

COEUR D'ALENE

BY

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## FOREWORD

The material presented in the Grammar of the Coeur d'Alene<sup>1</sup> Language, together with a body of texts, was obtained on two field trips in the summers of 1927 and 1929 in Northern Idaho. These trips were made possible by grants from the Committee for the Study of Indian Languages, Council of Learned Societies, and grateful acknowledgment is here made to that body for the author's opportunity to begin a study of Salishan languages. In 1935 and 1936 it was possible to have Lawrence Nicodemus, a young Coeur d'Alene man, at Columbia University where the study was continued. The Columbia University Council for Research in the Humanities through a grant, made it possible to continue the work beyond a point allowed by all other financial means and this aid is greatly appreciated.

The source of the texts was twofold. Stories were obtained from Dorothy Nicodemus, widow of Teit's chief informant (RBAE 45), and from Tom Miyal. Dorothy's daughter-in-law, Julia Antelope Nicodemus, cooperated in grammatical analysis in a most interested and stimulating way. Not only did she do all in her power to help, but she encouraged her son Lawrence to learn to write. It is to him I owe such careful phonetic differentiations as *k<sup>wi</sup>'ts-* and *k<sup>wi</sup>yts-* (§ 180) and other fine distinctions, which have since turned out to have grammatical and historical significance. Interest such as that displayed by Julia and Lawrence make this kind of work, not only a great satisfaction in itself, but add to it rare pleasure.

Besides the cooperation of the Coeur d'Alene, I have had during the long period of my study, the constant, encouraging, and never-failing stimulation of discussion and help from Professor Franz Boas. From the field where he was recording Chehalis, I had frequent letters with guiding notes during my first year with the Coeur d'Alene. Since then he has never been so deeply immersed in his own studies that he could not be induced to discuss patiently a moot point in Salish, or to serve as critical audience before whom to clarify a point. Furthermore, he has placed at my disposal his own massive material.

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<sup>1</sup> The name of the tribe is a French one, Coeur d'Alène, which was derived from a tale which considered "Awl Heart" a designation of bravery. In this work the name will be written as it is for the city and the lake of the same name in Idaho, that is, without the accent.

Among this material is a comparative vocabulary collected in part by Teit, in part by himself, and a large, unfinished manuscript by Haeberlin which has served to show examples from various Salishan dialects not otherwise available. I have of course used the published material, particularly for understanding, for I do not present much comparison. The articles are few and I list them here:

Franz Boas. *12th and Final Report on the North-western Tribes of Canada*. Br. Ass. for Advancement of Sc. 1898.

*A Chehalis Text*. Int. Jour. Am. Ling. VIII: 103-110.

Franz Boas and Herman Haeberlin. *Sound Shifts in Salishan Dialects*. Int. Jour. Am. Ling. IV: 117-136.

Herman Haeberlin. *Types of Reduplication in the Salish Dialects*. Int. Jour. Am. Ling. I: 154-174.

Giorda (Jesuit Fathers). *A Dictionary of the Kalispel Language*.

Mengarini, Reverend Gregory. *A Selish or Flat-head Grammar*. 1861.

The editor and the writer regret that it is impossible to give text references in the grammar since so far we have not been able to publish the texts. For this reason and also with the general and comparative problems of Salish in mind, illustrative examples have been selected with great care, and in many cases a large number have been given. Furthermore, they have been selected to bring out various points such as vowel and accent changes and treatment of different kinds of stems. When the meanings of elements are unknown; when they are known, but examples are rare; when they have suggestive comparative value, all the known examples have been given.

The following abbreviations have been used:

caus.	causative	nom.	nominal, nominalizing
compl.	completive	pass.	passive
cont.	continuative	pl.	plural
cust.	customary	poss.	possessive
dim.	diminutive	prog.	progressive
dis.	distributive	rec.	reciprocal
fut.	future	redupl.	reduplication
glot.	glottalization	reflex.	reflexive
imp.	imperative	rep.	repetition or repetitive
inten.	intentional	s.	singular
intr.	intransitive	tr.	transitive
neg.	negative		

## 1—4. INTRODUCTION

The Salishan languages are divided into two classes, in one of which *tc* takes the place of *k* in the other.

1. Coeur d'Alene is one of the *tc*-languages of the Interior Salish. Phonetically, it shows many characteristics of other Northwest languages, Salishan, or others, its outstanding development being the *r*-series. The most specific morphological differentiation between this and other languages of the family is the development of prefixes which denote direction, to such an extent as to characterize the language and to set it somewhat apart from the other languages of the family, if we are to judge from such materials of those languages as are available.

2. Coeur d'Alene has many of the general features common to the known Salishan groups. Phonetically it is harsh-sounding due to the prevalence of palatal, faucal, and particularly, strongly glottalized sounds. The habit of slurring or weakening vowels so that complex consonant clusters result is marked, although it is not as exaggerated as among some of the tribes farther north and west, Bella Coola, for example.

3. Apparently the most stable feature of the Salishan family is the use of suffixes denoting body-parts and local ideas: this characteristic is distinctive for Coeur d'Alene as well. A second general morphological process distinctive of the family is the use of reduplication to express numerous ideas, the most widespread of which are diminution, plurality, and distribution. Coeur d'Alene uses reduplication to express other ideas as well, employing several types of initial, as well as medial and final, reduplication. I am mentioning only the most general contrasts and comparisons in this place, for I hope to make some comparative suggestions after the material has been presented (§§ 574–589, 859–876).

4. One more general observation is concerned with the place of Coeur d'Alene among the languages of the Northwest. The use of onomatopoeia is so marked in Coeur d'Alene that I know of no language with which it may be compared except Chinook, a language unrelated except as contiguity may tend to relate two linguistic families through historical causes.

## 5—7. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

5. The Coeur d'Alene language employs a large proportion of all possible grammatical processes. Of these affixing is the most obvious. Suffixes perform a variety of purposes; the number and kind of prefixes perhaps distinguish the language from other members of the Salishan family. Reduplication is a process used

in all its forms: duplication, initial, medial and final. Fine differentiation in meanings may be shown by stress accent. Tone variations, especially complicated glides, with lengthened vowels express emotional states and rhetorical patterns. Closely related to accent, in fact not to be separated from it, is vocalic dissimilation or contact influence, developed to an extraordinary degree, in which the consonants of different portions of the word affect the vowels, they in turn being affected by the accent.

6. Position is an important syntactic device. Not only is the position of words in the sentence significant, but there are fixed rules as to the position of affixes with respect to one another as well as of syntactic elements which seem at times to be independent, at others, to be prefixes. The position of words may indicate case which is not developed highly from a formal point of view. Still another grammatical device is the use of glottalization.

7. There has long been some evidence to suggest that the characteristic Salishan suffixes are derivatives of nominal forms, if they were not originally actual nouns. Coeur d'Alene adds to this evidence for it furnishes examples of noun incorporation in the verbal complex. Furthermore, verbs which may be used independently, may also be compounded. When this happens the second verb has a participial form and as such is incorporated in the verb complex. The relationship between nominal and verbal stems is so close that they are often not distinguishable. There is some evidence that certain verbal stems are derived from affixes or the reverse, or from a combination of affixes.

### 8-33. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

8. An understanding of the Coeur d'Alene verbal complex is almost an understanding of the language. It consists of the verb-stem to which are added innumerable affixes. The stem never assimilates with the affixes so as to obscure its phonetic quality.

9. As the discussion proceeds it will be seen that, with few exceptions, ideas are expressed, not by prefixes or suffixes alone, but rather by a combination of both, so that an idea expressed by one or the other alone may be greatly modified when the two are combined. The combinations are often idiomatic but, even then, each affix may retain its formal identity. The following is consequently a summary of the process of affixing rather than of its sub-processes, prefixing and suffixing.

10. Prefixes express ideas of place, aspect or condition, time and manner, and most characteristically, direction. Prefixes of one type denote locative ideas such as "in, within an enclosed space",



“on, in the sense of being attached and part of”, “on, in the sense of being attached and not a part of”, “in pursuit of, after”, etc.

11. Another group, partly in connection with specific pronominal suffixes, denotes aspect, of which there are three, completive, customary, and continuative. The first two series are treated in a similar way, but the continuative seems to be derived from some series entirely different from the other two.

12. The completive is indicated by a suffix to which are added pronominal object-subject suffixes which are, in certain cases, difficult to separate. For some combinations the completive suffix suffices. The system of slightly different object-subject pronominal suffixes is preceded by a customary suffix and the entire combination is used in connection with a customary prefix to express customary action.

13. The continuative seems to be a verbal noun and as such, may take on all the complexities of the verb while at the same time retaining the form and function of the noun. Since this is true, the nominalizing prefix, as well as the possessive affixes — prefix for first and second singular, suffixes for all other persons — should be included among the verbal affixes.

14. The Coeur d’Alene verb is interested to an exaggerated degree in *how* an action came about, whether a condition or quality is innate, brought about by natural means, acted upon by an agent or not, with or without the volition of the subject or agent. To this end several grammatical processes are employed; affixing, including suffixes denoting causation and use; reduplication and stress. In addition, vowel changes in the stem may indicate the same kind of specification.

15. Prefixes also denote verbal condition, e. g., whether a subject is so-and-so naturally or because it has been acted upon.

16. Mode or manner is expressed by particles which might be considered independent or as prefixes. I write some of them as prefixes because they assimilate with other parts of the verb complex as do the prefixes. They express future, negative answer to a question, the idea “just as”, plurality, and finality.

17. The above summary shows that prefixes perform somewhat miscellaneous functions. There is one category, however, which is consistent. Some simple prefixes give complicated meanings which have to do with direction. Besides defining the direction of the action itself each of these includes a meaning which places the subject and the object in a particular relationship with the *speaker* in regard to space and direction. These prefixes may be combined in various ways so that ideas which would require several sentences of explanation in English may be expressed by one or more of

these. Several of the simpler notions they denote are "hither", "thither," "back," and "round about".

18. When, however, the ideas become more involved they must be explained by giving them a setting. E. g. when Catbird killed Elk, he covered the body. The prefix denotes that the speaker was near Elk on "this" side, that Catbird was on the opposite side of Elk and covered him "this way".

19. It may readily be seen how involved such specification may become when several third persons are involved. The simple grammatical device of this kind of prefix may allow the implication of as many as three third persons and definitely fixes the point of view of the speaker as well as that of all the actors.

20. Suffixes express a large number of ideas. The common Salishan suffixes are numerous in Coeur d'Alene and may be said to express two main notions. The majority of them refer to body-parts which, when used with the intransitive, may be considered as nominative of reference, or as incorporated nouns according to the position of the accent although many of them do not occur independently.

21. A number of these suffixes, from our point of view locative in meaning, may be treated in exactly the same way grammatically. It is not too difficult to understand why one should say "she together-sews" if one realizes, as one must to comprehend Coeur d'Alene, that persons are not fundamentally set apart from things and places. The use or non-use of suffixes or prefix-suffix combinations depends upon the relationship of these affixes to one another as well as to the stem. According to the form of the suffix, strong with accent, weak without accent, or very weak, even with complete loss of vowel, it may be an incorporated verb form, a locative, or an instrumental. The locative affixes may be compounded, two are often used together, three are occasionally found.

22. The formation of aspects necessitated reference to pronominal affixes. In addition to objective and subjective pronominal suffixes several ideas of the dative are expressed: "for the benefit of", "in behalf of, or instead of", "for, in reference to", "as a favor to", "something, for someone". Each of these connotes its particular idea which applies to, and is expressed by, the usual objective suffix. Formal suffixes express reflexive and reciprocal actions.

23. A short series of suffixes which are only relatively free, being largely dependent upon the verb, expresses ideas such as "be in the act of" as against "be in the position of", "motion in a horseshoe curve" (as in dive, jump, dip up into), "grow . . .", "do habitually". Others in the same position give the verb an auxiliary meaning, e. g., "cause", "seem", "attempt", "arrange", "be possible", "to succeed after repeated attempts", and "to desire to".

24. Nouns in Coeur d'Alene are often related to verbs, there being little differentiation between nominal and verbal stems. For this reason the following affixes may be considered either nominal or verbal: a suffix meaning "the one who" or "that which", a prefix meaning the same thing, others meaning "it is used for", "self-doer personal", and "self-doer impersonal".

25. Stem duplication forms derivatives. Initial vowel or consonant reduplication, accompanied by glottalization which is definitely a grammatical process, expresses diminution. Repetition of the stem or parts of it denotes distributive action. Repetition of the stem with vowel change is a method of forming a plural used for some stems.

26. Progressive action, "to become . . . gradually", is shown by medial reduplication, and "to come to be . . . without an outside agent", is expressed by final reduplication. The difference between these two is probably a matter of verb classification rather than of meaning.

27. Both stress and pitch accent occur in Coeur d'Alene but pitch has grammatical importance in only a few instances and, for this reason, only stress will be indicated. The tendency to lengthen vowels gives ample opportunity for singing them. One of the most obvious functions performed by intonation is the exaggeration of ideas meaning "a long time" or a "long way". Usually the lengthening is accompanied by a rising tone and stress. Tone, however, is primarily stylistic. It gives color to the narrative and increases the effect of onomatopoeia.

28. Stress, on the other hand, has important morphological functions. It serves to distinguish ideas which are fundamental in the constitution of the verb, i. e., the accent specifies how the action came about, or the relationship of all parts of the verb-complex to one another.

29. Closely related to accent and dependent upon it is the elaborate system of vocalic dissimilation which seems to be mainly mechanical since the vowels in a complex change according to their position with respect to certain consonants. It has, however, an important derivative function.

30. Although verb complexes may be long and involved, sentences are usually simple and direct. Subordination is expressed by nominalizing the verb of the dependent clause, or by syntactic elements whose position is fixed. Position of nouns in relation to verbs and in relation to one another is an important morphological process, differentiating subject, object, agent and instrument and describing third persons.

31. Adverbs of time and place are numerous despite the fact that involved adverbial ideas are expressed by the ubiquitous directional prefixes. These are essentially verbal forms.

32. There are several ways of expressing prepositional ideas. The most obvious is the use of locative affixes, often the prepositional idea is inherent in the stem. There is a general prepositional nominal prefix which may denote a number of ideas which in Indo-European are prepositional: "by agent", "in, on, at, through", "accompaniment", "instrumental". A number of prepositional ideas such as "toward." "from", "as far as", are independent words, and still others, such as "opposite", are verb-stems or verb-complexes.

33. In short, Coeur d'Alene expresses a vast number of ideas, it employs a good variety of grammatical processes, but with few exceptions, the expression of related ideas is by no means confined to a single process. The greatest degree of specification is demanded for locative and prepositional ideas, and for explaining the origin of a condition, quality, or action. These ideas may be expressed by affixing, reduplication, or stress, but in addition, greater exactitude may be attained through the use of vocabulary. Adverbs, demonstratives, and interjections aid the grammatical processes in securing clarity.

### 34-250. PHONOLOGY

#### 34-46. VOWELS

34. Vowels in Coeur d'Alene have certain peculiarities of modification, although essentially they belong to the better-known categories. Some of the modifications are apparently an expression of peculiar speech habits, others are due to dissimilation, and still others, to grammatical processes such as reduplication.

35. To illustrate and explain the modifications of the vowels which seem essential I am writing them in four columns:

I	II	III	IV
<i>a</i>	<i>a<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>a<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>a<sup>a</sup>a</i>
<i>ä</i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ä</i>
<i>E</i>	—	—	—
<i>i</i>	<i>i<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>i<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>i<sup>i</sup>i</i>
<i>ı</i>	—	—	—
<i>u</i>	<i>u<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>u<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>u<sup>u</sup>u</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>o<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>o<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>o<sup>o</sup>o</i>
<i>ʔ</i>	—	—	—

36. The quality of *a* is as *a* in "father", but the tongue is often drawn farther back in anticipation of a faucal. The sound *ä* is closely related to *a* grammatically although it is not the closest phonetic relative. The nearest sound we have in English is *ä* in "at", but the Coeur d'Alene sound is formed by drawing the larynx down and back. If the tongue is placed in position for English *ä*, then pulled back keeping the tip down, the sound will be correct

for Coeur d'Alene. A sound  $\varepsilon$  which more nearly approaches  $e$  in "met" is a variant of  $\ddot{a}$ , not, I believe, a different phoneme.

37. The sound represented by  $i$  is midway between  $i$  in "*pique*" and  $e$  in French "*été*". It more nearly approaches the latter when accented and when found in combination with the palatals or faucals. Closely related to  $i$  but found usually in unaccented position is the vowel  $\iota$  which is open as in "in". This sound is to  $i$  as  $E$  is to  $\ddot{a}$ , and as  $\upsilon$  is to  $u$ .

38. Although the scheme does not quite correspond to the conservative scheme of vowel order, I have arranged it this way because the vowels in the groups here set off are closely related in certain respects. An understanding of Coeur d'Alene grammar requires a comprehension of vowel changes and in this scheme  $\circ$  is more closely related to  $u$  than to  $a$ . The vowel  $u$  which may be heard as  $o$ , is midway between  $u$  and  $o$ , its timbre depending upon its setting. However, it is pronounced with the habitual Coeur d'Alene position of the lips which is a drawing-back rather than a rounding. It does not seem necessary to use the symbol  $o$ . When, as frequently happens under given phonetic and morphological conditions,  $u$  is weakened it becomes  $\upsilon$ . This weak form corresponds with  $E$  for which no timbre can be detected although it may be theoretically apparent.

39. The symbol  $\circ$  represents roughly the sound of *aw* in English "law", but the tongue is drawn farther back. It occurs most commonly in connection with the dorsal consonants.

40. Variations of vowel quality and quantity in Coeur d'Alene are shown in the second, third and fourth columns. Only when they are weakened for grammatical purposes and in a few other cases are the vowels short in the usual sense of the word. They are merely *relatively* short, but the tendency to lengthen manifests itself in ways other than by hanging on to the vowel for a longer time. Pure lengthening is utilized primarily for the expression of emotion, exaggeration which extends time and distance, and for other rhetorical effects. Other devices related to lengthening are resorted to for grammatical purposes.

41. In some cases vowels are doubled, that is rearticulated without a glottal stop. Verb stems sometimes have doubled vowels. More commonly, however, the second articulation is not complete, but is heard only as a whisper, in which case it is written as an echo-vowel as in column II. An even more common evidence of parasitism is what sounds like a whispered repetition of the vowel with an intervening glottal stop which is really the release of the glottal stop in the vowel position. This type of articulation is written as in column III. A further variant, one employed in medial reduplication, is that of column IV, the vowel being repeated after a

glottal stop. This may be used also if a suffix ending in a parasitic vowel is followed by another suffix.

42. Although there is considerable assimilation of consonants and although vowels may be weakened or changed through the influence of certain consonants, the assimilation of vowel with vowel is rare. In the cases where vowels may occur in juxtaposition because of synthesis they usually retain their identity. I cite only a few of the more exaggerated cases by way of illustration:

*ni'k-wä'-i'qs-Ents*, he bit his (somebody else's) nose  
*t-k-wä'-i'is-ums*, he is biting on it  
*qi'v't-cEn*, he has shoes on  
*qa'a'-u'tumx<sup>w</sup>*, it (solid object) was stuck into ground  
*ni'qä'ä'i'wäs*, it was stuck in between

43. When a vowel occurs finally in a word (not always in a syllable) it is usually followed by a glottal stop with the characteristic echo vowel, for example:

*si'k-wä'ä*, water  
*qi't*, it (solid object) stuck on

44. If the stem or affix is followed by another affix or stem, the echo vowel may remain as a whisper or it may be rearticulated after the glottal stop:

*äsä'äsi'dist*, two nights  
*qi'nts*, he stuck it on

45. Although the greater number of words ending in a vowel have the whispered vowel release of the glottal stop, a few end in the ordinary form of the vowel:

*su'ä'su'tä*, rubber (*su't*, stretch)  
*pä'tstcElä*, leaf  
*si'lu'*, switch

I am not able to analyze any of them and I think it likely that they are abbreviations, for there is a strong tendency to abbreviate.

46. There are few diphthongs in Coeur d'Alene. Since the tendency is to keep vowels belonging to different parts of the word separate there is no need to discuss the few diphthongs at length: *ai*, *äi*, *ui*, *vi*.

## 47-67. CONSONANTS

47. The consonants are grouped as follows:

	stops			nasals		fricatives			affricatives		
	son.	surd	glot.	son.	glot.	son.	surd	glot.	son.	surd	glot.
Bilabial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p̣</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ṃ</i>	<i>w</i>	—	<i>ẉ</i>	—	—	—
Dental	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	—	<i>s</i>	—	—	<i>ts</i>	<i>ṭṣ</i>
Sibilant	—	—	—	—	—	( <i>j</i> )	<i>c</i>	—	<i>dj</i>	<i>tc</i>	<i>ṭc̣</i>
Palatal	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>y</i>	<i>ỵ</i>	—	—	—
Palatal-lab- ialized	<i>gw</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>ḳ<sup>w</sup></i>	—	—	—	<i>x<sup>w</sup></i>	—	—	—	—
Velar	—	<i>q</i>	<i>q̣</i>	—	—	—	<i>ɣ</i>	—	—	—	—
Velar-lab- ialized	—	<i>q<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>q̣<sup>w</sup></i>	—	—	—	<i>ɣ<sup>w</sup></i>	—	—	—	—
Lateral	—	—	—	—	—	<i>l</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>l̥</i>	—	—	—
Trills:											
Apical	—	—	—	—	—	<i>r</i>	—	<i>ṛ</i>	—	—	—
Faucal	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>R</i>	<i>Ṛ</i>	—	—	—
Faucal-lab- ialized	—	—	—	—	—	<i>r<sup>w</sup></i>	—	<i>ṛ<sup>w</sup></i>	—	—	—
Glottal	<i>ʔ</i>										
Aspirate	<i>h</i>										

48. The most noticeable feature of the general scheme of consonants is the small number of sonants.

49. The stops in Coeur d'Alene have some aspiration, *d* and *t* are slightly more forward than they are in English, otherwise they follow the usual definition for the categories in which they are placed. Glottalization, either as an independent sound, or used in articulating a consonant, is unusually strong.

50. The unusual consonants *ṃ*, *ẉ*, *ṇ*, *ỵ*, *ḷ*, *ʔ*, *ṛ*, *ṛ<sup>w</sup>*, belong to a series which take the glottalization for grammatical reasons; they are common indeed. With the exception of the *r*-group, these are characteristic of a number of languages of this region, particularly of Tlingit, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl and Nootka.

51. Stop *b* and sibilant *j* do not occur frequently. A few stems with *b* initial seem to be foreign. I have placed in parentheses the sonant sibilant *j* because it is found, pronounced properly as in French, in a few words taken from the French. Its use is not consistent however:

*tä<sup>ä</sup>swi<sup>ʔ</sup>p*, Jew, and *su<sup>u</sup>sä<sup>ʔ</sup>p*, Joseph, but *äiji<sup>ʔ</sup>p*, Egypt

52. Labialization in Coeur d'Alene is use of the lips, but not rounding. Wherever it occurs, even in pronouncing *w* which is sonant or glottalized, it is made by placing the lips so as to leave

only a narrow slit, then drawing them back; the upper lip hardly moves.

53. The sonant I have written *w* may be a consonant or, in certain positions may change to a vowel with *u* value. It is to be differentiated from <sup>w</sup> which signifies the labialization of a consonant, and which may also take on the vocalic quality of *u* in which case it is written *u*.

54. It is a noteworthy fact that the palatal and mid-palatal stops occur only in labialized form. The reason for this is historical, for *k* has become *tc*; *k̄* has become *tč*, and *x* has become *c*.<sup>1</sup> I have found one word which has *k̄*: *tšEKk̄i's*, a boy's name, which Lawrence said at once must be foreign, probably Nez Percé.

55. Where *g*, *k*, and *k̄* have been written they are followed by *u* and must be understood to be labialized.

56. Because of the unusual freedom with which stems and affixes may combine in Coeur d'Alene it happens frequently that *t* and *s*, or *t* and *c* may meet, in which case each may retain its identity; the combination is not necessarily an affricative. The consonants are kept distinct by placing a period between them, e. g., *t.c*, *t.s*.

57. It should be carefully noted that I have differentiated between *tš*, the glottalized affricative; *ts'*, affricative followed by the glottal stop; and *t.s*, two distinct sounds. The same kind of differentiation is preserved by consistent symbols for the other sounds.

58. The most distinctive phonetic characteristic of Coeur d'Alene is the *r*-series. The sound written *r* is close to the apical slightly trilled initial *r* as it is spoken in most parts of the United States, although the tongue is pulled farther back and the *r* is anticipated by drawing the preceding vowels correspondingly farther back.

59. The faucal trill which may be surd (*R*) or labialized (*r<sup>w</sup>*) is difficult to make and to describe. In order to achieve it, place the tongue in position for *ä*, draw the larynx down and back as I have described it for Coeur d'Alene *ä*, and trill the faucal region. For the labialized *r<sup>w</sup>* place the lips in the position for labialization characteristic of Coeur d'Alene at the same time following directions for *R*.

60. There is a general tendency to draw back the throat in enunciating velars and faucals. In anticipating these sounds the vowels also become affected, so that for instance, *a* before *r* becomes *ɔ*. Further, although there is no velar *gw*, in one case *g* preceded by *ɔ* influenced by following *g* causes *gw* to become *g<sup>w</sup>*. Similarly, although ordinarily *h* is nearly as in English with perhaps a little

<sup>1</sup> Boas and Haerberlin. Sound Shifts in Salishan Dialects, Int. Jour. of Am. Ling. Vol. IV: 117—136.



more breath, when it precedes a velar or faucal the breath comes from very far back in the mouth. This setting, like that of *gw*, is rare.

61. As a sound in its own right, the glottal stop (ʔ) is important in Coeur d'Alene. Although initial vowels are not preceded by the glottal stop, certain phonetic changes due to grammatical processes suggest that they might once have been. In narrative, for instance:

<i>tcäʔküʔEntEm</i>	<i>äʔtmiʔxʷuʔumxʷ</i>	<i>aʔtsaʔxEl</i>	<i>attcEmaʔsqit</i>
may it be done on earth		just as	in heaven

62. But if a verb stem with vowel initial be preceded by a prefix, the final consonant of that prefix must be glottalized or the consonant (or vowel) separated from the initial vowel of the stem by the stop. Furthermore, if a stem beginning with a vowel is reduplicated, the final consonant of the reduplicated portion may be glottalized, or it may, like a vowel, be set off from the stem by the glottal stop.

63. There are so many cases in Coeur d'Alene where vowels seem to disappear and consonants to do duty for them, that I hesitate to speak of consonants being used vocally. Such a statement seems to me to hinge upon our own feeling that in English, and in other Indo-European languages, we are not accustomed to proceed very far with our speech without the use of a vowel. A feeling like this seems to me utterly lacking in Coeur d'Alene, or at any rate the Coeur d'Alene speaker will not anticipate a vowel nearly as readily as we should. The following are by no means rare examples:

*itaqmüʔsmEntwäc*, they are spying on each other  
*tcüptcüpʔxʷaniʔn̄n̄*, scissors

64. Since this is the case it is open to question as to whether sounds like *m̄* and *n̄* above are used vocally, as is the entire problem of syllabification. There seems to be a weak vowel after initial consonant reduplication, and weak vowels are often of the greatest importance. The difference in juxtaposition of consonants seems to be one of degree, Coeur d'Alene tolerating large clusters as against English not allowing them.

65. The Coeur d'Alene has, however, a mechanical device which enables him to get from one consonant to another without a vowel glide. With sounds like *m*, *n*, *w*, *l*, *r*, there is a kind of anticipatory voicing which is characteristic and seems to be purely mechanical. It is as if the voicing comes on the closure, rather than on the release, of the nasal and fricative sonants.

66. When a complex consonant cluster is used, each sound is made distinctly, although no need is felt to insert a vowel. A

common cluster is *-ttc*; the *t* is carefully released before the closure is made for *tc* but the pronunciation is not *-tetc*.

67. It is characteristic of the Coeur d'Alene that they speak with little movement of the lips and teeth; it often seems as if they speak with the teeth clenched. In addition to this habit Julia and Lawrence (mother and son) speak out of one side of the mouth, that is, they move the lips on one side only. I noticed that Ben, Julia's younger son, speaks this way too. This may be a family, rather than a tribal habit, but Lawrence tells me he knows others who have it.

#### 68-69. ACCENT

68. Since it is one of the chief grammatical devices, stress accent is of the greatest importance in Coeur d'Alene. Every word of more than one syllable has a definite stress which remains stable, or changes for cause. Stress is primary, only in very long words is there evidence of secondary stress and that is weak. Accent, as will be shown when the question is discussed from a grammatical point of view (651-698), is closely related to vocalic dissimilation. Changes from *i* to *ä* or from *u* to *ɔ* depend upon accent as well as upon other factors. Accented vowels illustrate better than others the timbre of the vowels *i* and *u*, for when they are accented their position, i. e., *i* as between *i* and *e*, and *u* as near to *o*, is heard.

69. All vowels have tone, but it is used as a rhetorical and emotional device, only rarely is it grammatical and when so is definitely dependent upon length.

#### 70. QUANTITY

70. The duration of vowels is important but I have not marked relative lengths, because if a vowel is accented it is long; unaccented vowels are relatively short, and the weakened vowels are very short indeed. Weakened vowels do not ordinarily take an accent, but there are a few sound words which seem to depend upon shortness for their differentiation in meaning from others which are otherwise identical. These I have marked with (˘) above the sound if it is not one of the obscure vowels. These words have the accent on the short (weak) vowel, but sometimes lengthen the following consonant:

*u<sup>u</sup>pE's* . . . , sound of Mosquito's grandmother bursting  
*u<sup>u</sup>q<sup>w</sup>u'n*, it is green  
*u<sup>u</sup>pă'x*, he seems wise  
*u<sup>u</sup>di'sisis* . . . , they are swarming  
*u<sup>u</sup>tcă'y*, it is solid (cp. *u<sup>u</sup>tca'i*, it is hard)  
*quq<sup>w</sup>u'd*, black horse

## 71-104. PHONETIC STRUCTURE

71-79. *General Remarks*

71. Often the stem alone is the complete word in Coeur d'Alene. Any of the strong vowels (*u, ɔ, a, ä, i*) may be the initial of a stem (or word), although the number of stems having vowel initials is not large. In fact any of the vowels may occupy initial, medial, or final position. Only one of the consonants, *r*, with its glottalized derivative, *r̥*, is never found as stem initial. The favorite initials are the labials, *p, p̥*, and *m*; the dentals, *d, t, t̥, n*; sibilants, *s, ts, ts̥, c, tc*, and *t̥c*; all the palatals and velars; the laterals, *l* and *l̥*; and the trill, *R*. Any one of the series: *m̥, w̥, n̥, y̥, l̥, R̥, r̥<sup>w</sup>* which are really glottalized derivatives may be initials. This might happen in diminutives with initial reduplication and glottalization of the sounds of the series. *y̥* may be a stem initial but it is not common. The affricative *dj* is used seldom in the language but it may appear as an initial, or as the final sound of a stem.

72. The only consonant clusters which appear at the beginning of a stem are: *tp, tw, tw̥, sw*, so that the remarkable clustering of consonants is not due to a great extent to the structure of the stem, at least as far as the initial is concerned.

73. The most common form of the stem consists of consonant-vowel-consonant, or consonant-vowel-consonant cluster. A few stems begin with a vowel. Of these there are three types: 1. those consisting of vowel and consonant; 2. those composed of vowel and consonant-cluster; and 3. those made up of two syllables, i. e., vowel-consonant-vowel, or vowel-consonant-vowel-consonant. The stem, *atsqä<sup>ɔ</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>* is the only one which has the vowels separated by a consonant-cluster, but I suspect that *-ä<sup>ɔ</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>* should be treated as a suffix in which case the stem, *atsq*, would conform to the second group of vowel-initial stems, the one consisting of vowel and consonant-cluster. Stems with vowel initials, although few in number, are an important group in the language, for from some of them the most frequent, varied and useful idioms are derived, and all require phonetic changes of the prefixes which are used with them.

