad \text{'God is good.'} \\
\text{\(k\)\text{'un-t} } \text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ in-cit}\text{\(x\)}^w & \quad \text{'My house is big.'} \\
\text{in-\(x\)\text{'c}in } \text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ \(\lambda\)ax-t} & \quad \text{'My horse is the swift one.'} \\
\text{\(c\)\(e\)n } \text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ \(\chi\)em-t, ye } \text{\(t\)} ?\text{es\(\text{\(\text{e}\)}\)l} \text{ ye } \text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ \(\chi\)em-t} & \quad \text{'Which of the two is the heavier one? This is the heavy one.'} \\
\text{\(c\)\(e\)n } \text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ i-s-ul-m-i\text{\(\text{\(\text{\(n\}}} \text{(-m- ?)} & \quad \text{'Where is my gun?'} \\
\text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{sqe\text{\(\ell\)i}x}^w \text{ u } \text{i}\text{\(\text{u}\)} \text{ x\[\text{\(\text{\(n\}}}x\text{\(\text{\(e\)}\}-\text{\(u\)}i \text{\(k\)w\[n-cut-n} \text{ op-s-c-k\[n\}} & \quad \text{'Men and beasts are the work of God.'}
\end{align*}
\]
iu? ɓes-t ɓem l-em-t

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

iu? es-x'1-x"ilt u iu? es-"i1 ɓem c-ɓi-p-éls-i-s t
k'1-t-em ɓal-n-cut-n 'God will judge the living and the dead.'

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

'I bought tobacco (tobacco is what I bought).'
y-es-?ânex-m iu? s-c-ch-it iu? es-ɓem-s-cut-i

'I look at the boys playing.'

wič-t-n Paul iu? es-čiir-m-í i 'I saw Paul hunting.'
s-q"se?-s Pierre iu? es-"i1-m-í i 'It is Peter whose son died.'
in-xmax-nc-cút-n iu? an-xam-nc-cut-n 'He that loves thee, loves me.'
ne čiir iu? Pierre, **itimí m pul-s-t-ém

'If Peter will go hunting, he will surely be killed.'
s-pee-x-m iu ?ii-n 'It was bitterroot that I was eating.'
in-xmax-énc iu? es-i-f-tem 'I like those who obey.'
y-es-n-q"m--m iu? n-q"m-nc-cut-i-s iu? sqélix'

'I pity him who pities his fellow men.'

n-q"m-nc-cut-m iu? an-č-yoq"m-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"w-s-t-én iu? a-s-puls-t-m OR es-sux"w-s-t-én iu?
a-s-c-puls 'I know him whom you killed.'

ilmiix'w-m iu? a-s-q"l-q"lt-m

'He to whom you speak is the president.'

ilmiix' iu? a-s-c-q"l-q"lt-m

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

'Those who obey shall be rewarded.'

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

iu? ɓ1t i-s-s?"ms-i u es-čq"w-țaq"w-i

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

iu? q-s-k'ul-n-t-xw te? s-tém, k'w q-s-čaw-i

'When you wish to do some work, you should pray.'
When he sees me, he laughs at me.'

Come ye, my brothers.'

Thievish children will become bad men.'

When I will come down from the mountain...

'If you had not left your house.'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>īu?</th>
<th>Marie</th>
<th>'Mary'</th>
<th>Marie</th>
<th>'She is Mary.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>k'ũ-n-cut-n</td>
<td>'God'</td>
<td>k'ũ-n-cut-n</td>
<td>'He is God.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>ḋes-t</td>
<td>'the good'</td>
<td>ḋes-t</td>
<td>'Ile/she/it is good.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>amūi?</td>
<td>'thou'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>ḡasîp</td>
<td>'long ago'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>psây-e?</td>
<td>'the foolish'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>es-ālî</td>
<td>'the dead'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>s-pi?,-s-cô?</td>
<td>'yesterday'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>k'ũl-n</td>
<td>'my having made it'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>y-es-k'ũl-m</td>
<td>'my making it'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>l?ew Paul</td>
<td>'the father of Paul'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>s-k'ũnx-i-s</td>
<td>īu?</td>
<td>s-x'el-mm</td>
<td>'the slave of the devil'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4. Other Particles

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

7.4.1. Unclear Particles

če 'there remains, yet, in addition,'

če i čuw | 'He is still absent.'
če ta i-s-náq' | 'I steal no more.'
če ta i-s-yoq'-ist
'I don't tell lies any more.'
če 'upn īu? ī čaw
'There were still ten absent.'
če ta i-s'-ti
'I eat no more; I am not well; I don't eat yet.'
čnx'u-n-t-m īu? t ě nkö-alq'
'They touched her with the one remaining cross.'
īu? če an-x'y1-x'yilt
'the remainder of your debt' (D II p. 310)

**ušēt
'again, another time'

*ušēt čin ?aym-t
'I got mad again.'

*ušēt u ilmīx'-m
'He is chief again.'

yetīx'-ā
'now'
pot u yetīx'-ā
'just now'
ne yetīx'-ā m k'u c-q'1-q'e1-s-t-x' īu? t i-q'i-cut, m l še'y m ec-jähili īu? i-q'i-cut
'If now from there you will tell me here how I should act, I will take your advice.'

tma
'rhetorical interrogative' (with an expected affirmative answer)
tma k' čaw-m
'Did you not pray?'
tma yōq'-ist-mn īu? s-x'el-mn
'And is not the devil a liar?' OR
'Certainly the devil is a liar.'
k'u a-q-s-x'īx'-i-t-m īu? in-n-č-emt-čīs-tntn
tma qix'-i-c-n
'Drive in my riding horse. And did I not drive it in already?'
tma īu? k'tun-t īu? qe? šmēn īu? s-x'el-mn
'And is not the devil our great enemy? (Surely he is.)'

tše?nē
'a while ago'
i tše?nē
'just a while ago'
ne i tše?nē
'after a while'
īu? tše?nē ilmīx'-m
'the late president' (D II p. 218)

**lišē
'a while'

nc lišē
'soon'

x'y'ie
'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?'

'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’u

yátx’ce?

yo

yom

k’ene

ne  k’ene

'Is it so (of surprise)!'  

'of pain'

'Hurrah!'

'Look here, behold!'

'disapproval'

'do not, what do you do'

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

'What a pity!'

'How, oh (of joy)!'  

'of suffering'

'Wait! Wait a while!'

'Wait a while!'
FOOTNOTES

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

2 Cf. Colville nix\(^w\) '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: \(\hat{\text{\textae}}\)-m, n-\(\hat{\text{\textae}}\), and \(\hat{\text{\textameq}}\)-i all meaning 'no more, enough'.

6 Note that in this construction and in the sentence immediately preceding, Post has pu(st) as a strong root, and in the sentence following he has it as a weak root. It is generally weak.

7 \(\text{i}\) of q\(\text{i}\) is retained unexpectedly.

8 Cf. also **lqe? as in:
\(\text{\textce}\) q-s-q\(^w\)-\(\text{\textelt}\)-i **lqe? an\(\text{\textvi}\) 'I will speak with you.'

9 Is this further segmentable?

10 The derivational prefix \(\text{\textce}\) seems to have identical semantic import:
an\(\text{\textvi}\)? u k\(\text{\textw}\) y-es-\(\text{\textce}\)-?\(\text{\textaym}\)-t-\(\text{\textm}\) 'I am mad for you (on your account).'
y-es-\(\text{\textce}\)-pu-pus-\(\text{\textech}\)-m \(\text{\textiu}\) ?\(\text{\texteve}\) i-s-c-k\(\text{\textw}\)-\(\text{\texten}\) 'I am sorry for my sins.'
an\(\text{\textvi}\)? \(\text{\textiu}\)? k\(\text{\textw}\) y-es-\(\text{\textce}\)-pu-pus-\(\text{\textech}\)-m
'I am sorry about thee.' (D II p. 2)

11 Cf. Carlson's ?\(\text{\textei}\)-\(\text{\textui}\)- 'again' (p. 122)?

12 Cf. Carlson's k\(\text{\textent}\) (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.)'
- **amwí?** 'thou (It is thou.)'
- **ngle?** 'you (It is you.)'
- **cníčc** 'he (It is he.)'
- **cníčc** 'they (It is they.)'

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

- **ta i-q-s-q"1-q"cIt û?** k'uy?é 'I, indeed, don't wish to talk.'
- **xes-t k"u wič-t-x"c** t amwí? 'Indeed, well didst thou see me.'
- **t k"uy?é u x"1-x"il-s-t-m-n** 'It was I who delivered thee.'
- **iu? ne k" anwí?** 'If thou be thouself.'
- **swet iu? ep-s-ul-ul-m-în"c ii-?e** k"uy?é **Who owns this gun?' 'I do (it is mine).'
- **čen û? qe? .tap-mín ye iu? k"uy?é ci? iu? amwí?** 'Where are our arrows? This is mine, that is thine.'
- **swet iu? s'-s-icut ii-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'
- **k"e?** 'thine'
- **člipóst** 'ours'
- **k'plipóst** 'yours'
- **cenél** 'his/theirs'
8.2. **Numbers**

The cardinal numbers, other than \( n'\text{u?} \) 'one', do not participate in a wide range of inflections and derivations. Numerals with the prefix \( \text{c}_- \) refer to persons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Things</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>In Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ( n'\text{u?} )</td>
<td>( \text{c-naqs} )</td>
<td>( n'\text{u?} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ( ?\text{esél} )</td>
<td>( \text{c-esél} )</td>
<td>( ?\text{esél} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ( \text{če?\text{iész}es} )</td>
<td>( \text{c-če?-če?\text{iész}} )</td>
<td>( \text{če?\text{i-}, ča?i-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ( \text{mus} )</td>
<td>( \text{c-mus-ms} )</td>
<td>( \text{mus-, mos-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ( \text{cil} )</td>
<td>( \text{c-cil-cl} )</td>
<td>( \text{cl-č(st)-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ( \text{taqn} )</td>
<td>( \text{c-taqn} )</td>
<td>( \text{tqan-č(st)-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ( \text{sispil} )</td>
<td>( \text{c-sispil} )</td>
<td>( \text{spl-č(st)-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ( \text{h?em} )</td>
<td>( \text{c-h?em} )</td>
<td>( \text{he?\text{m}-, ha?\text{m}-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 ( \text{x\text{xanùt} (x\text{anùt})} )</td>
<td>( \text{c-x\text{xanùt} (č-x\text{xanùt})} )</td>
<td>( \text{x\text{xanùt}-, x\text{ant}-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ( ?\text{upn} )</td>
<td>( \text{c-?upn} )</td>
<td>( \text{?upn-č(st)-} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers 11-19 are expressed as 'ten' plus \( \text{e} \) plus the units:

- 11 \( ?\text{upn ei-}n'\text{u?} \) (ten again-one)
- 12 \( ?\text{upn ei-}?\text{esél} \) (ten again-two)

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

- 20 \( ?\text{esl-}?\text{upn} \)
- 30 \( \text{če?i-}?\text{upn} \)
- 40 \( \text{ms-}i-?\text{upn} \)
- 50 \( \text{cl-}č-i-?\text{upn} \)
- 60 \( \text{tqan-č-}i-?\text{upn} \)
- 70 \( \text{spl-}č-i-?\text{upn} \)
- 80 \( \text{he?\text{m-}i-}?\text{upn} \)
- 90 \( ?\text{x\text{xant-}i-}?\text{upn} \)