74. Some stems, as well as compounds, end with vowels. The most usual vowel ending is of the type *-ä<sup>ɔ</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, that is, the final glottalization is released with the mouth in the preceding vowel position. Stems of this sort may consist of consonant and vowel only, or they may be bisyllabic, in which case, they affect prefixes and accent.

75. In the most typical group of stems, those consisting of CVC, any consonant, without exception, may occur as a final sound. There seems to be little favoritism, for only *dj, r̥, R̥, r̥<sup>w</sup>*, and *h* are infrequent. Of these *dj* and *h* are not common anyway and the other

three are the result of glottalization for grammatical purposes (§§ 613–616).

76. A remarkable characteristic of stems is the fact that labialized sounds predominate, either as initial or final consonants, or represented by an *u* vowel. It will be remembered that *tw*, *tw'* and *sw* are some of the infrequent initial clusters. They could of course be interpreted as labialized sounds. In a count of over four hundred stems 72% were found to have some labialization in the stem, either as initial, vowel, or final consonant. Of those containing final consonant clusters more than 80% have a labialized consonant as part of the cluster. The percentages of labialized initials (20%) and labialized final consonants (32%) are lower, but because not many are overlapping — fewer than ten stems have labialized initial *and* final consonant — the percentage of this group of stems having some form of labialization is high.

77. The clustering of consonants through combination is nothing short of amazing. This is due to several facts: although the language feels strongly the impact of a consonant meeting a vowel, it hardly minds the juxtaposition of consonants at all. When consonants occur side by side each is felt as distinct and the feeling that some should be slighted or assimilated is restricted to a few sounds and settings (§§ 121—197). The fact that vowels are weakened so as often to seem lost altogether shows that consonant clusters are readily tolerated. Several grammatical processes make it necessary for consonants either to cluster or to combine, the language usually chooses to allow clusters. For example, many of the affixes are themselves single consonants or clusters, so that when they are combined with the stem, complicated clusters are inevitable. Still another reason for this phenomenon is the fact that the suffixes, also containing clusters, may lose their vowels entirely and thus two clusters may meet and all the consonants retain their identity.

78. By the same token there are occasions where sounds are doubled, initially, finally, or in the middle of a word. Each has its function and cannot be omitted. Indeed there are examples in which there are three *s*'s all functioning, none assimilated:

*tcitu<sup>u</sup>s-s-si'gw-untsis*, he was to go so far as to ask for it (*tcitu<sup>u</sup>s-*, hither this far; *s-*, inten.; *sigw*, ask)

Although clustering is tolerated, even favored, there are, as always, definite limitations to the consonants which combine.

79. Besides the extensive use of glottalization and the labialized character of the stems, there is a third major impression conveyed by the sounds of the language, namely, the predominance of sibilants. This is easily understood when we consider that the early progenitor of Coeur d'Alene must have had the usual quota of sibilants to which, in the course of development, all the *k* sounds which had

changed into affricative sibilants were added. This does not explain many other occurrences of *s*, *c*, *ts*, *tš*, *tc*, *tč*, but it naturally makes the frequency of such sounds greater than might otherwise be expected.

In the following discussion I am omitting doubling which may occur as the result of reduplication and clustering due to the reduction of the vowel when certain stems lose the accent so that initial and final consonants seem to stand together. I feel it is more accurate to write a weak vowel in such cases.

### 80–85. Clusters Resulting from Initial Combination

80. A table made to show which sounds combine initially, shows that the possibilities are confined to four types of sounds as the first in the cluster, *t*, *s*, *ts*, *tc*, in other words, *t* and the sibilants.

Since *s-* is the nominalizer and all stems beginning with a consonant, without exception, may be nominalized by merely prefixing it, we find *s* combined initially with any of the consonants.

81. The dental stop, *t*, may combine initially with the bilabials, with the sibilants, palatals, velars, with *R*, *r<sup>w</sup>* and *h*, a rather large variety. It should be noted, however, that *t* does not form a cluster with any of the laterals (cp. § 131, b). The paired clusters are: *tp*, *tḡ*, *tm*, *tw*, *tts*, *ttš*, *t.c*, *tdj*, *ttc*, *ttč*, *tgw*, *tk<sup>w</sup>*, *tk<sup>w</sup>*, *tx<sup>w</sup>*, *tq*, *tḡ*, *tḡ*, *tq<sup>w</sup>*, *tḡ<sup>w</sup>*, *tḡ<sup>w</sup>*, *tR*, *tḡ<sup>w</sup>*, *th*.

82. The affricative *tc* is next to *t* in its frequency as the initial of a cluster. It combines with the dentals, sibilants, palatals, and velars, and, unlike *t*, with all the laterals, but not with the trills: *tcd*, *tct*, *tcl*, *tcn*, *tcn*, *tcs*, *tctš*, *tcc*, *tctc*, *tcy*, *tcx<sup>w</sup>*, *tcq*, *tcḡ*, *tcq<sup>w</sup>*, *tcḡ<sup>w</sup>*, *tcl*, *tcl*, *tcl*.

83. The rest of the initial paired sounds are few: *tss*, *tsc*, *tsx<sup>w</sup>*, *tsḡ*, and of these *tss* is the same as *tcs*, which changes in certain settings. Note that *ts* does not act as the initial of a cluster with dentals (cp. §§ 86, 90).

84. The combinations of more than two sounds follow the same pattern as those of only two. The combination of *s* with the paired clusters mentioned above may be readily understood: *stp*, *stḡ*, *stts*, *sttš*, *st.c*, *sttc*, *sttč*, *stgw*, *stk<sup>w</sup>*, *stk<sup>w</sup>*, *stq<sup>w</sup>*, *stḡ<sup>w</sup>*, *stR*, *str<sup>w</sup>*, *snḡ<sup>w</sup>*, *snḡ*, *ssw*, *stssm*, *sctš*, *stct*, *stcs*, *stscx<sup>w</sup>*, *stcl*.

85. The other initial clusters follow the same pattern of combining sibilants with bilabials, dentals, other sibilants, palatals, velars, and the lateral surd: *tssp*, *tstctš*, *tssx<sup>w</sup>*, *tctm*, *tctḡ*, *tcsḡ*, *tcsw*, *tcsd*, *tcst*, *tcsḡ*, *tcsts*, *tcstš*, *tcstc*, *tcstč*, *tcsk<sup>w</sup>*, *tcsx<sup>w</sup>*, *tcsḡ*, *tcsq<sup>w</sup>*, *tcsḡ<sup>w</sup>*, *tcsx<sup>w</sup>*, *tcst*.

### 86–99. Clusters at End of Stem or Word

86. The following clusters of two sounds occur at the end of stems: *ps*, *pc*, *px<sup>w</sup>*, *pq*, *pḡ*, *pḡ<sup>w</sup>*, *pḡ*; — *pḡx<sup>w</sup>*, *pḡḡ*; — *mp*, *mts*, *mc*,

*mx<sup>w</sup>*; — *m̄p*, *m̄s*, *m̄c*, *m̄t*; — *wt*, *wc*; — *w̄c*, *w̄q*, *w̄t*; — *dx<sup>w</sup>*; — *tn̄*, *ttc*, *tk<sup>w</sup>*, *tx<sup>w</sup>*, *tq*, *tq̄*, *t̄x*, *tq<sup>w</sup>*, *tx<sup>w</sup>*; — *tp̄*, *t̄s*, *tt̄c*, *tk̄<sup>w</sup>*; — *np̄*, *ns*, *nc*, *ntc*; — *n̄p̄*, *n̄t*, *n̄x<sup>w</sup>*, *n̄x*; — *sp*, *sq<sup>w</sup>*, *s̄q<sup>w</sup>*, *s̄t*; — *tst*, *tstc*, *tsk<sup>w</sup>*, *tsx<sup>w</sup>*; — *t̄sp*, *t̄sx<sup>w</sup>*, *t̄s̄x*; — *djp*; — *tct*, *tcs*; — *yx<sup>w</sup>*; — *ȳs*, *ȳx*; — *gwt*, *gwts*; — *k<sup>w</sup>s*, *k<sup>w</sup>l*; — *x<sup>w</sup>s*, *x<sup>w</sup>ts*, *x<sup>w</sup>q*; — *qt*, *qs*; — *q<sup>w</sup>t*, *q<sup>w</sup>s*; — *x<sup>w</sup>p*, *x<sup>w</sup>p̄*, *x<sup>w</sup>t*, *x<sup>w</sup>q̄*; — *ls*, *lc*, *ltc*, *lt̄c*, *lk̄<sup>w</sup>*, *lx<sup>w</sup>*, *lq*, *lq̄*, *lq<sup>w</sup>*, *lx<sup>w</sup>*; — *tn*, *tc*, *tx<sup>w</sup>*, *tq*; — *lx<sup>w</sup>*, *lq*; — *rp̄*, *rt*, *rs*, *rtc*, *rk<sup>w</sup>*, *rk̄<sup>w</sup>*, *rq*, *r̄q̄*; — *r̄k<sup>w</sup>*; — *r<sup>w</sup>l*, *r<sup>w</sup>t*.

87. Clusters of more than two sounds which terminate stems are *pqs*, *pls*, *tst*, *nttc*, *stq*, *tctsx<sup>w</sup>*, *x<sup>w</sup>tstc*, *x̄t.c*, *lttc*, *lstq*, *rk<sup>w</sup>s*.

88. The number of clusters terminating suffixes is smaller than that in stems. Of them *ps*, *mt*, *mx<sup>w</sup>*, *tn̄*, *ns*, *ntc*, *tct*, *tcs*, *gwt*, *qs*, *ls*, *lc*, *lx<sup>w</sup>*, *tx<sup>w</sup>*, are the same as those ending stems. Since the relationship between stem and suffix is so close, it is not remarkable to find stem and suffix made up in the same way, but suffixes do not have nearly the variety which stems have. Clusters of two consonants found at the end of suffixes, and not of stems are: *mt*, *w̄t*, *nt*, *nx<sup>w</sup>*, *st*, *tcn̄*, *ȳt*, *lp*, *lt*, *lq<sup>w</sup>*, *lt*, *tp*, *tq<sup>w</sup>*.

89. Of the more complex clusters stem and suffix may end in *stq*, *x<sup>w</sup>tstc*. Suffixes may terminate in: *tcst*, *lps*, *lpq<sup>w</sup>*, *lqs*, whereas stems do not.

90. Final pairing of consonants is more varied than initial, as is also more complicated clustering. The most striking fact of final pairing is that practically the same sounds combine with *t* as the initial of a final cluster, as combine as the initial of an initial cluster: *tp*, *tp̄*, *tm*, *tw*, *tst*, *t.c*, *ttc*, *tt̄c*, *tqw*, *tk<sup>w</sup>*, *tk̄<sup>w</sup>*, *tx<sup>w</sup>*, *tq*, *tq̄*, *t̄x*, *tq<sup>w</sup>*, *tq̄<sup>w</sup>*, *t̄x<sup>w</sup>*, *tR*, *tr<sup>w</sup>*, and one not found initially, *tn̄*. It will be noted that the dental in this setting is not followed by as full a set of sibilants as is the case in initial clusters. Its absence is due to assimilation (§ 131).

91. In reverse order, i. e., consonant followed by *t*, the series is nearly complete, all consonants, except *m̄*, *t̄*, and *d̄j*, being capable of combining with *t* in a final combination. None of the stems ending in *t̄* which I have, have the *-t* form (§ 300); those ending in *d̄j* are so few as to be unrepresentative, but they also could not take this form.

92. Another series which is rather full but not as complete as the *t*-combinations is that including *p* and *p̄*. As the initial of a final cluster they enter combination as follows: *pt*, *ps*, *px<sup>w</sup>*, *pq*, *pq̄*, *p̄x*, *p̄t*, *p̄t*, *p̄x<sup>w</sup>*, *p̄q̄*. As the final sound of a paired cluster they are found: *mp*, *wp*, *dp*, *tp*, *tp̄*, *np*, *n̄p*, *sp*, *tsp*, *t̄sp*, *t̄cp*, *k<sup>w</sup>p*, *k̄<sup>w</sup>p*, *x<sup>w</sup>p*, *x̄<sup>w</sup>p*, *lp*, *tp̄*, *lp̄*, *rp*, *rp̄*, *r<sup>w</sup>p*, *m̄p̄*, *t̄p̄*, *x<sup>w</sup>p̄*, *x̄<sup>w</sup>p̄*, *rp̄*. The fact that *p̄* is not found in as many combinations as *p* is doubtless due to the fact that it has no grammatical value as has *p*, rather than to the fact that it is not phonetically capable of entering into those combinations.

93. The combinations of single sounds with final *s* are reasonably complete: *ps*, *ms*, *m̄s*, *w̄s*, *ns*, *n̄s*, *tss*, *tcs*, *k<sup>w</sup>s*, *k̄<sup>w</sup>s*, *x<sup>w</sup>s*, *qs*, *q<sup>w</sup>s*, *q̄<sup>w</sup>s*, *ts*.

94. The final clusters with *s* as initial are, however, less numerous: *sp, sw̃, st, sts, sq<sup>w</sup>*.

95. The series with laterals as first element of paired clusters is well represented: *lp, lm, lt, lc, ltc, ltč, lk<sup>w</sup>, lk<sup>w</sup>, lx<sup>w</sup>, lq<sup>w</sup>, lq<sup>w</sup>, lx<sup>w</sup>, lp, lm, lt, ln, ls, lts, lc, lx<sup>w</sup>, lq, lq<sup>w</sup>, lp, lt, lc, ltc, ltč, lk<sup>w</sup>, lk<sup>w</sup>, lx<sup>w</sup>, lq*.

96. The only combinations of a lateral as the final sound of a paired cluster which I have found are *pt̃, mt̃, wt̃*.

97. The trills appear as initials in final clusters: *rp, rp̃, rt, rtc, rk<sup>w</sup>, rġ, rk<sup>w</sup>, Rp, Rt, r<sup>w</sup>p, r<sup>w</sup>t, r<sup>w</sup>t̃*, but only with *t* as final elements of a cluster: *tR, tr<sup>w</sup>*.

98. The rest of the final paired consonants, though numerous, are somewhat scattered: *px<sup>w</sup>, pq, pġ, pġ, pġx<sup>w</sup>, pġġ, mts, mc, mx<sup>w</sup>, wc, ws, wġ, dx<sup>w</sup>, ttč, tk<sup>w</sup>, nm, nts, nc, ntc, ñts, ñc, ñx, tstc, tsk<sup>w</sup>, t̃sx<sup>w</sup>, t̃sx, cc, tc̃, ym̃, yġ, yġ, gwñ, gwts, x<sup>w</sup>ts, x<sup>w</sup>q, x<sup>w</sup>ġ, qc*.

99. Final clusters having more than two elements show tendencies similar to those with which we are already familiar but they are more elaborate. The sounds which combine are chiefly bilabials, sibilants, palatals, velars, laterals and trills, the following groupings being found. Those not found in § 103 are due to combinations of final stem consonant with suffix clusters.

*pstq, ptct, pqs, pls, ptx<sup>w</sup>, p̃tct*  
*mt.c, mstp, mstm, mcs, mt̃x<sup>w</sup>, m̃cs, mtct, m̃tcs, m̃lt, m̃lts, m̃t̃x<sup>w</sup>*  
*dtct, tx<sup>w</sup>s*  
*nt.c, nttc, ntcs, ñttc, ñtcs, ñtct, ñlts*  
*stp, st.s, st.c, stq, stx<sup>w</sup>, stct, st̃ts, st̃x<sup>w</sup>*  
*tstcs, ts̃lts*  
*t̃sx̃st̃x<sup>w</sup>*  
*cps, cpc, cpt̃x<sup>w</sup>, ctct, ct̃x<sup>w</sup>*  
*tctp, tc̃lts, tc̃lct, tc̃lts, t̃ct̃x<sup>w</sup>, t̃ct̃x<sup>w</sup>, t̃ct̃x<sup>w</sup>*  
*dj̃lts*  
*yst̃x<sup>w</sup>, yx<sup>w</sup>t, yq<sup>w</sup>t, ylt, ylt̃x<sup>w</sup>*  
*gwts, k<sup>w</sup>mp, k<sup>w</sup>lts*  
*x<sup>w</sup>tñ, x<sup>w</sup>tstc, x<sup>w</sup>tct*  
*ġtp, ġst̃x<sup>w</sup>, ġstp*  
*xt.c, q<sup>w</sup>sc*  
*lpq<sup>w</sup>, lttc, lstq, ltct, lt̃ts, lqs, lq<sup>w</sup>t*  
*ttct, t̃x<sup>w</sup>s, tt̃x<sup>w</sup>*  
*lpt̃, ltsq, ltct, lqs, lt̃ts, l̃xs, lt̃x<sup>w</sup>*  
*rtct, rk<sup>w</sup>s, rt̃x<sup>w</sup>, r<sup>w</sup>st̃x<sup>w</sup>, r<sup>w</sup>lts*

#### 100-104. Clusters within a Word

100. Should the student, innocent of clustering as its possibilities develop among the Salishan and other peoples of the Northwest, think that the previous discussion of initial and final clusters is elaborate, he need now merely contemplate the possibilities for the appearance of clusters within the word, i. e., between vowels, to get a conception of the genius of the Salishan people for using con-





pair. In looking down the chart the most noticeable vacancies are the combinations of *dj* with other sounds, but this is in accord with the slight use of *dj* in general. The scant use of *q<sup>w</sup>* as the first element of the pair is not so easily explained.

102. Although *l* is frequent as the first element of the pair, it is

<i>y</i>	<i>y̆</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q̆</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>q<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>q̆<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>l</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>l̆</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>r<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>r̆<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>h</i>
<i>py</i>		<i>pgw</i>	<i>pk<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>px<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>pq</i>	<i>pq̆</i>	<i>p̆x</i>	<i>pq<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>pq̆<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>pl</i>	<i>pt</i>		<i>pR</i>			<i>ph</i>
<i>p̆y</i>	<i>p̆y̆</i>				<i>p̆x<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>p̆q̆</i>	<i>p̆x̆</i>			<i>p̆x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>p̆l</i>	<i>p̆t</i>					
<i>my</i>		<i>mgw</i>	<i>mk<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>mx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>mq</i>		<i>m̆x</i>	<i>mq<sup>w</sup></i>			<i>ml</i>	<i>mt</i>			<i>m̆r<sup>w</sup></i>		
<i>m̆y</i>		<i>m̆gw</i>			<i>m̆x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>m̆q</i>												
						<i>wq</i>		<i>w̆x</i>							<i>wR</i>			
						<i>dk<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>d̆x</i>		<i>d̆q̆<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>d̆x<sup>w</sup></i>							
		<i>tgw</i>	<i>tk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>tk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>tx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>tq</i>	<i>tq̆</i>	<i>t̆x</i>		<i>tq̆<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>t̆x<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>tt</i>		<i>tR</i>			
				<i>t̆k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>t̆x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>t̆q</i>										<i>t̆r<sup>w</sup></i>		
<i>ny</i>	<i>n̆y̆</i>	<i>ngw</i>	<i>nk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>nk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>nx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>nq</i>	<i>nq̆</i>	<i>n̆x</i>	<i>nq<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>nq̆<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>n̆x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>nl</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>n̆l̆</i>	<i>nR</i>	<i>n̆r<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>nh</i>
	<i>n̆y̆</i>		<i>n̆k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>n̆k<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>n̆q</i>		<i>n̆x̆</i>	<i>n̆q<sup>w</sup></i>			<i>n̆l̆</i>	<i>n̆t̆</i>		<i>n̆R</i>	<i>n̆r̆<sup>w</sup></i>		
<i>sy</i>	<i>s̆y̆</i>	<i>sgw</i>	<i>sk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>sk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>sx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>sq</i>	<i>sq̆</i>	<i>s̆x</i>	<i>sq<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>sq̆<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>sl</i>	<i>st</i>					<i>sh</i>
<i>tsy</i>		<i>tsgw</i>	<i>tsk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>tsk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>tsx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>tsq</i>	<i>tsq̆</i>	<i>t̆sx</i>	<i>tsq<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>tsq̆<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>t̆sx<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>tst</i>		<i>tsR</i>	<i>t̆sr<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>tsh</i>
<i>t̆sy</i>					<i>t̆sx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>t̆sq</i>		<i>t̆s̆x</i>		<i>t̆sq̆<sup>w</sup></i>					<i>t̆sR</i>	<i>t̆s̆r<sup>w</sup></i>		
			<i>ck<sup>w</sup></i>			<i>cq</i>	<i>cq̆</i>											
						<i>djq</i>							<i>djl</i>					
<i>ty</i>								<i>tx̆</i>		<i>tcq̆<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>tcl</i>	<i>tct</i>					
						<i>t̆c̆q</i>						<i>t̆c̆l</i>						
						<i>yq</i>												
<i>y̆y</i>		<i>y̆gw</i>				<i>y̆q</i>	<i>y̆q̆</i>		<i>y̆q<sup>w</sup></i>			<i>y̆l</i>						
						<i>gwq</i>												
				<i>k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>k<sup>w</sup>q</i>			<i>k<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup></i>			<i>k<sup>w</sup>l</i>						
				<i>k<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>q</i>					<i>k<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>k<sup>w</sup>t</i>					
		<i>x<sup>w</sup>gw</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup></i>			<i>x<sup>w</sup>q</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup>q̆</i>											
		<i>qgw</i>																
<i>qy</i>													<i>ql̆</i>					
<i>x̆y</i>				<i>x̆k<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>x̆q</i>	<i>x̆q̆</i>					<i>x̆l</i>			<i>x̆R</i>			
						<i>q<sup>w</sup>q</i>							<i>q<sup>w</sup>t</i>					
													<i>q̆<sup>w</sup>t</i>					
<i>x<sup>w</sup>y</i>													<i>x<sup>w</sup>t</i>			<i>x<sup>w</sup>r<sup>w</sup></i>		
		<i>lgw</i>	<i>lk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>lk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>lx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>lq</i>		<i>l̆x</i>	<i>lq<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>lq̆<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>l̆x<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>lt</i>					
<i>ly</i>	<i>l̆y̆</i>	<i>lgw</i>	<i>lk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>lk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>lx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>lq</i>	<i>lq̆</i>	<i>l̆x</i>	<i>lq<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>lq̆<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>l̆x<sup>w</sup></i>				<i>lR</i>	<i>l̆r<sup>w</sup></i>		
<i>l̆y</i>		<i>lgw</i>	<i>lk<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>l̆x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>lq</i>			<i>lq<sup>w</sup></i>				<i>l̆t</i>					
		<i>rgw</i>	<i>rk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>rk<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>rx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>rq</i>	<i>r̆q̆</i>											
	<i>r̆y̆</i>		<i>r̆k<sup>w</sup></i>			<i>r̆q</i>												
<i>Ry</i>						<i>Rq</i>												
									<i>r<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup></i>		<i>r<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup></i>							<i>r<sup>w</sup>h</i>

rare as the second. The fact that the columns having *r*, *r'* as the second element of the pair are blank is due to the fact that these trills do not occur initially and many of the paired clusters are formed by duplication, i. e., the final sound of the stem combines medially with its initial.

103. Since consonant clustering within the word renders me speechless, I shall let the combinations speak for themselves:

*ptp*, *ptq<sup>w</sup>*, *psm*, *psn*, *pst*, *pst.c*, *pstq<sup>w</sup>*, *psts*, *pstc*, *psgw*, *psqw*, *psx<sup>w</sup>*,  
*psq̇*, *pls*, *pld*, *plt*, *plts*, *pln*, *plnt*, *plsn̄t*, *plts*, *plts̄*, *plk<sup>w</sup>*, *plx<sup>w</sup>*,  
*ply*, *p̄tct*, *p̄ts̄*  
*mpc*, *mtm*, *mst*, *mcts*, *mtcst*, *m̄lts*, *m̄lts̄*, *m̄st*, *m̄sts*, *m̄icq*, *m̄tct*, *m̄tcs*,  
*m̄lt*, *m̄lts*  
*wst*, *wck<sup>w</sup>*, *w̄nm*  
*tlts̄*, *t̄pts*, *t̄plts*, *t̄tct*  
*n̄pm*, *n̄pts*, *n̄tp*, *n̄tm*, *n̄tw*, *n̄tts̄*, *n̄ttc̄*, *n̄tx<sup>w</sup>*, *n̄tk<sup>w</sup>*, *n̄sp*, *n̄tsr<sup>w</sup>*, *n̄tct*, *n̄tctm*,  
*n̄tctmgw*, *n̄tctqw*, *n̄tcs*, *n̄tcs̄p*, *n̄tcest*, *n̄tct̄s̄*, *n̄tcl*, *n̄tcl̄*, *n̄x<sup>w</sup>ts*, *n̄lts*,  
*n̄lts̄*, *n̄lk<sup>w</sup>*  
*n̄pl̄t̄*, *n̄pt̄j̄*, *n̄m̄ts̄*, *n̄m̄tct*, *n̄m̄k<sup>w</sup>*, *n̄m̄isp*, *n̄tw̄*, *n̄ism*, *n̄stm*, *n̄st̄*, *n̄tsp*,  
*n̄tsk<sup>w</sup>*, *n̄tsq̇*, *n̄tsq̇<sup>w</sup>*, *n̄lt*, *n̄lst*, *n̄lts*  
*spn*, *sps*, *spts*, *stm*, *st.c*, *stts*, *stts̄*, *stc̄*, *stq*, *stq̇*, *stq<sup>w</sup>*, *stq̇<sup>w</sup>*, *snm*, *ssts*,  
*ssy*, *ssk<sup>w</sup>*, *stct*, *stct̄*, *stcs*, *stcsx<sup>w</sup>* *stcsq̇*, *stcl̄*, *s̄j̄tsp*, *s̄lts̄*  
*tssd*, *tsst*, *tssx<sup>w</sup>*, *tssq̇*, *tstct̄*, *tslts̄*  
*t̄spn*, *t̄x̄p*, *t̄x̄c*, *t̄x̄lt̄*, *t̄slts̄*  
*cpl*, *cstm*, *cstc*, *clt*, *clts̄*, *clq*  
*djt̄*  
*tctm*, *tctt*, *tctts*, *tctt̄c̄*, *tctq<sup>w</sup>*, *tc̄n̄ts*, *tc̄n̄tcs*, *tcs̄p*, *tcs̄m*, *tcs̄d*, *tcest*, *tcest̄x̄*,  
*tcests*, *tcestc*, *tcsx<sup>w</sup>*, *tcsq<sup>w</sup>*, *tcs̄l̄*, *tctsq̇*, *tcl̄t̄*  
*t̄cpq*, *t̄c̄pl̄t̄*, *t̄c̄tct*, *t̄c̄lt̄*, *t̄c̄ln̄*  
*yst*, *ytsq<sup>w</sup>*, *yx<sup>w</sup>t*, *ylt̄*  
*ȳpsn*, *ȳpsts*, *ȳpsh*, *ȳplts*, *ȳplh*, *ȳtk<sup>w</sup>*, *ȳny*, *ȳngw*, *ȳtsm*, *ȳtsc*, *ȳtsr<sup>w</sup>*,  
*ȳtctm*, *ȳtcest̄*  
*k<sup>w</sup>sm*, *k<sup>w</sup>st*, *k<sup>w</sup>st̄*, *k<sup>w</sup>lq̇*, *k<sup>w</sup>pts*, *k<sup>w</sup>sp*, *k<sup>w</sup>sq*, *k<sup>w</sup>tm*  
*x<sup>w</sup>pn*, *x<sup>w</sup>st*, *x<sup>w</sup>tstc*, *x<sup>w</sup>tct*, *x<sup>w</sup>lts̄*, *x<sup>w</sup>lx<sup>w</sup>*  
*qsm*  
*x̄tm*, *x̄st*, *x̄lk<sup>w</sup>*, *x̄<sup>w</sup>q̇c*  
*lpm*, *lps*, *lpy*, *lpq<sup>w</sup>*, *lttc*, *ltx<sup>w</sup>*, *lsp̄*, *lst*, *lstw̄*, *lstc*, *lsgw*, *lck<sup>w</sup>*, *ltc̄p̄*, *ltem*,  
*ltct*, *ltctm*, *ltctgw*, *ltcsp*, *ltcsq̇*, *ltc̄m*, *lk<sup>w</sup>m*, *lk<sup>w</sup>c*, *lk<sup>w</sup>q*, *lqs*, *lqsc*,  
*lq<sup>(w)</sup>c*, *lq̇<sup>w</sup>q*, *llt̄*  
*ltm*, *ltR*, *lst*, *lstc*, *lstc̄*, *lcn*, *lctc*, *ltct*, *ltctm*, *ltct.c*, *ltcs*, *ltcstk<sup>w</sup>*, *ltcst̄s̄*,  
*ltcs̄x̄*, *ltct̄s̄*, *lqst*, *lts*  
*lps*, *lpd*, *lplm*, *lstq*, *lstc*, *ltsm*, *ltsw*, *ltsx<sup>w</sup>*, *lcst*, *ltcsp*, *ltcsd*, *lx<sup>w</sup>st*, *lx<sup>w</sup>q*,  
*lqq*, *lx<sup>w</sup>m*, *l̄t̄*, *l̄ts̄*, *l̄lx<sup>w</sup>*  
*rpm*, *r̄p̄j̄*, *rsm*, *rtct*, *r̄lts*, *r̄lx<sup>w</sup>*, *r̄k<sup>w</sup>q*  
*Rtm*, *R̄pq*, *r̄<sup>w</sup>st*, *r̄<sup>w</sup>lts*

104. The following vowel combinations occur; the glottal stop between the single vowels makes them retain their identity and they do not become diphthongized: *a'a*, *a'i*, *a'u*, *a'ɔ*, *ä'ä*, *ä'i*, *ä'u*, *i'i*, *i'a*, *i'ä*, *u'u*, *u'ä*, *u'i*, *ɔ'ɔ*. When a vowel followed by a glottal stop with the whispered release is followed by another vowel the echo vowel may be lost:

*ni'ä'mic*, he sat amongst (for *ni'ä'mic*).