\(-\text{qin}\) is the lexical suffix for hundred, thus:

- 100 \( n'\text{w}o?-\text{qin} \)
200  ?esi-nkquences OR **?asl-qn
300  če?i-nksequences OR **ča?iál-qn
400  mus-i-nksequences OR **mo-mn-qn
500  cil-či-nksequences OR **cil-čt-qn
600  t'qan-či-nksequences OR **t'qan-čt-qn
700  sp'l-či-nksequences OR **sisp'l-čt-qn
800  he?hm-či-nksequences OR **h?a'm-qn
900  ĉxa?t-či-nksequences OR **ĉxa?t-qn
1,000  ?upn-čt-qn
2,000  ?es1-?upn-čst
10,000  ?upn-?upn-čst-qn

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

2nd iu? q-s-ćśél (things) iu? q-s-ć śél (persons)

8.3. Days of the Week

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

Monday  n'k-ásqt OR č-p'm-ëws(-m) OR **čx'ect
Tuesday  ?asl-ásqt
Wednesday ča?i-ásqt
Thursday  mos-qt
Friday   cl-čt-ásqt
Saturday  s-ć-ić
Sunday/week s-ć-ac-ëws²

8.4. Demonstratives

Six morphemes and combinations thereof comprise the demonstrative
set:

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1 2 8

ye 'this, these, here'³
ye-ʔé 'this one, this here'⁴
†i-ʔé 'this very one'
še? 'this (indefinite), these'

ci? 'that, there, beyond'
ci-ʔé 'there, not here'
†i-ci? 'that very one'

These enter into a variety of constructions:

mi, k’u x’içi-t ci? ši-min 'Please give me that axe!'
k’en-t (< k’en-n-t) ye luk' 'Take this wood!'
ye šu in-;m-én ci-ci? šu? i-s-c-čm
'This I like, that I hate.'
yo šes-t źi-ʔé 'Oh, how beautiful is this!'
ta q-s-k’en-t-x’i ci-ci? 'Don't take that one.'
l qu? 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'
itt ci? 'in whatever place'
ci? č ci? 'still further'
ye l-ʔe⁶ 'here, in this place'
ye t-ʔe 'by here'
ye č-ʔe 'towards this place'
ye tli-ʔe 'from this place (or time)'
ye l-ʔe u l-ʔe 'He remains here.'
ye t-ʔe u šyust 'He passes here.'
ye tli-ʔe u źinš 'He started from here.'
ye č č-ʔe 'a little this way'
c-x’uyuš ye č-ʔe 'Come here!'
c-wám-ış ye č-ʔe 'Come here quick!'
ye l-ʔe čin x’i;m-qn-cut, l ci? nem čin čn-čint
'Here I am safe, there I will be in danger.' (D II p. 395)
ye tli-ʔe⁷ m es-ta?x’-l-ûs (-l- ?)
'What will follow hereafter, from this moment, from this place'
še? s’-esél s’-šqi? u čin es-č-ča?l-čls
'These two months I have been sick.'
'I went, well I stole, well I drank, well I was beaten.'

'It is now two days; two days ago.'

'How many days ago?'

'Look here, here it is.'

'Look there, it is there.'

Is that the thing you lost?'

'I do like that.'

'I think the same.'

'I say the same.'

'I do the same.'

'That will do!'

'He is now well, now sick, now glad, now sad.'

'He looks for the lost one, though it be only one, until he finds it again.'

'Behold your mother!' (D I p. 503)

'Why!'

'in that day'
FOOTNOTES

1 Some examples in context of the use of the word č-naqs:
č-naqs s-qltmix' u ?esčl ḫu? sx'-six''-lt
'A man had two children.'
č-naqs s-m'em es-č-ca?l-ēls-i
č-naqs ttwit pul-s-t-s ḫu? i-s-'tla? '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-náqs 'all alone'

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

Note also the following developmental derivations:
iu? mos-qt-ilš (< mus-asqt-ilš) 'the fourth day having come'
ne q-s-mos-qt-ilš (stress ?) 'when the fourth day comes'
Cf. also s-pil-č-asqt ('nominal-turn-day') 'week' as in:
tlic? s-pil-č-asqt u nex' k'w-l-čic ḫu? nōx'-nox'
'After one week his wife came too.' (Bible p. 34)

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

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

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

5 Vogt analyzes iʔe?e as iu? plus ye (p. 69 n. 201); Carlson anal-
yzes i-i-ʔe? (i-i-ci?) as 'secondary-special-this (that near you)' (p. 558).

6 Cf. iʔe 'remain'.
The interest of this and the preceding twelve examples lies in the root-like forms l?e, t?e, Ñ?e, and t³?e. There are obvious connections between these and the particles l, t, Ñ, and t³ (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>1?ew</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-keleton</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qecč</td>
<td>'elder brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sín-čé</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sxe спиньшь</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-nk'-six'</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-čiščě</td>
<td>'elder sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c?-ups</td>
<td>'younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-čěšt</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-xepe?</td>
<td>'sib's son's child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-sile?</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-xepe?</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tůpye?</td>
<td>'gr-son's child or gr-fa's parent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-iláýyě</td>
<td>'great-grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qéne</td>
<td>'father's mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>či-čyé</td>
<td>'mother's mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssi?</td>
<td>'uncle (mo's br)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-k'uk'i</td>
<td>'father's sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qáxe?</td>
<td>'mother's sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tůpye?</td>
<td>'granddaughter'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A woman speaks:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ěnestůh</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tůh</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ćaqče?</td>
<td>'elder brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sí-sn-čé</td>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-nk'-six'</td>
<td>'brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-čiščě?</td>
<td>'elder sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-c-c?-ups</td>
<td>'younger sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-s-čěw (i-?)</td>
<td>'br's wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-q'ě-selt</td>
<td>'sister's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-tůč-elt</td>
<td>'sister's daughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-iw-elt</td>
<td>'late br's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-sile?</td>
<td>'gr-fa, dt's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tůpye?</td>
<td>'grand-parent or grandson'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-xepe?</td>
<td>'fa's fa, son's son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-me?i</td>
<td>'fa's br or son'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>icceccoli</td>
<td>'wife's mo or sister'</td>
<td>s-ɬaʔxéʔ</td>
<td>'hus's fa or br'</td>
<td>**čy-elt</td>
<td>'hus's fa's mo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**čy-elt</td>
<td>'wife's fa's mo'</td>
<td>**čy-elt</td>
<td>'hus's fa's fa or mother'</td>
<td>iw-estn</td>
<td>'stepmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw-estn</td>
<td>'stepmother'</td>
<td>iw-estn</td>
<td>'stepfather'</td>
<td>**sestm</td>
<td>'u's sis, br's wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**sestm</td>
<td>'u's sis, br's wife'</td>
<td>**sestm</td>
<td>'sister's husband'</td>
<td>ʃóweʔ</td>
<td>'brother-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-ʔelpezi</td>
<td>'son's widow'</td>
<td>s-neč-ixu</td>
<td>'daughter's hus'</td>
<td>qeʔ-éwsi</td>
<td>'middle child'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: NAMES OF INDIAN TRIBES

Parenthesized forms are in Post's orthography.

*ox’iče? (ogoize)

Banak Indians

s-ć-q’i-šn-í (s-chkoeshini)

Blackfeet

**s-n-x’m-sčint (sngulschint)

Blood Indians

s-ćówile? (s’cheuile)

Chewelah Indians

s-ćic-wi (s-chizui)

Coeur d'Alenes

n-x’tu (nguto)

Cree and Sioux Indians

**oq’ist-čmn (okoistemen)

Crees of the North

stémči (stemchi)

Crow Indians

**s-n-qyos-šče?-sčint (snkaioskaes’chint)

Gros Ventres

**čil-čene? (chilene)

Indians on the Columbia

**s-n-póy-lš-i (snpoeelshi)

Indians around a tributary of the Columbia

**s-náy-čst-i (snaichsti)

Lake Indians (Colville)

i-c-ch-iće? (izizimize)

Little Robes

**s-x’y-člp-i (sgoielpi)

Kettle Indians

**silk’lā? (silkolola)

Kootenais (Idaho)

s-qlše? (skalise);

Kootenais (Montana)

s-qlše? **ulkw (skalise ulku)

Nez Perces

sa’aptni (saapten)

Okinagan

**oquináqsin (okinaksin)

Upper Pend d'Oreilles

**s-iaq-čt’-m-sčint (siaketikums’chint)

Lower Pend d'Oreilles

qalispél-m-s (kalispelems)

Piegans, a Blackfoot tribe

s-će-iće? (s’chesize)

Snake Indians

**snó’e (snoe)

Spokanes

s-n-x’m-én’e (sngumene)

A tribe of the Spokanes

s-n-tu?-t’ú (sntoto)
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-túlixʷ (selish stoligu) Bitterroot
**n-pa-páá (npapaa) Place on the Bitterroot
**s-n-ayc-čst-m (snaizchstem) Bonner (Blackfoot)
**qalniʔ (kalnii), Camas Prairie
**qalniʔ-txʷá (kalniitgoa)
*q̕il-eʔ (kalie), Place in Camas Prairie
*q̕íl-épíp (kaliepip) Little Camas Prairie
**s-n-č-tiʔ (sintchoi) Agency and O'Keefe's Place

**némiʔ (némi), Crow Creek
**e-pi-némiʔ (epi nemia)
s-iq̕-étkʷ (siqetiku) Flat Creek
**s-n-č̕-ápa (snčapa) Head of the Lake
*š-m-qn-étkʷ (chemkanetiku) Mud Creek, Foot of Flathead Lake
*m-al-t-č̕ixʷ [-t-?] (maltegu) Fort Benton or Fort Owen
**q̕ʷeč (koel) Frenchtown
**či̕melšs (chilmelshs), Helena
něi xʷʔit ʔuʔ múl-iš (nei goeit ʔu mulish)
*s-xʷtip-qín (sgutipkein) Hellgate (near Missoula)
**ničq (nička) Jocko Agency
*s-č̕tip (s'čhitip) Junction of Pend d'Orcille and Jocko

*s-n-č̕ay (snčai), Missoula
**s-n-č̕ay-čst-m (snaizchstem)
*s-n-č̕-m-qn-étkʷ (snpotlomkanetiku) Morriceau's Place (Jocko)
**Lintswē (lintsue) Prairie below mouth of Jocko
**n-cिध-cिध (nzekui) Plains (Horse Plains)
**sumēna (sumena) Place between Plains and Kalnii
*किण-न-छन-ए (kōinzanep) Post Creek (McDonald's)
**किण-न्यो-म (kōinzeme) Post Creek
s-n-yol-mn St. Ignatius Mission
### APPENDIX D: KALISPEL BORROWINGS OF FRENCH PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Name</th>
<th>French Name</th>
<th>Kalispel Borrowing</th>
<th>French Proper Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atól</td>
<td>Adolphe</td>
<td>swasá</td>
<td>Joachim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amoló</td>
<td>Ambroisc</td>
<td>cosép</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antcéle</td>
<td>Andre</td>
<td>cwapí</td>
<td>Josephine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ascélq</td>
<td>Angelique</td>
<td>susét</td>
<td>Josette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qyustá</td>
<td>Augustin</td>
<td>sûré</td>
<td>Jules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasíl</td>
<td>Basile</td>
<td>solí</td>
<td>Julie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perwél</td>
<td>Benoit</td>
<td>yustá</td>
<td>Justin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisamá</td>
<td>Benjamin</td>
<td>lola</td>
<td>Laurent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salót</td>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>lasá</td>
<td>Lazare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolóti</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>palčín</td>
<td>Ferdinand</td>
<td>molís</td>
<td>Maurice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plaís</td>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>pelasí</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>pelikvé</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>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta ep-c-x'uy</td>
<td>'None came.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta y-ep-s-c-wék'-m</td>
<td>'I concealed none.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-m čin es-?āym-t-i</td>
<td>'I am not getting mad.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-tam-î-cît{x}</td>
<td>'I have no house.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čin es-tam-sqāxe?</td>
<td>'I have no horse.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-m kʷ y-es-?âčx-m</td>
<td>'I don't look at thee (now and then).'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta kʷ y-es-?âčx-m</td>
<td>'I habitually/never look at thee.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-m čin ?āym-t OR ta i-s-?āym-t</td>
<td>'I was not angry.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-m aym-t OR ta s-?āym-t</td>
<td>'He was not angry.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta i-s-qîl-q'elt</td>
<td>'He did not speak.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta i-q-es-?āym-t-i</td>
<td>'I will never get mad.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta a-q-es-nâd'w</td>
<td>'You must never steal.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ta q-es-č-?q-ëls-m-ist īu? t i-s-lw-elt | 'The son of my late brother
never cared for me (never minded me).'
| ta **x'uy m q-eî-wič-t-x'w   | 'You will never see me again.'             |
| we ne ți-p-éys, ne ta s-ți-p-éys m čin ?iš    | 'Whether it rains or not, I will go.'     |
| ne eî-c-x'uy, ne ta q-eî-c-x'uy, ta q-es-?âčx-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".'                         |
The wicked shall not rejoice.'

Without speaking to me, he left me.'

'You should rebuke without getting mad.'

'Not yet.'

'Never.'

'Never (fut.).'

'without'

'necessarily'

'not at all'

'not once'

'Cf. also **ta-wi 'I know not' (?):

'I don't know whither he went.' (Bible p. 92)

'Which of the two?'

'Which of these two?'

'Which of those two?'

'What is the matter?'

'How is that?'

'What do I?'

'How may that be? (What do you say?)'

'And why not? (Surely!)'

'How is your infirmity?'

'What do I do to him?'

'What did I do to thee?'

'What has been done to him?'

'What did I do to you?'

'What color is it?'

'What color is your shirt?'

'What color is your blanket?'

'What color is it?'
And how is it that you are sorry?
And why did you not tell me?
What might be the reason that I should talk?

What, something

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

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

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

What is it good for?
What color is it?
What is it; what do you want?
Of what tribe are you?
Of what country are you?
What kind of blanket is it?
What art thou after?
Whereby?
Why? Wherefore?
something
nothing
when
how long ago, when
since when
some future day
never

Who, whose, whoever

Who died?
Who art thou?
Who may it be?
Whose is it to be?
t swet u k'ul-n-c  'Who made thee?'
swet łu? a-s-k'w'est  'What is thy name?'
iw? swet u x'uy č-še'v  'Whoever went there.'
swet łu? a-s-xalît-m  'Whom did you call?'
swet łu? a-s-cûn-m  'Of whom did you speak?'
l swet u x'ič-i-t-x'  'To whom did you give it?'
swet u epi-x'â-cín a-s-nâq'w OR swet u naq'w-m-i-t-x'  łu? x'â-cin  'Whose horse did you steal?'
k'w qe?î-swêt OR t swet u k'w s-q'sc?o?-s  'Whose son art thou?'
iw? ne te? swet u n-?uîx'w m pulst-m  'Whoever goes in is killed.'
te? swet  'someone'
ta swet  'noone'
čin(t)  'say what?'
čin es?-e-čînt-i (?e ?)  'What do I say?'
k'w ?e-čînt (?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-mënîx'w  'I have just now smoked.'
put u q-s-âlî-m-i  'He is about dying.'
put u ec-?axîl  'just alike'
pît-i  'yet, still'
pît-i s-čuw  'He is still absent.'
pît-i k'w es-q'-q'îw
  'Thou art still (up to this time) a fool.'
pît-i es-ťî-p-ęys-i ec-?axîl t s-pî?-s-cë?  'It is still raining like yesterday.'
tli?  'more'
tlcz?  tlci?  'more and more'
řx'w-řx'w-ut iw? in-Ťëw, u łu? an-Ťëw tlci?  řx'w-řx'w-ut
  'My father is old, but yours is older.'

'Judas Iscariot was worse than Pilate.'  

x̃e x̃î?it u x̃’ič-i-c-n u tlcî? x̃î?it k̃ w q-s-x̃’ič-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”x̃  

'He is richer than we are.'  

milk’w, melk’w ‘whole, all’  
es-milk’w ‘all, all over’  
es-č-milk’w-iče? ‘all around’  
es-č-milk’w-eñe? ‘all over’  
čin es-melk’w-m-i – čin melk’w ‘I am spreading all over.’  
y-es-milk’w-mi-m (-mi ?) OR milk’w-m-s-t-n  

'I do nothing but that.'  
milk’w-m-s-t-x” ū? têye? ‘You do nothing but sin.’  
milk’w-m-s-t-s n-py-els ‘They do nothing but rejoice.’  
milk’w-m-s-t-n s-meh-s-cût-n ‘I do nothing but play.’  
milk’w-m-s-t-s s-n-x”c-x”c-m-els ‘They do nothing but suffer.’  
milk’w-m-s-t-s ū? têye? ‘They do nothing but mischiev.’  
milk’w-nu-n-t-x” ū? qix”-mn ‘You deserve the whip.’  
milk’w-m-s-t-s ū? q-s-n-py-els  

'He gained an immensity of endless joy.'  
milk’w-m-s-t-x” ū? a-q-s-n-x”c-x”c-ëls  

'You treasure up torments.'  
k”u č-s-milk’w-m-i-t-x” ū? i-q-s-q”n-q”üm-t  

'You do nothing but misery to me.'  
t Adam u qe? melk’w-š-i-l-s ū? têye?; t J.C. u qe?  

melk’w-š-i-l-s ū? t şes-t  

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

esiya? ‘all’  
n-wis-t ū? esiya? ‘He is the highest of all.’  
esiya? ū? t şey u k”u q-s-spi-m-s ne-m şp-n-t-en  

'I will whip whoever whips me.'  
iu? ilmix’-m sqélix’w şey ū? **es-n-ši?-cîn tî esiya? ū?  
sqélix’w u ū? k”î-n-cut-n ū? **es-n-ši?-cîn tî esiya?
The Indian chief is over all the people, and God is over all the chiefs.

'sic 'new, recent, just now, finally'
i sic kʷ 'It is finally you begin to work.'
cēn īu? i sic in-qaʔ-qeʔ-sin 'Where are my new shoes?'
ha s-qašîp liw-m-s-t-em ta, ye i sic
'Did the bell ring long ago? No, just now.'
īu? kʷu ċs-cín-m-i-s sic čin ċ-xʷ-t-t-els
'When he insulted me, then finally I was angry.'
ne qaʔ wy-ēcst m sic m qaʔ ?iin 'When we shall have finished our work, then finally we will eat.'
i t sic 'only of late'

?exʷ-kʷún 'speak, say'
čin ecʔ?exʷ-kʷún-m t čin ?aym-t
'I spoke as if I were angry.' (D I p. 108)
čin esʔ?exʷ-kʷún-i 'I speak so.'
čin ?exʷ-kʷún-m t Pierre 'I say the same as Peter.'

nte 'to think'
čin nte xʷa nom kʷu wîč-i 'I think he will perhaps see me.'
čin nt-ēls-i kʷu q-s-wîč-m-s 'I desire him to see me.'
čin es-nt-ēls-i xʷa kʷu a-s-taq-q-nú-n-m
'I think you are perhaps cheating me.'
čin es-nt-ēls-i kʷu a-q-s-taq-q-nú-n-m
'I am thinking that you are cheating me.'
nom kʷ qaʔ-q̓ayyeʔ čin es-nt-ēls-i
'Will you go fishing with the hook? I intend.'

xʷič 'to give to'
y-es-xʷič-ʔ-t-m ; xʷič-ʔ-t-n 'I give it to him.'
čin xʷč-s-meňxʷ 'I give tobacco.'
čin xʷč-eičʷ 'I give a house.'
kʷu xʷč-i-šl-mi-s 'He gave me an axe.'
kʷu xʷč-i-ńi-mc-mi-s 'He gave me a knife.' (D I p. 201)
**paq 'to pay for'
čin **paq-q
'I have to pay for it, to suffer for my own deeds.'
k'w sp'-n-t-es t s-q'u-q'se?; k'w **q-s-paq-q-i 'The little boy whipped me; you deserve it, you must pay for it.'
nem **paq-q ii-ci? iq'u-ist-êmm
'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-çaw-m 'right after prayer' (D I p. 608)

*lx' 'win'
čin es-*lx'-p-sqâxe? 'I lose a horse.'
y-es-*lx'-p-sqâxe? 'I win his horse.' (D I p. 586)

čic 'arrive' is used in the construction n-čic-n-ús to mean 'the beginning':
čin es-n-čic-n-ús 'I am at the beginning.'
qe? n-čic-n-ús-n-t-m lu? mus-i-?upn-çst-âsqt
'We are at the beginning of Lent.'
yetlx'á l s-çh-çal-t n-čic-n-ús lu? s-pôni?-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-ulî-m 'You are fond of your money.'

qex' 'wish for, like to have' for objects not in one's possession:
y-es-qex'-mîn-m ; qex'-mi-n 'I wish for it, like to have it.'
qex'-mîn-t-x' lu? ul-ulî-m 'You are greedy after money.'

wiç 'see' and ?em 'feed' occur with -t 'transitive' not preceded by
-n 'simple transitive' or -s 'causative':
wiç-n-c-n 'I see thee.'
wiç-t-m-n 'I see thee.' (D I p. 608)
wiç-s-t-n 'I see it.'
wič-t-n 'I see it.'
je ?em-t-m-n 'I fed thee already.' (D I p. 105)

**wičé? 'harm'
**y-es-wičé?-m ; **wičé?-n 'I bring him harm.'
**wičé?-n-t 'Harm him!'

yo 'strong'
čin yo-yo-cút 'I make efforts to do.'
čin yo-mn-cút 'I make efforts to overcome, to suffer.'
č-yo-yo-s-cút-m-n-t ḳu? s-xʷel-mn OR kʷ q-s-yo-yo-s-cút-i ḳu? 1 s-xʷel-mn 'Be thou strong against the devil.'

lem 'contented, not displeased'
es-lém-t-i ḳu? J.C. ḳu? es-č-pt-ptkʷ-mn-áɬqʷ-i 'J.C. crucified was content, happy, was not displeased.'

py-els 'rejoicing' (D II p. 177)
es-n-py--cols-i ḳu? J.C. ḳu? e inhal-sqólikʷ-i 'J.C. rising from the dead was rejoicing.'

ie? 'yes'
čin n-ie?-p-ús 1 s-mekʷ-t 'At the end I found myself in the snow.'