But when the repetition of the vowel is grammatical, complicated forms like the following are possible:

*tsoʔoʔtaʹlumx<sup>w</sup>*, dwarf

*tciʹtsmäʹäʹmiʹnEm*s, he is sending me away

## 105–250. PHONETIC PROCESSES

### 105–115. Regressive and Progressive Effects

105. With all its use of sibilants which is sometimes so pronounced as to seem unlimited, Coeur d'Alene nevertheless makes a few compromises to acoustic effect although they are not always consistent. The general rule is that there is an interchange between the dental and prepalatal spirants and the same affricatives. Similar may not succeed each other too often. When, for grammatical reasons they do, they are changed occasionally so as to give variety. Each of the following cases with few exceptions contains so many of the sibilants that it is difficult to determine in most cases whether the influence is progressive or regressive. The influence is not confined to consonants in contact. For the most part it seems to be regressive:

#### 106–113. Regressive influences:

##### 106. *s* or *c* changes preceding *tc* to *ts*:

*tss-ʹuʹs-ɪlc-Ents*, he dived after it (for *tcs-ʹuʹsilc-Ents*)

*nuk<sup>w</sup>-ts-wäc-iʹwäs*, they were house-partners (for *nuk<sup>w</sup>-tc-wäc-iʹwäs*)

*tss-ʹäʹm-ɪc*, it sat on his tail (for *tcs-ʹäʹm-ɪc*)

##### 107. *stc* or *tc* changes preceding *tc* to *ts*, or *tĉ* to *tš*:

*tss-n-ɪstciʹtcäʹ-ɪps*, horse manure (for *tcs-hɪn-ɪstciʹtcäʹ-ɪps*)

*s-tš-iʹj-ätct*, right hand (for *s-tĉ-iʹj-ätct*)

##### 108. *c* or *ts* changes preceding *c* to *s*:

*s-tsan-tsiʹs-tsEs-tcEn-cEn*, boots (for *s-tsan-tsiʹc-tSEc-tSEn-cEn*)

*t-tsiʹs-tSEc-Enäʹä*, it has long ears (for *t-tsiʹc-tSEc-Enäʹä*)

*t-tsäʹs-tSEc-qEn*, he has long hair (for *t-tsäʹc-tSEc-qEn*)

##### 109. *c* changes preceding *s* to *c*:

*m-gwiʹc-ɪc*, he is ascending (for *m-gwiʹs-ɪc*)

##### 110. *tc* changes preceding *ts* to *tc*:

*hɪn-tciʹtc-ätcn-tEm*, he was caught up with (for *hɪn-tciʹts-ätcn-tEm*)

##### 111. *tĉ* changes preceding *s* to *c*:

*hɔi tä tcäc-niʹtĉ-Entx<sup>w</sup>*, stop cutting it (for *tcäs-*)

##### 112. *tš* changes preceding *tš* to *tĉ*:

*s-tĉäʹl-tšEl-t*, it is stupidity (*tšäl*, stem)

113. *tc* may even cause metathesis:

*m-tsi'tc-ätcñ-tmät*, we are catching up with him (for *m-tci'ts-ätcñ-tmät*)  
*tci'čtix<sup>w</sup>tcts*, it has a long tongue (for *tsi'čtix<sup>w</sup>tstc*)

114–115. Progressive:

114. *ts* changes following *ts* to *tc*:

*tc-<sup>2</sup>-ääts-i'ts-ätctc-En*, that we should be playing (for *tc-<sup>2</sup>-ääts-i'ts-ätstc-En*). *ts* > *tš* before a vowel. The stem is *ätstc*.

115. *s* changes following *c* to *s*:

*gwiȳ-ä-sm-sä'ts-Em*, he finished digging (for *gwiȳ-a-sm-cä'ts-Em*)  
*s-ti'tč-ł-suls*, their provisions (for *s-ti'tč-ł-sulc*)

### 116–120. Relationship between Consonants and Vowels

116. The following are some changes which occur in Coeur d'Alene consonants:

In several cases there is a choice of related sounds in pronunciation and these choices are not between those sounds which we consider historically related:

*qč'mqEn* or *kč'mqEn*, head. One is used as much as the other, and even the same speaker may use one form and in repeating, the other; the same is true of the following cases:

*dalq<sup>w</sup>*, or *dalk<sup>w</sup>*, cover entirely  
*tsalx<sup>w</sup>*, or *tsalx<sup>w</sup>*, claw, scratch with nails

117. An initial labialized palatal or velar: *gw*, *k<sup>w</sup>*, *k<sup>2</sup><sup>w</sup>*, *x<sup>w</sup>*, *q<sup>w</sup>*, *q<sup>2</sup><sup>w</sup>*, *x<sup>2</sup><sup>w</sup>*, becomes consonant plus *u* when reduplicated:

*gu-gwax-t-i'tl*, baby (*gu-*, dim.; *gwax*, be young; *-t*, subjective; *-i'tl*, offspring)

*ku-k<sup>w</sup>u'l*, bay horse (*k<sup>w</sup>ul*, be red)

*kū-k<sup>w</sup>n-i'yä<sup>ä</sup>*, very soon (*k<sup>w</sup>nä<sup>ä</sup>*, fut.)

*xu-x<sup>w</sup>i'st*, little one went, traveled

*qu-q<sup>w</sup>a'<sup>a</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>l*, he conversed (*q<sup>w</sup>a'<sup>a</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>l*, talk; stem always redupl.)

*qu-q<sup>w</sup>u'd*, black horse

*xu-x<sup>w</sup>a'd-x<sup>w</sup>ad-t*, little one is comical (*x<sup>w</sup>ad*, be comical)

118. It should be noted that this rule does not apply to the labials, *tw*, *t<sup>w</sup>* and *r<sup>w</sup>*, a fact which justifies the interpretation I have made that *tw* and *t<sup>w</sup>* are clusters (cp. § 76):

*tu-twi't*, youth (*t<sup>w</sup>it*, dim. of *twit*)

*hn-r<sup>w</sup>-r<sup>w</sup>u<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-i'tcñ*, street car (*hn-*, on; *r<sup>w</sup>ax<sup>w</sup>*, stretch stringlike object; *-itcñ*, back)

119. The labialized palatals and velars: *k<sup>w</sup>*, *k<sup>2</sup><sup>w</sup>*, *x<sup>w</sup>*, *q<sup>w</sup>*, *q<sup>2</sup><sup>w</sup>*, and *x<sup>2</sup><sup>w</sup>*, when occurring in final position or in combination, may lose the labial in pronunciation, although it is always felt by the speaker as a part of the stem. This is especially true when the final consonant is reduplicated, in which case the labialization of the consonant

becomes the vowel *u*. This is one of the many illustrations which show the close relationship between the labialization of the consonant and the rounded vowel:

*lä'kuk*, it is far

*tä'kuk* (or *tä'kuk<sup>w</sup>*), he fell, he came to lying position without his own volition (*täk<sup>w</sup>*, one lies)

*ta'xux*, he died, he is dead (*tax<sup>w</sup>*, one stops)

120. Coyote uses *c* for *s*, this being a stylistic device, just as Turtle uses Spokane instead of Coeur d'Alene:

*hi-ctumic*, for *hustumic*, my friend (stem used by Coyote only)

*qäcp-c*, for *qäsp-s*, it's a long time

### 121-161. Assimilation

121. The astonishing number and size of the consonant clusters in Coeur d'Alene might lead one to suppose that sounds are grouped in any fashion, but this is by no means the case. One of the important features of the language is the number and regularity of the assimilations and contractions, the principal ones involving sounds noticeably lacking in the consonant clusters which occupy the affected positions within the word. The unstable sounds, i. e., those which assimilate to various following sounds, are *m*, *t*, *n*, *s*, *ts*, *c*, *l*, and *ʔ*. They are prominent in the clusters in positions where such assimilations could not function.

122. The lack of stability of these sounds is marked only in the affixes, for so stable do the sounds of the stems remain that when sounds which seem to be part of the stem, bisyllabic ones especially, break down, it is to be strongly suspected that these unstable parts belong to suffixes rather than to the stem proper (§ 254a). For example, *ʔ* before a vowel ordinarily becomes *ʔ*, but if it precedes a stem initial vowel it becomes rather *ʔ'*. Again, *t* as the end sound of an affix becomes assimilated to a number of following sounds. If, however, it belongs to a stem, it retains its identity even if one of these sounds follows it:

*hin-mo't-tšä<sup>ä</sup>*, smokehouse (*hin-*, in, on; *mo't*, smoke; *-tšä<sup>ä</sup>*, inside)

but:

*tk<sup>w</sup>äl-ni<sup>t</sup>-tsäl-u'·tx<sup>w</sup>*, he was standing about in the streets (for *tk<sup>w</sup>äl-t-ni<sup>t</sup>-tsäl-ut-tx<sup>w</sup>*)

123. The tendency to glottalize before a stem-vowel initial is strong, sometimes it takes the form of glottalizing the consonant which precedes, as *niä'mic*, he sat in (for *hin-äm-ic*) and at others it is simply a pause: *tap'ɔq<sup>w</sup>s*, he drank on the way. The glottalizing tendency is so strong that it even affects the consonant of a stem as: *ɔq'ɔq<sup>w</sup>s-ɪc* (for *ɔq<sup>w</sup>-ɔq<sup>w</sup>s-ɪc*), they drank. This is particularly remarkable when we consider that initial vowels are not ordinarily

articulated with a preceding glottal stop, but use one only in rare cases if the last sound of a preceding word happens to be unstable in the presence of a vowel.

124. The following are the rules for assimilation:

*s* before a vowel becomes *y*:

- y*-*a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup>*, going (for *s-atsqä<sup>ä</sup>*)  
*y*-*äk<sup>w</sup>n*, saying, telling (for *s-äk<sup>w</sup>n*)  
*y*-*in*, eating (for *s-in*)  
*y*-*u'k<sup>w</sup>-umc*, carrying (for *s-u'k<sup>w</sup>-umc*)  
*y*-*oq<sup>w</sup>s*, drinking (for *s-oq<sup>w</sup>s*)  
*lutä-y**p-s-tsu-tsu<sup>u</sup>tsu<sup>u</sup>-ci's*, he had no legs (for *luthä-s-äpł-s-tsu-tsu<sup>u</sup>-tsu<sup>u</sup>-ci's*)  
*lutä-y**tš-ä'k<sup>w</sup>is*, he does not cust. say (for *lut-hä-s-äts-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n-s*)  
*tu<sup>u</sup>-y*-*o'q<sup>w</sup>s-c*, go so far as to drink (for *tu<sup>u</sup>s-o'q<sup>w</sup>sc*)  
*tu<sup>u</sup>-y*-*i't.c*, he went so far as to sleep (for *tu<sup>u</sup>s-i't.c*)

*s* of *tcs-*, do for a purpose, after, does not follow this rule:

*stim x<sup>w</sup>a tcs-tcs-a'tšx-tul-tEm*, what is he to be looked to for?

125. *n* before a vowel becomes *n̄* and the vowel assimilates to it:

- tcn̄-ts-gwi'tc*, I cust. see (for *tcn-äts-gwi'tc*)  
*tcn̄-ts-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n*, I cust. say (for *tcn-äts-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n*)  
*tcn̄-n̄i'tčEmc*, I am cutting (for *tcn-i<sup>i</sup>-n̄i'tčEmc*)  
*tcn̄-pł*, I have (for *tcn-äpł*)

but the vowel of a stem is retained:

*n̄-ä'm-ic*, he sat in (for *hn-ä'm-ic*)

126. *l* before the vowel of a prefix becomes *l̄*:

- ul-ts-qaqam̄-i'yä<sup>ä</sup>*, again he would fish (for *ul-ats-qaqam̄-i'yä<sup>ä</sup>*)  
*ul-tš-a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup>*, they cust. go back (for *ul-a<sup>ts</sup>-a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup>*)  
*s-tk<sup>w</sup>äl-ts-xui-stci'nt*, he is visiting about (for *s-tk<sup>w</sup>äl-ts-xui-stci'nt*)  
*s-tk<sup>w</sup>äl-tš-a'tšx-Emc*, he is going about looking (for *s-tk<sup>w</sup>äl-tš-a'tšx-Emc*)  
*tk<sup>w</sup>äl-tcä-luk<sup>w</sup>-i'tk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, it was drifting (for *tk<sup>w</sup>äl-its-tcät-luk<sup>w</sup>-i'tk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*)  
*hä gul-sux<sup>w</sup>-i'lgwäs*, those who were carrying load on back (for *gul-i-sux<sup>w</sup>-i'lgwäs*)  
*lä gul-tä'x<sup>w</sup>p*, those who die (for *lä gul-ä-tä'x<sup>w</sup>p*) but *tk<sup>w</sup>äl-a-a<sup>u</sup>s-En̄ts*, he searched for him. Here *t̄* remains set off from the vowel by ' because the vowel belongs to the stem.

127. *u* before a vowel becomes *uw̄* (exception § 128):

- tcäl-uw̄-is-tsan-xi't-Em*, thou art to destroy (*in-s* > *is-*; *in-*, 2 poss.; *s-*, inten.)  
*uw̄-ä-t-tčEm-i'płx<sup>w</sup>* just outside the door (*ä-*, general preposition with nouns)  
*uw̄-ä-stclä'mt*, just in the fog (*ä-*, as preceding example)  
*uw̄-ä-ntsi'<sup>u</sup>t̄*, right then and there (*ä-*, as preceding)  
*a-t-q<sup>w</sup>us-w̄-i'p-ält*, hen has brood (*q<sup>w</sup>äsu<sup>u</sup>*, bunch. In this case *-u<sup>u</sup>*, which is doubtless itself a contraction is lost in *w̄*)  
*nä<sup>ä</sup> tcn̄-tcu'w̄-äs*, while I was gone (*tcu<sup>u</sup>*, be absent)  
*uw̄-its-äku'n-Em*, he is just being told (and nothing else)

128. *u* assimilates to following *ä* of the customary and of the absolute prefixes *äts-*, to form *u<sup>u</sup>-*:

- u<sup>u</sup>ts-äku'stEm*, just when he is told cust. (for *u-äts-äku'stEm*)  
*u<sup>u</sup>ts-Etci'stx<sup>w</sup>*, just what dost thou do with it (for *u-äts-Etci'stx<sup>w</sup>*)  
*u<sup>u</sup>-tä'n-Em*, they (stood) in a line (for *u-äts-tä'n-Em*)  
*u<sup>u</sup>-tc-lä'q<sup>w</sup>-luq<sup>w</sup>*, they were stored hanging (strung on) (for *u-ats-tc-lä'q<sup>w</sup>-luq<sup>w</sup>*)

129. Following the general rule that assimilation does not occur with vowel initials of stems (§ 127) is the following example:

*u<sup>u</sup>äku-stEm*, just as he was told. . . .

130. The changes occurring when *s*, *n*, and *t* meet vowels of prefixes and in some cases, of stems, become much more complicated under certain grammatical circumstances, but, since in this section I am describing contact phenomena due to composition only, I will leave the discussion of these more elaborate changes until later (Contraction §§ 162–171).

131. Of prime importance to an understanding of the language are the rules having to do with *t* and *ts* when they occur finally in an affix.

a) If either of these stands before a bilabial, a palatal (except *y* and *y'*), a velar or a faucal, it retains its identity:

- äts-p<sup>3</sup>i't*, they cust. sit  
*äts-gwi'tc*, he cust. sees  
*its-wi'c-Emc*, he is building  
*tcuts-k<sup>w</sup>i'nts*, he fetched it  
*tcät-pu'ut-i'tk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, it bubbles on the water

b) If, however, *t* or *ts* stands before a dental (*d*, *t*, *t'*, *n*, *n'*), a sibilant (*s*, *ts*, *tš*, *c*, *dj*, *tc*, *tč*), *y*, or a lateral (*l*, *l'*, *l'*), it becomes assimilated to that sound, and if the accent is on the syllable immediately following, the assimilation is evident in the echo vowel:

- a<sup>a</sup>-da'xt*, they cust. go (for *ats-da'xt*)  
*ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tč-Em*, he cust. cuts (for *äts-ni'tč-Em*)  
*i<sup>i</sup>-tcä'c-Em*, he is accompanying (for *its-tcä'c-Em*)  
*i<sup>i</sup>-lä'q-Emc*, he is burying (for *its-lä'q-Emc*)  
*tca<sup>a</sup>-ya'q-Ents*, he filed surface (for *tcat-ya'q-Ents*)  
*tci<sup>i</sup>-tšä'l-ic*, he stood up facing audience (for *tcuts-tšä'l-ic*)

132. If, on the other hand, the accent is on a syllable farther removed, there is no vocalic indication of the assimilation:

- a-tap-stcä'nt*, he cust. shoots (for *ats-tap-stcä'nt*)  
*a-t-tčEnp-i'tšä<sup>ä</sup>*, it clasps all around on it (for *ats-t-tčEnp-i'tšä<sup>ä</sup>*)  
*a-tca<sup>a</sup>-ya'rp*, loop exists laid on surface (for *ats-tcat-ya'rp*. This example illustrates both conditions)  
*tci-dEli'm*, he galloped hither (for *tcuts-dEli'm*)

133. This process has advanced to a marked degree but has not become completely stabilized:

*tcäy-ts-tcä'n-Ems*, cust. he is to take hold of it (for *tcät-s-äts-tcä'n-Ems*)

In some cases the full form may be retained, in others it is incorrect:

*x<sup>w</sup>ä tcäl-tcm-<sup>3</sup>i'<sup>4</sup>ts-tci'ttEm*, and *tcäl-tcm-<sup>3</sup>i'<sup>4</sup>-tci'ttEm*, that's what you will cust. give me. Both mean exactly the same and both forms are correct.

*tcä<sup>ä</sup>-tsi'ct*, a long surface especially a table, but *tcät-tsi'ct* is incorrect. *tci<sup>i</sup>-djä'm-Ents*, she pinned it hither (for *tcäts-djä'm-Ents*)

In other cases again the two forms have slightly different meanings:

*tcä<sup>ä</sup>-t<sup>ä</sup>u'<sup>u</sup>*, it was gone from on broad surface (general sense) but *tcä<sup>ä</sup>t-t<sup>ä</sup>u'<sup>u</sup>*, it is gone from on the table

*tcä-t-djä'm-Ents*, she pinned it to it, and *tcä<sup>ä</sup>-djä'm-Ents*, she pinned it to surface

*tcä-t-tci'd-Ents*, he put up a shade (as car top), *tcä<sup>ä</sup>-tci'd-Ents*, he put shade on a broad surface

134. These examples show that *t* of *tcät-*, on broad surface, is usually assimilated to the following sound (if it be a dental, sibilant, *y*, or lateral), but that *t-*, on a point of, does not, but always retains its identity, so that the above examples with *t* really stand for *tcät-t-*, at a point on a surface.

135. The following examples show the assimilation of the same consonants in suffixes but it will be noticed that accented syllables have no device to indicate assimilation:

*tuwc-i'tc-tx<sup>w</sup>*, 6 houses (for *tuwc-i'tct-tx<sup>w</sup>*)

*xaxEn-u'tx<sup>w</sup>*, 9 houses (for *xaxEn-u't-tx<sup>w</sup>*)

*tuwc-i'tc-tsä<sup>ä</sup>*, 6 blankets (for *tuwc-i'tct-tsä<sup>ä</sup>*)

*gu-gwax-t-i'l-yä<sup>ä</sup>*, doll (for *gu-gwax-t-i'lt-yä<sup>ä</sup>*)

*s-pu'l-ut-tsä<sup>ä</sup>*, murder (for *s-pu'l-ut-tsä<sup>ä</sup>*)

*xaxEn-<sup>3</sup>sqit*, 9 days (for *xaxEn-<sup>3</sup>t-sqit*)

*xit-ä<sup>ä</sup>i-Entsu't*, he abandoned his own child (for *xit-ält-Entsu't*)

but

*ts<sup>3</sup>n-tct-m-<sup>w</sup>alq<sup>w</sup>*, 7 logs

*tsi'l-tct-gul*, 5 wagons

136. The following example shows what seems to be an assimilation of final *t* of a stem, but from its rarity, I surmise that *t* is a suffix of the verb:

*ut-ci'<sup>t</sup>-ci'n*, he perseveres (*t-*, on point; *ci't* [?], be first; *-cin*, foot)

137. Although there is no consonant assimilation, when a prefix ending in *t* or *ts* stands before the initial vowel of a stem, its vowel takes the echo-form if the syllable immediately following has the accent:

*a<sup>a</sup>ts-a'ts<sup>x</sup>*, he cust. sees

*ä-tcä<sup>ä</sup>t-ä'tcni*, it exists put on flat object (for *äts-tcät-ä'tcni*)

*i'its-i'tn*, he is eating

*a<sup>a</sup>ts-<sup>3</sup>q<sup>w</sup>s*, he drinks cust.

*lä tci'ts-i'tEs-<sup>ilc</sup>*, they were not given anything to eat



138. I do not know the reason for the echo-vowel of the following examples, but it doubtless indicates some elision and they may eventually throw light on the subject of undetermined suffixes, especially on the discussion of §§ 574-589.

*tc-tcEts-tcEts-u<sup>u</sup>s-i'wäs*, we came and met  
*xäts-u<sup>u</sup>t-i'wäs-ɫc*, they went together as companions (*xäts*, be companion, always with *-ut*, “-able”; *-i'wäs*, together)  
*x<sup>w</sup>ijä 'ä-sɪn-cEł-u<sup>u</sup>s-i'wäs-s*, this on his hip  
*äts-Etcän-i'ä'u'tEm*, how in the world did it get that way (*ätcEn*, do with; *-i'utEm*, “auto-”)  
*tc<sup>i</sup>'-tċEts-i'n-i't*, sound of approaching (*tcits-s-uts-tċ* > *tc<sup>i</sup>'tċ*;  
*tcits-*, hither; *s-uts-*, cont.; *tċits*, approach; *-i't*, “-ward”)

139. Final *n* assimilates to following *m*, *s*, *n* and *t*:

*n-m* > *m*:

*tcäl-ku-s-x<sup>w</sup>un-ä-sɪn-gwä'y-qEm*, so that thou mayest grow fast (for *tcäl-ku-s-x<sup>w</sup>un-ä-s-hɪn-gwä'y-qEn-Em*)  
*tc-ti'tc-El-Emc*, we take provisions for a journey (for *tc-ti'tc-ElEn-Emc*)  
*tcäy-i't-mp*, you are to eat it (for *tcäl-s-iĥn-mp*)

140. *n-s* > *s*; *n'-s* > *s*

*hɪs-k<sup>w</sup>i'st*, my name (for *hɪn-s-k<sup>w</sup>ist*)  
*tcäl-tci-sya-n-tsä'w-umc*, I am to be a dishwasher (for *tcäl-tcɪn-sya-n-tsä'w-umc*)  
*uł-tšEsp-nu'n-stus*, again he cust. ate it all (for *uł-äts-tšEsp-nu'n-stus*)  
*äts-mä'ä-tsis-tci'nt*, he is cust. boring in talk (for *äts-mä'ä-tSEN-stci'nt*)  
*äts-mä'-i'tct-mɪ-stus*, he annoys him with his hands (for *äts-mä'-i'tct-mEn-stus*)  
*snuk<sup>w</sup>smaxi'<sup>t</sup>tcis*, the kind grizzly bear his, grizzly bear's kind (for *snuk<sup>w</sup>smaxi'<sup>t</sup>tcn's*)

141. *n-n* > *n* Final *n* of a prefix may assimilate to following *n*, with the echo-vowel indicating the assimilation before an accented syllable:

*tci-tsä'ä-nu'tx<sup>w</sup>*, he went in under hither (for *tcits-tsän-nu'tx<sup>w</sup>*)

142. *n-t* > *t*

*taq-aq-nu'tsä'ä*, trick (for *taq-aq-nu'n-tsä'ä*)  
*tcitcmi'-t-ts*, he threw it for him (for *tcitcmi'n-t-ts*)  
*tcät-tċEm-ts-i'tx<sup>w</sup>*, porch (for *tcät-tċEm-tsi'n-tx<sup>w</sup>*)  
*m-tċa'm-qitx<sup>w</sup>*, ridgepole (for *m-tċa'm-qEn-tx<sup>w</sup>*)  
*nɪ k<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>-du<sup>u</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-mi't-tEm*, am I stingy with thee? (for *ku-hɪn-s-uts-du<sup>u</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-mɪn-t-tEm*)

143. Final *s* of an element but not of a stem may assimilate to following *t*:

*hɪn-saq'-i'wä-t-tEm*, it was made gaping in two for him (for *hɪn-saq'-i'wäs-t-tEm*)  
*i'p-u-t-tEm*, its face was wiped for it (for *i'p-us-t-tEm*)  
*a'p-aq-t-tEm*, his chest was wiped for him (for *a'p-aqs-t-tEm*)

144. Final *l* of an element assimilates to following *s*:

*än-tük<sup>w</sup>-gwi'stus*, he cust. laid it in canoe (for *än-tük<sup>w</sup>-gwi'l-stus*)

145. Final *t* of an element assimilates to following *s*, *tc*, *y**t-s* > *s*-*tcät-us-tcits-gwun-i't-Ems*, he is going to call him back (for *tcät-ut-s-tcits-gwun-i't-Ems*)*tcä-s-ti's-mä'-äntsut*, he is going to measure himself in every way, he is going to test his strength (for *tcät-s-ti's-mä'-äntsut*)*u-tcäs-q<sup>w</sup>a'd-qEn*, he is to have a blackened head (for *u-tcät-s-q<sup>w</sup>a'd-qEn*)*tcä-sin-xäs-Es-i'lgwäs*, to please him (for *tcät-sin-xäs-is-i'lgwäs*)*tcäs-gwi'w-w-s*, it is to wear out (for *tcät-s-gwi'w-w-s*)*äpstci'nt*, there were people (for *äpt-stci'nt*)146. *-t-tc* > *tc**tca-tc-y-a'tsɣ*, we are going to look at (for *tcät-tc-s-a'tsɣ*)*tca-tc-y-a'ts-atsqä<sup>ä</sup>*, we are to go out one by one (for *tcät-tc-s-a'ts-atsqä<sup>ä</sup>*)147. *-t-y-* > *y-* It will be remembered that *s*-vowel initial > *y*:*uy-ts-gwi'tc*, again he is seeing (for *ut-s-its-gwi'tc*)*tcät-tc-'uy-Eni's*, let's go back (for *tcät-tc-ut-s-Eni's*) cp. *t-tc* > *tc*-*tca-y-a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup>*, he was going to go out (for *tcät-s-atsqä<sup>ä</sup>*)148. Initial *h* is sometimes lost after *t*, *n*, *s*, and *l*:*tcin-in-xi't*, I was afraid (for *tcin-hin-xi't*)*ut-in-tsa'q-us*, again he set it in orifice (for *ut-hin-tsa'q-us*)

but:

*tk<sup>w</sup>ät-hin-tsuk<sup>w</sup>-i'tcni-mEnts*, he dragged it around behind him*tcät-xä-s-his-gwi'tctEm*, I am going to see it right

However, *h* in the intentional is retained after *t* which assimilates to it:

*tcät-u-his-tcits-gwun-i't-Em*, I am going to call back (for *tcät-ut-hin-s-*)*tcät-u-his-tsan-xi't-Em*, I am going to destroy (for *tcät-ut-hin-s-*)

It is always retained in the rare cases where it is the initial of a stem:

*tcäs-hö'i-tsEn*, it was going to stop crying (for *tcät-s-höi-tsEn*)*ut-hä'p-Em*, he gobbled again

## 149. Examples where more than one of the foregoing rules operate are:

*ɣaxEn-ut-u'pEn*, 90 (for *ɣaxan-ut-l-* vowel stem initial)*nük<sup>w</sup>qi'n ut-Esä<sup>ä</sup>t-u'pEn-l-tsil*, 125 (for *nük<sup>w</sup>qi'n ut-asEl-upEn-ät-tsil*).

## 150-161. Irregular Verbs

150. There are a few verb stems, all bisyllabic or with fossilized suffix, which constitute the irregular verbs of the language. They all end in *t*, *n*, *ts*, or *l*, and since no other stems ending in the same sounds are irregular, it is to be suspected that these sounds are remnants of suffixes.

151. The stems ending in *-t* are: *pul-ut*, kill, injure; *ci'<sup>w</sup>-t*, be first; *lut*, refuse, negate.

152. Those ending in *-n* are: *äk<sup>w</sup>n*, say, tell; *ätcEn*, do with; *itn*, eat; *k<sup>w</sup>in*, take hold of (small object) with whole hand.

153. The only one ending in *-ts* which is irregular is *x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>s*, attack, "get after", verbally or physically.

154. Those ending in *-l* are *axil*, do thus, and *äsil*, two.

The feature these stems have in common is the instability of their final sounds which behave in part according to rules which have already been given.

155. *-n-s* > *s*; *-l-s* > *s*:

*lutä-ytš-ä'k<sup>w</sup>-us*, he never says that (for *lutä-s-ä'äts-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n-s*)  
*äts-k<sup>w</sup>i'-stus*, he cust. takes it (for *äts-k<sup>w</sup>i'n-stus*)  
*ä'äts-i't-stus*, he cust. eats it (for *ä'äts-i'tn-stus*)  
*lutä-x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>-jä'xEs*, he did not do thus (for *lutä-x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>-s-axEls*)

156. *-t-t* > *t*; *-t-s* > *s*; *-t-c* > *c*; *-n-t* > *t*; *-n-s-* > *s*; *-l-t* > *t*

*tcäs-pu'l-utšä'ä*, he is to kill (for *tcäl-s-pu'l-ut-tšä'ä*)  
*pul-us-tsu'tEn*, the one who was the means of killing himself (for  
*pul-ut-s-tsu't-En*)  
*ut-ci'<sup>t</sup>-ci'n*, he perseveres (for *ut-ci'<sup>t</sup>-ci'n*)  
*k<sup>w</sup>i'-t-ts*, he took it for him (for *k<sup>w</sup>in-t-ts*)  
*ätci'<sup>t</sup>-t-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*, (what) did you do with it for me? (for *ätci'<sup>t</sup>-n-t-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*)  
*i't-t-tsäläm*, it was eaten for me (for *itn-t-tsäläm*)  
*ku-n-Et-stci'n-En*, thou art to be man-eater (for *ku-n-Etn-stcint-En*)  
*äxi'-t-ts*, she did it thus for him (for *axil-t-ts*)

157. One of the chief marks of irregular verbs is the fact that some exist only with the customary pronominal endings for the completive, in which case the final consonant is lost before *-s* of the customary ending (§§ 195, 359):

*äku'stus*, he told him (for completive form *äkun-ts*)  
*ätci'stus*, he did it with it (for *ätcin-ts*)  
*äxi'stus*, he did thus to her (for *äxi'l-ts*)  
*pu'lu-stmääläm*, I was mistreated (for *pu'lut-tsäläm*)  
*lu's-tmäs*, he refused me (for *lut-tsäs*)  
*x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>-stus*, she "got after" him (for *x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>-ts-ts*)  
 cp. *ätš-Exi'stx<sup>w</sup>*, thou cust. dost thus

158. The *l* of the stem *äsil*, two, remains although it requires customary endings in the completive:

*asi'l-stEm*, it was "twoed", two were put down

159. These are not in consistent agreement, however, with those which show the above noted assimilations, for we have:

*itnts*, he ate it  
*k<sup>w</sup>ints*, he took it

160. The stem *lut*, refuse, say no, has customary pronouns for the completive transitive in the indicative, but the regular forms for the intentional which are usually like the indicative completive:

*lutä-tcäs-pu'l-utmäx<sup>w</sup>*, don't kill me

161. From the irregular forms of these verbs I conclude that *n* of *itn*, and *k<sup>w</sup>in*, is different from that of *äk<sup>w</sup>n* and *ätcin*, and that *il* of *äsil* differs from that of *a<sup>x</sup>il*. It may be that the sources were the same and that the time or conditions of development or of adoption differed.

### 162-171. Contraction

162. The final element *-En* of the weak forms of the suffixes *-a<sup>x</sup>En*, arm; *-cin*, foot; *-qin*, head; and *-tsin*, mouth, combines with *-En*, the one who, that which, to form *-En'*:

*q<sup>w</sup>a's-qEn'*, bluejay (for *q<sup>w</sup>a's-qEn-En*, the one whose head is blurred)  
*t-tcEtš-a'pla<sup>a</sup>-qEn'*, swingletree (for *t-tcEtš-a'pla<sup>a</sup>-qEn-En*, that where it lies long at the attachment tip)  
*tsan-tcEn-tcEnp'-a'xEn'*, vest (for *tsan-tcEn-tcEnp'-a'xEn-En*)

163. The prefix *hii-*, that which, has a tendency to break down into *y* when following *ä*-sounds:

*x<sup>w</sup>ä y-ni'tc-s*, that which he cut (for *x<sup>w</sup>ä hii-ni'tc-s*)  
*xux<sup>w</sup>iyä yyäl<sup>w</sup>*, this which she spread (for *xux<sup>w</sup>iyä hiiyäl<sup>w</sup>*)  
*lä ytsä'tcäns*, that which she put (for *lä hii'sätcäns*)

164. When preceded by *ł* the rule *ł-y > y* may operate in addition to this rule so that:

*lä tcay-tš-i'łus*, something to be his food (for *tcäl-hii-tš-i'łus*)

165. The stems for numbers must be considered in different classes for they are treated in different ways. A glance at other numerical systems of Salishan suggests that the Coeur d'Alene stems are derived from various sources. There are several matters concerning the stems for numbers which seem to come under the subject of contraction which will be merely remarked here; the discussion will be reserved for the chapter on Number. Although the treatment of numerals seems quite complicated, it nevertheless parallels that of other verbs according to their particular forms. A common method of counting is to use the numeral stem with the nominal suffixes. Another is to treat the numeral stem exactly as an adjective in which case the relationship between it and the independent noun is indicated by the definite article *hä* (§ 720). This method does not concern us here. A third mode of treatment and one which does concern us, is the incorporation of an independent noun into the numeral complex with the suffix *-ät*, meaning perhaps "times", to show the relationship:

*mus-ät-tu'ni*, 4 families, groups

166. The stems *äsil* (*äsäl*), two; and *tcil'ł-äs*, three; *xa<sup>x</sup>anüt*, nine; being stems which are doubtless compounds, undergo some changes in combination. In general the contractions which appear may be understood on the basis of the rules already given in the

chapter on Assimilation (§§ 121—161). There are, however, cases in which whole syllables seem to disappear, and it may be wise to call attention to these at this point.