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

su (< suxʷ 'know') 'yes, I know it, I will it'
unéxʷ, uné 'true, yes, it is so'
čút 'half'
s-čút 'one half, one part'
čmiš 'only, alone'
i s-čmiš ; i miš 'alone, only'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'I have only the mother anymore.'</td>
<td>چئ i үس-غیش ئو ئ-س-کٰيٰی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'long ago'</td>
<td>ۃسیپ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'at the longest'</td>
<td>یو؟ ٕس-ۃسیپ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bottom, below'</td>
<td>یس-ٔیت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'below, down inside'</td>
<td>یس-ٔیت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'under, below'</td>
<td>یس-ٔیت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'how many (things)'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-کٰنٰس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'perhaps many, several'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'What is your age?'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس kٰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'How many did my horses become?'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-ویش یو ئ-ن-یکٰنٰس-اسق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I remained some days.'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-ویش-اسق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'much, many (things), often'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-یمين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'many (persons)'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-یمين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'few (things), few times'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-یمين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I remained some days.'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-یمين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'too, too much, greatly'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-یمين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the best'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-یمين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'first rate'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-یمين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Which is the best?'</td>
<td>یکٰنٰس-یمين</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
čem  'body'
1  s-n-čem-i-čem-p (-i- ?)    'at your back'
1  s-miš-čem-ěls    'in my presence before me'

**čítlćí?  'behind, against, opposite'
**s-čítlćí?  (OR **s-či?-tři-čí? ?)
  'against, face to face, opposite'
1  **s-čítlćí?-s    'behind'

FOOTNOTES

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

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

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

Derivation and inflection of the root $k'u'l$ 'do, make, work':

1. čin es-$k'u'l$-i; čin es-$k'u'l$ 'I am made, baptized, married.'
   $k'u'l$-š 'Make! Baptize! Marry!'
2. čin es-$k'u'l$-l-i; čin $k'u'l$-l 'I am getting made.'
   $k'u'l$-l-š 'Get made!'
   es-$k'u'l$-l-i ṭu? in-cítxw 'My house is building up.'
   we y-es-$k'u'l$-m, u ta s-$k'u'l$-l 'I was working at it, yet it did not get made. There was no making.'
3. čin es-$k'u'l$-i; čin $k'u'l$-m 'I am working.'
   $k'u'l$-iš 'Work!'
4. y-es-$k'u'l$-m; $k'u'l$-n 'I make it.'
   $k'u'l$-n-t 'Make it!'
5. y-es-$k'u'l$-i-t-m; $k'u'l$-i-t-n 'I make his (it belonging to him).'
   $k'u'l$-i-t 'Make his...!
6. y-es-$k'u'l$-š-t-m; $k'u'l$-š-t-n 'I work for him, help him.'
   $k'u'l$-š-t 'Work for him, help him!'
7. y-es-$k'u'l$-š-m; $k'u'l$-š-m-n 'I make it for others.'
   $k'u'l$-š-m-n-t 'Make it for other!'
8. čin es-$k'u'l$-š-i; čin $k'u'l$-š-m 'I work for others.'
   $k'u'l$-š-iš 'Work for others.'
9. qe? es-$k'u'l$-š-t-wé?x'w-i 'We work for one another.'
10. qe? es-$k'u'l$-n-wé?x'w-i 'We make/doctor one another.'
11. čin es-$k'u'l$-ist-i; čin $k'u'l$-ist 'I make myself.'
12. čin es-$k'u'l$-m-ist-i; čin $k'u'l$-m-ist 'I fix, prepare myself.'
   $k'u'l$-m-ist-š 'Fix, prepare thyself!'

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13. čin es-ḵw’-š-cút-i  'I work for myself.'
14. čin es-ḵw’-n-cút-i  'I make by myself; I have myself baptized.'
15. čin es-ḵw’-s-cút-i  'I make, doctor myself.'
16. y-es-ḵw’-m ; ḵw’-m-n  'I use it to make something.'
   ḵw’-m-n-t  'Use it to make something!'
17. y-es-ḵw’-m-i-t-m  'I use his (it that belongs to him).'  
18. ḵw’-mn  'instrument or the materials to work on'
19. y-es-ḵw’-n-n-n ; ḵw’-nu-n  'I succeed in making it.'
   ḵw’-nu-n-t  'Succeed in making it!'  
20. y-es-ḵw’-n-i-t-m  'I succeed in doing his...'  
21. ḵw’-i-ut-m  'that can be made, possible to be made'
22. y-es-ḵw’-m-ut-m ; ḵw’-m-ut-m-s-t-n  'I can make that.'  
23. čin es-i-ḵw’-i  'I work little, do little work.'  
24. čin eš-es-ḵw’-i  'I work again.'  
25. čin es-ḵw’-lwis-i  'I am working often, now and then.'  
26. y-es-ḵw’-m-lwis-n ; ḵw’-m-lwis-n  'I do it often.'  
27. y-es-ḵw’-m-lwis-i-t-m  'I do often his (it belonging to another).'
28. čin es-ḵw’-tümš-i (≪-itumš)  'I work for people.'  
29. čin es-n-ḵw’-t-ěls-i  'I wish to work, to be busy.'  
30. čin es-n-ḵw’-m-ěls-i  'I wish to do something.'  
31. y-es-n-ḵw’-m-ěls-n ; n-ḵw’-m-ěls-n  'I wish to do it.'  
32. y-es-ḵw’-ěšs-s-n ; ḵw’-ěšs-n  'I make them both together, splice them, marry them.'  
   ḵw’-ěšs-n-t  'Make them both together, splice them, marry them!'  
33. qe? es-ḵw’-ěšs  'We are made together, are married.'  
34. y-es-č-ḵw’-m  'I work on it, adorn it, embroider it.'  
35. y-es-č-ḵw’-mn  'the time to, reason why to work, my time to work'
36. y-es-č-ḵw’-i-t-m  'I work on his, embroider his...'  
37. čin es-n-ḵw’-i  'I am born in, am made in, work in...'  
38. čin es-n-ḵw’-m  'I work in...'  
39. y-es-n-ḵw’-m ; n-ḵw’-m-n  'I work in that place.'  
40. n-ḵw’-mn  'the way of doing, behavior'
41. čs-i-in-ḵw’-mn  'my bad behavior'
42. y-es-t-ḵw’-m ; t-ḵw’-n  'I do it before, prepare it.'
43. čin t-čvo-l-1 'I was born before.'
44. y-es-t-čvo-l-1-m 'I bring him forth before.'
45. s-čvo ul 'the doing, the working'
   s-c-čvo ul 'what is done, made'
46. čin ep-s-c-čvo ul 'I have some made.'
   k'uyö čin ep-s-c-čvo ul 'I myself have done it.'
47. k'vo n-cút-n 'the Maker, God'
48. s-k'vo n-cut-n 'the Divinity, the makership'
49. k'vo n-cut 'God, the one that makes by himself'
50. y-es-k'vo-l-k'vo-l-n-cút-n-m ; k'vo-l-k'vo-l-n-cut-n-m-n 'I treat him as God.'
51. sx'k'vo-l-m 'charged to work, workman'
52. k'vo-l-m-em 'a busy-body'
53. k'vo-l-k'vo-l-m-ul 'habitual worker, he that likes to work'
54. k'vo-l-s-cut-n 'that helps working'
   in-k'vo-l-s-cut-n 'my helper in work'
55. i-s-nk'vo-i-k'vo-l 'made, baptized, married or ordained with me; husband or wife'
56. i-s-nk'vo-i-k'vo-l-1 'husband/wife'
57. y-es-nk'vo-i-k'vo-l-m ; nk'vo-i-k'vo-l-m-n 'I am made, married with him.'
   nk'vo-i-k'vo-l-m-š-joséph 'She was married with Joseph.'
58. y-es-nk'vo-i-k'vo-l-1-m ; nk'vo-i-k'vo-l-1-m-n 'I am born, got married with him.'
59. čin es-k'vo-l-eix(-i) 'I have a house built; they are building it.'
   k'vo-l-eix-s-t 'Have a house built!'
60. čin es-k'vo-l-eix-i ; čin k'vo-l-eix-m 'I am building a house.'
   k'vo-l-eix-iš 'Build a house.'
61. y-es-k'vo-l-eix-m ; k'vo-l-eix-n 'I am building that house.'
   k'vo-l-eix-n-t 'Build that house!'
62. y-es-k'vo-l-eix-š-t-m ; k'vo-l-eix-š-t-n 'I build the house of his...'
   k'vo es-k'vo-l-eix-š-t-m-s šu? i-s-q'šô? 'He builds my son's house.'
63. y-es-k'vo-l-eix-š-t-m ; k'vo-l-eix-š-t-n 'I help him building a house.'
64. čin es-n-\(k'v_i\)-eix'-éls-i
'I wish to build a house.'
65. i-sx'-\(k'v_i\)-eix'-m
'my house builder'
66. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-ilmíx'-i
'I am acting chief.'
67. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-ilmíx'-m ; \(k'v_i\)-ilmíx'-m-n
'I treat him as a chief.'
68. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-s-xéliwi?
'I got a husband.'
69. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-s-xéliwi?-m ; \(k'v_i\)-xéliwi?-m-n
'I take him for husband.'
70. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-i-px'-út-i
'I act as father/mother, as god father.'
71. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-i-px'-út-m ; \(k'v_i\)-i-px'-út-m-n
'I take/treat him as my parent.'
72. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-sín-ce?i
'I act as a brother, altar boy.'
73. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-sín-ce?m ; \(k'v_i\)-sín-ce?m-n
'I take him for my brother.'
74. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-sx'-six'-lt-i
'I get children.'
75. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-s-k'tun-t-m ; \(k'v_i\)-s-k'tun-t-m-n
'I treat him as a big fellow.'
76. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-s-k'tun-t-i
'I act as a big fellow.'
77. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-s-\(x\)-t-i
'I act the good.'
78. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-s-\(x\)-t-m ; \(k'v_i\)-s-\(x\)-t-m-n
'I treat/make him good.'
79. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-s-k'uy
'I act the mother.'
80. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-s-k'uy-m ; \(k'v_i\)-s-k'uy-m-n
'I take her as my mother.'
81. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-s-m?ém
'I play the woman, the coward.'
82. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-i-?eč-éwt-i
'I act as the last.'
83. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-i-?eč-éwt-m ; \(k'v_i\)-i-?eč-éwt-m-n
'I treat him as the last, despise him.'
84. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-i-psáy-e?i
'I act the fool.'
85. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-i-psáy-m ; \(k'v_i\)-i-psáy-m-n
'I treat him as a fool.'
86. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-s-m?ém-m ; \(k'v_i\)-s-m?ém-m-n
'I treat him like a coward.'
87. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-i-\(x\)'-up-t-i
'I act the lazy.'
88. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-i-\(x\)'úp-t-m ; \(k'v_i\)-i-\(x\)'úp-t-m-n
'I think him lazy.'
89. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-s-túlix'
'I settle down, take a homestead.'
90. y-es-\(k'v_i\)-s-túlix'-m ; \(k'v_i\)-s-túlix'-m-n
'I settle on that spot.'
91. čin es-\(k'v_i\)-ìl-i ; \(k'v_i\)-ìl-m
'I make arrows, arm-balls.'
\(k'v_i\)-ìl-iš
'Make arrows!'
92. y-es-κ'ουλ-1-m ; κ'ουλ-1-n
   κ'ουλ-1-n-t
   'I produce it.'

93. i-s-κ'ουλ-1
   i-s-c-κ'ουλ-1
   'my being born'
   'my having been born'

94. in-κ'ουλ-1-tn
   'what makes me to be born'

95. čin es-n-κ'ουλ-1-i ; čin n-κ'ουλ-1-m
   'I conceive/born inside.'
   čin n-κ'ουλ-1-ιε?e?-i ; čin n-κ'ουλ-1-ιε?e?e?-m-n

96. y-es-n-κ'ουλ-1-m ; n-κ'ουλ-1-n
   y-es-n-κ'ουλ-1-i ; n-κ'ουλ-1-ιε?e?-m-n
   'I conceive him or it.'

97. čin es-č-κ'ουλ-1-i
   'I am coming to light, being born.'
   čin es-č-κ'ουλ-1-ι
   'my being born'

98. i-s-n-κ'ουλ-1 ; i-s-n-κ'ουλ-1-ιε?e?e?
   'My being conceived, my conception.'

99. ɪu? i-s-č-κ'ουλ-1 ; i-s-č-κ'ουλ-1-ιε?e?
   'my birth'

100. ɪu? in-č-κ'ουλ-1-tn ; in-č-κ'ουλ-1-ιε?e?-tn
    'my generation'

101. ɪu? i-s-n-č-κ'ουλ-1-tn
    'my birthplace'

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

1. ec-?axiɪ
   'like to, in like manner'

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

3. qe? ec-?axiɪ t κ'ι-1-n-cut-n
   'We are like to God.'

4. ļ swet u k' ec-?axiɪ
   'Whom are you like to?'

5. ļ šeý u čin ec-?axiɪ
   'I am like that.'

6. ūi-cí? u čin ec-?axiɪ-cut
   'My behavior is like his.'

7. ļl cí? u ec-?axiɪ
   'It is exactly as that, not changed.'

8. ļ t cí? u ec-?axiɪ
   'He acts as before, no change in him.'

9. čin ?axiɪ-m t Pierre
   'I do the same as Peter.' (D II p. 326)

10. ļ p ec-?x-?axiɪ-ús
    'You both look exactly the same.'

11. ec-?axiɪ-ús t ļew-s
    'He looks like his father.'

12. ɪu? i-s-nκ'ουλ-1-c-?xíl (c ?)
    'my fellow, the one like me'

13. q-s-ec-?axiɪ-s-n-x'c-x'c-x'm-έ1s-t-x' ɪu? t naq'?-čmn
    'You made me suffer like a thief.'

14. y-ec-?axiɪ-m ; ec-?axiɪ-s-t-n
    'I made him like, treat him like.'
15. qe? q-s-k'ul-m 1u? sqélix'q ec?-?axíl-i t qe?mplé?
   'Let us make man like to us.' (Bible p. 1)
16. k' iaq-š1š ec?-?axíl t k' sqélix'
   'You sit there like an Indian (as if you were an Indian).'
17. qe? n-q'ih-m-1-l-t ec?-?axíl t qe? es-n-q'hn-mm-wé?x'
   'Have mercy on us, as we have mercy on each other.'
18. 1 čen m ec?-?axíl-s-qasíp m es-n-x'c-x'c-élís āu? 1 esúlp
   'How long will they suffer in hell?'
19. m ec?-?axíl-s-qasíp āu? t q-s-n-py-els āu? 1x-ões-t āu? 1
   s-č-čm-asq't '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. āu? t ec?-?axíl x'?it k' sust, t šey u ec?-?axíl k'tun-t
   u k' n-čm-p-cin
   'The more you drink, the more you thirst.' (D II p. 394)
22. sél-iš 1ťx'we? ta ec?-?axíl-s-tís t s-čc-wi 'The camas of
   the Salish is less sweet than that of the Coeur d'Alene.'
23. čin ec?-?axíl-s-k'tun-t t anwí? 'I am as big as you.'
24. k' ec?-?axíl-s-ńës-t t Louis
   'You are as good as Louis.'
25. ta y-ec?-?axíl-s-yo-p-ńew-t (yew ?) 'I am not so strong.'
26. 1 šey u ec?-?axíl-s-ńk'ut
   'that far'
27. k'mi ec?-?axíl
   'may it be so'
28. č-s-n-?axíl
   'in like manner' (Bible p. 109)
29. 1 čen u ec?-?axíl; 1 čen m ec?-?axíl 'How?'
   ?axíl with n- 'locative' and -élí 'volitive' means 'to think the same
   as':
30. 1 anwí? u čin es-n-?axíl-élí-ń
   'I think the same as you do.'
31. n-k'wí-n-?axíl-élí-m-n-c-n
   'I think the same as you do.'
32. čin n-?axíl-élí s Pierre
   'I think the same as Peter.'
33. y-će-n-?axíl-élí-mn; n-?axíl-élí-n
   'I think so of him.'
34. k'w n i-ń-?axíl-élí-m-n-t-x'
   1 k'w-yq'ó u k' es-n-?axíl-élí-ń
   'You think the same as I do.'
35. y-će-n-k'wí-n-?axíl-élí-m; n-k'wí-n-?axíl-élí-m-n
   'He has the same opinion with me.'
You and J.C. must be of the same opinion.' (D I p. 8)

'I think of myself like God; I think of myself as God thinks of me.'

'I think you are like him.'

'every evening'

'every night'

'daily'

Cf. also xiì (related to ?axï ?)

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

**Prefixes:**

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<th>1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in-</td>
<td>'my'</td>
<td>qī-</td>
<td>'subjunctive'</td>
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<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>'thy'</td>
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<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>č-</td>
<td>'towards'</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>'nominal'</td>
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<tr>
<td>c-</td>
<td>'hither'</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>'locative'</td>
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Lexical Prefixes
### Suffixes:

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<th>1</th>
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<tr>
<td>-p 'non-control'</td>
<td>Lexical Suffixes</td>
<td>-t 'stative'</td>
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<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-min 'instrumental'</td>
<td>-ut 'capability'</td>
<td>-m 'middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`-šiš 'benefactive'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>`-els 'volitive'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ist 'intr. reflexive'</td>
<td>-n 'simple tran.'</td>
<td>-t 'tran.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-numt 'intr. success'</td>
<td>-s 'causative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lwis 'iterative'</td>
<td>-i 'relative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(w)ilš 'developmental'</td>
<td>-ši 'tran. benefactive'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-už 'given to...'</td>
<td>-ļul 'suppletive plural'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-nu 'tran. success'</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-weʔxʷ 'reciprocal'</td>
<td>-iš 'intr. imperative, sg.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-cút 'tran. reflexive'</td>
<td>-wi 'intr. imperative, pl.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-emm 'habitual'</td>
<td>-i 'continuative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ekʷ 'tran. imperative'</td>
<td>-tn 'instrumental'</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive Goal Suffixes</strong></td>
<td><strong>Transitive Actor Suffixes</strong></td>
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<td>-mp 'your'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-s 'his/their'</td>
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APPENDIX H: GLOSSARY OF ROOTS

Kalispel roots are of the shape (C)CVC(C). Forms given here that do not conform to the patterns, especially forms with two or more vowels, are almost certainly further analyzable.

Forms in Post's orthography, listed in brackets, follow the phonetic transcriptions. The parenthesized initials that conclude each entry indicate the source that confirms Post's form: Vogt (V), Incashola (I), Carlson (C). Cognates in Colville (Cv), Coeur d'Alene (Cr), Columbian (Cm), and Shuswap (Sh) are extracted from Dr. Mattina's personal files and are preceded by an asterik. Two asteriks precede forms which I was unable to re-attest.

Since unstressed root vowels normally reduce to schwa or zero, my alphabetization of the roots ignores non-initial vowels. Several variants of a root may be listed in an entry, or cross-referenced.

The alphabetical order of the glossary is: a, e, i, o, u, c, ç, č, ñ, h, kʷ, k', l, ɬ, ñ, m, ā, n, p, š, q, q', ı, s, š, t, ĭ, w, ŵ, xʷ, ž, ž', y, ſ, ť.

aac <♀ac, ac(i) [aaz, az(i)] 'tie, catch' (C)
**alq [aik] 'plenty'
amwi? [anui] 'thou' (V)
aw(ú) [au] 'drip' (cf. also waw) (C)
a?i [ai] 'run' (stress ?) (V)
esulíp [esolip] 'hell' (I)
**essáilq [essalk] 'crooked'
esiyá? [esia] 'all (in number)' (cf. iyá?) (V)
e?u [eu] 'peel' (V)

ilâwy? [ilauie] 'man's great-grandfather' (I)
ilmixw [ilimigu] 'chief' (V)
itûk [ituk] 'rot (of wood)' (C)
iyâ? [ia] 'all' (cf. esiya?) (V)
iyûs [iinus] 'dirty (bruised)' (I)

olqw [olkw] 'help' (V)
oo<s [oos, os] 'lost' (C)
oşw [ogo] 'fence' (V)
oy AS IN oyn-cut [oincut] 'laugh, sg.' (V)

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

cukw [zkw] 'pull' (C)
cukw AS IN ckw-eést-n [zkuechst] 'rod, walking cane' (V)
cil [zil] 'five' (V)
cêm AS IN s-c-chelt [szizimelt] 'children'; i-c-ch-ice?
   [izizimize] 'Little Robes' (C)
cun(n) [zu(n)] 'say' (cf. cuw) (C)

**canel [zenel] 'his/their's'
cnič [zniz] 'he/they' (C)
cut [zuut] 'advice, behavior' (C)
citxw [zitégu] 'house' (C)
cuw [zu] 'say' (cf. cu(n)) (C)

cxw [zgu] 'growing feeble' (Cv. ca?xw 'tired')