167. *-il-ät* > *-ut* (only with stem *äsil*, 2)

*äsä't*, twice (for *äsäl-ät*)<sup>1</sup>

*äsätmi'mc*, 2 boxes (for *äsäl-ät-mimc*)

*äsättu'n*, 2 groups (for *äsäl-ät-tu'n*)

168. *-is-ät* > *-ät* (only with stem *tci'täs*, 3)

*tcä'ät-ät*, 3 times (for *tcä'ät-is-ät*)

*tcä'ät-ätmi'mc*, 3 boxes (for *tcä'ät-is-ät-*)

*tcä'ät-ättu'n*, 3 groups (for *tcä'ät-is-ät-*)

169. *-ut-ät* > *-ut* (only with stem *ḡaxanūt*, 9)

*ḡaxanūtmi'mc*, 9 boxes (for *ḡaxan-ut-ät-*)

*ḡaxanūtту'n*, 9 groups (for *ḡaxanut-ät-*)

170. One method of counting nominal forms is by the incorporation of a suffix whose initial is *s-* (§§ 617—633), and in these forms *-ät* is apparently not used:

*asa'sqit*, 2 days (for *asil-s-*)

*tca'at-a'sqit*, 3 days (for *tca'at-is-s-*)

*ḡaxan-ḡ'sqit*, 9 days (for *ḡaxan-ḡt-s-*)

171. Although syllables seem to be lost, the important facts to be noted are that *t-t* > *t*; *t-s* > *s*; *s-s* > *s*; *s-t* > *t*; and *l-s* > *s*; all of which is in direct line with the rules stated in the chapter on Assimilation (§§ 121—161).

### 172—197. Contraction Involving Grammatical Processes

172. So far we have been dealing with contraction of vowels and consonants which is formal or mechanical but which does not involve to any great extent strictly grammatical elements. In this section we shall consider those contractions which are made in using various parts of the verb complex, taking them up in the following order: contraction of pronominal prefixes which concern possessives and independent pronouns; contraction of suffixes which concern pronominal combinations as well as other suffix compounds; and contraction of parts of stem with suffixes.

### 173—188. Contraction of Independent Pronouns with Possessives

173. The noun in Coeur d'Alene has a very close relationship to the verb, in fact, I am inclined to interpret nearly every noun as a verb. For instance, *smi'yäm* is not only "woman", but also "she is a woman, or the womaning". The possessive forms of the noun are, therefore, verbal in connotation so that *hin-pi'pä'ä* is better

<sup>1</sup> In reconstructions of this kind it is impossible to be sure of the vowels since they are determined by the accent which is unknown.

translated "he is my father" than just "my father". Consequently other combinations of pronominal prefixes may be made, some of which contract.

174. In the first column following are the independent pronouns, in the next that part of the pronoun used in the verb:

Independent pronoun	Part used in verb
S.	
1 <i>tcn'ä</i> , I	<i>tcn-</i>
2 <i>kuwä</i> , thou	<i>ku-</i> or <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-</i>
3 <i>tsä'nul</i> , he, she it	—
Pl.	
1 <i>tcli'pust</i> , we	<i>tc-</i>
2 <i>kupli'pust</i> , you	<i>kup-</i>
3 <i>tsEni'l-<i>ilc</i></i> , they	<i>-<i>ilc</i></i>

175. The pronoun has a verbal significance just as the noun has, so that *kuwä* means properly "thou art", rather than simply "thou".

The possessive affixes are:

S.	Pl.
1 <i>hin-</i> ( <i>hin-</i> )	<i>-ät</i>
2 <i>in-</i> ( <i>in-</i> )	<i>-mp</i>
3 <i>-s</i>	<i>-s-<i>ilc</i></i>

176. If we wish to express an idea such as "thou art his father," we may do so by placing the independent pronoun of the subject of the English sentence first and by following it with the noun with its possessive. In the example we take here the form would be simply: *ku-pi'pä<sup>ä</sup>s*, thou art his father, i. e., thou (art)-father (is)-his. In some cases the independent pronominal forms contract with the possessives. We shall meet these contractions frequently throughout our consideration of the language. It will be remembered that *n* of *hin-*, my, and *in-*, thy, contract with *s* of the following noun to make *his-* (*his-*) or *is-* (*is-*) (§ 140). I will give the contractions for both forms:

177.	<i>n</i> -possessive	Possessive with <i>s-</i>
I am thy ...	<i>tcn-in</i> > <i>tcnin-</i>	<i>tcn-in-s</i> > <i>tcn-is-</i>
I am his ...	<i>tcn-...-s</i>	<i>tcn-s-...-s</i> > <i>tcis-...-s</i>
I am your ..	<i>tcn-...mp</i>	<i>tcn-s-...mp</i> > <i>tcis-...mp</i>
thou art my ..	<i>ku-hin-</i> > <i>k<sup>w</sup>in-</i>	<i>ku-hin-s-</i> > <i>k<sup>w</sup>is-</i>
thou art his ..	<i>ku-...-s</i>	<i>ku-s-...-s</i>
thou art our ..	<i>ku-...-ät</i>	<i>ku-s-...-ät</i>
he is my ...	<i>hin-</i>	<i>hin-s-</i> > <i>his-</i>
he is thy ...	<i>in-</i>	<i>in-s-</i> > <i>is-</i>

178. Possessive of noun not having *s*-initial

*tcn-in-pi'pä<sup>ä</sup>*, I am thy father  
*tcn-pi'pä<sup>ä</sup>s*, I am his father  
*tcn-pi'pä<sup>ä</sup>mp*, I am your father  
*k<sup>w</sup>in-pi'pä<sup>ä</sup>*, thou art my father

Possessive of noun with *s*-initial

*tcn-smi'yäm*, I am thy wife  
*tcn-smi'yäm-s*, I am his wife  
*tcn-smi'yä<sup>ä</sup>mp*, I am your wife  
*k<sup>w</sup>in-smi'yäm*, thou art my wife

Since there are no contractions in the rest of the forms I am omitting them.

179. The next contractions occur in the transitive continuative prefixes, for the continuative of the verb is built up on the same principles as the forms just described. The continuative is a verbal noun with a suffix modification, i. e., it consists always of the form: *s*—continuative prefix—stem—suffix, and means “the being (or doing)....”. Consequently the transitive continuative must always be considered from the point of view of the possessive of the noun (participle) with *s*-initial. The presence of the continuative prefix complicates the phonetic structure, nevertheless it will be seen to be nearly consistent once it is understood.

180. In the form “thou art my father”, “thou” is the subject and “father” may be considered an intransitive verb. But in the continuative the *object* is expressed by the *independent pronoun* and the *subject* by the *possessive* so that “I am seeing thee” is literally “thou-my-seeing”. The continuative must be understood on this basis. It consists of: independent pronoun of object—possessive pronoun of subject—*s*-nominal—continuative prefix *its*—stem—continuative suffix. In those forms which take possessive suffixes instead of prefixes, the possessive prefix of the subject will be instead a possessive suffix, so that the form will be: independent pronoun of object—*s*-nominal—continuative prefix—stem—continuative suffix—possessive suffix of subject. The following equations will make the forms clear. From now on when considering the transitive verb I shall indicate subject and object by figures so that, e. g., 1-2 means “I am . . . ing thee”, 1-2p “I am . . . ing you”, etc. The dots . . . indicate a stem; the form given last is the one used:

- 1-2  $ku^u-hin-s-its- > ku^u-his-its- > ku^u-hi-y-ts- > k^{wi}{}^tts-$   
 1-3  $hin-s-its- > his-its- > hi-y-ts- > hi{}^tts-$   
 1-2p  $kup-hin-s-its- > kup-his-its- > kup(h)i-y-ts- > kup(h)i{}^tts-$   
 2-1  $tcin-in-s-its- > tcin-is-its- > tcin-i-y-ts- > tcin{i}{}^tts-$   
 2-3  $in-s-its- > -is-its- > -i-y-ts- > i{}^tts-$   
 2-1p omitted (§ 326)  
 3-1  $tcin-s-its-...s > tcis-its-...s > tci-y-ts-...s > tci{}^tts-...s$   
 3-2  $ku^u-s-its-...s > ku^u-y-ts-...s > kujts-...s$   
 3-3  $s-its-...s > (s)-its-...s > its-...s$   
 3-1p  $tc-s-its-...s > tc(s)-its-...s > tc{}^tts-...s$   
 3-2p  $kup-s-its-...s > kup(s)-its-...s > kup{}^tts-...s$   
 1p-2  $ku^u-s-its-...ät > ku^u-y-ts-...ät > kujts-...ät$   
 1p-3  $s-its-...ät > (s)-its-...ät > its-...ät$   
 1p-2p  $kup-s-its-...ät > (s)-its-...ät > kup{}^tts-...ät$   
 2p-1  $tcin-s-its-...mp > tcis-its-...mp > tci-y-ts-...mp > tci{}^tts-...mp$   
 2p-3  $s-its-...mp > (s)-its-...mp > its-...mp$   
 2p-1p omitted (§ 326)

I have omitted all third person plural forms whether of subject or object because these are formed by adding the third plural suffix *-ilc* to the singular.

181. These contractions show further examples of some previously set forth, e. g.: *n-s* > *s*; *s-vowel* > *yj*; and add one very important one, *i-yj* > *i'*. In order to discuss this change I shall give the equations when the continuative is used with the prefix "in". In this case *hin-*, in(to be carefully distinguished from *hin-*, my) takes the place of *its-* and may be called the "in-continuative". As we have seen, it is a combination of *its-hin-* > *in-* (see § 280). In this place I shall give only those equations which show changes different from those we have already encountered.

- 1-2 *ku<sup>u</sup>-hin(my)-s-hin(in)-* > *ku<sup>u</sup>-his-in-* > *ku-hiyjn-* > *k<sup>w</sup>iyjn-*  
 1-3 *hin(my)-s-hin(in)-* > *his-in-* > *hiyjn-*  
 1-2p *kup-hin-s-hin-* > *kup-his-in-* > *kuphiyjn-*  
 2-1 *tcin-in-s-hin-* > *tcin-is-in-* > *tcin-iyjn-* > *tciniyjn-*  
 2-3 *in-s-hin-* > *is-in-* > *iyjn-*  
 3-1 *tcin-s-hin-* > *tcis-in-* > *tciiyjn-*  
 3-2 *ku<sup>u</sup>-s-hin-* > *ku-yjn-*  
 3-3 *s-hin-* > *(s)-in-* > *in-*

182. In comparing the final contracted *its-* and *hin-* forms it will be seen that the first has *i'*- where the second has *iyj-*. The reason for this is that *i'*- represents a contraction of *s* and a vowel, making *yj* which does not contain an *h*; the *iyj-* form represents a contraction of *s-h-vowel* which also results in *yj* but this *yj* having the *h*-content combines differently with the preceding *i*.

183. In both of these continuatives it should be noted that in the 3-3 forms the *s*, instead of contracting with *i* (*i*) to form *yj*, disappears, leaving the vowel which is sometimes weak, and sometimes in the form *i'*-, differences which I cannot explain. After so doing, it sets the pattern for all forms of the plural. It seems as if the disappearance of the *s*-prefix may be related to the suffixing of the subject, for it is when the subject pronoun is suffixed that it is lost.

184. In this connection we may now consider the intransitive continuative which we must conclude is also a substantive form since the phonetic changes of the first and second persons agree with those of the transitive. It will be noticed that the intransitive has prefixed pronominal forms identical with the transitive even through the plural, although the pronominal suffixes are necessarily missing since the independent pronouns are used here instead of the possessives. I give three examples here to show the difference in the three continuative prefixes: *its-*; *i-*; *in-* (*its-hin-*).

S. . . . .am seeing

- 1 *tcii'-ts-gwi'tc* (for *tcin-s-its-* > *tcis-its-* > *tcii-yj-ts-* > *tcii'ts-*)  
 2 *ku<sup>y</sup>-ts-gwi'tc* (for *ku<sup>u</sup>-s-its-* > *ku<sup>y</sup>ts-*)  
 3 *its-gwi'tc* (for [*s*]-*its* > *its*)



Pl.

- 1 *tc'-its-gwi'tc*
- 2 *kup'-its-gwi'tc*
- 3 *its-gwi'tc-ilc*

185. S. . . . am being afraid

- 1 *tcij-n-xi't* (for *tcin-s-hin-* > *tcis-in-* > *tcij(h)n-* > *tcij-*)
- 2 *kuj-n-xi't* (for *ku<sup>u</sup>-s-hin-* > *kuj-*)
- 3 *n-xi't*

Pl.

- 1 *tc'in-xi't*
- 2 *kup'in-xi't*
- 3 *n-xi't-ilc*

186. S. . . . am shooting

- 1 *tcì'-lap-stcä'nt* (for *tcin-s-i-* > *tcis-i-* > *tcì'-*)
- 2 *kuj-lap-stcä'nt* (for *ku<sup>u</sup>-s-i-* > *kuj-*)
- 3 *i-lap-stcä'nt* (for [s]-i-)

Pl.

- 1 *tc'-i-la-lap-stcä'nt*
- 2 *kup'-i-la-lap-stcä'nt*
- 3 *i-la-lap-stcä'nt-(ilc)*

187. The use of the prefix *ut-*, again, back, involves similar contractions when in the various settings. These may be readily understood from the phonetic laws already given. I will list the subject-object contractions, omitting those combinations in which there are none:

*Continuative with its-*

- |     |                      |                          |
|-----|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1-2 | <i>ku'uthi'ts-</i>   | I am . . . ing you again |
| 1-3 | <i>uthi'ts-</i>      |                          |
| 2-1 | <i>tcin-ut-i'ts-</i> |                          |
| 2-3 | <i>ut-i'ts-</i>      |                          |
| 3-1 | <i>tcin-uj-ts-</i>   |                          |
| 3-2 | <i>ku'uj-ts-</i>     |                          |
| 3-3 | <i>uj-ts-</i>        |                          |

188. *Continuative with hin-*

- |     |                 |   |
|-----|-----------------|---|
| 1-2 | <i>ku'ujn-</i>  | ( <i>ku'ut-hin-s-hin-</i> > <i>ku'utis-ι-</i> > <i>ku'uj-</i> ) |
| 1-3 | <i>uthijn-</i>  |   |
| 2-1 | <i>tcinijn-</i> |   |
| 2-3 | <i>ut'ijn-</i>  | ( <i>ut-in-s-in-</i> > <i>ut-ijn-</i> )                         |
| 3-1 | <i>tcinujn-</i> |   |
| 3-2 | <i>ku'ujn-</i>  |   |
| 3-3 | <i>ujn-</i>     |   |

## 189-197. Contraction of Suffixed Elements

189. A study of assimilation and of the continuative has made us consider complicated assimilations of prefixes. The other two aspects of Coeur d'Alene derive their form primarily from a com-

bination of aspect with object-subject pronominal suffixes. The completive depends upon these entirely; the customary uses with them a prefix *ä-* or *äts-*. The completive is composed of the following elements in the order given: stem—aspect sign—pronominal object—pronominal subject.

190. The aspect sign of the completive is *-ts* and I include it in the following scheme because it sometimes assimilates to the pronominal suffixes or they to it. I use the same numerical device to indicate the persons of subject and object as for the continuative which gives the order of pronouns in English: 1-2 I . . . . . thee, but it must be remembered that in Coeur d'Alene the object precedes the subject so that the order is . . . . . thee-I. The first column gives the combination of suffixes as they stand, the second the theoretical reconstruction with remarks about the assimilation of sounds. The sounds in parentheses have dropped out. As with the possessive and continuative forms I omit the third plurals in all tenses since they are formed by adding *-ulc* to the corresponding singular form whether object or subject is pluralized.

191.	1-2	<i>-ts-ın</i>	<i>-ts-ı-n</i>
	1-3	<i>-n</i>	<i>-(ts)-(t)-n</i>
	1-2p	<i>-tulm-En</i>	<i>-(ts)-tulm-En</i>
	2-1	<i>-ts-ä-x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-ts-ä(l)-x<sup>w</sup></i>
	2-3	<i>-t-x<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>-(ts)-t-x<sup>w</sup></i>
	2-1	omitted (§ 326)	—
	3-1	<i>-ts-ä-s</i>	<i>-ts-ä(l)-s</i>
	3-2	<i>-ts-ı-s</i>	<i>-ts-ı-s</i>
	3-3	<i>-ts</i>	<i>-(ts)-t-s</i>
	3-1p	<i>-täl-ı-s</i>	<i>-(ts)-täl-s</i> (cp. § 95 where <i>ls</i> is lacking)
	3-2p	<i>-tulm-ı-s</i>	<i>-(ts)-tulm-s</i>
	1p-2	<i>-ts-ı-t</i>	<i>-ts-ı-(mä)t</i>
	1p-3	<i>-t-m-ät</i>	<i>-(ts)-t-mät</i>
	1p-2p	<i>-tulm-ı-t</i>	<i>-(ts)-tulm-(m)ät</i>
	2p-1	<i>-ts-äl-p</i>	<i>-ts-äl-p</i>
	2p-3	<i>-t-p</i>	<i>-(ts)-t-p</i>
	2p-1p	omitted (§ 326)	—

192. A comparison of the actual with the theoretical forms shows a rule of assimilation which we met before in considering prefixes, namely, that *ts -t* > *-t*. In some cases one gains the upper hand, in others, the other; while in the combination 1-3 both are lost. Another noteworthy fact is that *l* of the first person object is lost before *-x<sup>w</sup>* (2-1) and *-s* of the combination 3-1, but stands before apparently the same *-s* of 3-1p, and before *-p* of combination 2p-1.

193. We shall now consider the customary in the same way. The customary suffix is *-stm-* and the pronominal suffixes are the same:

	1-2	<i>-stm-ı-n</i>	<i>-stm-ı-n</i>
	1-3	<i>-s-n</i>	<i>-s(tm)-(t)-n</i>
	1-2p	<i>-s-tulm-En</i>	<i>-s(tm)-tulm-En</i>

2-1	-stm-ä-x <sup>w</sup>	-stm-ä(l)-x <sup>w</sup>
2-3	-s-t-x <sup>w</sup>	-s(tm)-t-x <sup>w</sup>
2-1p	omitted (§ 326)	—
3-1	-stm-ä-s	-stm-ä(l)-s
3-2	-stm-t-s	-stm-t-s
3-3	-s-tus	-s(tm)-t-s
3-1p	-s-täl-is	-s(tm)-täl-s
3-2p	-s-tulm-is	-s(tm)-tulm-s
1p-2	-stm-t-t	-stm-t-(mä)t
1p-3	-stm-ä-t	-s(tm)-t-mät
1p-2p	-s-tulm-t	-s(tm)-tulm-(mä)t
2p-1	-stm-äl-p	-stm-äl-p
2p-3	-s-t-p	-s(tm)-t-p
2p-1p	omitted	

194. The contractions made in this series correspond exactly with those made in the completive, but in this case *tm* of the suffix *-stm* assimilates to *t*.

195. Whereas some stems ending in *n* (*k<sup>w</sup>in*, take one) take the normal of the completive and allow the final *n* to assimilate with the *s* of the customary suffix, *-stm*, others with final *n*, *t*, *y* and *l* cannot take the completive endings directly but demand the customary endings when transitive. The completive in these cases is different from the customary in not having the prefix *äts-*. There are not many of these stems and they may be merely irregular but I note them here because I think their irregularity may be due to phonetic causes (see §§ 157, 359):

*äku'-stus*, he told him (for the expected *äku'n-ts*, but *äts-äku'-stus*, he cust. says to him)  
*pu'lu-stus*, he killed him (for the expected *pu'lut-ts*)  
*açi'-stus*, he did thus to him (for the expected *açi'l-ts*)  
*ätc'i'stus*, he did it with it (for the expected *ätc'i'n-ts*)  
*ta<sup>a</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>a'<sup>a</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ä'<sup>ä</sup>l-stus*, he spoke to him (for the expected *ta<sup>a</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>a'<sup>a</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ä'<sup>ä</sup>l-ts*)  
*gwä'y'-stus*, he finished (constructing) it (for the expected *gwä'y'-ts*)

196. A few (remarkably few) stems and suffixes seem to be irregular. They require, e. g., customary endings for the completive aspect, and one, quite irregular, requires completive endings for the customary aspect. I believe that these irregularities are due to phonetic reasons and for that reason I summarize here those which correspond to such assimilations as we have had before:

197. The final consonants *t*, *n* and *l* of some verbs are unstable and assimilate to following consonants according to regular rule, or they change conjugation so as to come within allowable assimilations. The same may be said of suffixes ending in *-t*, *-n*.

198-250. *Vocalic Dissimilation*

198. In their classification of Salishan languages<sup>1</sup> Boas and Haeberlin distinguish two groups of inland dialects based upon vowel shifts *i* to *a* and *a* to *i*. In the discussion they sense one of the fundamental problems of Salish, but the phonetic material they had to work on did not offer the possibility of solution. The difficulties which arise with regard to vowel shifts in a single language point out how great they must be in considering the whole family, and only an abundance of accurately recorded material can lead us to valid conclusions. The examples to be discussed show that an accented vowel in Coeur d'Alene may be *i*, *a*, or *ä*, depending upon its setting and other factors. But not only is this true; differences in vocabulary are indicated by change of vowel so that we have examples like *q<sup>w</sup>äd*, be black; *q<sup>w</sup>id*, make black; *t<sup>i</sup>c*, be sweet; *t<sup>ä</sup>c*, be inherently sweet. Teit's material and that of others who made the reconnaissance of the region would depend necessarily upon the casual form accidentally hit upon by the particular native interrogated.

199. Still another drawback of this material is the recording. *i* and *e* are the same sound, not exactly like European *i* or *e* but between the two and nearer one or the other depending upon accent and surrounding sounds. *ä* in Coeur d'Alene is very important, somewhere between *ä* in English "hat" and open *ε* but again it is neither and its value changes with setting. The material at hand indicates that there may be at least two *ä*'s historically but they cannot now be distinguished phonetically. Since most of the examples for the inland dialects are taken from Giorda<sup>2</sup> and Teit<sup>3</sup> we may use them as examples. Neither came to a conclusion regarding *i* and what they heard as *e*; neither recorded *ä* or *ε*, one hearing *ä* at one time nearer *a* and recording it so, at another time hearing it as *ε* and recording it as *e*, while at the same time he recorded *i* as *e*.

200. Another aural thought habit which sets off Salishan (and other Northwest languages) from the Indo-European is the prevalence of consonants in clusters without separating vowels. All the old Salishan material has vowels inserted in the most inconsistent places and there is no telling whether they are significant or not, particularly as the recorders do not distinguish the strength and weakness of vowels which are very important as we have seen. Most tantalizing is the question why the vowels of the suffixes are

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas and Herman Haeberlin. Sound Shifts in Salishan Dialects. *Int. Jour. Am. Ling.* IV: 117—136.

<sup>2</sup> A Dictionary of the Kalispel or Flat-head Indian Language.

<sup>3</sup> Comparative Salishan Vocabularies. Unpublished material.

sometimes strong, sometimes weak and sometimes entirely lacking. There is no possibility of approaching the problem from the meager vocabularies available for the only possible help is a wealth of examples. There is no doubt, however, that the languages show certain processes of vowel change and the Coeur d'Alene material indicates that it may have considerable bearing upon the determination of those processes.

201. Fundamental to the understanding of the language is the relationship between vowels, accent and consonants, preceding or following. All stems may be classified into groups which we might call conjugations. There is some indication that suffixes have verbal significance and they may be included in the verb conjugations. Stems or suffixes may carry the accent, the prefix never does, and such changes as come about in the prefix are minor from this point of view.

202. In order to illustrate the changes I shall give examples of three forms of each verb which are to be understood as follows: The first vowel is the strong one. It is found in the independent form of the verb ( $u^u$ -; intr. compl.; tr. compl. without suffixes) which carries the accent.

203. The second vowel of the series is the form found when it precedes a velar or a faucal:  $q, q^w, \acute{q}, \acute{q}^w, x, x^w, r, R, r^w$  and when it follows certain other sounds (§§ 214—243). There is a tendency in Coeur d'Alene to draw back the entire faucal region when using one of the velars or faucals so that  $a$  approaches in such cases more nearly to  $\text{ɔ}$ , and this tendency is anticipatory, that is, it operates from the beginning of the word and continues until the faucal is pronounced and, in some cases, it seems even to carry over beyond to the end of the word. The sounds achieved by this habit are indicated by the second vowel of the conjugation series. Vowels preceding faucals and velars are affected in this way whether or not they carry the accent, but when not accented, they may be very short.

204. The third vowel is a much weakened one which appears when the stem or suffix loses the accent and does not occur in a position described in §§ 202, 203. Three weak vowels are heard, one  $\iota$ , a weakened form of  $i$ ;  $u$ , heard where the setting is influenced by a labial, and  $\epsilon$ , which is so weak as to lack timbre almost entirely. The articulation of these vowels is not always consistent; the important and unvarying fact about them is their weakness.

205. *ä(a)-a-E(u)*

1	2	3
<i>tä'k<sup>w</sup>-unts</i> , he laid one down	<i>an-fa'k<sup>w</sup>-qEn</i> , it lies on top	<i>tuk<sup>w</sup>-qi'nts</i> , she head- laid him <sup>1</sup>
<i>lä'dj-Ents</i> , he stabbed it	<i>ni'<sup>t</sup>-la'dj-i'<sup>t</sup>qs-Ents</i> , he stabbed her nose	<i>ni'<sup>t</sup>-ledj-i'wäs</i> , he stabbed in among
<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> , he said	<i>ak<sup>w</sup>stq</i> , he answered back (for <i>ak<sup>w</sup>n- stq</i> )	<i>äts-Eku'stus</i> , he cust. tells him (for <i>äts- Eku'n-ts</i> )
<i>sä'ttc-Ents</i> , he twisted it	<i>ni'<sup>t</sup>-sa'ttc-i'<sup>t</sup>qs-En</i> , crank, what twists nose	<i>sä't-sEttc-Ents</i> , he twisted them one by one

206. *i-a-ä*

<i>u<sup>w</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>i'ts</i> , it is warm	<i>q<sup>w</sup>a'ts-qEn</i> , hat, warm- head	<i>s-q<sup>w</sup>äts-u'lumx<sup>w</sup></i> , Cali- fornia, warm-land
<i>wi'c-Ents</i> , he built it	<i>a-t-wa'c-alq<sup>w</sup></i> , ware- house, built on long object (i. e. railroad track)	<i>äts-wi'c-wäc</i> , there were dwellings
<i>qi'<sup>t</sup>nts</i> , he stuck it to it	<i>qä<sup>a</sup>-qi'n</i> , cork	<i>qä<sup>a</sup>-ci'n-Em</i> , he put moccasins on
<i>i'p-Ents</i> , he wiped it	<i>ni'-a'p-i'<sup>t</sup>qs-En</i> , hand- kerchief	<i>t-i'p-äp-änä'änts</i> , she wiped his ears

207. *i-ä-ä*

<i>tsic-t</i> , it is long	<i>tsä'c-alq<sup>w</sup></i> , he is tall	
<i>t-k<sup>w</sup>inc</i> , how many	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ä'nc-alq<sup>w</sup></i> , how many poles	
<i>ttc-i'h-EmEntsut</i> , he turned himself toward		<i>n-äh-i'tcni</i> , his back was toward, he back-turned to- ward
<i>n-i'd-us-Ents</i> , he bought it, ex- changed for it	<i>tsa<sup>a</sup>n-a'd-alqs</i> , he changed clothes	<i>n-äd-us-i'wäs-iltc</i> , they traded

208. *u-o-u*

<i>pu'x<sup>w</sup>-unts</i> , he blew on it	<i>t-p<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-qEnts</i> , he blew on her head	<i>ni'<sup>t</sup>-pu<sup>x</sup>-i'wäs</i> , he blew among
<i>ää-lu'p</i> , it is dried	<i>tc-l<sup>w</sup>p-qEnts</i> , she dried his hair	<i>lu'p-lup-t</i> , it has qual- ity of effecting dryness
<i>äts-k<sup>w</sup>'s</i> , it is curled	<i>a-t-k<sup>w</sup>'s-qEn</i> , his hair is curled	<i>äts-ku's-k<sup>w</sup>s</i> , it is curled here and there
<i>upEn</i> , ten	<i>s'pan-tct-alq<sup>w</sup></i> , ten poles, trees	

<sup>1</sup> There is no gender in Coeur d'Alene but I use it in third persons to distinguish subject, object, and self.

209. I have cited only the simplest forms. As is to be expected, the verb-complex is subject to considerable modification and there are exceptions to the rules. Usually, as has been said and illustrated, the faucally weak form of a vowel is used *before* a velar or faucal whether it carries the accent or not:

*t-Ra-Rä'äd-i'lc-stus*, he caused rocks to grow redhot (*Ri'ä'd*, become redhot)  
*r<sup>w</sup>ä't.s-r<sup>w</sup>äl.s-Em*, he smiled (cp. *r<sup>w</sup>i'ä'tus*, he broke into a smile)  
*a-ttē-Emä'c-a'ast-qEn*, cust. it perches on his head (*ämuc*, one sits; *-i'ä'st*, surface of round object)  
*mä'n-kup-alq<sup>w</sup>*, firedrill (*min*, rub; *-kup*, fire)  
*a<sup>a</sup>-tčar-ä'p-qEn*, band is around head, on jar (*tčar*, band lies without pulling; *-ip*, bottom)

210. However, the following are exceptions to the rule, the vowel retaining its strength even before a velar or faucal:

*t-Ri'ä'-Ri'ä'd-ä'äst*, rocks became hot (*t...ä'äst*, spherical surface)  
*t-Ri'tš-Rits-älgwäs*, he is persistent (*Rits*, strive)  
*qä'ä'x<sup>w</sup>-qä'ä'x<sup>w</sup>*, Sprague, it smells and smells (place name)  
*i-t-xä's-i'ä'qs*, he enjoys food immensely (*xäs*, be well; *t...i'ä'qs*, on and part of nose)  
*Räts-i'tčn-alq<sup>w</sup>*, bowwood (*Räts*, tie; *-itčn*, back, ridge)

211. One example shows how strong the faucalizing tendency is for it seems to operate in both directions, progressively and regressively:

*hn-ta<sup>a</sup>-qEn-ä'ps*, name of Grizzly, pounded on end of tail (*ti'ä'*, pound)

212. Two others, very exceptional, are also interesting:

*a<sup>a</sup>xä's-qEn-Em*, he deloused (I think this is the stem *axus*, look for, which has taken on *x* before *q*)  
*m-sä'äq-ä's-älpq<sup>w</sup>*, he got food in the wrong throat (*q* is foreign to Coeur d'Alene but the influence of *q<sup>w</sup>* seems to be so strong that *q* is drawn back with the vowels, becoming the velar sonant)

213. Whereas the velars and faucals have a regressive influence on vowels, some other consonants seem to affect the vowels progressively. I have not been able to find a general rule for these, and since there are not many, and since I believe they are of considerable theoretical importance, I list all I have found.