**cxw [zgu] 'growing better'
c? AS IN i-c-ch- ups [izuzuups] 'woman's younger sister' (C),
c?-ups [zuups] 'man's younger sister', c?-up-éws [zupeeus]
'sister'

cé? 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)
cohm [zom] 'bone' (C)
can [zan] 'tight' (C)
*cin(t) [zin(t)] 'say what' (Cv)
caq' AS IN çq'-aq'-i [zkoakoj] 'crying' (V)
csi [zesi] 'consumed, gone' (C)
cešt [zecht] 'man's brother-in-law' (C)
čow [zou] 'wash' (C)
čxil [zeiil] 'like to, same as' (cf. ?ax'il) (C)
čox' [zojo] 'intend, mean to' (C)
č? AS IN n-č?-ilš [nziilsh] 'go upstream by land' (C)
čulix' AS IN čulix'-élx' [zooliguelgu] 'deer skin' (C)
ča?l [zaal, zal, zael] 'sore, ache' (V)
če?eš [zeesh] 'shame, bashful' (V)
čic [chiz] 'arrive' (C)
čche [chezehe] 'right (hand)' (V)
**čcoq [zhok] 'cure'
ččik'ē [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 [chilasus] 'thing hanging' (C)
**člcin AS IN člcin-m-s-t-x' [chilzcimstgu] 'thou stoodest by him'
**člipost [chilpost] 'ours'
čelš [chelsh] 'hand' (C)
**čličič [cheltich] 'lord'
čilviče? [chiluize] 'bushel (barrel)' (I)
čtip [chitip] 'hunt' (C)
**čemp AS IN čemp-nux' [chempnu] 'cloudy weather'
čmiš [chemish] 'only, alone' (Cf. miš) (C)
*čam [cham] 'consumed by fire' (Cv. kim 'take away')
*čim [chim] 'hate' (Cv. kim 'hate')
čen [chen] 'gather' (V)
čnum AS IN es-čnum-p-qín [es chinempkein] 'got blind' (C)
čnaqš [chinnaks] 'one (person)' (C)
čnx'yu [chengu] 'hold on to, touch' (C)
**čene?  [chene] 'mine'
čeñ  [chen] 'what, where' (C)
**čqat AS IN čqat-ěws  [chkatteus] 'piled up'
*čšit  [chshit, chit] 'watch, guard' (V)
**čet AS IN čí-čet-k'  [chžchetiku] 'skin raft'
čtas  [chita's] 'lean, poor' (V)
čew  [cheu] 'woman's brother's wife' (C)
čx1l AS IN čx1l-ps  [chgeilps] 'gray, gray-necked horse' (C)
čx?lem  [cha'lem ?] 'watch, look after' (I)
**čx'ect  [chgoezt] 'Monday'
čy AS IN **čy-elt  [chietlt] 'woman's late brother's son's son'
**čya  [chia] 'solicit, coax (to evil)'
čye? AS IN či-če?  [chichie] 'sister's daughter's son' (C)
či? AS IN či?-ěws  [tshieus] 'forever' (I); n-tk'-'či?-sqáče?-tn
[ntkochiskagaeten] 'saddle' (C)
čeles, če?i-  [cheles, chei-] 'three' (V)
čič(i)  [chize] 'a long object lays' (C)
čiče?t  [chichet] 'near, close' (V)
čeh(k')  [chok(ku)] 'open' (C)
čolsqe?  [cholzkae] 'outside' (C)
čluxw  [chelug] 'evening' (C)
čem  [chem] 'extremity, last' (also a root in many words with
lexical suffixes, particularly body parts) (C)
čič(i)  [chim] 'dark' (C)
čint  [chint] 'be afraid for someone' (V)
čes  [ches] 'bad' (C)
čspin  [chespin] 'neck' (C)
čut  [chut] 'half' (C)
**čitlcí?  [chitelzii] 'opposite, against, behind'
*čič  [chit] 'cut' (Cv. k'et, Cr. čet 'cut off completely')
čaw  [chau] 'pray' (V)
čiw AS IN čiw-ulš  [chiulsh] 'climb a ladder, sg.' (V)
čuw(ũ)  [cho] 'absent, empty' (C)
čewile?  [chauple ?] 'snake' (I)
čew e? [chaue] 'woman's brother-in-law' (I)
čew [cheu] 'old, aged' (C)
čex'(ú) [cheu] 'dry (clothes)' (C)
čey [chei] 'shade' (C)
č?elp [cheelp] 'widow of man's son' (I)
čo?it [cheit] 'spider' (V)
h?em [hehemem] 'eight' (V)
hemí [hemí] 'getting cloudy, fog' (C)
hoy [hoi] 'end' (C)

**k'i [kui, koi, ku] 'go' (Post says this is the form xuy 'go')
takes in compound or complex forms.)
k'icič [kozich] 'falling' (I)
**k'1 AS IN k'i-eřt [koleut] 'dwell together' (Cv. k'il)
k'al 'yellow' AS IN s-k'al-šín [skoalshin] 'cranes (bird)' (V),
k'li-k'ali (i?) [kulikual] 'Indian corn, maize'
k'il [kui] 'red' (C)
k'ul(st) [kul(st}] 'send' (C)

**k'elt AS IN in-k'elt-n-cút-n [inkoeltenzuten] 'he that loads me'
k'as AS IN s-k'as-us [skutlus] 'face' (C)
**k'um [kum] 'wilderness'

**k'mn AS IN c-k'mn-aqs [zkukumenaks] 'hungry one'

**k'emtn [kuemten] 'forever, constantly'
k'n AS IN n-k'n-cn-cut [nkunzunt] 'sing praises' (C)
k'an AS IN s-k'an-č'n [skoengan] 'slave, captive' (Cf. k'en) (C)
k'en(é) [kuin, kune, kuen, kon] 'take, grab, catch' (C)
k'un AS IN ?ex'-k'un [egukune] 'say, speak' (cf. ?ex') (C)
k'up [kup] 'push' (C)

**k'lipost [kupelipost] 'yours, pl.'
k'wes AS IN s-k'we-k'w-s-t [skuekust] 'morning, breakfast' (C)
k'is AS IN s-k'is-k's [skuiskus] 'chicken' (I)
k'uśh AS I: k'-k'ùśh [kusum] 'chicken' (I)
k'est [kuest] 'name' (C)
k'tun, k'iti [kutun, kuti] 'big, great' (C)
k'uy?é [koie] 'I' (C)
**k'we? [kue] 'thine'
k'we?ec AS IN s-k"-k'we?ec [skukuez] 'night' (C)

k'uk'vi [kukui, kokoi] 'man's father's sister, woman's brother's child, woman's aunt' (C)
k'ui [kol] 'work, make, do' (C)
k'ixt [kuitlt, kuitit] 'other, several' (V)
*k'um AS IN s-k"-k'um-él [skomelt] 'virgin' (Cv. sk'umalt)
k'ins [kuinsh] 'several, how much' (C)
k'iips AS IN k"-k'iips [kukuipeps] 'flea' (C)
k'uy [koil] 'man's mother' (C)
k'uyum, k"-k'uyum [kuium, kukuium] 'small, young' (C)
k'we?é [koe] 'bite' (C)
k'we?al [kuaal] 'grow' (V)
k'wé?ms [koenems] 'try' (I)

*lcu AS IN s-n-lcu-tn [snlzuten] 'room'
**lcyesto [lziesto] 'left' (?)
1ci? AS IN č-lci?-m-s-t-n [chlziimsten] 'I remain near him.' (I)
lič(i) [lich] 'to tie, bind' (C)
leči 'he's mad' IN 1č-lič-t [lichlicht] (?) 'violent person, valiant' (I)
1k' [lko] 'far' (C)
1uk' [luku] 'wood' (C)
1em [lem] 'contented, happy' (C)
1aq [laka] 'bury' (C)
lešš [leshin] 'hear (from afar)' (V)
*liw [liu] 'ring bell' (Cv., Om. liw)
1k'u [lug] 'hurt, ache, feel pain' (C)
1?e [lce] 'stay here, remain' (V)
1?o AS IN n-1?o-n-t-ém [nelantem] 'someone was put in jail' (I)
1?ew [leću] 'man's father' (C)
lač [laga] 'friend' (C)
ioc [ioz] 'smashed' (I)
icečč [iiezch] 'man's wife's mother or sister' (C)
ič [izi] 'flog' (V)
**ič AS IN s-č-Č-č-tk' [s'chičetiku] 'skin raft'
iččance? AS IN ič-čč-ančč 'woman's mother or sister' (C)
ľep [ľip] 'go out, dwindle' (V)
ľoč AS IN ľoč-nm [ľopkanem] 'bend it over (as head of a tree)' (I)
**ľup [ľup] 'lean, poor'
ľpx' AS IN s-n-ľpx'č-sin [slpogoshin] 'nail foot-wound' (I)
ľaq [ľak] 'sit' (C)
ľaqččane? [ľakaze] 'woman's older brother' (C)
ľaq' [ľaka] 'wide' (C)
ľq' AS IN ľq'-ččne? [ľkuene] 'he hides provisions' (I)
ľq' AS IN ľq"-t-İst-ye? (- ye? ?) [ľkotistie] 'prostrated',
ľq'n-ľq'-ičičt-ń [ľkoikoikeiten] 'suspenders' (C)
ľaq' [ľako] 'come in sight, be seen' (C)
ľw AS IN s-ľw-ččt [šluet] 'orphan', ľw-ĉčt [ľuesten] 'man's step-mother, woman's step-father' (C)
ľųwet [ľuet] 'few, few times' (C)
*ľax' [ľegu] 'rest' (Cv. ľax')
*ľux' [ľegu] 'sew' (Cv. ľux' 'loop, stitch', Sh. lex' ‘patch up')
ľox' [ľogo] 'hole' (V)
ľx'up [ľogop] 'to run away, escape' (V)
ľay [ľai] 'Dolly Varden trout' (C)
ľe AS IN s-č-ľe? [s'čiće] 'Saturday' (C)
ľu?ľu? (ľuu) [ľuu] 'sting, lance' (C)
ľu?ľu'ľenč [lömenel] 'wild goat' (I)
ľc [tlič] 'hard' (C)
ľuk' AS IN s-ľuk'č-m [ľokum] '(wild) carrots' (C)
ľiľ[li] [tlič, tcll] 'die, stop' (C)
ľač [tłaka] 'hot, warm' (C)
ľx' [tłegu] 'win' (C)
məx [tlaq] 'fast, swift' (C)
məye? [tlee] 'boat, canoe' (C)
məʔ [tlee] 'look for' (cf. məʔu?) (C)
məʔu? [tləʔu] 'look for' (cf. məʔ?) (C)
məʔkʷ AS IN məʔ-kʷ-ilš-cút-i [təku̍ylshut] 'practice sorcery' (C)

mekʷ [meko] 'snow' (C)
mał [mal] 'dirt' (C)
məli (stress ?) [meʔl, məli] 'heal' (C)
mał [mal] 'fetch water' (V)
məlκʷ, mełkʷ [məlko, meko, mellük] 'whole, all; round' (C)
mił [mił] 'flood' (C)
mał AS IN s-mał-mn [smilemen] 'lance, spear' (V)
mił [mił] 'too, very much, greatly' (V)
mełkʷ [meni] 'too, very much, greatly' (C)
maq AS IN y-es-maʔ-q-m [iəs məkəm] 'I forbid him to start' (Cv.
  maq 'to stop someone from', C. maq 'to convince')
moqʷ [məko, məke] 'mountain' (C)
mus, mos [məs, mos] 'four' (C)
maś AS IN mus-ls [musels] 'trusted' (I)
miš [mish] 'only, alone' (cf. čmiš) (C)
*miš AS IN šʔit-miš-él [shiitemishelt] 'first-born child' (Cv.
  mix '?' )

mai [məu] 'broken' (C)
maʔu [məgo] 'to snow' (C)
maiχt [mɨgot] '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')