214. Certain stems containing bilabial consonants, but by no means all of them, have a progressive influence on the vowels. Even the same stem may sometimes cause the changes, and in other cases it does not. It is not possible to tell in every case which consonant of the stem has the influence, in most cases it seems as if both consonants function together in this respect:

215. *pas*, be astonishing:

*s-pEs-a'ya*, folly, error (*-iyä'ä*, playingly)  
*pEs-a'tc-stmEn*, I will play a trick on him (*-itc*, deceive)  
*pEs-pEs-ɔ'l*, he is timid (*-ul*, habitually)

216. *pɔ'ɔs*, joke (cp. *pu'us*, foam):

*tci'ts-pɔ'ɔs-tsä'n*, I am joking hither (*-tsin*, mouth)

217. *pa<sup>a</sup>y*, from Fr. *Espagne*:

*s-pa<sup>a</sup>y-ɔ'lumc*, Spanish (*-ulumc*, person)

218. *pät*, be mushy, pour mushy stuff:

*t-pät-a'<sup>a</sup>s-Ents*, he poured cement on rock  
*tsän-pät-cä'n-En*, cement, under foot-pour mushy (*-cin*, foot)  
*hün-pät-pät-tsä'n-tEm*, mush stuff was applied to his little mouth  
 (*-tsin*, mouth; glot., dim.)  
*hün-pät-pät-ɔs-Ents-ɔ't*, he dreamed, self-poured mushy stuff in eyes  
 (*-tsut*, reflex.)

219. *pätš*, squirt, hence, defecate, urinate:

*s-pätš-Em-ä' . . .*, just dung (*-i' . . .*, exaggeration)  
*tcä'l-his-t-pätš-ɔ's-Em*, I will squirt him in the eye (*-us*, eye)

220. *pEsaq<sup>w</sup>*, long brittle object breaks. Both the regular and dissimilated forms are correct for this word, an onomatopoeic word used to indicate "breaking a leg", but in a more particular sense to "break Meadowlark's leg". It is interesting to note, and perhaps significant, that Meadowlark as a mythological character is considered to be Spokane:

*pEsaq<sup>w</sup>-i'wäs-cEn-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*, or *pEsaq<sup>w</sup>-ä'wäs-cEn-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*, thou brokest my leg (*-iwäs*, together, apart)

221. *püt*, apply poison ivy, be poison ivy:

*püt-Em-ä'tsä'ä*, he applied poison ivy (*-itsä'ä*, all over)

222. *tap*, shoot, pierce with pointed object. *tap* has affected following vowels in every example I have recorded:

*tap-stcä'nt*, he shot (*stcint*, people)  
*hün-tä'p-tsä'äntsət-En*, pineapple, what shoots self through inside  
 (*-En*, tr.; *-tsut*, reflex.)  
*tc-tap-tnä'w-Entsäx<sup>w</sup>*, (if) you shoot alongside me (*-ätniw*, alongside)

223. *täpEna'l*, at least, no matter how little.

224. As in the above, so in the next three examples it is impossible to tell whether *p*, *t*, or *s* has the influence:

*sipä'y*, be buckskin  
*tcn-sEp-sEp-a'y-cEn*, I am wearing moccasins (*-iy*, billowy)

225. *täp*, mark, make welt:

*tcn-tEp-tEp-äp-ä'tct*, I hand-marked came to be, my hand became welted (*-itct*, hand. But compare *tEp-äl'sci'tcä'änts*, he welted his horse (*ästci'tcä'ä*, horse); and *tc-tEp-i'ɔ's-Ents*, he surface-marked it, made mark on rock *-i'ɔ'st*, surface of round object)



226. *mał*, bubble:

*tcni<sup>ʔ</sup>-mEl-p-a'was*, it bubbles from in between (-*iwäs*, between)

227. *mał*, heat:

*a-mEl-a'tct-mEn-tsälis*, he is making us too warm (-*itct*, fingers[?])

228. *mul*, soil, earth:

*a-mul-ə'lumx<sup>w</sup>*, soil, earth (-*ulumx<sup>w</sup>*, ground)

229. *mas-mas*, vile-smelling vegetable much liked by the Coeur d'Alene:

*an-mEs-mEs-a'tk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, water is full of *masmas* (-*it*, use)

230. *řam*, make damp, dampen:

*řa'm-řEm-yoyä<sup>ä</sup>*, snail, it dampens here and there back and forth (-*yuyä<sup>ä</sup>*, back and forth)

*syä-řam-a'lumx<sup>w</sup>*, one who licks people (-*ilumx<sup>w</sup>*, person)

*řam-älgwäs-tsä'n-Em*, he licked his lips (-*ilgwäs*, heart [internals?]; -*tsin*, mouth)

231. *tam*, scorch:

*tam-Entsə't*, he scorched himself (-*tsut*, reflex.)

*atc-řEm-a'wäs*, it exists scorched on the surface (-*iwäs*, together)

*tc-řEm-řEm-a'tcni*, Scorched Mountain. This name was used in this form but Susan Antelope always said *tctEmtEmä'tcni* and Lawrence thinks it sounds better this way. (-*itcni*, ridge)

*ku'n-řEm-a'wäs-us*, thou scorched eyebrow, name of ridicule for Coyote

This verb is not consistent in its influence as the last example and those of § 243 show.

232. *tšəm*, suck:

*ni<sup>ʔ</sup>-tšəm-a'wäs-Ents*, he sucked amongst

233. *x<sup>w</sup>äm*, ?:

*x<sup>w</sup>äm-ä'tct*, woodpecker, perhaps yellow hammer (-*itct*, finger, wing)

234. *řäm*, go to live with in-laws:

*řäm-än-tsə't-En*, he went to live with his in-laws (-*tsut*, reflex.)

235. The rest of the stems seem to depend on some sound other than labial to influence the following vowels; it is difficult to determine what it may be.

236. *täl*, sprinkle:

*hn-řEl-řEl-ä'nä<sup>ʔ</sup>-äntEm*, he was ear-sprinkled. But compare *tc-řEl-řEl-i'nä<sup>ʔ</sup>-äntEm*, he was ear-sprinkled on; and *tca-řEl-řEl-i'nä<sup>ʔ</sup>-äntEm*, each lying one is ear-sprinkled over (*tcat-ř* > *tcař*; *tcat* . . . *inä<sup>ʔ</sup>*, on broad object ear)

237. *nas*, wet:

*a-tc-nas-nas-u<sup>4</sup>s-tcä'nt*, he wets people's eyes (-*us*, eye, unchanged; but *stcint*, people)

238. *san*, tame:

*sE-sEn-sEn-t-ä'lc-stus*, he broke it (horse) (-*ilc*, grow)

239. Stems with *ɔ*-vowel seem to have a faucal-weakening effect on following vowels but again some do not:

*hvn-mɔ'ɔt-a'tsää'ä*, it (chimney) is smoking (-*iltsää'ä*, inside)

*tsɔ'ɔt-a'lumx<sup>w</sup>*, dwarf (*tsɔ'ɔt*, sob; -*ilumx<sup>w</sup>*, person)

*tcɪ'ɪts-pɔ'ɔs-tsä'n*, I am joking (or is this *p-s* influence?)

but

*tcvn-t-qɔ-qɔ'ɔɪ-us*, small particles flew into eye (*qu'ut*, dust)

240. *yats*, be tight, firm:

*tc-yEtš-yEtš-am-a'tct-Em*, hold on tight (-*itct*, finger)

*u-yEtš-ɔ' . . . p*, it held firm (-*u'p*, ?)

241. *tčux<sup>w</sup>*, ? (weak form in only one example):

*hvn-tčux<sup>w</sup>-tčux<sup>w</sup>-a'p-änEm*, he retired (-*ip*, bottom?; -*in*,?)

242. *k<sup>w</sup>ar*, be yellow:

*hvn-k<sup>w</sup>ar-k<sup>w</sup>ar-a'wäs-En*, crossbills (-*iwäs*, together)

243. In the following examples one part of the complex is affected, but the other is not, or perhaps the stem does not influence the suffix:

*pä'gw<sup>us</sup>-qEn*, nagger, loud talker (*pägw*, echo; -*u<sup>us</sup>*, "spang"; -*qEn*, voice)

*pał'ɔ'ɔs-u's-EntEm*, he was face-mush-poured "spang", mush was poured spang into his face (-*us*, face)

*ku'vn-tEm-a'wäs-us*, thou burnt eyebrow

*a<sup>a</sup>-ta'm-us*, his face is scorched

*cil tcał-ta'm-ups*, he all but scorched his tail (-*ups*, tail)

*tsəm-tcs-En-tsu't*, he sucked his own finger

*a-tc-nas-nas-u<sup>us</sup>-tcä'nt*, he wets people's eyes

244. I have worked upon the problem presented by these examples intensively from the beginning of my work with Coeur d'Alene and I have come to the conclusion that it can be finally solved if at all, only with comparative material. The related languages, Kalispelm and Thompson in particular, and others according to Haeberlin and Boas<sup>1</sup>, show that the problem is as important in them as in Coeur d'Alene. From these examples several conclusions which must remain tentative are indicated.

245. The process is one in a state of growth, or one which has not reached stability although it has considerable strength. This is indicated by the difference of opinion about Scorched Mountain (see under *tam*, scorch) and by other examples. E. g., Dorothy said, *mɔ'ɔti' . . .* it smokes, but this sounds incorrect to Lawrence who thinks *mɔ'ɔtä' . . .* sounds better. The examples of §§ 236, 239, 243 indicate that the process has not reached its ultimate limit, but

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished material on the Chehalis indicates the same problem, but probably worked out in a different way.

some of them show the tendency as present affecting one suffix and not another.

246. Vocalic dissimilation is used primarily for derivation. It has not been possible to prove this in every case since the stems are not obtainable, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that this process differentiates meanings. Since so many of the stems occur in several forms, any of which may, according to the phonetic laws, take on the same form as another, there must exist some means of differentiation and this is one of them. I will list a few of these which concern our examples of phonetic change:

<i>pu'us</i> , foam	<i>po'os</i> , joke
<i>qu'ut</i> , be dust	<i>qo'ot</i> , dust flies about
<i>täm</i> , be damp	<i>tam</i> , make damp, dampen
<i>pät'</i> , be smooth	<i>pät'</i> , be mushy
<i>pits'</i> , squeeze, push	<i>pats'</i> , squirt, exert pressure by squeezing
<i>pi'y</i> , press	<i>pä'y</i> , milk
<i>tšam</i> , bone	<i>tšom</i> , suck (marrow was sucked)

247. In an analysis of the vocabulary I hope to show more examples and discuss the vowel changes, but these are enough to demonstrate the process of dissimilation. The examples are not entirely consistent but *pät'*, be mushy, and *pats'*, squirt, e. g., take the vowel changes, whereas *pät'*, be smooth and *pits'*, press, do not. I suggest that the stem *tšom* may exact the vowel change to distinguish it from *tšam*, bone, be bony.

248. Several examples of a single stem which demonstrate combination with two similar suffixes are enlightening:

*hin-tel-tel-i'nä'äntEm* is literally, he was ear-sprinkled in, i. e., someone sprinkled water in his ear (to waken him), but *hin-tel-tel-ä'nä'äntEm*, with the same literal meaning but actually meaning "he heard sprinkling of rain while he slept".

On the other hand compare *tc-ti'l-tel-änä'äntEm* and *tc-tel-tel-i'nä'äntEm*, he was sprinkled on the ears (both have nearly the same meaning) and *tca-tel-tel-i'nä'äntEm* (for *tcat-tel-*), each one (broad surface, person lying down) is sprinkled over.

Again, *tcsin-cet-i'p-Ents*, he set it upright in doorway, but *tcsin-cet-ä'p*, threshold or that which projects in the doorway. Unless there are two origins of *-ip* (*-ip* and *-äp*), and there is no evidence for this, it seems that the distinction is made for the purpose of derivation.

And again, *tūq<sup>w</sup>-tūq<sup>w</sup>-a'tcs-Entsut*, they clapped hands (*tāq<sup>w</sup>*, slap, but *tāq<sup>w</sup>*, explode, go off).

249. The process may be a result of borrowing. As I have said, there is no way of checking with satisfactory exactness the examples I have with any other vocabulary, but although Boas and Haeberlin<sup>1</sup> class Kalispelm with Coeur d'Alene, many examples in Giorda suggest that Kalispelm has *a* where Coeur d'Alene has *i* although

<sup>1</sup> Sound-Shifts in Salishan Dialects.

the reasons may of course be very different: e. g. Kal. (Giorda, I, 463) *i-ch-pi'k-aze*, white all around. Cp. CdA. *t-pä'q-tsä'ä*, white person, white on and part of surface. CdA. has *päq*, be white (*u*-form) and *paq*, be made white, and from Giorda it appears that Kal. has *piq* (*pik*), be white, and *paq* (*pak*) be made white. Here is a case, and there are many, where it is hardly likely that Giorda would write *i* for *ä*, and it is to be noted that *pik* is followed by *-aze* rather than *-itsä'ä* although this *a* may well be short, obscure, or non-existent.

250. During the growth of the language, notions were taken, it seems, from various sources and it is more than likely that vowels secured their share of inconsistency in the process. The CdA. word for trout, *pał-a'swäl* shows the regular CdA. form *a* for *i* after *pał*, be mushy, but it shows also *w* for *gw* which CdA. tolerates, but only lightly, especially for diminutives. Note under *-isgwäl*, fish, that this is the only case in which *gw* > *w*.

## 251—708. MORPHOLOGY: THE VERB

### 251—256. CHARACTER OF THE STEM

251. By far the greatest number of Coeur d'Alene stems is monosyllabic, consisting of *CVC*, or *CVCC*. The same stem may be used for nouns and verbs. The infinitive or participle—they are the same—is used frequently. It is formed regularly by prefixing *s-* to the stem and the majority of nouns begin with *s*.

252. Not only is the relationship between noun and verb close, but there is some indication of a strong tendency to verbalize affixes or particles. I will discuss some evidence for this later (§ 711), but here give several examples to show the tendency. A prefix *tcits-* means "hither, toward the speaker"; a stem *tcits* means "arrive, end of motion in this direction", and is used in all the usual forms of the transitive and intransitive verb. The word *ti'nä'ä*, outer ear, is certainly composed as follows: *t-*, on and a part of; *-inä'ä*, usually a suffix meaning "ear". The compound is treated exactly as a verb would be, even to the glottalization of the *t* before a stem-vowel. Still another example is *lut*, which sometimes seems to be a particle, (although it may have verbal significance), and sometimes is used exactly as a verb which might be translated "he no-ed" meaning "he refused".

253. Still better examples of the close relationship between verb and other parts of speech are the demonstratives, which exist as articles, adverbs, and verbs all closely related (§§ 699—708; 722—748).

254. In a special category of verbs are the bisyllabic stems. Some of these seem to be ordinary stems to which suffixes have become so closely related as now to be a part of the stem which cannot be used without them. Examples of this type are *tcec-ip*, chase, which suggests the analysis "back-accompany"; *taqip*, dam (bottom-cover); *tuk<sup>w</sup>ip*, start out (one bottom-lies), *tšuk<sup>w</sup>in*, one runs (attempt to drag[?]). A common one, *tcitcmin*, throw one object, cannot be broken up, as is true indeed for most of these "stems".

254a. Some of the bisyllabic stems have a vowel as an initial and for this reason present certain complications, some of which concern the consonants preceding the stem initial as well as the accent. When a stem of the most common type is compounded with a suffix, the two being used as one, the accent is commonly and permanently on the suffix, but with the bisyllabic vowel-initial stems, the accent may change (§§ 653). There is some reason to believe that these "stems" are also a combination of a stem and suffix but the meanings of both are generally so vague as to make this merely a theoretical suggestion. And, although the phonetic changes make for certain difficulties in handling the complex practically, they nevertheless furnish clues as to the possible origin of the compound which is treated like a stem.

255. In common with many of the languages of western North America in general, and with the Salishan languages in particular, Coeur d'Alene distinguishes between certain actions performed by singular or plural subjects or upon one or more objects. The stems are then entirely different. For instance, *x<sup>w</sup>ist*, means "he travelled", but *däxt* means "they traveled", *k<sup>w</sup>in*, take hold of one, *tam̃*, grasp more than one.

256. Many of the stems are onomatopoeic. Not nearly all are sound-words, but so many of them are that relationships *post facto* and analogies between the sounds of the stems and the sounds of the acts are made. In other words, speakers frequently go back to sounds for explanations, "That's the way it sounds when it breaks. I guess that is why that is the word."

#### 257—274. COMPOSITION OF THE VERB COMPLEX

257. The language is unusually free and the forms are regular. The number of irregularities is small indeed, being confined to a few stems which have taken on generalized meanings.

258. There is a verb in Coeur d'Alene which slightly resembles a copula, although it might be as well to call it an impersonal verb. It is *äpt* and means "he has, there is". It is treated much like a verb in some respects, e. g., it has some aspective forms, it takes prefixes,

*tcin-pł*, I have; *tcät-hi'ipt*, I shall have. In other respects it is irregular as a verb. In the third person singular and in the plurals the possessive suffixes are added to the noun which follows as if it were incorporated. I believe this is the origin of the form *-iptix<sup>w</sup>tstc* which now seems to be a suffix, and I do not think it even far-fetched to derive the important and tantalizing *-i-* of so many of the suffixes from it (§ 581).

*hni-äpl-tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>*, I have a house  
*ni-äpl-tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>*, thou hast a house  
*äpl-tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>-s*, he has a house  
*äpl-tsE-tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>-ät*, we have houses  
*äpl-tsE-tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>-mp*, you have houses  
*äpl-tsE-tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>-silc*, they have houses

Some other forms are:

*tcä<sup>ä</sup>nu'c xal 'ul-pł*, I wish also it would be again  
*tcitü'äpl tcs-n'Emu't*, from there there was (someone) sitting in watching (*tcitü-*, from there hither; *tcs-*, with purpose; *hni-*, in; *äm*, one sits; *-ut*, be in position)  
*tä tsi'ipt its-k<sup>w</sup>i'n*, they are the ones who took it first (*tä* with verb makes relative clause; *tsi'*, first)  
*tuw' äpl-tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>*, that one who owned the house (*tuwä*, that, with verb makes relative clause; *tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>*, house)  
*nä<sup>ä</sup> sä'gwät ku<sup>u</sup>-p-sq<sup>w</sup>a's-q<sup>w</sup>asä<sup>ä</sup>*, whosever child it is (*nä<sup>ä</sup>*, doubt; *sä'gwät*, who; *ku<sup>u</sup>* -vowel- > *ku<sup>u</sup>*; *t-s* > *s-*; *ku<sup>u</sup>*, thou). The only trace of *äpl* left here is *-p-*, nevertheless it is understood to be present. This example illustrates well how easily *äpl* could be lost entirely.

259. From the example *ku<sup>u</sup>-pł*, thou art (cont. and cust.) it seems as if *ä* were a prefix rather than part of the stem for the stem vowel initial is not usually affected by assimilation of the prefix to it.

260. A number of the usual grammatical processes are used, but almost every psychological idea is expressed by more than one. Possession, e. g., is expressed by prefixes in the first and second singular, by suffixes in the third singular and in all the plurals; diminutive is shown by reduplication and the glottalization of a series of sounds, or by these means together with consonant change and change of accent; prefixes together with suffixes are necessary to express continued or customary action.

261. Within its limitations, however, the language is flexible, allowing an unusual opportunity for the expression of fine shades of meaning. Words which could not possibly be transitive in English may be treated transitively in Coeur d'Alene. With the exception of the neutral verbs, practically every stem has the potentiality of appearing as either intransitive or transitive. Furthermore, combinations of stem and affixes which might seem to us psychologically intolerable are possible. For instance, a stem which means "move quickly" could be used in a construction which

would have to be translated "he moved quickly *very* slowly". Such a construction is regarded as amusing and it is not only tolerated, it is enjoyed. The flexibility of the language affords innumerable facilities for word coining of great appropriateness, versatility of individual style, and play of imagination. The opportunities it offers for punning are legion and this is a favorite diversion of all my informants. To the freedom of composition there is added the use of a large vocabulary and the effect of one on the other combined with lively imagination makes for the continuous growth of an extensive and subtle vocabulary.

262. The primary interest of the language centers on the way in which a state or an action came about. This is not the kind of distinction which we should call mode. It is much more subtle, and besides, the differentiations made would not fit into the classification of "aspects". Verbs may be intransitive in meaning and form in which case they express condition (state) or action. The difference between state and action may be expressed by grammatical form. One form will show that the subject has been acted upon and now exists in that "acted-upon" state so that the condition might be removed again; another, that the subject was acted upon so that the condition is within and has become a part of it; and a third, that the condition is within and part of the subject. There is also a differentiation as to how it became acted upon: it acted with or without its own volition; or it came to be acted upon by, or without, a natural or human agent; or the action was performed with, or without, control. Still another form indicates that a person or object affects in a particular way, or "has the quality of affecting. . . ."

263. Words denoting action may be modified to show whether the subject is "in the act of. . .", or "in the position of . . . .", "moving in a horseshoe curve", "arranging for. . .", "doing . . . artificially", "attempting to . . .", "acting playingly", "acting seemingly", "acting willingly".

264. Verbs of action, even such as "go", may be treated as intransitive or transitive, but the two ideas run so closely parallel that I shall have to discuss them together. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that in Coeur d'Alene the line between transitivity and intransitivity is drawn differently from the languages with which we are most familiar. Some verbs demand a psychological object even though their form may be intransitive. There is a general suffix for these and I refer to this form as a "transitive with an indefinite object" although the form seems more intransitive than transitive.

265. The many suffixes referring to body-parts and to place are exploited by Coeur d'Alene to a great extent, and accent is used

to change meanings. To explain a number of ideas I shall take the example, "wear moccasins" which is composed of the stem "stick to" and the suffix "foot".

266. If the stem has the accent, the combination means simply "he is stuck to as to foot" or "he has a moccasin on".

267. If the accent is on the suffix the combination means "he has moccasin-put on"; this form is understood to refer always to the subject. It is essentially an intransitive form and thus differs from the reflexive which is transitive. This is exceedingly difficult to render in English, for we feel we ought to use the transitive. Since there is some reason to believe that the suffixes are either incorporated nouns or derived from them, I shall translate this form as if the body-part were a part of the verb, thus "he is foot-stuck". It should be noted that this differs from the first example in that here the actual subject is "foot" which is really a nominative of reference. It might be compared to English "he wood-chopped" although this does not express all that is contained in the Coeur d'Alene verb.

268. These forms, i. e., stem with accent-suffix, and stem-suffix with accent, can be used transitively in both active and passive. Transitive derivatives of § 266 would be: active, [she stuck him as to the foot]<sup>1</sup>; passive, [he is stuck as to the foot].

269. Transitive derivatives of § 267 are used: active, she foot-stuck him (put moccasin on him); passive, he is foot-stuck (he has had moccasins put on).

270. There are, in addition to these transitive forms, two suffixes, one causative; one, usitative. It can readily be seen that, if there is a stem and two or more suffixes and a possibility of the accent falling on either stem or suffix with difference in meaning, the number of distinctions may become large, as indeed it does. I shall discuss the effects of accent and suffix combinations under Accent (§§ 651-698) but mention these matters here to point out that the English causative or passive may not be used accurately to translate the Coeur d'Alene intransitive with accented suffix because Coeur d'Alene has all the forms used in English and others as well. The forms would be translated: she caused him to be foot-stuck, she used him to foot-stick, she used him to cause foot-sticking, and their corresponding passives: he was caused to be foot-stuck, he was used to foot-stick, he was used to cause foot-sticking.

271. There is perhaps no verb for which *all* these shades of meaning occur, nevertheless all verbs have the potentiality for them, and many of them do appear.

272. As if these means, all grammatical, were not sufficient to draw finely enough the wire of meaning, there is a vocabulary device

<sup>1</sup> Theoretical forms which do not exist or are not used are enclosed in brackets.



which seems strictly formal, and which gives another shade of meaning. This is a vowel change in a stem. For instance, *tčäd* means "be shady, shade" and *tčid* means "make shaded, shady"; *k<sup>w</sup>ul*, be red; *k<sup>w</sup>il*, dye (make) red; *gwaq*, be roomy, have space, *gwaq*, make way, as through a crowd (see § 246). Other fine distinctions are indicated by stem-changes, largely phonetic, but these must be left for the discussion of vocabulary.

273. Enough has been said to indicate the grooves in which Coeur d'Alene thought runs and I shall now outline the ways in which the distinctive forms are built up. The forms themselves are simple enough, but it is easy to understand the difficulties interpreters have in making the proper translations. It will be necessary to discuss the pronouns and the aspect requirements before the forms are taken up because these are general and, once known, apply to them all.

274. Although the phonetic changes involved in composition are numerous and sometimes obscure the stem slightly, never does the stem lose its identity. The form which corresponds to the Indo-European infinitive as identifying the verb in its class is the intransitive completive, the simplest form of the verb possible, one which often occurs without affixes. In many cases, this form of the stem may be used for the transitive completive merely by adding the object-subject pronominal suffixes.

#### 275—276. SUBJECT PRONOUNS

275. The various persons, of which there are three in the singular and plural as in English, are expressed, except for the third, in the simplest verbs, by the use of short forms which are related to the independent pronouns:

Independent pronoun	Pronominal subject
S.	
1 <i>tčinä'ä</i> , I	<i>tčin-</i>
2 <i>kuwä</i> , thou	<i>ku-</i> or <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-</i>
3 <i>tsä'nil</i> , he, she, it	—
Pl.	
1 <i>tčli'pust</i> , we	<i>tč-</i>
2 <i>kupli'pust</i> , you	<i>kup-</i>
3 <i>tsEni'l-ilc</i> , they	<i>-ilc</i>

276. I am writing all subject and object pronouns as affixes because even those definitely related to the independent pronouns are shortened forms and assimilate phonetically so thoroughly with the verbal prefixes that I do not feel that they exist independently. The suffix of the third person plural is really only a plural; absence of pronoun indicates third person.

## 277. ASPECT

277. The language has three "aspects", distinguished in various ways but particularly by affixes and the use of the pronouns. The first of these is the completive, used to indicate an action complete in the past. The second is the customary, which may be translated "customarily he . . . .". If an action or series of acts is repeated more than twice, as for instance, when Catbird fished everything he wanted out of the water, the best translation is "he would . . . ." which is really a customary past. A further use of the customary suffixes without the prefix should be rendered "according to custom", a construction used for generalizing. The third aspect is the continuative. It expresses continued action or being in the present or the past and from its makeup, entirely different from the other two which are similarly formed, seems to be a verbal noun.

## 278—318. INTRANSITIVE

278—291. *General Remarks*

278. Having discussed the stem, the independent pronouns and their shortened forms used as prefixes, and the aspects, we may now illustrate the way in which the various aspects are expressed.

279. The completive is formed by prefixing the personal pronouns to the verb-stem.

280. The customary intransitive is formed by prefixing the same pronouns, and the customary prefix *äts-* (*ats-*) to the stem. Since some of the pronominal prefixes end in unstable sounds and since the customary prefix has a vowel-initial, certain assimilations occur which make the paradigm appear irregular. Furthermore, *ts* of the customary is also unstable since it assimilates to a following dental, sibilant, *y*, or lateral which may appear as the initial of another prefix or of the stem, most frequently the latter. For these reasons it seems advisable to list not only the regular, but also the two most common combinations of personal pronoun and customary prefix. In the first column is the regular form; in the second, the reduced form resulting from the assimilation of *ts* to a following consonant; and in the third, the form resulting from the contraction of: pronominal prefix-customary prefix-*hın-* meaning "in, into, or on" (§ 181). This prefix is only one of many, but it is given here because it is used more commonly than any other, and is more obscured. In many cases it is so much a part of the verb, that the stem has no meaning without it, or means something entirely different from what it means with it.

281. Pronoun with <i>äts-</i>	Pronoun with <i>ts</i> assimilated to following consonant <sup>1</sup>	Pronoun with <i>cust.</i> and <i>hın-</i>
S.		
1 <i>tcı̄nts-</i>	<i>tcı̄n-</i>	<i>tcı̄nı̄n-</i>
2 <i>ku<sup>u</sup>ts-</i>	<i>ku<sup>u</sup>-</i>	<i>ku<sup>u</sup>n-</i>
3 <i>äts-</i>	<i>ä-</i>	<i>än-</i>
Pl.		
1 <i>tc'äts-</i>	<i>tc'ä-</i>	<i>tc'än-</i>
2 <i>kup'äts-</i>	<i>kup'ä-</i>	<i>kup'än-</i>
3 <i>äts-...-ılc</i>	<i>ä-...-ılc</i>	<i>än-...-ılc</i>

282. The completive and customary are, for the most part, aspects which are regular, consistent and easily understood in both intransitive and transitive. The continuative, however, presents certain complications for various reasons, the most important of which is that it is a participial form and, in the transitive, takes pronominal affixes which operate in a way entirely different from those of the completive and customary. The nominalizing prefix is *s-*, an unstable sound, which combines with the other prefixes in such a way as to make the combination seem more difficult than it really is, once the phonetic assimilations are understood.

283. The continuative intransitive is made up of the pronominal prefix, *s-* nominalizer, and the continuative prefix *its-*. The result of the assimilation and contraction of these is as follows:

#### Regular continuative

S.	
1 <i>tcı̄'its-</i>	( <i>tcın-s-its-</i> > <i>tcıs-its-</i> > <i>tcıy-its</i> > <i>tcı'its-</i> )
2 <i>kuyts-</i>	( <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-s-its-</i> > <i>kuyts-</i> )
3 <i>its-</i> , <i>ıts-</i>	( <i>s-its-</i> ) (cp. § 863)
Pl.	
1 <i>tc'its-</i>	
2 <i>kup'its-</i>	
3 <i>its-...-ılc</i>	

#### 284. Continuative with prefix *hın-*:

S.	
1 <i>tcı̄jn-</i>	( <i>tcın-s-its-hın-</i> > <i>tcıs-in</i> > <i>tcıjn</i> )
2 <i>kuyjn-</i>	( <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-s-its-hın-</i> > <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-s-in</i> > <i>kuyjn</i> )
3 <i>ın-</i>	( <i>s-its-hın-</i> ) ?
Pl.	
1 <i>tc'ın-</i>	( <i>tc-s-its-hın-</i> > <i>tc-s-in</i> > <i>tc'ın</i> )
2 <i>kup'ın-</i>	( <i>kup-s-its-hın-</i> > <i>kup-s-in</i> > <i>kup'ın</i> )
3 <i>ın-...-ılc</i>	( <i>s-its-hın-</i> ) ?

285. The continuative expresses continuous action or being in the present or past. There may be a differentiation between con-

<sup>1</sup> See §§ 131—133 for rules showing occurrence of echo-vowel in particular constructions.

tinuous and continual action, not very commonly used, which is made by using additional prefixes (§§ 387-388).

286. Some stems allow true intransitives and these are formed for each tense by prefixing the element given above for aspect, number, and person.

287. Other stems seem to require a psychological object. The most general of these is the suffix *-Em* for completive and customary, *-Emc* for continuative, and theoretically, they may be used with all stems requiring such an object. Many stems, however, have taken on some particular suffix which has become formalized in the intransitive. For instance,

*ʔap-stcä'nt*, he shot (literally, he people-shot)

288. A few stems require the suffix *-En*. The use of all these vague suffixes seems to be strictly formal although it has been suggested that *-En* is used when the action can be controlled, that it is omitted when the action is not controlled. An attempt to classify stems in this way has yielded no satisfactory results.