*moyxi [moigai] 'practice Indian jugglery to find out enemies'
moʃi [moie, mie] 'tell, show, teach' (cf. meye) (C)
moʔeʔ (stress ?) [mee] 'refuse, send away' (V)
meʔi [meel] 'man's brother's son or daughter' (C)
meʔem [meem] 'woman' (V)
moot [moot] 'smoke' (V)
mito [mito] 'fort' (I)
mem [mem] 'play' (C)
smomshin [smomshin] 'mare' (C)
mestom [mestom] 'woman's father' (Why does Post record 6?) (C)
moot [moot] 'smoke' (V)
mito [mito] 'fort' (I)
mem [mem] 'play' (C)
smomshin [smomshin] 'mare' (C)
mestom [mestom] 'woman's father' (Why does Post record 6?) (C)
neč [neč] 'elk' (C)
neč [neč] 'elk' (C)
neca [neca] 'woman's daughter's husband' (C)
nic [nic] 'cut, saw' (C)
nk'uo?, nku, nko 'one' (C)
nimap [nimap] 'frozen (water)' (I)
noningu [noningu] 'believe' (V)
empile [empile] 'you, pl.' (C)
naka [naka] 'rotten (meat)' (V)
nako [nako] 'steal' (C)
nas [nas] 'wet, moist' (C)
nisko [nisko] 'the opposite side of the river' (C)
nite [nite] 'think' (C)
neu [neu] 'blow' (C)
nago [nago] 'to go downstream' (C)
nogono [nogono] 'wife' (C)
nogonogoeus [nogonogoeus] 'join two in matrimony' (V)

*paa [paa] 'grey, burnt' (Cv. pa 'grey', Sh. pe 'faded, empty')
pi [pi] 'then, s-pi-s-ce? [spiszé], s-pi-s-ce?-lt [spiszelt] 'yesterday' (C)
pizeh [pizeh] 'leaf, leaves' (C)
spelinzen [spelinzen] 'mouth, lip' (Cf. C's s-pli-m-cn)
po [po] 'kill' (C)
plie [plie] 'enter' (V)
npepets [npepets] 'hog, pig'
pli [pli] 'thick' (C)
peikwi AS IN pei-piikwi [peipeikui] 'women' (V)
pum [pum] 'hair, fur' (C)
pentč [pentich] 'always, year' (C)
*pqaq AS IN paq-q [pakaka] 'pay for'
piaq [piq] 'white' (C)
psay AS IN psa-p [psap] 'surprise, wonder at, admire' (C. psay 'to be scared', Cv. psay 'no sense')
pus AS IN pu-pus-čč [pupusench] 'grief, sorry' (Cf. pu?us) (C)
*papatn [patn] 'poultice'
put [put, pot] 'enough, exact, yet, still' (Cf. pu?e) (C)
ptku [ptko] 'pierce, poke, jab' (C)
ptaxw [ptag] 'spit' (C)
putep [pute] 'respected' (Cf. put) (C)
pax [pag] 'smart, wise' (C)
paxum [pgom] 'distribute, scatter' (V)
piaq [pi] 'happy' (C)
piaq AS IN s-piaq-s-cé? [spiszé] 'yesterday' (C)
pa?o[s [poos] 'foam' (I)
pa?us [poos] 'heart' (Cf. pus) (C)
*pawe [pegu] 'fair (face)'
pič(mi) [pelch(mi)] 'turn' (V)
pač AS IN č-pač-em (-em) [chptleus(em)] 'Monday' (C)
país [pta] 'bare, exposed' (C)
peś [ptle] 'bitterroot' (C)
paap [paap] 'catch fire' (V)
pa?ni? [pakani] 'month, moon' (V)
pa?o[s [poko] 'spilled' (C)
paxw, paaxw [pegu, pagu] 'shining' (C)
paax [paag] 'cure' (C)
paxw [pogo] 'old' (C)
pyaq [piak] 'ripe' (C)
pa?aw [pau] 'don't care to' (V)
qec [kez] 'jumb, run, sg.' (V)
qecc [kezch] 'elder brother' (C)
ql AS IN ql-alq[w] [kalalko] 'green wood (not dry)' (I)
**qal AS IN ql-qál-aqs [kalkalaks] 'little frog'
**qil [keil] 'seduce'
**qlčlp AS IN n-i-qlčlp-n-cút-i-s [nkalkchelpenzutis] 'He left them to hold his place.' (segments ?)
qalispék [kalispel] 'Kalispel' (V)
qelteč [keltich] 'meat, body, flesh' (C)
qltmix[w] [kaltemigu] 'man, Indian' (C)
qlów [kalów] 'beaver' (C)
qlot AS IN n-qlot-iqít [nkalotikeit] 'shovel' (C)
qii [keil] 'awake' (V)
qam(ín) [kam(ín)] 'lay, put (several objects)' (V)
qamn AS IN s-qamn-lscút [skamnelszut] 'goods, pl.'
qéne? [kéné] 'woman's sibling's son's son, grandmother' (C)
qp AS IN qp-éitč? [kapelze] 'plate' (C)
**qap AS IN qap-n-cút-n [kapenzuten] 'friend to death'
qepc [kepcz] 'spring' (C)
qapúsł [kapusel] 'wing (angel's)' (V)
**qas [kas] 'break'
qix[w] [keigu] 'drive' (C)
qx AS IN qx-min [kgamín] 'horn' (C)
qáxe? [kage] 'man's mother's sister' (C)
qeyl [keil] 'solicit, invite (bribe)' (I)
qe?nplé? [kaempile] 'we' (C)

ql AS IN ql-eps [kaleps] 'necklace, necktie' (C)
qlx[w] AS IN n-qlx[w]-us [nkaligus] 'hooked in one eye' (I)
qlí? [kalíi] 'lake' (C)
qm AS IN qm-elt-n [kamelten] 'starve', qm-qm-els [kamkamels] 'neckless' (C)
qm AS IN [kam] 'talk' (V)
qmíye? AS IN q-qmíye? [kakameic] 'fishing with the hook' (C)
qn [kan] 'contracted (as with arthritis)' (I)
qcęp AS IN s-ćęp-ćęp-éne? [skepkepene] 'sand' (C)
qasîp [kasîp] 'old, long ago' (V)
dett [kêtîte] 'skin, hide' (C)
daw [kao] 'broken' (cf. qa?u) (C)
q'w AS IN q'w-p-enč [kagupench] 'costive' (I)
dex'u AS IN q'w-mi-n [kagumin] 'I wish for it, like to have it.'
   (C. qex'(u) 'to flirt', Cv. qax' 'to flirt')
dxt [keigt] 'fond of, wish to have' (V)
dx' AS IN dx'-q'in-cn [kogkëncn] 'finger-nail' (C)
dey, qaw [kai] 'write' (cf. qi?) (C)
daw [kao] 'broken' (cf. qaw) (V)
dex'(ë) [kæ] 'pinched, squeezed; put, stick' (C, V)
qi? [ki] 'write' (cf. qey) (C)

q'ac AS IN q'ac-q'n [koazkan] 'cap, hat' (C)
q'il 'cheat' AS IN q'il-q'il [kolkoel] 'forgive' (C)
q'el(t) [kuel(t), kol] 'talk' (C)
q'ewi [koleuie] 'onion' (C)
q'i [kœl] 'cook, ripe, ready to eat' (V)
**q'um AS IN s-q'm-ûtya? [skomatie] 'coin'
q'in [koin] 'green' (V)
q'ih [koin] 'ugly, poor, mean; pity' (V)
q'est [koest] 'deep snow' (I), n-q'est [nkoest] 'deep water' (V)
q'se? AS IN s-q'se? [skussee] 'son', s-q's?-elt [skuselt]
   'nephew' (C)
**q't AS IN q'-q't-îlîn [kokotilsh] 'becoming wayward'
q'tâx'ë? [kottagee] 'louse, lice' (C)
q'aw, q'aw [koeu, koau] 'drunk, wicked' (C)
**q'aw AS IN q'aw-q'-t (-q'? ?) [koaukot] 'wicked altogether'
q'ey [koi] 'to have plenty' (V)
q'eym AS IN q'eym-q'm-m-t [kaimkomt] 'lively in working' (I)
q'u?i [kuui] 'wasp' (C)
q'a?m AS IN s-q'a?m-âqs [skoamaks] 'habitual food' (I)
q'up [koop] 'tanned, made soft' (V)

q'ic AS IN n-q'ic-tn [koizton] 'woman's late husband's brother' (C)
q'eeč [koez] 'full' (C)
q'iič [koič] 'strive, busy oneself' (V)
q'úič [kooič] 'dust' (C)
q'eqic [koic] 'carry on the back' (V)
q'oiq(s) [koik(s)] 'to plant' (I)
q'úič AS IN s-n-q'úič-šn [snkotlishin] 'stockings' (C)
q'účëšči [kotlishi] 'race, jump, pl.' (V)
q'om AS IN q'óm-qn [komkan] 'hair' (C)
q'ùn(I) [kom(i)] 'take (several)' (C)
q'mič? AS IN q'mič?-p [komip] 'died' (C)
q'n AS IN q'ú'-q'n-ews [koikomeus] 'horse of one or two years' (C)
q'úšč AS IN n-q'ú'-q'úšč-čn-šn [nkokoschinshin] 'dog' (C)
q'may [koma] 'black' (C)
q'omy [koi] 'calm' (I)
q'eqit AS IN q'eqi-čwít [koiqolt] 'lively in running' (I)
q'č? [koc] 'milk' (I)

sic [siz] 'new, after, recently, just now' (C)
sič [siz] 'blanket' (C)
suk'ú [suku] 'swollen' (C)
sl AS IN sl-aqs [slaks] 'mosquito' (C)
sil [sil] 'wrong' (C)
sul [sul] 'cold' (C)
salušse? [salusse] 'hail' (V)
sélíš [selish] 'Indians from Bitterroot' (C)
síle? [sile] 'woman's grandfather or sister's daughter's son' (C)
sin AS IN sin-ce? [sinze] 'man's younger brother' (C)
sañ [san] 'tame, gentle, mild' (C)
sípi [spi] 'strike, whip' (C)
sípi [sipi] 'rope, skin' (C)
sqelix' [skeligu] 'Indian, people, man' (C)
sqm [skam] 'worthless' (I)
sañ, sāq [ski, ske] 'split, crack' (V, C)
sus(t) [sus(t)] 'drink' (C)
*šsíi? [s'si] 'man's uncle' (Cv)
sispl [sipel] 'seven' (V)
sis [sish] 'pure' (I)
ste? [ste] '?' AS IN swet ep-sté? 'i-cí? 'Who owns that?' (I)
sot AS IN sot-lqs [sotalks] 'knitted shirt' (I)
sew [seu] 'ask, listen' (V)
sowl AS IN sewl-k' [seulkü] 'liquor' (V)
swet [suet] 'who, what' (C)
sixw [sígu] 'pour, spill liquids' (C)
suxw [sugu] 'know, recognize, understand' (C)
saq [saga] 'near, accompany' (C)
saqw [sago] 'split' (C)
sy AS IN si-sy-ús [sisius] 'brave, smart, bright, strong; much' (C)
syen, siyên [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-šutē [sheshutem] 'girl' (C)
šal [shal] 'steep' (V)
šli [shili] 'chop' (C)
šmen [shemen] 'enemy' (C)
šn [shen] 'shut' (V)
šin [shin] 'follow, accompany' (V)
šen(š) [shen(sh)] 'stone' (C)
šutē [shutem] 'girl' (V)
šet [shite] 'tree, standing' (C)
**šiw AS IN šiw-nil [shiumil] 'beyond measure'
šyst [shiust] 'pass' (C)
šey AS IN ši?-šey [shishei] 'go together, keep company' (C)
še? [shee] 'this, these' (C)
*ši? [shi] 'consent' (Cv. xa?)
**ši? AS IN **ši?-mil [shiumil] 'exceedingly', **ši?-cín
[shizin] 'first rate' (cf. šiw)
**ši?s [shiis] 'instead of'
ś?it. [shiit] 'first, ahead' (C)
*śi?t [chiit] 'keep your eyes on, guard' (usually with č-:
č-śi?t) (cf. čšit) (Cv. xa?t 'watch for')