289. Certain it is that some stems are of themselves complete, others need "completing" or take an indefinite object (or an incorporated noun).

290. In addition to the use of affixes with their necessary contractions, the continuative may require a change of accent. Bisyllabic stems which have the accent on the first syllable in completive and customary, accent the second in the continuative, or if the stem requires a body-part suffix for completion, the accent which falls on the stem in the completive and customary may be shifted to the suffix in the continuative.

291. Since few notions in Coeur d'Alene are expressed by the use of a particular grammatical process, but must rather employ several, as e. g., prefixing with suffixing, or reduplication with glottalization, I shall note here the affixes which modify the verbs and designate the fine shades of meaning instead of leaving them until I treat affixes in general.

### 292—299. Verbal Prefixes

292. The occurrence of the various forms of prefixes ending in *ts* are explained in § 131. The prefix *äts-* may appear as *ats-*, *a<sup>a</sup>-*, *ä<sup>ä</sup>-*:

*äts-*, customary

*äts-gwi'tc*, cust. he sees

*a<sup>a</sup>ts-a'tsɣ*, cust. he looks

*ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-Em*, cust. he cuts

*än-ni'tc-stus*, cust. she cuts it into (dish)

*its-*, continuative. Other forms are *its-*, *i<sup>i</sup>-*

*its-gwi'tc*, he is seeing

*its-Eku'n*, he is saying, telling

*i<sup>i</sup>-ʔap-stcä'nt*, he is shooting

293. *äts-*, found with the same variations as the customary prefix but to be distinguished from it, prefixed to a verbal stem, indicates that something has been acted upon and now exists in an absolute way. Really a resultative, this prefix is often impersonal:

*äts-pä'n*, it exists having been bent  
*ä<sup>ä</sup>-lu'p*, it exists having been dried

294. *u<sup>u</sup>-*, a prefix used with a stem to indicate that a quality is within the subject and has become a part of it. This is an absolute form but is used for persons as well as objects. This prefix precedes the subject pronoun:

*u<sup>u</sup>-lu'p*, it is dry  
*u<sup>u</sup>-ti'c*, it is sweetened  
*u<sup>u</sup>-su'l*, it is cold  
*u<sup>u</sup>-tcin-xä's*, I am well  
*u<sup>u</sup>-kup-tä'ä's*, you are on bad terms (with each other)

295. The stems used with this prefix often have a different vowel from those used with the other forms. Quite often the vowel, though of the same timbre as that used with other forms, is very short although it is accented. In other cases the timbre changes as, e. g., *u<sup>u</sup>-ti'c*, it is sweetened and *täc-t*, it is sweet (§ 300), or *u<sup>u</sup>-su'l*, it (stove) is cold; and *sul-t*, he is cold. Furthermore, whereas reduplicated plurals ordinarily take the accent on the first syllable of the stem, stems with this prefix, with few exceptions, require that it fall on the second (§ 597).

296. Like some other Coeur d'Alene affixes (cp. §§ 869–874) the prefix *s-* performs several functions, all of which are modifications of the verb complex, and because several of these may operate within the same complex it is sometimes difficult to separate them exactly.

297. *s-*, nominalizing. This prefix forms the infinitive or participle which are the same; both are verbal nouns:

*s-qä'y-Em*, writing  
*s-tk<sup>w</sup>ät-xu'i*, traveling (*tk<sup>w</sup>ät-*, about to definite places; *xui*, go)  
*y-ɔq<sup>w</sup>s*, drinking (for *s-ɔq<sup>w</sup>s*, see § 124)

298. *s-*, continuative. Although I believe that the *s-* of the continuative makes of it a verbal noun, I include it here in case there may be doubt. The *s-* prefix causes in this aspect complicated phonetic contractions, some of which have already been indicated (§ 180), others of which will appear as the analysis proceeds. It seems as if some words include the same *s-* twice, once in the *its-* (*its-*) of the continuative and again as an initial and necessary part of the continuative form (§ 357). It seems to me likely that *s-*, lost as it is in the vowel of the continuative may, in these cases, be felt to be missing, in which cases it is supplied and actually appears twice, once as a fossil, and once functioning:

*s-tk<sup>w</sup>ät-ts-xu'i*, he is travelling about (for *tk<sup>w</sup>ät-its-xu'i*)

299. *s-*, intentional. Most commonly this prefix is used to express intention in the immediate future in which case it is preceded by *tcät*, which seems to be a free particle but which, because of *t*, its unstable ending, assimilates to the following sounds so intimately as to make it seem a prefix and so I have written it in many cases. However, the intentional may appear without *tcät*, e. g., with *hxi* in which case it means "now I have decided to", "now after consideration I intend. . .".

### 300-308. Verbal Suffixes

300. It would be appropriate to record the suffix *-t* immediately after prefix *u<sup>u</sup>-* because only by contrasting the two forms can their use be understood and it is sometimes so formalized that it is often difficult to predict which form should be used. The suffix *-t* indicates that a person or object has a characteristic innately, rather than within but not inherent, as when expressed by the prefix *u<sup>u</sup>-*:

*djä'y-djiy-t*, it (he) is ugly  
*tüc-t*, it is sweet  
*tax-t*, it is bitter  
*sul-t*, he is cold

301. A suffix *-t* which may not be the same is also used with some verbs of action:

*uk<sup>w</sup>-t*, he crawled  
*tcı-twi'p-t*, he came hither over an obstruction  
*tcın-tsän-tci'ts-t*, I arrived at destination

302. A derivative form which means to "have the quality of affecting. . . ." is formed by duplicating the stem and adding *-t*:

*pa's-pas-t*, it (he) causes amazement, has an astonishing effect  
 (*pas*, astonish)  
*lu'p-lup-t*, it (shed) keeps dry (*lup*, dry)  
*xa'ts-xäts-t*, it is strange, makes people feel strange (*xats*, arouse curiosity)  
*qa'm-qam-t*, he is inattentive (*qäm*, pay no attention)  
*ca'r-car-t*, it is steep, too difficult to attempt, affects with inanition  
 (*car*, be lazy)  
*pa'x-pax-t*, his wisdom is effective, i. e., he influences by wisdom  
 (*pax*, be wise)

303. By taking examples from the same stem (actually with different vowels in this case) the difference may be best illustrated:

*ää-ti'c x<sup>wä</sup> päle'ms*, the prune is sugared (covered with sugar)  
*u<sup>u</sup>-ti'c x<sup>wä</sup> päle'ms*, the prune is sweetened (has had sugar added to liquid in which it is stewed)  
*täct x<sup>wä</sup> päle'ms*, the prune is sweet because it ripened thus

304. A partial test for the difference between *u<sup>u</sup>-* . . . and . . . *t* forms is that of objectivity and subjectivity and hereafter I shall refer to the *u<sup>u</sup>-* as the objective, and the . . . *t* as the subjective forms.

305. The modifications given to the verb above denote condition, quality, or state. They may be called modifications of the neutral verb. The active verb is treated differently but there is a close relationship between the types of specification used in both sets, and one of the greatest difficulties I found in analyzing the verb was due to overlapping of the two classes.

306. Some active verbs may be used independently, that is, without suffixes, to qualify or define the source of the act. Others must have the specification expressed. There are several methods of doing this.

The suffix *-p* indicates that the action was not voluntary on the part of the subject:

*qäw-p*, long object broke

*Raw-p*, liquid dropped

*an-sa'ɾ<sup>w</sup>-p-tsen*, he drools (*an-*, cust.; *saɾ<sup>w</sup>*, flow; *-tsin*, mouth)

*s-tcäd-p*, beginning of winter (*s-*, nom.; *tçäd*, shade)

307. Another means of expressing almost the same idea is by reduplicating the final consonant of the stem in which case the proper translation is "it came to . . .", that is, without effort on its own part (§§ 607–610). Although processes in this language are rarely completely exclusive, it seems that those verbs which take the suffix *-p* do not take final reduplication. The reverse is also true that those which reduplicate do not take *-p*:

*pän-En*, it has come to be bent

*yaR-aR*, they assembled (*yaR*, be all together)

*täk-uk<sup>w</sup>*, he fell (*täk<sup>w</sup>*, one lies)

*äm-Em*, it lighted (*äm*, one sits)

308. In order to complete the emphasis on the specific treatment of verbs, I mention here the use of the reduplicated form with suffix *-Em*. This form is exactly like the one immediately preceding, but adds the suffix *-Em*, to indicate that "it came to be . . . of its own accord" (§ 609):

*pä'n-En-Em*, it bent of its own accord

*ut-tul-ul-stci'nt-Em*, he rose again (*ut-*, again; *tul*, be like a person; *stcint*, person)

### 309–312. Imperative

309. The imperative intransitive is formed by suffixing the following:

*-c*, second person singular:

*xui-c*, go!

*x<sup>w</sup>ist-c*, depart!

*hɔ'i-tsen-c*, be quiet! (*hɔi*, cease; *-tsin*, mouth)

*-ul*, second person plural:

*xuy-ul*, go you!

*hɔ'i-tsen-ul*, be quiet you!

310. If the verb has an indefinite object, or needs a suffix to "complete" it, *-Em*, is commonly used:

*pu'lut-Em-ul*, kill an indefinite one you!

311. But if the object is definitely known, the suffix *-itc (-ätc)* is used:

*pu'lut-ätc-ul*, kill the definite one you!

*tcitsä'-i'tc-ul*, leave the definite one alone

*ul-xu'y-ätc-c*, take back the definite one

312. There are no verbal pronouns for the exhortative which is expressed by the particle *nä'ä* which has a weak imperative, as well as a future dubitative significance (§ 777):

*nä'ä tcin-xu'i*, I will go, let me go

### 313-318. Negative

313. The negative, *lut*, behaves sometimes as a stem, but more frequently as a particle. Its use to negate other verbs suggests that it may be a verb compounded with another verb incorporated as a noun in the verbal complex (§§ 750-756). The form *lutä-*, equivalent to *lut-hä-*, *hä* being the definite article, points to this interpretation, as does the fact that commonly the negative has an *s*-form which may be nominal. When used, *s-* is simply prefixed to the completive and customary forms, but the fact that the negative continuative is formed by simply affixing *lutä-* is rather strong evidence that this *s-* is the nominalizing prefix. Further evidence is the fact that the negative intransitives are formed with the possessive affixes.

314. There seems to be a dialectic difference in the use of *s-* with the negative completive and customary transitives (i. e., finite forms):

*lutä'-gwi'tc-ts*, and *lutä-s-gwi'tc-ts*, she did not see him,

are both correct; the former is slightly preferable, but there is hardly enough difference to indicate a preference.

315. The same is true of the following:

*lutä-tä'-ku'tEnts* and *lutä-s-tä'-ku'tEnts*, he did not fix it before they arrived, (the *s*-form is preferable here)

*lutän-tci'tc-ätcñtEm* or *lutä-sn-tci'tc-ätcñtEm*, he was not overtaken-

In this case there is no preference as is the case also with *luta-xi'tctmEnts* and *luta-s-xi'tctmEnts*, he did not let go of it.

On the other hand, only the forms

*lutä'-pu'lustp*, do not kill him; and *lutä-s-t-tcä'ni-Ems*, he did not hold on to it, are allowable.



## 316. Completive

S.

- 1 *lutä-hi-s-lap-stcä'nt*, I did not shoot  
 2 *lutä-i-s-lap-stcä'nt*, thou didst not shoot  
 3 *lutä-s-lap-stcä'nt.s*, he did not shoot

Pl.

- 1 *lutä-s-lap-stcä'nt-ät*, we did not shoot  
 2 *lutä-s-lap-stcä'nt-mp*, you did not shoot  
 3 *lutä-s-lap-stcä'nt.s-ilc*, they did not shoot

## 317. Customary

S.

- 1 *lutä-hi<sup>h</sup>-l<sup>h</sup>-lap-stcä'nt*, I do not shoot (*hin-s-äts-l<sup>h</sup> > hi<sup>h</sup>-l<sup>h</sup>-*)  
 2 *lutä-i<sup>h</sup>-l<sup>h</sup>-lap-stcä'nt*, thou dost not shoot (*in-s-äts-l<sup>h</sup> > i<sup>h</sup>-l<sup>h</sup>-*)  
 3 *lutä-y-lap-stcä'nt.s*, he does not shoot (*s-äts-l<sup>h</sup> > y<sup>h</sup>-*)

Pl.

- 1 *lutä-y-lap-stcä'nt-ät*, we do not shoot (*s-äts-l<sup>h</sup> > y<sup>h</sup>-*)  
 3 *lutä-y-lap-stcä'nt-mp*, you do not shoot  
 3 *lutä-y-lap-stcä'nt-s-ilc*, they do not shoot

## 318. Continuative

S.

- 1 *lutä-tci<sup>h</sup>-l<sup>h</sup>-lap-stcä'nt*, I am not shooting  
 2 *lutä-kuj-lap-stcä'nt*, thou art not shooting  
 3 *lutä-i-lap-stcä'nt*, he is not shooting

Pl.

- 1 *lutä-tc<sup>h</sup>-i-talap-stcä'nt*, we are not shooting  
 2 *lutä-kup<sup>h</sup>-i-talap-stcä'nt*, you are not shooting  
 3 *lutä-i-ta-lap-stcä'nt*, they are not shooting

## 319-345. TRANSITIVE

## 319-322. Active Voice: Completive

319. The three aspects of the transitive verb are expressed by affixes. The prefixes correspond to those used for the intransitive. The suffix *-ts* denotes the completive; *-stm*, the customary; and *-Em*, the continuative.

320. In Coeur d'Alene it is always necessary to express the object and subject pronouns in the verb even if the nominal object and subject are given. The order for the formation of the completive is: stem—aspect sign (*-ts*)—object—subject.

321. Since the aspect suffix and the objective-subjective pronouns are so closely assimilated in many cases, I will first give the combination with the aspect sign:

## 322. Completive

	me	thee	him	us	you	them
I	—	<i>-ts-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	—	<i>-tulm-n</i>	<i>-n-ilc</i>
thou	<i>-ts-ä-x<sup>w</sup></i>	—	<i>-t-x<sup>w</sup></i>	( <i>ku<sup>u</sup> . . . -cäc</i> )	—	<i>-t-x<sup>w</sup>-ilc</i>
he	<i>-ts-ä-s</i>	<i>-ts-t-s</i>	<i>-ts</i>	<i>-täl-is</i>	<i>-tulm-is</i>	<i>-ts-ilc</i>
we	—	<i>-ts-it</i>	<i>-t-mät</i>	—	<i>-tulm-it</i>	<i>-t-mät-ilc</i>
you	<i>-ts-älp</i>	—	<i>-t-p</i>	( <i>kup . . . -cäc</i> )	—	<i>-t-p-ilc</i>
they	(add <i>-ilc</i> to third singular forms)					

## 323-331. Active Voice: Customary

323. The customary transitive is formed as follows: customary prefix (*äts-*)—stem—customary suffix (*-stm*)—object pronoun—subject pronoun.

324. The object-subject combinations are really the same as for the completive, but there are certain contractions which operate for the aspect suffixed (§ 193):

## Customary

	me	thee	him	us	you
I	—	<i>-stm-n</i>	<i>-s-n</i>	—	<i>-s-tulm-n</i>
thou	<i>-stm-ä-x<sup>w</sup></i>	—	<i>-st-x<sup>w</sup></i>	( <i>ku<sup>u</sup> . . . -cäc</i> )	—
he	<i>-stm-ä-s</i>	<i>-stm-ı-s</i>	<i>-s-t-us</i>	<i>-s-täl-ıs</i>	<i>-s-tulm-ıs</i>
we	—	<i>-stm-it</i>	<i>-stm-ä-t</i>	( <i>kup . . . -cäc</i> )	<i>-s-tulm-it</i>
you	<i>-stm-äl-p</i>	—	<i>-s-t-p</i>	—	—

325. An analysis of the schemes shows the following pronouns which are the same for completive and customary:

Objective		Subjective	
me	<i>-ä(l)</i>	I	<i>-n</i>
thee	<i>-ı</i>	thou	<i>-x<sup>w</sup></i>
him	<i>-t</i>	he	<i>-s</i>
us	<i>-täl (-cäc)</i>	we	<i>-mät</i>
you	<i>-tulm</i>	you	<i>-p</i>

326. The combinations of second person subject with first plural object do not fit into the system in any way. That part of the independent subject pronoun which is used as the subject of the intransitive verb (*ku<sup>u</sup>*, thou; *kup*, you) is used before the stem and it is followed by the suffix *-cäc* which evidently means "us", but which may be related to the suffix *-cic*, "someone" (§ 565).

327. Verbs like *gwi<sup>t</sup>c*, see, may be conjugated by building the forms according to the scheme; it does not seem necessary to give more than a form or two by way of illustration since they are all perfectly regular:

*gwi<sup>t</sup>c-tulm-n*, I saw you  
*gwi<sup>t</sup>c-ts*, he saw him  
*äts-gwi<sup>t</sup>c-stm-ä-s*, he cust. sees me  
*äts-gwi<sup>t</sup>c-stm-ı-t*, we cust. see thee

328. Most verbs add the suffix *-En* just before the aspect sign in the completive. It is not necessary to give the entire set of combinations, the following are a few:

*ä'p-En-ts-ä-x<sup>w</sup>*, thou shottest me  
*ä'-ä'p-En-ts-äl-p*, each of you took a shot at me

329. It is never found in the second subject-first plural object combination:

*ku<sup>u</sup>-ta'p-cäc*, thou shottest us  
*kup-ta'p-cäc*, you shot us

or in the customary:

*a<sup>a</sup>-ta'p-sEn*, I cust. shoot it  
*a<sup>a</sup>-ta'-tap-stm-ät*, we cust. shoot at him

330. The suffix *-En* is a transitivizing element found in the active and passive complete, and also with the reflexive and reciprocal. Like other elements of the language (*s*-prefix, e. g., and *-Em*) it may be confused with *-En* which is used to "complete" some intransitive forms or with *-in* (*-än*, *-En*), a suffix modifying the stem and seeming to mean "attempt" (§ 438).

331. The following stems do not have *-En*, but take the pronominal suffixes immediately after the stem: *gwitc*, see; *äm*, share; *säx<sup>w</sup>*, carry on back; *sux<sup>w</sup>*, know; *kwin*, take hold of; *tcit*, give; *q<sup>w</sup>il*, starve; *gwunit*, call.

### 332-336. Active Voice: Continuative

332. The continuative transitive is built up on principles entirely different from the other two aspects, the sole likeness being that the object precedes the subject. In discussing the intransitive I pointed out the fact that the continuative must be considered a verbal noun. The same is true of the transitive but now there is a combination of two pronominal series, the independent and the possessive, which combine to form a prefix denoting object-subject, which in its turn combines with the nominalizing *s*- and the *its*-, continuative prefix. These elements all contract to form the series which I have given in §§ 180-181.

333. For convenience I repeat the subjective and the possessive pronominal series here, as well as the combined forms, which, now that the formulas have been derived, may be used quite mechanically.

Subjective (for continuative denoting object)	Possessive (for continuative denoting subject)
<i>tcn</i> , I	<i>hin-</i> , my ( <i>hin-s</i> > <i>his-</i> )
<i>ku<sup>u</sup></i> , thou	<i>in-</i> , thy ( <i>in-s</i> > <i>is-</i> )
—, he	<i>-s</i> , his
<i>tc</i> , we	<i>-ät</i> , our
<i>kup</i> , you	<i>-mp</i> , your
( <i>-ulc</i> , they)	<i>-s-ulc</i> , their

## 334. Regular continuative

	prefix <i>its-</i>
1-2	<i>k<sup>w</sup>i'ts-</i>
1-3	<i>hi'ts-</i>
1-2p	<i>kup(h)i'ts-</i>
2-1	<i>tcin'i'ts-</i>
2-3	<i>i'ts-</i>
2-1p	<i>(ku'-its-....-cäc)</i>
3-1	<i>tc'i'ts-....-s</i>
3-2	<i>ku'jts-....-s</i>
3-3	<i>its-....-s</i>
3-1p	<i>tc'its-....-s</i>
3-2p	<i>kup'its-....-s</i>
1p-2	<i>ku'jts-....-ät</i>
1p-3	<i>its-....-ät</i>
1p-2p	<i>kup'its-....-ät</i>
2p-1	<i>tc'i'ts-....-mp</i>
2p-3	<i>its-....-mp</i>
2p-1p	<i>(kup'-its-....-cäc)</i>

## Continuative with

	prefix <i>hin-</i>
	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ijn-</i>
	<i>hijn-</i>
	<i>kuphiijn-</i>
	<i>tciniijn-</i>
	<i>ijn-</i>
	<i>(ku'jn-....-cäc)</i>
	<i>tc'i'jn-....-s</i>
	<i>ku'jn-....-s</i>
	<i>in-....-s</i>
	<i>tc'in-....-s</i>
	<i>kup'in-....-s</i>
	<i>ku'jn-....-ät</i>
	<i>in-....-ät</i>
	<i>kup'in-....-ät</i>
	<i>tc'i'jn-....-mp</i>
	<i>in-....-mp</i>
	<i>(kup'in-....-cäc)</i>

335. The combinations of second person subject with first plural object have again been enclosed in parentheses to show that they do not really belong to this system although they are regular in most cases just as they are in the completive and customary aspects.

336. The transitive continuative requires, besides the prefix combination of object expressed by independent pronoun—subject expressed by possessive and continuative prefix, the suffix *-Em*. If the dative suffix *-t* (§ 562), or any other suffix ending in *t* precedes the continuative ending, the ending is *-tEM*. This form suggests comparison with the third passive of other tenses. It appears with the nominal forms demanded by the negative and by the element showing immediate future intention.

*k<sup>w</sup>i'ts-gwi'tc-Em*, I am seeing thee  
*ij-n-xi't-mEn-Em*, thou art fearing him  
*i'-ni'tc-Em*, he is cutting it (*its-n* before accented syllable > *i'n-*)  
*tc'i'ts-k<sup>w</sup>i'-t-tEMs*, he is taking it from me (*tcin-s-its-* > *tc'i'ts-*;  
*n-t* > *t*; *k<sup>w</sup>in*, take one; -s, 3 cont.)

## 337-338. Active Voice: Imperative

337. The following are the suffixes for the imperative active transitive completive.

Completive with definite personal object

2-1	<i>-ts</i>
2-3	<i>-t</i>
2-1p	<i>-cäc.c</i>
2p-1	<i>-ts-äl</i>
2p-3	<i>-t-ul</i>
2p-1p	<i>-cäc-<math>\left\{ \begin{array}{l} c \\ ul \end{array} \right.</math></i>

338. The customary and continuative exhortatives are formed by using the element *nä*<sup>ä</sup> with the ordinary tense forms; the pronominal suffixes are exactly the same:

*nä*<sup>ä</sup> *a<sup>a</sup>-tä'p-stmäx<sup>w</sup>*, may thou cust. shoot at me

### 339-341. *Passive Voice: Completive and Customary*

339. Coeur d'Alene has a true passive voice; it denotes that the subject has been acted upon by an agent. The makeup of the aspects is the same as for the active. The passive endings are:

Completive	Customary
S.	
1 <i>-ts-äl-äm</i>	<i>-stm-äl-äm</i>
2 <i>-ts-t</i>	<i>-stm-t</i>
3 <i>-t-Em</i> ( <i>[ts]-t-Em</i> )	<i>-s-tEm</i> ( <i>s[tm]-tEm</i> )
Pl.	
1 <i>-täl-it</i> ( <i>[ts]-täl-it</i> )	<i>-s-täl-it</i> ( <i>s[tm]-täl-it</i> )
2 <i>-tulm-it</i> ( <i>[ts]-tulm-it</i> )	<i>-s-tulm-it</i> ( <i>s[tm]-tulm-it</i> )
3 <i>-t-Em-ic</i>	<i>-s-tEm-ic</i>

340. A comparison of these endings with the active shows that *-t* seems to be a sign of the passive for these two aspects, and that the *passive subjective* pronouns are closely related to the *active objective* pronouns, an occurrence common to many North American languages. It is interesting to note the presence of *-äl*, I (me), regularly in the passive and only in the combination with the second person plural subject of the active. The loss of the aspect-suffixes *ts-* and *stm-* corresponds exactly to the cases of their loss in the active, that is *ts-* and *tm-* of *stm-* are lost before *-t*.

341. It is to be understood of course that the passive customary, besides being denoted by the suffix *stm-* which combines properly with the pronominal suffixes, has the usual customary prefix *äts-*, or one of its variants:

*äts-gwi'tc-stm-äläm*, I am seen cust.  
*a<sup>a</sup>-tä'p-stEm*, it is cust. shot

### 342-343. *Passive Voice: Continuative*

342. The only difference between the intransitive and the passive continuative is in the addition of the continuative suffix *-Em*:

*tcí'<sup>t</sup>ts-gwi'tc*, I am seeing  
*tcí'<sup>t</sup>ts-gwi'tc-Em*, I am being seen

343. Verbs requiring *-Em* in the intransitive differ only in having the suffix *-Emc* in the intransitive continuative (§ 287) and *-Em* in the passive; the pronominal prefixes are the same:

## Continuative intransitive

*tcì' -ni'tc-Emc*, I am cutting (sawing)

*tcì' -täp-stcä'nt*, I am shooting

## Passive

*tcì' -ni'tc-Em*, I am being cut

*tcì' -tä'p-Em*, I am being shot

## 344-345. Negative: Active and Passive

344. The negative completive and customary transitive are formed exactly as the intransitive by prefixing *lut(h)ä-s-* to the regular transitive completive forms of the verb. Since the same phonetic changes occur as for the noun, *s-* seems to be the nominalizer.

345. Since the continuative is already a nominal form it is necessary, as usual, to prefix only *lut-*, not, to the regular continuative forms:

*lut(h)ä-s-tä'p-En-tsen*, I did not shoot thee

*lutä-y-tä'p-sen*, I do not cust. shoot thee (*s-ats-t-* > *yt-*)

*lut-hi' -tä'p-Em*, I am not shooting him

The passives are formed in the same way:

*lut(h)ä-s-tä'p-En-tsäläm*, I have not been shot

*lut(h)ä-y-tä'p-stmut*, thou art not cust. shot

*lut-i' -tä'p-Em*, he is not being shot at

## 346-355. INTENTIONAL

346. Now that the composition of verbs has been discussed according to intransitive and transitive ideas, aspect and voice, imperative and negative, we may consider a common differentiation which includes several forms of expression which I shall call the intentional. It is formed from parts already familiar to us, and because of *s-* tends to become confused with the nominal form. It has nevertheless a distinct meaning. As we have found before too, the complications are largely phonetic, but no longer new, for the sounds we have already encountered break down and combine anew.

347. The intentional may be used without a modifying element but it is not common:

*s-tcitu<sup>u</sup>s-tcä'ni-t-tmät*, let's go fetch it from him

*s-tsu'n-tct-Em-ü-tEm*, it was to be shown for him

*ku-s-tu<sup>u</sup>y-a'tsç-l-tEm*, it is to be looked at for thee

348. Most frequently it is intention in the immediate future, and the element *tcät* which indicates future, precedes all other elements.

349. Intransitive completive is formed by *tcät-*, fut. — pronominal subject — *s-* inten. — stem:

*tcät-tci-s-tcä'c-En*, I am to go along (for *tcät-tcin-s-*)  
*tcät-ku-s-gwi'tc*, thou art to see  
*tcä-s-ni'tc-Emc*, he is to cut (for *tcät-s-ni'tc-Emc*)  
*tcät-tc-y-i'tn*, we are to eat (for *tcät-tc-s-i'tn*)  
*tcät-kup-ya'ts-atsqä'ä*, you are to go out (for *tcät-kup-s-ats-atsqä'ä*,  
*ts* before stem initial vowel > *tš*)  
*tcä-s-tap-stcä'nt-ülc*, they are to shoot (for *tcät-s-tap-stcä'nt-ülc*)

350. If an indefinite object is implied the form is exactly the same except that verbs which take *-En* in the preceding case take *-Emc*; those which in that case take no suffix also take none in this:

*tcät-tcis-tcä'c-Emc*, I am to accompany something indefinite  
*tcät-ku-s-gwi'tc*, thou art to see something indefinite  
*tcä-s-ni'tc-Emc*, he is to cut something indefinite  
*tcät-tc-y-i't-Emc*, we are to (let us) eat something indefinite  
*tcas-tap-stcä'nt-ülc* (*tcas-tä-tap-stcä'nt*), they are to shoot something indefinite

351. Intransitive continuative or customary are the same. These aspects are formed exactly as the completive except that the continuative prefix *its-*, or the customary, *äts-*, follows the *s-*, i. e., the form is made up: *tcät-*, fut. — pronominal subject — *s-* inten. — *its-* cont. (or *äts-*, cust.) — stem — suffix *-EN*:

*tcät-tci'<sup>h</sup>-tcä'c-En*, cust. I am to accompany, or I am to be accompanying  
*tcät-ku-y-ts-gwi'tc*, cust. thou art to see, or thou art to be seeing

352. There is an intransitive form which implies an indefinite object composed in similar fashion:

*tcät-tci'<sup>h</sup>-tcä'c-Emc*, I am to be going with some one  
*tcäy-ni'tc-Emc*, he is to be cutting something

353. The intentional transitive completive represents a simple form of the verb with *s-* prefix. The setup is exactly the same as for the continuative but lacks the prefix *its-* which complicates the continuative contractions, i. e., there is the independent pronoun of the object and the possessive of the subject. The results for the pronominal combinations with *s-* intentional are as follows:

1-2 *k<sup>w</sup>is-....-Em*, I intend to .... thee  
 1-3 *his-....-Em*, I intend to .... him  
 1-2p *kupis-....-Em*, I intend to .... you  
 2-1 *tcinis-....-Em*, thou intendest to .... me  
 2-3 *is-....-Em*, thou intendest to .... him  
 2-1p (*ku-s-....-cäc*, thou intendest to .... us)  
 3-1 *tci-s-....-Em-s*, he intends to .... me  
 3-2 *ku-s-....-Em-s*, he intends to .... thee  
 3-3 *s-....-Em-s*, he intends to .... him  
 3-1p *tc-s-....-Em-s*, he intends to .... us  
 3-2p *kup-s-....-Em-s*, he intends to .... you

- 1p-2 *ku-s-....-Em-ät* (-ät is often omitted making the form the same as the passive), we intend to .... thee  
 1p-3 *s-....-m-ät*, we intend to .... him  
 1p-2p *kup-s-....-Em-ät* (see remark under 1p-2), we intend to ....  
     you  
 2p-1 *tcis-....-mp*, you intend to .... me  
 2p-3 *s-....-mp*, you intend to .... him  
 2p-1p (*kup-s-....-cäc*, you intend to .... us)

354. It should be noted that the ending after *t* is, as in the completive, *-tEm*, instead of *-Em*.

355. The continuative and customary intentionals have exactly the same form as the continuative indicative, the difference in meaning being indicated solely by syntactic particles. There is a tendency for *ts* of the prefix to be retained in the cases in which it would ordinarily be assimilated to a following sound (§§ 131) in the indicative, but often both forms are allowable.

### 356-357. S-FORMS

356. We have already discussed four *s*-forms which seem clear, the nominal or participial, the continuative, the negative, and the intentional. Coeur d'Alene, like other languages, once it developed or adapted a device seems to have worked it overtime, and so it is with the prefix *s-*. Besides its uses already discussed there is another whose meaning I cannot analyze. It seems as if certain verbs, not very many, demand the form in what seems to be an absolute, or perhaps a continuative form. The examples follow:

- tcis-tsi'gw-t-umic*, I am the youngest adult (*tcin-s- > tcis-*)  
*ku-s-tsi-tsi'w-t-umic*, thou art the youngest child  
*s-tcä'ts-ält*, he is stupid, submissive, has no initiative  
*s-du<sup>w</sup>-du<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-mi'n-ä'üs*, he is stingy about lending it  
*s-tci<sup>i</sup>-tcä'm-Emc*, he is taking them hither  
*s-tci<sup>i</sup>-suy-Em-s-tsu't*, he was exerting himself (*tcits-uts-s- > tci<sup>i</sup>'s-*;  
     *its-*, cont.)  
*s-tci<sup>i</sup>'n-k<sup>w</sup>i'n-Emc*, he came singing (*tcits-hin-its- > tci<sup>i</sup>'n-*)  
*s-tk<sup>w</sup>äl-ta-ta'p-Emic*, he is hunting small game

357. If the analysis of the last three examples is correct there seems to be *s-* in addition to *s* hidden in *its-* which I have ascribed to the continuative (*t* of *tk<sup>w</sup>äl-t* > *l*). This seems to be correct for, although the negative usually takes an *s*-form, it should not be necessary for the continuative, for it is there already.

### 358-369. IRREGULAR VERBS

358. When one considers the phonetic complexities of Coeur d'Alene it is remarkable to note how few the irregularities are. Such irregularities as appear seem to be due to phonetic causes.



359. Generally speaking stems ending in *t*, *n*, and *l* which are susceptible to transitivization seem to be irregular. These verbs depart from the regular paradigms in that they take customary endings for the completive form (see §§ 157, 195):

<i>äku'stus</i> , he told him (stem <i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> )	<i>äts'-Eku'-stus</i> , he cust. says to him
<i>äxi'stus</i> , he did thus to him (stem <i>axil</i> )	<i>äts'-Exi'-stus</i> , he cust. does thus to him
<i>ätci'stus</i> , what did he do with it? literally, he did it with it (stem <i>ätcin-</i> )	<i>äts'-Etc'i'stus</i> , he cust. does it with it

360. However, it cannot be said that *all* stems with these consonants as finals are treated in this manner:

<i>k<sup>w</sup>in-ts</i> , he took hold of it (stem <i>k<sup>w</sup>in</i> )
<i>iñ-ts</i> , he ate it (stem <i>iñ</i> )

361. There are not many stems with these final consonants and most of them do not occur in the same settings so it is difficult to test them. The most common are:

<i>ätcin</i> , do with
<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> , tell
<i>q<sup>w</sup>a'aq<sup>w</sup>ä'äl</i> , speak
<i>gwäj</i> , finish

362. The stems *äk<sup>w</sup>n*, *ätcin*, *axil*, as well as those which do not take customary pronominal forms in the completive, assimilate their final consonants to *-l*, one of the dative suffixes (§ 562):

<i>k<sup>w</sup>iñ-ts</i> , he took (held) it for her (for <i>k<sup>w</sup>in-l-ts</i> )
<i>ätci'tts</i> , he did with it for her (for <i>ätci'n-l-ts</i> )
<i>axi'tts</i> , he did thus with it for her (for <i>äxi'l-l-ts</i> )
<i>iñts</i> , he ate it for her (for <i>iñ-l-ts</i> )

363. Although the dative, *-l*, renders the stem which may become irregular in cases, regular, the other dative suffix, *-cit*, as a favor to (§ 564), which is regular in the completive, requires that the customary be expressed by the completive pronominal endings:

<i>äts'-Etc'i'n-citsEn</i> , I cust. scold him as a favor to thee (instead of <i>äts'-Etc'i'n-cits-stmn</i> ). The stem <i>ätcin</i> has taken on the meaning of "scold" in the customary.
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364. The suffixes *-im*, causative (§ 439), and *-iñc*, grow . . . (§ 442), always take the customary pronominal suffixes even in the completive. This is regular, and once more the explanation seems to be phonetic:

<i>xä's-Em-stmn</i> , I cured thee; lit., I caused thee well
<i>xäs-t-i'ñc-stmn</i> , I changed thee for the better (amended, improved); lit., I grew thee good. Note that the causative above is used with the objective form of the verb <i>xäs</i> , whereas <i>-iñc</i> is used with the subjective form, <i>xäs-t</i> .

365. Now if these suffixes took the ordinary completive pronominal suffixes we should have:

*xä's-EmtsEn* (instead of *xäs-Em-stmn*) and *xäst-ilc-tsEn* (instead of *xäst-ilc-stmEn*).

If we consult the list of consonant clusters (§§ 99, 103) we see that the clusters *mtsn* and *lctsn* do not occur, either as finals or as intermediates. It is likely that the impossibility of admitting such clusters is the reason these suffixes take the customary forms in the completive.

366. With a meaning as general as it has, it is not surprising that the stem, *ätcin*, do with, should have taken on a number of idiomatic meanings. It may mean "put aside, near or in" according to the prefixes used with it. Transitive completive forms with *-cit*, as a favor to, may mean "gave some to . . . , took it out as a favor to . . . , or put it down for . . .". The customary and continuative transitives may mean "put it down for . . .", but more generally mean "scold". The full continuative form, *itš-Etci'n-Emc*, may mean "what is he doing?", but if abbreviated to *tš-Etci'n-Emc*, means "what is the matter?" and the customary intransitive means "how is he? how does he act?" Similarly *ätš-Etcän-i'u'tEm*, has an interrogative meaning "how did it happen? how in the world did it get that way?" (*-i'utEm*, automatically). There is no parallel for this interrogative construction anywhere else in the language. Still another abbreviation, *tci'n-Emc*, means "what of it? what the deuce? what's the idea?" or with a different tone and lengthening the same form designates sympathy.

367. A stem used only of inanimate objects is *ätcEn*, e. g.,

*ä'ä'n-ä'tcEn*, (sack) is tied up  
*ätcän-m-i'tct-mEn-tx<sup>w</sup>*, what didst thou do with it?

368. There are three possible etymologies for this usage and they are doubtless confused: *tcän*, round object lies, could have a "made so" form (*ä'ä'tcän*); *ätcin* may somehow have taken on a glottalized *n*; and *ätcän-i'lc*, at what time, may be related. None offers a satisfactory explanation in all details and it is more than likely that the stems were confused and became fossilized in their irregular forms.

369. With these irregularities, so few as to be remarkable, the material rests. It is likely there are a few more, but the material at hand presents such uniformity as to lead us to suppose that it will yield to analysis, once the meaning of the elements is known.

### 370-431. PREFIXES

370. Characteristic of Coeur d'Alene among the known Salishan languages are the many prefixes. They seem to me to be of several

kinds: A few, like some of the suffixes, seem to be nominal (§§ 371–380), but since verbs so frequently appear in participial forms, it seems proper to place these prefixes with those of the verbcomplex. Prefixes which denote aspect, state and plural (§§ 381–391). Locative prefixes which have prepositional as contrasted with adverbial force (§§ 392–408). Directionals, prefixes which fix the exact setting not only of subject, object and indirect object, but also of the speaker who reasonably or arbitrarily places himself at a given point in the scene (§§ 409–431).

### 371–380. Nominal prefixes

371. *ä-* (*a-*), a general preposition used with nominal forms. It means many things a preposition may mean in English; locative ideas, on, in, into, at, to; instrumental, with, by means of; agent, by:

*nätx<sup>w</sup>-ʷnts uw-a-q<sup>w</sup>u'n*, he painted it (with) blue (*u<sup>u</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>u'n*, be blue)  
*la* (article) *'aslaʃ-la'xt.s*, by his friends (*slaʃt*, friend)  
*a-ʃEnʃi't-silc*, with their fear  
*a-tcat-ʃal-i'lupEn*, on the floor  
*uw-ä-stclä'mt*, just in the fog (*u*-vowel > *uw-*; *stclämt*, fog)  
*ä-sttci'hatct.s*, at the right hand

372. *ät* (*at-*)?:

*ät-qi'ts-äntc*, snake (*qits*, vegetation grows; *-intc*, cavity)  
*ät-r<sup>w</sup>äts*, magpie  
*at-ʃa'ʃax*, crow  
*at-da'r-äntc*, sun, clock  
*at-q<sup>w</sup>ä'tut*, Plummer (place-name)

373. *s-* nominalizer (§§ 124, 297)

374. *syä-* (*sya-*), the one whose business is. . . :

*sya-n-tša'w-ʷm*, dishwasher (*sya-ats-n* > *syān-*; *äts-*, cust.; *n*, in; *tšaw*, wash; *-ʷm* for *-Em*, intr. with implied object)  
*syä-wi'c-tx<sup>w</sup>*, mason, builder (*wic*, build; *-tx<sup>w</sup>*, house)  
*tcis-syä-cEl-i't-kup*, I am a wood chopper (for *tcn-s-syä-cEl-i't-kup*; *tcn-*, I; *cäl*, chop; *-it*, for use; *-kup*, fire)  
*sya-qč'l-stq*, farmer (*qul*, produce; *-stq*, vegetation)

375. *hii-*, that which, the one who. Coeur d'Alene nominalizing affixes do not differentiate between the "object which" and the "person who". I will give examples of this prefix, which is a nominalizer, in the third person because the first person form would have *h-* initial because of the possessive *hcn-*:

*hii-ts-cä'n-is*, his earnings (*hii-its-* > *hiits-*; *-En-s-* > *-is*; *its-*, cont.; *cän*, labor; *-s*, 3 poss.)<sup>1</sup>  
*hii-t-tša'x<sup>w</sup>-s*, his fault  
*hii-tä'p-is*, his kill (*täp*, shoot; *-is*, as in preceding)  
*hii-li'm-s*, something he likes, pet (*lim*, be glad)

<sup>1</sup> In all explanatory analyses of examples, phonetic reconstructions of assimilated and contracted forms are given first.

376. This prefix breaks down into *y* when preceded by a vowel (§ 163):

*ul-tupn hä yts-q<sup>w</sup>ä's.s*, spiderweb (*ul-*, belonging to; *tupn*, spider; *hä*, definite article and used to show relationship between two nouns; *q<sup>w</sup>äs*, blur; *-s*, 3 poss.)  
*tä ytsu'um-s*, his crying (for *hiitsu'um-s*)  
*x<sup>w</sup>ijä yli'm.s*, this his pet

377. *ul-*, belonging to:

*ul-yaR-i'lumx<sup>w</sup> ha tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>s*, International House (*yaR*, assemble; *-ilumx<sup>w</sup>*, person; *ha*, def. article; *tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>*, house; *-s*, 3 poss.)  
*tcät-ul-tsä'nul*, it would belong to her (*tcät-*, fut.; *tsä'nul*, independent third person pronoun)  
*tcät-ul-ı-s-ni'k<sup>w</sup>-älumx<sup>w</sup>*, it will be for thy tribe (*ın-s* > *ıs-*; *ın-*, 2 poss.; *s-*, nom.; *nik<sup>w</sup>*, tribe; *-älumx<sup>w</sup>*, people)

377a. *tçit-*, offspring, child of:

*tçit-mu's*, 4 offspring  
*tçii-smiyi'w*, child of Coyote (*tçit-s* > *tçii's-*)  
*tä-gu't-çii-stRi'n*, Antelope's children  
*tçii-ju'k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, younger brother, woman-speaking (*tçit-y-* > *tçii'y-*)

378. *nuk<sup>w</sup>-*, companion, fellow, one of same kind:

*nuk<sup>w</sup>-ts-wäc-i'wäs*, they were house-partners (*ts* for *tc*, on[?]; *wic*, dwell; *-iwäs*, together)  
*hı-s-nuk<sup>w</sup>-anla'mqä'ä*, my black bear kind (*hın-s* > *hıs-*; *hın-*, my; *s-*, nom.; *anla'mqä'ä*, black bear)  
*hı-nuk<sup>w</sup>-stEmo'lç*, my big hail kind (*stEmo'lç*, large hail)

379. *pän-*, spouse:

*tcät-pän-i'tn-En*, that which spouses were to eat (*tcät-*, fut.; *itn*, eat; *-En*, that which)  
*ıs-pän-pa'tcalqEn*, thy eagle husband (*ın-s* > *ıs-*, 2 poss.; *pa'tcalqEn*, bald-headed eagle)  
*a-s-pän-qä'lpyä*, (he is longing) for his wife, Black Swan

380. *yä-*, horse, colt:

*yä-<sup>u</sup>pEntc-spi'nıtc*, 10-year old horse (for *yä-<sup>u</sup>pEntct-spi'nıtc*; *upEntct*, ten [fingers]; *spıntc* year  
*yä'äs-äspıntc*, two-year-old colt (*yä'-äs-äl-spıntc*; *äsäl*, two)

### 381–391. Prefixes denoting aspect, state and plural

381. *ıs-*, a prefix used in connection with suffix, *-ıç*, for all aspects of verbs of sound:

*ıs-hä'r<sup>w</sup>-här<sup>w</sup>-ıç*, he is growling  
*ıs-pä'<sup>u</sup>-pıgw-ıç*, he is giving forth echoes (*-ıç* > *-ıç* after labial)  
*ıs-tçä'p-tçupx<sup>w</sup>-ıç*, it is being cut with scissors, it is clicking  
*ıs-tçä't-tçat-ıç*, it is ticking  
*ıs-ti't-ti'l-ıç*, it is being ripped, noise of tearing

382. *äts-* (*ats-*), customary (see § 131 for changes in form):

*äts-gwi'tc-stus*, he sees her cust. (*gwitc*, see; *-stus*, 3-3 cust.)

*a<sup>ä</sup>tš-a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup>*, he cust. goes out (*äts-* stem vowel > *a<sup>ä</sup>tš-*; *atsqä<sup>ä</sup>*, go out)

*a<sup>ä</sup>-tāp-stcä'nt*, he cust. shoots (*i* > *ä* after *tāp*, shoot; *stcint*, people)

383. *its-* (*its-*), continuative (see §§ 131-133 for phonetic changes):

*its-gwi'tc-Ems*, he is seeing him (*-Em*, cont. suffix; *-s*, 3 subject cont.)

*i<sup>i</sup>tš-a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup>*, he is going out (*its-* stem vowel > *i<sup>i</sup>tš-*)

*i<sup>i</sup>-tāp-stcä'nt*, he is shooting (*its-t* > *i<sup>i</sup>t*)

384. *äts-* (*ats-*), it is . . . ed, or it is . . . ed because it has been made so. Although corresponding in form to the customary prefix this prefix is not the same. When combined with other prefixes this precedes all others, whereas others may take precedence over the customary prefix:

*ä<sup>ä</sup>-tš'i'c*, it is sweetened

*atš-a<sup>a</sup>-tsaR-i'p-Em*, he would be made to scream

385. *u<sup>u</sup>-*, definitive of a class of verbs which I have termed objective (§§ 294, 304). It creates an absolute form which may, in cases, be used for the three persons. This prefix, like *äts-*, precedes the personal pronoun. It means "it is of, a part of, or within, but not innate":

*u-tcin-qä'm*, I paid no attention

*u<sup>u</sup>-tu'k<sup>w</sup>*, she was bloody

*u-ku-na's*, thou art wet

*u<sup>u</sup>-ci't*, it fits, it is exact, just

386. *u-*, just. A prefix of emphasis. It may also mean "just . . . and nothing more". Like the preceding prefix, it comes before the subject pronoun:

*u-tā'x-t*, just swiftly he proceeded

*uci't*, exactly, just fitted

*u<sup>u</sup>-si'gw-untEm*, just as he was being asked

*u-spu'ms*, just fur

*u-tcäs-nu'tx<sup>w</sup>s*, just as he entered

*u-ta'r-Ents*, she just untied it and did nothing else

387. This prefix with *äts-*, customary (> *u<sup>u</sup>ts*) modifies the time of the action and makes it an action of continuous duration:

*uw<sup>u</sup>-n-mä'lk<sup>w</sup>-m-äntc*, covering every portion of the wall (*u-äts-n-* > *uw<sup>u</sup>n-*; *mälk<sup>w</sup>*, all over; *-m*, caus.; *-äntc* with *n-*, wall)

388. With the continuative *its-* the significance is an interrupted continuative, or continual as against continuous action:

*u<sup>u</sup>ts-mä'lk<sup>w</sup>*, continually (*u-its-* > *u<sup>u</sup>ts-*)

*u<sup>u</sup>ts-axi'l*, it is continually thus

*u<sup>u</sup>ts-ku-k<sup>w</sup>i'y-tsen*, continually sobbing (*k<sup>w</sup>i'y*, go easy, gently; *-tsin*, mouth; dim.)

*u<sup>u</sup>-n-Ekə'n-qEn*, he speaks indistinctly, continually he speaks in throat (voice)

*u<sup>u</sup>ts-k<sup>w</sup>i'n-Em*, she just kept hold of one

389. *guł*. This is an element which I have called a prefix although it, like so many other elements, sometimes seems to be independent. It is a verbalizing or demonstrative pluralizing element :

- guł nu'nä<sup>ä</sup>s*, there are his mothers (cp. *nu'nunä<sup>ä</sup>s*, his mothers)  
*guł-ti'x<sup>w</sup>ul-tix<sup>w</sup>ul-Em*, they were abnormal (*guł-its-t* > *gułt* ;  
*tix<sup>w</sup>ul*, be different)  
*guł s-mi'y-mä<sup>ä</sup>äm*, they are women (cp. *smi'y-mä<sup>ä</sup>äm*, women,  
 wives; and note that *t* is not assimilated to *s*)  
*guł-ni-äh-i'tcni*, their backs were turned toward (*guł-äts-n-stem*  
 vowel initial > *gulni-*; *n-*, in; *ih*, turn toward; *-itcni*, back)  
*guł-xä<sup>ä</sup>-u'tumx<sup>w</sup>*, they were rattlesnakes  
*ä-guł-ni-it-stci'n-En*, by man-eaters (*n* before vowel stem initial >  
*n*; *n-s* > *s*; *-t-En* > *-En*; *ä-*, preposition; *n-*, in; *itn*, eat; *stcint*,  
 people; *-En*, one who)  
*guł smiyi'w*, the coyotes, coyote company

390. *pał-*, a prefix meaning plural, I have found only with words meaning "boys". It seems to be borrowed from Kal. *pał*, folk, where it is common (Giorda):

- guł-pał-tEtwi't*, they are boys  
*pa-squq<sup>w</sup>ä'sä<sup>ä</sup>*, the boys (*pał-s-* > *pas-*)

391. *gults*, each. Perhaps a compound with *guł*:

- gults-xu-x<sup>w</sup>i' . . .*, each a little  
*gults-mu's*, four each  
*guł-tci'<sup>ä</sup>täs*, three each (*ts-tc* > *tc*)  
*gults-äy-Esä'l*, two each dim.  
*tcät-guł-ttċ-ä'sä(l)*, it was to be one for each of two (*ts-t* > *t*)

### 392-408. Locative Prefixes

392. The prefixes of this group, although closely related to those of the next in that they are locative, belong to a slightly different category, an interpretation justified by their position in combinations of prefixes. They take the place of prepositions and are closely interrelated with the suffixes.

393. *t-*, on and a part of:

- t-xat-a'p-qEn-tEm*, he was clubbed on the head (*xät*, club; *-ip*,  
 back; *-qin*, head; *-tEm*, 3 pass. compl.)  
*t-gwä'x<sup>w</sup>-ynts*, he hung them up on it (*gwäx<sup>w</sup>*, pl. objects hang)  
*t-k<sup>w</sup>ar-k<sup>w</sup>ar-ä'q-ä<sup>ä</sup>st*, orange (*k<sup>w</sup>ar*, be yellow; *-äq*, ?; *-ä<sup>ä</sup>st*, surface  
 of sphere)  
*t-mux<sup>w</sup>-mux<sup>w</sup>-un<sup>i</sup>-ni'ni-ts*, he made fun of her, used her for laughing  
 on (*mäx<sup>w</sup>*, laugh; *-un<sup>i</sup>*, ?; *-min*, use; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.; glot.,  
 limited rep.)

394. These prefixes often mean the opposite of the literal idea they indicate. Instead of meaning "it is on", the combination of prefix, stem and suffix may mean, e. g., "off of" or "off from":

*tcitu<sup>u</sup>s-t-k<sup>w</sup>i'n-Ewäs-Ents*, he went and took it off of it (*tcitu<sup>u</sup>s-*, so far hither; *k<sup>w</sup>in*, take hold of one; *-iwäs*, together, where it made contact; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)  
*t-tcäm*, she plucked them (*tcäm*, take hold of many)

It seems as if the prefix may be reduplicated:

*t-t'ä'm-ic*, he perched (*t*-vowel > *t'*; *äm*, sit; *-ic*, act of)

395. *tc-*, on, attached to but not part of, at a point:

*ä-tc-cä't-tsEn*, it projects out from mouth (like a tooth) (*äts-tc* > *ätc-*; *äts-*, made so; *cät*, one projects; *-tsin*, mouth)  
*tc-ta'lq-alq<sup>w</sup>*, he kicked on a tree (*talq*, step on, kick; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long stiff object)  
*tc-t'EL-t'EL-i'wäs*, he burst (*täl*, tear; *-iwäs*, together)  
*tc-dila'm-alq<sup>w</sup>*, train (*dilim*, run fast, gallop; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long stiff object)

396. *ttc-*. This prefix is used with numerals in counting persons; it means "astraddle" or "straddling object"; or that the object on top is larger than the one it is on:

*ttc-Em-ä'c-alq<sup>w</sup>*, he sat down astride a log (*ttc-* vowel stem initial > *ttc-*; *-Em*, weak form of *äm*, sit; *-äc*, weak form of *-ic*, be in act of; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long object)  
*ttc-u'pEn-tct-ä'äst*, 10 round objects which have covering (orange, berry) (*upEn*, 10; *-tct*, finger; *-i'äst*, surface of sphere)  
*t-tcä'äti's-älps*, 3 necks, used in counting pigs, wolves (*ttc-* assimilates to *tc* of *tcä'ätis*, 3; *-ilps*, neck, mane)  
*ttc-ä'säl*, 2 persons (*äsil*, 2)  
*ä-ttc-Emu't-Ewäs*, he sat on something smaller than he

397. *tct-* ?:

*tct-mälx<sup>w</sup>-un-tsu't*, he undressed  
*a-tct-talq-talq-i'ten*, he is on bicycle  
*ä-tct-mi'lx<sup>w</sup>*, he was naked  
*tct-tci't*, (if) I came close

398. *tcät-*, on a surface or object broader than subject, above, over:

*tcät-äm-i'c-En-ts*, he sat on it (*äm*, one sits; *-ic*, be in act of; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)  
*tcät-pu'ut-i'tk<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, bubbling on surface of water (*pu't*, foam, bubble; *-itk<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, water)  
*tcat-x<sup>w</sup>ä'r-ic-En-ts*, he stepped over him (*x<sup>w</sup>är*, step over; *-ic*, be in act of)  
*tcät-k<sup>w</sup>i'n-ts*, he took it off of it (*k<sup>w</sup>in*, take hold of one; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

399. *tcs-* (*tss-*), after, behind, in pursuit of, for a purpose:

*tcs-x<sup>w</sup>ä'tp-En-ts*, he pursued him for a purpose (*x<sup>w</sup>ätp*, flee; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)  
*tcs-xu'y-En-ts*, he fetched it (*xui*, go)  
*nä'ä ku-tcs-qäm-i'l-En*, whenever thou art hungry (*nä'ä*, doubt; *ku-*, thou; *qäm*, long for; *-ilEn*, food)  
*tcs-qwäl-t*, he burned with a purpose, sweated

400. Although this prefix is used frequently in this sense it is almost certainly derived from the meaning of "tail":

- s-tcs-u'ps-En*, tail (*s*- nom.; *-ups*, anus; *-En*, that which)  
*tss'ä'm-ic*, it sat on (his tail) (*tcs*- > *tss*- because of following *c*;  
*äm*, sit; *-ic*, be in act of)  
*tcs-tsi'c-t*, long tail (*tsic*, long; *-t*, subjective)

401. *tsän-*, under, off of:

- t-tsan-r<sup>w</sup>äl-En-tEm*, it was closed off  
*tci-tsä<sup>ä</sup>-n-u'tx<sup>w</sup>*, he went in under hither (*tcits-tsän-n* > *tcitsä<sup>ä</sup>n*;  
*tcits-*, hither; *n<sup>w</sup>utx<sup>w</sup>*, one enters)  
*tsän-tätč-p*, it (line) broke off (*tätč*, string breaks; *-p*, without volition)

Used idiomatically with *tcits*, arrive:

- tcn-tsän-tci'ts-t*, I arrived (*tcn-*, I; *tcits*, arrive; *-t*, subjective)

402. *hın-*, in. This is one of the most commonly used prefixes. Literally it means, "in, on, into, onto"; like *t-*, *tc-*, *tcät-* and *tsän-*, it may take on the opposite meaning and indicate "off of on, or out of":

- hın-pu'x<sup>w</sup>-ttsä<sup>ä</sup>-än*, wind instrument (*pu<sup>w</sup>x<sup>w</sup>*, blow with mouth;  
*-ttsä<sup>ä</sup>*, inside; *-En*, that which)  
*hın-car-tsi'tx<sup>w</sup>-s*, her door curtain (*-tsin-tx<sup>w</sup>* > *tsitx<sup>w</sup>*; *car*, one hangs;  
*-tsin*, edge; *-tx<sup>w</sup>*, house)  
*hın-nä'pt*, they came in (*näpt*, pl. enter)

403. It is used as a part of many words indicating feelings or emotions:

- hın-tää's-En*, evil, sin (*tääs*, bad; *-En*, that which)  
*hın-xäs-i'lgwäs*, he is kind-hearted (*xäs*, be well; *-i'lgwäs*, heart, mind)  
*hın-xi't*, he is afraid (*xi't*, fear)

With the suffix *-En*, *hın-* often has the meaning of "place where":

- n-ıstci'tcä<sup>ä</sup>n*, barn (*hın*-vowel > *n*; *-ästci'tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, stock; *-En*, that which)

404. In some cases, it has become a part of the stem, which is never used without it:

- n<sup>w</sup>utx<sup>w</sup>*, one went in. (This stem is felt as an entity but it may be analyzed: *hın-* becomes *n* before vowel; *-ut*, be in position, *t* assimilated to following *-t* of *-tx<sup>w</sup>*, house)  
*tcät-m-gwi'c-ic*, I jumped over (fence) (*tcät-*, over; *m-* has become attached as a theme to *gwis-*, be high; *s* > *c* before following *c*; *-ic*, redupl. come to be)

405. *ni'<sup>t</sup>-*, a prefix almost as common as *hın-*, and like it used in connection with particular suffixes to give formalized meanings:

- s-ni'<sup>t</sup>-tca'm-i'<sup>t</sup>qs*, (*s*- nom.; *tca'm-*, extend, be surface). The combination *ni'<sup>t</sup>-...i'<sup>t</sup>qs* refers to the hair of the nostril, but is generalized for nose.  
*kup-s-ni'<sup>t</sup>-la'q-laq-wäs-cit-Ems*, she is to look amongst for something as a favor to you

406. This prefix is used to indicate the superlative degree (§ 822):

- s-ni'<sup>t</sup>-s-tsetsi'w-t-unic*, the youngest of the small ones  
*s-ni'<sup>t</sup>-tsä'c-alq<sup>w</sup>*, the tallest (*tsic*, be long, tall; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long stiff object)



407. *gul*, under ledge or inclined plane, "almost touching":

*äts-gul-tšEl-ɔ't-alq<sup>w</sup>*, he cust. stood under tree, i. e., hidden with branches nearly touching him (*äts-*, cust.; *tšäl*, one person stands; *-ut*, be in position; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long object, in this instance, tree)

*gul-q<sup>w</sup>unp-mEn-tso't-alq<sup>w</sup>*, he hid behind base of tree (*q<sup>w</sup>änp*, go out of sight; *-mEn*, use; *-tsut*, reflex.)

*gul-maq<sup>w</sup>-a'lq<sup>w</sup>-un-ts*, he laid them under ledge (*maq<sup>w</sup>*, pl. objects lie)

408. *mäl*, on to, close by, besides:

*mal-t-pä'r-pärk<sup>w</sup>-alq<sup>w</sup>-untEm*, he was crucified (*t-*, on and part of; *pärk<sup>w</sup>*, nail; redupl. dis.; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long stiff object; *-EntEm*, 3 pass. compl.)

*ä-mäl-cä'tut*, close to a rock (*ä-*, preposition)

*mäl-tsi'<sup>t</sup>*, near there

*mäl-i'tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, close to where?

409-431. *Directional Prefixes*

409. The prefixes of this group are directionals. They have an important function in that they indicate the exact position of each person and object concerned in relationship to all the others. They do what the prefixes or particles *hin* and *her* do in German. In English we express some of the ideas by vocabulary, words like "come, go; bring, take, fetch", convey some of the ideas but, of course, idiomatic usage of this kind in one language can never express in the same form all that is meant by another. In defining the meaning of each, it must be remembered that not only must the relative position of subject and object be known, but the speaker himself also adopts a point of view for himself and relates it to the situation.

410. *tk<sup>w</sup>ät-*, about to definite places:

*s-tk<sup>w</sup>ät-xui-stci'nt*, he visited about (*s-*, § 356; *xui*, go; *stci'nt*, people)

*tk<sup>w</sup>ät-la'q-Ents*, he went about searching for him (*laq*, search)

*tk<sup>w</sup>äl-ni'<sup>t</sup>-tšäl-u'...tx<sup>w</sup>*, he was standing about among the houses (*tk<sup>w</sup>ät-its-n-* > *tk<sup>w</sup>äl-n-*; *its-*, cont.; *-ut-tx<sup>w</sup>* > *-utx<sup>w</sup>*; *-ut*, be in position; *-tx<sup>w</sup>*, house)

*tk<sup>w</sup>äl-ts-x<sup>w</sup>ist-älwi's*, thou art going about at random (*x<sup>w</sup>ist*, one walks; *-älwi's*, at random)

411. *ut-(uĭ-)*, again, back:

*uĭ-ts-qa-qam-i'yä<sup>ä</sup>*, again he'd fish (*uĭ-äts-* > *uĭts-*; *äts-*, cust.; *qam*, swallow; *-iyä<sup>ä</sup>*, playingly; dim. or iter.)

*uĭ(h)-in-tsa'q-us*, again he set it in opening (*hin-*, in; *tsaq*, hollow object stands; *-us*, hole, opening)

*uĭcĭl tčät-uj-a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup>*, again just as he was going back (*cĭl*, just; *tčät-* fut.; *uĭ-s*-vowel initial > *uj-*; *s-*, inten. In this case *uĭ-* is used twice, illustrating both meanings.

*uĭ-gwi'tc-ts*, he found it (*gwitc*, see; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

412. *tcits-*, hither, i. e., toward speaker. This is one of the most commonly used prefixes. It should be remembered that final *ts* of this prefix assimilates to dental, sibilant, *y*, or lateral immediately following (§ 131):

*tcits-k<sup>wi</sup>'nts*, he fetched it (*k<sup>wi</sup>n*, take hold of one object; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

*tcits-xu'i*, he came (*xui*, go)

*ut-tci'<sup>t</sup>ts-a'tsqä'<sup>ä</sup>*, he was coming out again (*tcits-s-its-* stem vowel initial > *tci'<sup>t</sup>ts-*; *ut-*, again; *its-* cont.; *atsqä'<sup>ä</sup>*, go out)

*tcits-ä'<sup>kwn</sup>*, he said hither (*ä<sup>kwn</sup>n*, say)

*tci'<sup>i</sup>-tsäl-ic*, he stood up facing audience (*tcits-ts-* > *tci'<sup>i</sup>ts-*; *tsäl*, one person stands; *-ic*, be in act of)

*tci-t-tcni'-ci' · n-tem*, he was foot-held hither (*tcits-t-* > *tci-*; *t-*, on and part of; *tcän'*, hold one object; *-cin*, foot; *-En*, tr.; with *-tem*, 3 compl. pass.)