ta [ta] 'not, no' (V)
tk'u? [tkoo] 'march, walk, pl.' (C)
tal [tal] 'loose' (V)
tlci? [telzí] 'more' (I)
tl?e AS IN c-n-tl?e-le (-le ?) [inteellele] 'on this side of the
river' (I)
tun [tam] 'not' (Cf. ta-m) (V)
tum, tum [tom] 'woman's mother' (C)
tem [tem] 'what, thing' (C)
thec? AS IN s-thec?-elt [stomchelt] 'daughter' (cf. šutž) (C)
temus [temenus] 'nothing' (C)
tunš [tonsh] 'man's nephew or niece' (C)
taq [tak] 'touch, hold down with hands' (V)
tec AS IN téš-ilš [teshilsh] 'stand up' (C)
ttwit [tituit] 'boy, young person' (C)
teu [teu] 'buy, sell' (V)
tuin [tuin] 'short, lack' (I)
tix'w [tigu] 'get' (V)
tux'(ú) [tgu] 'add' (C)
tux'w't [tugt] 'flying, pl.' (V)
tx AS IN s-tx-enč [stgenench] 'bowels' (V)
tag [tag] 'bitter' (C)
tox'w [tog] 'straight' (cf. ta?x'w) (C)
tee [teœ] 'pound' (C)
t?e [tœœ] 'passing by here' (V)
ti?m [tiim] 'melt (snow)' (V)
ta?x'w [tag] 'straight' (cf. tox'w) (C)
*šće [tech] 'brand' (Cv. štok)
tišm AS IN s-tišm-iš (-iš ?) [stiichmish] 'virgin' (C)
tuk'(ú) [toko, tku] 'set down, lay down, place' (C)
'tulix" [toligu] 'world, country' (V)
'tam [tem, tam] 'kiss, suck' (V)
'tma? [toma] 'cow' (C)
'tone? [tene] 'ear' (V)
'tap [tap] 'shot' (C)
'tpi [tpi] 'upright, standing up' (C)
'tup [top] 'twist into thread, rope' (V)
'tps AS IN s-n-tps-ews [sntepseus] 'joint, jointed' (C)
'tupye? [topie] 'woman's grandparent or grandchild' (C)
'tpy AS IN tpy-e?w [tpieut] 'things standing up' (cf. tpi) (C)
'tq AS IN s-?lq-1scut [staeklscut] 'goods' (C)
'taq AS IN taq-q-n?n [takakanun] 'I cheat him.' (C)
'taqn [takan] 'six' (V)
'tq"(u) [tko] 'to sew' (C)
'tas [tas] 'leather' (I)
'tas [tas] 'hard' (C)
'ti$h [tish] 'sweet' (C)
'ti$x'1 [tigul] 'different, strange' (V)
'tyi [ti] 'fall, descend' (C)
't?ye? [teic] 'evil, bad' (C)
'ti??ime AS IN s-ti?-ti??ime [stitichime] 'pup, little dog' (V)

wi?č [uîch] 'sea' (C)
wek" [ueku] 'hide' (C)
wli [uli] 'burn' (C)
weik" [uêlcî] 'descend' (C)
wam [uam] 'hurry, hasten' (I)
wens [uensh] 'dance (men only)' (C)
wps [ups] 'hair' (Cf. wps) (C)
werp [up] 'tail' (Cf. wp) (C)
wis [uis] 'long' (C)
wi$h [uîsh] 'stand up' (C)
was AS IN s-ci-waw-p-us [s'chauaupus] 'tear' (cf. aw) (C)
wi$y [ui] 'finish' (C)
we? [uee] 'call' (C)
wi? AS IN s-wi?-numt [siuinumt] 'young people, good looking' (V)
w?ew [ueu] 'go back, pull back (as horses)' (V, Cv. wiw 'back up')

véi [ueü] 'fish' (C)

x"c AS IN n-x"c-x"c-m-cls [nguzgmels] 'suffer, torments' (I)
x"ič [gui] 'give' (C)
**x"k" AS IN č-x"k"-els-m [chguelsm] 'we attack him'
x"uk"(ú) [goku] 'clean' (C)
   x"uk" [goko] 'divided, forked' (C)
x"ili[t] [guil(t)] 'live; debt' (C)
x"Ai [guilite] 'whittle' (C)
x"em, x"am [guem, guam] 'paint (red)' (V)
x"um [gum] 'like, desire' (I)
**x"umin [gumin] 'forbid'
x"p AS IN n-x"p-els [nigupols] 'sad' (I)
**x"s [gus] 'fierce-looking'
*x"us [gus] 'pass before' (Cv. x"us 'go, hurry')
x"ist [guist] 'walk, sg.' (V)
**x"at AS IN x"-x"at [guat] 'strenuous' (Cv. x"t 'deprive')
x"et [gut] 'hate' (C)
x"tip [gutip] 'rib' (I)

x"ti [guti] 'run, arise' (V)

x"ey AS IN x"i-x"eyÚ [guigueiú] 'beast, animal' (C)
x"uy [gui] 'go' (C)
x"uym AS IN s-x"uym-tk" [guimtek] 'ice' (I)
x"uye? AS IN s-x"u-x"ye? [guiguei] 'ant' (C)
x"e? 'raise, lift' AS IN č-x"e?-us [chgoes] 'hang', x"e?-m-í [goeami] 'fly, pl.' (V)
x"iti(t) [goe(t)] 'many, much' (C)
**x"at AS IN x"a-x"at [quaquat] 'brave, strong in war'

x̓á̓ < x̓a [gaa] 'fan' (C)

x̓ AS IN x̓-num-tn [gaunumten] 'clothes' (C)
χl AS IN n-χl-ews [ngaleus] 'bridge' (C)
χal(i) [gal(i)] 'tomorrow, daylight, clear' (C)
**χal AS IN χl-χal-m-įst [galgalemist] 'rebuke'
χel [gel] 'afraid' (C)
χalít [galit] 'ask, invite' (V)
χéli? [gelui] 'husband' (C)
χil [geil] 'just a little' (cf. χιλι, χιλι) (V)
χA AS IN χA-cin [gatizin] 'horse' (C)
χm AS IN χm-enč [gamench] 'like, love' (C)
χam(į) [gam] 'dry' (C)
χem [gem] 'heavy' (C)
χn AS IN χn-nu-n-m [gannunem] 'accidentally' (C)
χépe? [gepe] 'man's grandfather' (C)
χp AS IN s-n-χp-ews [sgapeus] 'soul' (C)
χaq [gaka] 'pay' (C)
χes [ges] 'good' (C)
**χíte? AS IN χt-χíte? 'daggar'
χxañút [gaganut] 'nine' (V)
χiw [geu] 'raw' (C)
χ? AS IN χ?-úle?χw [geulegu] 'rattle-snake' (C)
χa?χé? [gagee] 'woman's husband's father or brother' (C)
χe?n(į) [geen(i)] 'forbid' (V)
*χ?es [goes] 'content' (cf. χes 'good')

χwec [goz] 'pass by' (V)
χwic [goiz] 'cut off' (V)
**χwal AS IN χw-l-χwal [golgoal] 'sheep'
χwel [goel] 'deserted, leave, abandon' (V)
χwolq [golko] 'wagon' (C)
χwolxw AS IN χw-ų-χwlxw [gualwuq] 'fox' (C, s-χwųolu, Cv. χwųilxw)
χwum [gum] 'feel safe' (I)
χwup [gop] 'lazy' (C)
χwaq [goako] 'grind' (C)
*χwaq AS IN χw-ųq-alqs [gokolks] 'snore' (Cv. χwąq)
χ'it AS IN χ-χ'-t-éne? [chgotene] 'cropped ear' (C)
χ'iy [goi] 'sharp' (V)
χ'eo?1 AS IN χ'eo?1-ést-i [goelechstì] 'hasten, work quickly' (C)
χ'eo?(s) AS IN χ'-a-x'eo?s-m-i (stress?) [goagasìmi] 'laugh, pl.' (V)

*yaayya9 [iaa] 'in reserve, not free, fearful' (Cv. yaay 'to be backwards')
ye [ie] 'this, these' (V)
yek' AS IN yek'-mín [iekomin] 'refuse' (I)
*yal [ial] 'wrap around' (Sh. yel, yal 'be wound around')
**yul [iul] 'thick' (Cf. also **yul-ì 'dance (women only)')
yalk' [ialko] 'bend, crooked' (C)
yel AS IN s-n-yel'-ìn [snielemen] 'St. Ignatius Mission' (I)
yeix' [ilgu] 'covered' (C)
yoq' [ioko] 'lie, slander' (C)
yš [ish] 'below, bottom' (C)
yo? [io] 'strong, learn by heart' (C)
ya?t AS IN ya-yá't [iaiat] 'rare' (I)

?ôcqe? [ozkae, azkae] 'go out' (C)
?eè [ez] 'last' (C)
?âçì [azga] 'watch, look at' (C)
?ôç AS IN ?ôç-s-wìš [echsuish] 'erect, standing' (C)
?uk' [uku] 'carry, bring' (C)
?ek'ìn [ekum] 'fisheggs' (I)
?olì [oli] 'belly' (C)
?ììn [ììen] 'eat' (C)
?uíx' [uígu] 'go' (C)
?em [eem] 'feed' (C)
?emùt [emut] 'sit, sg.' (C)
?ìììì [imsh] 'move, start' (C)
?aniq [aniq] 'summer' (C)
?enés [ones] 'on my way going' (V)
?upn, ?opn [open] 'ten' (C)
?opp [eep] 'wipe, wipe off' (C)
?úse AS IT? -úse? [uusse] 'egg(s)' (C)
?iskól [iskol, iskol] 'scatter, throw away' (C)
?esól, ?asl [esel, asl] 'two' (C)
?itš [itsh] 'sleep' (C)
?ítxö? [itgoa] 'camas' (C)
?aw [au] 'recite' (C)
?axm [aukan] 'order, warn, admonish' (I)
?cxw AS IN ?cx-w-kun [egukune] 'say, speak' (C)
?ax [aga] 'stretch' (C)
?axil [ageil] 'do the same, like' (Cf. xii, ēxil) (C)
?axt AS IN n-auxt [nagot] 'go down the river by land' (C)
?oxt AS IN oxw-t-élt [ogtelt] 'baby' (C)
?ey [ei] 'take revenge' (I)
**?ayl [ail] 'shaved'
?aym [aim] 'angry, mad' (C)
?eym AS IN ?eym-óws [eimus] 'crossways, cross' (C)
?ey(s) [eei(s)] 'pay for, buy, exchange' (Cf. ?eys 'exchange, change')
?ayxw [aigo] 'tired' (C)
?ay AS IN ?ay-évt [aieut] 'dwell, stay home, sit, pl.' (C)
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