*tci-t-tük<sup>w</sup>-niEn-tsu't*, he took his time (*tcits-t* > *tci-*; *täk<sup>w</sup>*, one lies; *-mEn*, use; *-tsut*, reflex.)

413. Shortened forms of this prefix are *ts-*, *tc-*:

*ts-xu'i*, or *tc-xu'i*, he came (exactly the same as *tcits-xu'i*)

*ts-tq<sup>wi</sup>'l-kup*, into the fire, the fire being near speaker, the other person being on the other side of the fire (for *tcits-t-q<sup>wi</sup>'l-kup*, which would become *tcitq<sup>wi</sup>'lkup*)

414. This prefix contracts with *hin-*, in, to form *tcin-*, which means "in this way" or "in in this direction":

*tcin-tsäl-ic*, he stood in (it) this way (for *tcits-hin-tsäl-ic*)

*ta na<sup>a</sup> ku-tcin-talq-m-äs*, when you step in hither (for *ku-tcits-hin-talq-m-äs*)

*tcin-tä'dj-ttem*, it was poured in hither for him (for *tcits-hin-tädj-ttem*)

415. The prefix contracts with *its-*, cont. (composed of *s-its-*) so that *tcits-s-its-* > *tci'<sup>t</sup>ts-*:

*ut-tci'<sup>t</sup>ts-a'tsqä'<sup>ä</sup>*, he was coming out again (for *ut-tcits-s-its-atsqä'<sup>ä</sup>*)

*s-tci'<sup>t</sup>-tu<sup>s</sup>-qä'<sup>y</sup>-Emc*, he is coming intending to write (for *s-tcits-s-its-tu<sup>s</sup>-*)

*u-s-tci'<sup>t</sup>ts-Eku'n*, just his saying hither (*u-*, just; *s-* nominal; *ä<sup>kwn</sup>n*, say)

*tci'<sup>t</sup>n-tä'<sup>k</sup>*, he was lying in hither (for *tcits-its-in-*)

416. *tä-* (*ta-*), thither, the opposite of *tcits-*:

*tä'äku'stus*, he answered him (*ä<sup>kwn</sup>n*, say, takes cust. pronouns; *-stus*, 3-3 cust.)

*ut-tä-wi''-nts*, he shouted back at him (*ut-*, back; *wi'<sup>t</sup>*, shout, cry; *-in*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

*ta'-äxu's-En-tul*, go ye look for him (*äxus*, look at; *-En*, tr.; *-tul*, pl. imp.)

*tä-k<sup>wi</sup>'nts*, he received it

417. This prefix, especially in commands, may mean "before such a thing happens, or before arrival":

*na<sup>a</sup> ku-ta-xä'ts-mEn-tsut*, thou shalt get ready before we come (*na<sup>a</sup>*, fut. command; *ku-*, thou; *xäts*, get ready; *-mEn*, use; *-tsut*, reflex.)

*lutä-tä-ku'l-En-ts*, he did not fix it before they got there (*lutä-*, neg.; *ku'l*, make, do)

418. *täp-*, on the way. This prefix refers only to the subject of the verb, not to the speaker:

*tcin-täp-'i'ñn*, that's where I'll eat on my way (*tcin-*, I; *-'*, before stem-vowel; *iñn*, eat)

*tap-n-a'tsɣ-p-Ents-ılc*, he on his way watched them from behind (*hn-* stem vowel > *n-*; *hn-*, in; *atsɣ*, look at; *-p*, back; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.; *-ılc*, 3 pl.)

*ut-täp-tä-k<sup>w</sup>-ın-ts*, he laid it down again on his way (*ut-*, again; *täk<sup>w</sup>*, lay one)

419. *tu<sup>u</sup>s-*, as far as. This prefix may take on the meaning of purpose, "he went so far as to . . . , with the purpose of . . .". The echo-vowel suggests that it is a contracted form, but since it is doubtless combined with one of the *s*-forms, there are too many possibilities as to which consonant is lost in the *s* to make any guess reasonable. This and the next prefix are put with the directionals more because of their form than because of their meaning:

*tu<sup>u</sup>s-gwın-ästci'nt*, he went to summon (*gwın-it*, call, this is one of the few examples not showing *-it*, which is usually a part of the stem; *stciñt*, people)

*tcät-hıs-tu<sup>u</sup>y-a'tsɣ-n*, I'll go see (*hn-s* > *hıs-*; *tu<sup>u</sup>s-* stem vowel > *tu<sup>u</sup>y-*; *tcät-s-. . . -n*, fut. inten.; *atsɣ*, look at)

*tu<sup>u</sup>s-in-tcutmi'n-k<sup>w</sup>ä'än-tul*, throw him into the water (*ın-*, in; *tcutmin*, throw one; *-k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, water; *-En*, tr.; *-tul*, pl. imp.)

420. *tsi<sup>i</sup>-*, first, before . . . with the idea of being followed by "and then . . .". This also suggests a contracted form:

*ut-tsi<sup>i</sup>-xu'i-stus-ılc*, they first went back for her (*ut-*, back; *xui*, one goes; *-stus*, 3-3 cust.; *-ılc*, 3 pl.)

*tcät-ku-s-tsi<sup>i</sup>-ä'mıc*, thou wilt first sit down (*tcät-*, fut.; *ku-*, thou; *s-*, inten.; *äm*, one sits; *-ıc*, be in act of)

*nä'ul-tsi<sup>i</sup>-axi'stp*, first do thus with it again (*nä<sup>ä</sup>*, imp.; *ut-*, again; *axil*, do thus; *-stp*, 2p-3 cust.)

*ul-tsi<sup>i</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>ä'l-stus*, first he lighted it again as he had before (for *ul-äts-tsi<sup>i</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>äl-stus*)

421. The directionals may be combined. *tcitä-*, hither from there, is a combination of *tcits-tä-*, and is used when a speaker refers to two third persons, one, the subject of the verb; the other, the object:

*tcita-q<sup>wa</sup>'a<sup>a</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ä'äl-stus*, he spoke to her, meaning that he, the subject, was speaking with his face turned away from the speaker, to her who was facing the speaker

*tcitä-tu<sup>u</sup>s-gwi'tc-tsäs*, he came to meet me, meaning he came from there to a point and I went from here to that point, not that he came to where I started from (*gwıtc* see; *-tsäs*, 3-1 compl.)

422. The use of the three related directionals, *tcits-*, *tä*, and *tcitä-*, may be summarized as follows. But it must always be remembered that the orientation is always from the point of view of the speaker. Consequently when the verb is transitive and the object is not stationary, three persons must be considered: the speaker, the subject of the verb, and the object of the verb.

423. *tcits-*, hither, is used when the subject of the verb acts in the direction of the speaker. If the verb has an object it is to be understood that the object is between the subject of the verb and the speaker.

424. *tä-*, thither, is used when the subject of the verb acts in a direction away from the speaker. If the verb has an object it is understood that the object is at some point beyond the subject of the verb in relation to the speaker.

425. *tcitä-*, "hither-thither" is used when the subject of the verb acts away from the speaker on an object which is between the subject of the verb and an arbitrary point, but beyond the subject of the verb in relation to the speaker.

426. The directionals from here on are really combinations of those already given and mean what one would expect from the literal translations:

- tcitu<sup>u</sup>s-s-si'gw-ün-tsıs*, he came so far as to intend to ask you (*s-*, inten.; *sigw*, ask; *-ün* for *-En*, tr.; *-tsıs*, 3-2 compl.)  
*tcitu<sup>u</sup>s-ni'<sup>t</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>i'n-Ewäs-En-ts*, he came to get it from amongst (*ni'<sup>t</sup>* - . . . -*Ewäs*, amongst; *k<sup>w</sup>in*, take hold of)  
*tcitä-tu<sup>u</sup>s-gwi'tc-tsäs*, he came to meet me, meaning he came from there to a point and I went from here to that point, not that he came to where I started from (*gwi'tc*, see; *-tsäs*, 3-1 compl.)  
*tä-tu<sup>u</sup>s-xu'i*, he went so far as to meet him

427. The combination of *ut-tcits-*, *ut-tci-tä*, or of *ut-tci-tä-* may have the meaning "in turn":

- ut-tcits-tcs-xu'y-En-t*, thou in turn fetch it (*tcs-*, for purpose; *xui*, one goes; *-En*, tr.; *-t*, 2-3 imp.)  
*u-s-tä-mi'y-äm-s*, he in turn was to have her for his woman (*ut-s-* > *us-*; *s-. . . -s*, 3-3 inten.; *mi'yäm*, woman)  
*nä-<sup>2</sup>ut-tä-mij-mij-ci't-Em*, (I am the one) who is in turn to tell stories

428. Naturally when a language has a series of prefixes as elaborate as this there will be a fixed order in which the various elements appear in combination. Each has its particular position with respect to all the others. Furthermore, each has its place in relation to the syntactic particles, which may or may not be interpreted as an integral part of the verbal complex (§ 749), and both prefixes and syntactic elements have their position in relation to the even more elaborate series of suffixes. The table of § 573 will illustrate the various elements and their places within the complex.

429. Several rules for the order of prefixes are general and obvious; the sequence of elements preceding the stem being as follows:

Syntactic elements — pronoun (subject or object-subject in continuative) — nominalizing (or intentional) prefix — aspect — directional — prepositional — stem.

430. The prefixes *tk<sup>w</sup>ät-*, *tcuts-*, and *uł-*, which have been treated as directionals, precede the aspect prefix. Their position may indicate that they belong in a category different from that of the other directionals.

431. The prefixes *äts-*, it is . . . . because it has been acted upon (§ 384), *u-*, just (§ 386), and *u<sup>u</sup>-* objective if they occur in a complex involving several or many of these elements, precede even the syntactic particles.

## 432-589. SUFFIXES

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442. *-ilc*, grow, become through growth
443. *-ul* (*-ul*), habitually
444. *-ilc*, motion in horseshoe curve
445. *-igw*, neglected, far
446. *-iyä<sup>ä</sup>*, playingly
447. *-ut*, be in position, state of
448. *-ut*, possibility
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- 456-531. Nominal suffixes:
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461. *-num*, body
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- 463-466. *-ip* (*-ap*, *-äp*, *-p*), bottom, behind, after (*tcsm*-. . . .-*äp*, door)
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 475. *-tsin* (*-tsän*, *-tsEn*), edge, mouth, shore  
 476. *-idEn*, effort  
 477. *-alqs*, end  
 478. *-us*, eye, face, orifice through which light shines, fire  
 479. *-alp*, feeling  
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 485. *-ilup* (*-älup*), foundation  
 486. *-ulūmx<sup>w</sup>* (*-älūmx<sup>w</sup>*), ground  
 487. *-itct*, hand, finger  
 488. *-itcs*, hand entire  
 489. *-qin* (*-qEn*), head, tip, top  
 490. *-ilgwäs* (*-älgwäs*), heart, stomach  
 491. *-ilx<sup>w</sup>* (*-älx<sup>w</sup>*, *-lx<sup>w</sup>*), hide, skin, mat, covering (*tcät*....  
     *-ilx<sup>w</sup>*, bundle)  
 492. *-gwil*, hollow object, abdomen, wagon, canoe  
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 495. *-ästcä<sup>ä</sup>*, horse, stock  
 496. *-itx<sup>w</sup>* (*-itx<sup>w</sup>*), house  
 497. *-it* (*-ät*, *-t*), inside from within, flesh, meat  
 498. *-alq<sup>w</sup>* (*-alq*), long object  
 499. *-alpq<sup>w</sup>*, mouth inside, oral cavity  
 500. (*-ips*), *-äps*, neck (cp. § 580)  
 501. *-i<sup>ä</sup>qs* (*-a<sup>ä</sup>qs*), nose, beak; oral and nasal cavity, seat of  
     taste  
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 503. *-u<sup>u</sup>*, pendent (?)  
 504. *-ilūmx<sup>w</sup>* (*-alūmx<sup>w</sup>*, *-älūmx<sup>w</sup>*), person, man  
 505. *-stcint*, people  
 506. *-ūmc* (*-Emc*), people  
 507. *-istcä<sup>ä</sup>yt*, pharynx  
 508. *-ilgwäs* (*-älgwäs*), property  
 509. *-alqs*, road  
 510. *-i<sup>ä</sup>utEm*, self-doer, auto-  
 511. *-atqiwüt*, shoulder  
 512. *-ingwilEn* (*-EngwilEn*), something  
 513. *-i<sup>ä</sup>st* (*-a<sup>ä</sup>st*, *-ä<sup>ä</sup>st*), surface of round object, rock  
 514. *-ilps* (*-älps*), throat of person, back of animal's neck  
 515. *-ipttix<sup>w</sup>tstc* (*-äpttix<sup>w</sup>tstc*), tongue, tongue-shaped  
 516. *-ins* (*-äns*), tooth  
 517. *-stq*, vegetation, crops  
 518. *-qin* (*-qEn*), voice (cp. § 489)  
 519. *-k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, water, liquid  
 520. *-inx<sup>w</sup>* (*-änx<sup>w</sup>*), weather

521. *-ät*, (a) for use of  
 (b) connective in compounding  
 (c) with numerals, "times, measures"  
 (d) belonging to the house
522. *-äls*, round object (?)
523. *-i't* (*-ä'üt*), source (?)
524. *-ät*, open to question (?)
525. *-täyt*, ?
526. - ? (*-Elté*), check (?)
527. *-tcä'ä*, ?
- 528-531. *-i't* (*-ä'ä*), "someone who . . . for" (?)
- 532-542. Locative suffixes:
532. *-älwis* (*-älwis*, *-äwwis*), about to indefinite places
533. *-itsä'ä* (*-tsä'ä*), all around, all over
534. *-ust*, movement along
535. *-änniw* (*-ännäw*, *-niw*), alongside at rest, position alongside
536. *-yuyä'ä*, back and forth
537. *-iwäs* (*-awäs*, *-äwäs*), between, together, be in contact
538. *-u'us*, directly, "spang"
539. *-it*, direction, "-ward"
540. *-mä'ä*, in every way
541. *-inä'ä* (*-änä'ä*), over, on top of
542. *-astq* (*-stq*), in opposition to
- 543-560. Compounded suffixes
- 561-569. Syntactic suffixes:
562. *-t*, in behalf of, instead of
563. *-tu't*, for, in reference to
564. *-cit*, as a favor to
- 565-566. *-cic* (*-cäc*, *-cEc*), something, for someone
567. *-tsut*, reflexive
568. *-twic* (*-twäc*), reciprocal
569. *-i' . . .* (*-a' . . .*, *-ä' . . .*), exaggeration
- 570-572. Nominalizing suffixes:
571. *-En*, nominalizer, the one who, that which (*hin-. . . -En*, place where)
572. *-ni*, that which

### 433. General Remarks

433. I have made certain classifications of the long list of Coeur d'Alene suffixes which seem justified on the basis of position and meaning:

Verbal suffixes (§§ 434-455): These are short elements which modify the stem, in cases appearing strictly fossilized; in others, more free, but never absolutely free. Suffixes in the other classes (e. g., *-ip*, [§ 463] after, back, bottom) may take on this kind of function.

Nominal suffixes (§§ 456-531): These are the standard Salishan suffixes often indicating body-parts, but including also incorporated nouns.

Locative suffixes (§§ 532–542): These are not very different from the nominal suffixes and are treated in practically the same way, the main distinction being in the locative, rather than the nominal meaning.

Syntactic suffixes (§§ 561–569): These take the place of some of our pronominal ideas and add others.

Nominalizing suffixes (§§ 570–572): A small category but one whose elements are much used.

The fact that the suffixes change their form with the setting and sense in which they are used makes it difficult to list them. They may occur with a strong vowel if it carries the accent, or with the vowel unaccented and weak, or without a vowel at all (§ 204). They will be easier to find if classified alphabetically according to their meaning in English. The first form given is the strongest, that is, the one with accent and not influenced by the faucals, those in parentheses are the other forms which may occur.

#### 434–455. Verbal Suffixes

434. A series of suffixes modify the meaning of a stem. These are not all free, but some are used with a variety of verbs. I shall call these verbal suffixes:

-*ic*, (-*w*), be in act of

*tšä'l-ic*, he stood up

*ä'm-ic*, sit down

*a-n-car-ic-i't*, upstream (*ats-n- > an-*; *n-*, in; *car*, be difficult[?];  
-*il*, direction)

435. This suffix is used with the prefix *is-* and repeated onomatopoeic stems to denote that a noise is going on:

*is-tčä't-tčät-ic*, clock is ticking, tick-tock

*is-ti't-lEl-ic*, it is ripping (*tšil*, rip)

*is-qä'qäqäq-ic*, chicken is cackling

*is-ha'haha'-ic*, he is haw-hawing

436. When the verb takes final reduplication the suffix must also be duplicated:

*tEp-Ep-l-i'c-ic*, they came to a stand (*täp*, pl. stop)

*äm-Em-i'c-ic*, it alighted (*äm*, one sits)

437. -*s*, in an unnatural way, artificially, affectedly:

*syä-mä'äm-s-tsu't*, cardplayer (*syä-*, one whose occupation is;  
*mi'tm*, bore; -*tsut*, reflex.)

*x<sup>w</sup>ül-x<sup>w</sup>ül-s-tsu't-En*, Redeemer (*x<sup>w</sup>äl*, live; -*En*, one who)

*s-q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>a</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ä'äl-s-twi'c*, quarreling (*s-*, nom.; *q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>a</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ä'äl*, speak, -*twic*,  
rec.; glot., limited rep.)

*a<sup>a</sup>tš-atš-atš-x-Em-s-tsu't*, he is ostentatious (*a<sup>a</sup>tš-*, cust.; *atšx*, look  
at; redupl. again and again; -*Em*, caus.)

*tcı-sıy-Em-s-tsu't*, he exerted himself hither (paddling canoe)  
(*tcıts-s- > tcıs-*; *tcıts*, hither; *ıy*, be industrious; -*Em*, caus.;  
-*tsut*, reflex.)



438. *-in* (*-än*, *-En*), attempt:

- hın-ʒa't-ʒaʔ-En-tsen*, I attempted to frighten thee (*hın-*, in, with; *ʒaʔ*, fear; *-tsen*, 1-2 compl.; glot., rep.)  
*hın-tu-tugw-i'n-tcn-tsen*, I failed to keep up with thee from the start (*hın-*, at; *tägw*, reach; redupl., dim.; *-itcn*, back; *-tsen*, 1-2 compl.)  
*t-mux<sup>w</sup>-mux<sup>w</sup>-un-mi'n-ts*, he made fun of him (*t-*, on attached; *mäx<sup>w</sup>*, laugh; *-min*, use; glot., rep. for interval; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)  
*ceʔ-En-ä<sup>n</sup>-u'n-ts*, he beat him in contest (*-än-nun* > *ä<sup>n</sup>nun*; *cät*, win; *-nun*, succeed)  
*tcitä-n-lax<sup>w</sup>-lax<sup>w</sup>-i'n-k<sup>w</sup>ä'äntp*, if you try to shoot it with speed into the water (*lax<sup>w</sup>*, shoot with speed)

439. *-im* (*-äm*, *-Em*), causative used with objective stems; takes customary endings in the completive, unless some other suffix like *-min* follows, in which case the pronominal endings are those demanded by the suffix in final position:

- nä<sup>ä</sup> tsi'<sup>l</sup>-i'm-stx<sup>w</sup>*, pass it through that (dentalium), an act which was to be ritualistic (*nä<sup>ä</sup>*, imp.; *tsi'<sup>l</sup>*, move hither)  
*ttc-ih-i'm-stus*, he placed it next to her (*ttc-*, on, or person; *-ih*, turn toward)  
*hın-tša'x-äm-En*, frying-pan, what causes frying in  
*ta'p-äm-En*, arrow, what causes shooting  
*ʒä's-Em-stus*, he corrected it (*ʒäs*, be well)  
*cä'n-En-Em-stus*, he employed him (*cän*, labor)

440. Since it combines with elements such as *-En*, which may in themselves be of two kinds, it is often difficult, or even impossible, to distinguish this suffix from *-min*, the instrumental or usitative. Its position immediately following the stem, however, seems to distinguish it in some cases. These suffixes remain, one of the unsolved problems of the language (§ 872):

- its-ʒä's-Em-Entsut*, he is reforming (*its-*, cont.; *ʒäs*, good; *-Em*, caus.; *-Entsut*, reflex.; or, *-mEn*, usitative; *-tsut*, reflex.; either, he is causing well as to self, or, he is using himself well)  
*its-ʒäs-Em-Entsu't*, he is dressing well (i. e., he is self-using-well, or he is self-causing-good)

441. *-numt*, desire:

- lut-ä-hi'<sup>n</sup>-it-nu'mt*, I have no appetite (*lutä-*, neg.; *hın-s-hın*-vowel initial > *hi'<sup>n</sup>*; *hın*, my; *s-*, nom.; *hın-*, in; *itn*, eat)  
*tä 'its-ʒi'w-t-um-numt*, be lustful, that which should be shameful (*its-*, cont.; *ʒiw*, be shameful; *-t*, subjective; *-um*, caus.)  
*tcın-m-tcEc-nu'mt*, I wish to accompany (*tcın-*, I; *hın-*, in; *tcäc*, accompany)  
*swi'<sup>t</sup>-nu'mt-umc*, handsome person (?) (*swi'<sup>t</sup>*, be handsome; *-umc*, be person)

442. *-ilc* (*-älc*), grow, become through growth. This is evidently the causative element for subjective stems (§ 304) which corresponds

to *-Em*, the causative for objective forms, and like it, demands customary pronominal suffixes in the transitive completive (see § 364):

- xäs-t-i'lc*, it grew better (*xäs*, good; *-t*, subjective)  
*djiy'djiy-t-i'lc*, it has become useless (*djiy'djiy*, be ugly)  
*sE-sEn'sEn-t-ä'lc-stus*, he broke it (horse) (*sän'*, tame; *sEn'sEn-t*, affect by taming; *-stus*, 3-3 cust.; dim.)  
*tää's-t-ülc*, it is spoiling (*tääs*, be bad)

443. *-ul* (*-u'l*), habitually. The forms with *-ul* frequently have the glottalized series of consonants because the action often involves repetition during an interval:

- mi'y-mi'ü'ini-u'l*, he habitually betrays secrets (*mi'im*, be nuisance)  
*tEl-tElq-alt'sä'u'l*, horse which habitually kicks (*talq*, kick; *-itt'sä'ä*, all through, in this case meaning flesh)  
*gwün-gwün-ät-m-u'l*, beggar (*gwün-it*, ask; *-Em*, cause)  
*k<sup>w</sup>än-k<sup>w</sup>än-u'l-stnät*, we habitually took it (the bad)

444. *-ülc*, motion in horseshoe curve:

- Ri'p-ülc*, he hid  
*u's-ülc*, person dived  
*su'x<sup>w</sup>-ülc*, fish dived  
*tü'x<sup>w</sup>-ülc*, he took a jump off of . . . . into . . . .  
*r<sup>w</sup>i'ü-ülc*, he vomited  
*dä'x<sup>w</sup>-ülc-mEn-tsut*, he dismounted (*däx<sup>w</sup>*, lower; *-min*, use; *-tsut*, reflex.)  
*tsä'q<sup>w</sup>-ülc*, tamarack (the suffix refers to the shape of the branches) (*tsäq<sup>w</sup>*, light red, pinkish)

445. *-igw* (*-ägw*, *-igw*), neglected, far. This suffix is used in two ways, one in the sense of neglect, the other in the sense of an object being far away. It is conceivable that it may mean neglected because far away and that the two meanings involve the same suffix:

- ku-k<sup>w</sup>ül-i' . . . gw-t-us*, his little face in the distance was red (redupl., dim.; *k<sup>w</sup>ül*, red; *-t*, subjective; *-us*, face)  
*u<sup>u</sup>-xäR-i'gwt*, it (sieve, screen, cloth) is full of holes (*u<sup>u</sup>-*, part of; *xäR*, wind blows through)  
*un-yarp-ü-i'gw-t-äntc*, lassos were looped neglected all over wall (*u-*, just; *n- . . . -äntc*, wall of room; *yarp*, loop lies; *-iy*, billowy; *-t*, subjective)  
*q<sup>w</sup>iy-p-iy-i'gwt*, property of dead or neglected lay in pitiable condition (*q<sup>w</sup>äy*, pity; *-p*, without volition)  
*q<sup>w</sup>ä'm-ägw-t*, it is very far away  
*dis-i'gw-t*, object is just discernible in distance

446. *-iyä<sup>ä</sup>* (*-äyä<sup>ä</sup>*, *-yä<sup>ä</sup>*), playingly:

- Räp-Räp-ülc-i'yä<sup>ä</sup>*, hide and seek (*Rip*, always with *-ülc*, hide)  
*s-tiy-tiyäq<sup>w</sup>-t-i'yä<sup>ä</sup>*, wrestling (*s-*, nom.; *tiyäq<sup>w</sup>*, fight; *-t*, subjective)  
*k<sup>w</sup>aR-aR-p-El-i'yä<sup>ä</sup>*, coasting (*k<sup>w</sup>aR*, slide, skid; *-p*, without volition; *-il*, where two planes meet)

447. *-ut* (-*ot*), position, state of:

- tsän-tsä'l-ut*, he stood under (*tsän-*, under; *tsäl*, one stands)  
*s-tcä-tük-u't-En*, bed (*s-*, nom.; *tcät-*, on surface; *täk<sup>w</sup>*, one lies; *-En*, that which)  
*tcäl-tcis-luk-uk-u't-us-mEn-Em*, I will use face to be far off, go way off to shine (*tcin-s-* > *tcis-*; *tcäl-*, fut.; *tcin-*, I; *s-*, inten.; *läkuk*, far; *-us*, face; *-min*, use; *-Em*, intr.)  
*hm-lak-ot-alqs*, long road

448. *-ut*, possibility, “-able”, used with final reduplication:

- kuł-l-u't-Em*, it is possible to do (*kuł*, do; *-Em*, indefinite object)  
*qäj-Ey-u't-Em*, it is possible to write (*qäj*, design)  
*pits-its-u't-Em*, it is possible to push (car) (*pits*, push)  
*nitc-itc-u't-Em*, it is “cut-able”  
*lutä-s-luq-uq-u't-Ems*, it is impossible (*lutä-*, neg.; *s-...-Ems*, participial form with *lutä-*; *laq*, be able)

449. *-itc* (-*atc*, -*itc*), a vague suffix which may perhaps be best translated as “seem”. It may mean also “feint at”, “deceive” (in a weak sense), “try to”:

- pEs-a'tc-stmEn*, I will play a trick on him (*pas*, astonish; *-stmEn*, 1-3 cust.)  
*ku-tsan-ma'l-mEl-ätct*, thou art trying to make it too hot (*mal*, hot)  
*is-tc-yaR-aR-i'tc-ätct*, thy luck will change  
*tsan-dol-dalq<sup>w</sup>-ätc*, he seemed strong  
*tsuw-i'tc-stEm*, he fainted at punching

This suffix occurs in a number of nouns which I cannot analyze:

- s-pux<sup>w</sup>än-i'tc-ält*, Chief Child-of-the-Root (*päx<sup>w</sup>-äntc*, a particular kind of root, *-ilt*, offspring)  
*s-xu<sup>u</sup>-xu<sup>u</sup>n-i'tc-älp*, thorn (*-älp*, plant)  
*s-tuy-i'tc-cEn*, killdeer  
*s-lä<sup>ü</sup>w-i'n-ätc*, cricket

450. *-nun*, succeed after considerable effort:

- cEl-Et-nu'n-En*, I succeeded in beating him (*cäl*, win; *-En*, 1-3 compl.)  
*xäs-äs-t-nu'n-En*, I succeeded in making it well  
*mip-nu'n-En*, I learned it (*mip*, be plain, clear)  
*lutä-tcäl-u-s-k<sup>w</sup>än-änu'n-tx<sup>w</sup>*, thou wilt not get him back (*ut-s-* > *us-*; *lutä-*, neg.; *tcäl-*, fut.; *ut-*, again; *s-*, nom.; *k<sup>w</sup>in*, take one; *-tx<sup>w</sup>*, 1-3 compl.)

451. *-it* (-*ät*), for use. The meaning of this element is also vague, but seems to mean “for use” as against “just existing”. It has been thoroughly attached to the suffix *-k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, water (§ 519) and *-itk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>* is very frequent indeed. When the combination is thus used it means “water in a container or for use” although its meaning has become much generalized:

- cäl-i't-kyp*, he split wood for immediate use (*cäl*, cut with blade; *-kyp*, fire)  
*t-Etcin-i't-kyp-En*, poker (*t-*, on and part of; *atcin*, do with; *-En*, that which)  
*sin-puq<sup>w</sup>-i't-k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, mush (*päq<sup>w</sup>*, powder)

452. *-min* (*-män*, *-mEn*) used for (§ 872):

- ṭux<sup>w</sup>-mi'n-En*, sewing machine (*ṭax<sup>w</sup>*, sew; *-En*, that which)  
*tc-tElq-mi'n-En*, stirrup (*tc-*, on and not part of; *talq*, step on)  
*gwuc-mi'n-En*, something used for combing (not a comb) (*gwäc*,  
 comb)  
*qäy-mi'n-En*, book, paper, writing (*qäy*, make design)

453. *-il* (*-äl*, *-l*), angle where two planes meet, or place where two elements meet (cp. §§ 454, 484):

- tE-tax-i'l-kwä<sup>ä</sup>*, small rapid (*tax*, swift; *-kwä<sup>ä</sup>*, water)  
*k<sup>w</sup>aR-aR-p-El-i'yä<sup>ä</sup>*, coasting (*k<sup>w</sup>aR*, skid, slide; *-p*, without volition;  
*-iyä<sup>ä</sup>*, playingly)  
*tcät-tcäd-t-ä<sup>ä</sup>-l-u's-Emi*, he shaded his eye (*tcät-*, on surface; *tcäd*,  
 shade, make shade; *-t*, subjective; *-ä<sup>ä</sup>*, ?; *-us*, eye; *-Em*, ?)  
*qäp-qäp-l-yu'yä<sup>ä</sup>*, butterfly (*qäp*, flap; glot. limited rep.; *-yuyä<sup>ä</sup>*,  
 back and forth)  
*ṭaq-aq-al-i'c-ic*, she (toad) landed between his eyes (*ṭaq*, lie on belly;  
*-ic*, be in act of)  
*s-cEt-i'l-tct*, shield (*s-*, nom.; *cät*, one stands upright; *-tct*, hand)

454. This is almost certainly the first element of the following combination of suffixes:

- tsi'c-tsic-äl-stcEn*, long horns (*tsic*, be long; *-ilstcEn*, means the  
 place where the forehead and top of head meet; in a person,  
 the hairline)  
*a-tcät-pu'y-ilkwä<sup>ä</sup>-us*, forehead is wrinkled (*ats-tc* > *atc-*; *ats-*,  
 made so; *tcät-*, on surface; *pu'y*, wrinkled; *-ilkwä<sup>ä</sup>*, broad part  
 of forehead; *-us*, face). I have never found *-kwä<sup>ä</sup>* by itself  
 with any meaning approaching this.

455. *-ix<sup>w</sup>* (*-äx<sup>w</sup>*, *-x<sup>w</sup>*), willingly, of own accord (?):

- tcis-in-xäl-xäl-tcs-En-i'x<sup>w</sup>-s*, he is naturally afraid of me (*tcin-s* >  
*tcis-*; *s-hin* > *sin-*; *tcin-* . . . .-s, 3-1 cont.[?]; *xäl*, fear; *-tcs*,  
 hand; *-in*, attempt)  
*ä-n-gwEn-En-i'x<sup>w</sup>-än-ä<sup>ä</sup>-mi-sEn*, I believe it (*äts-n* > *än-*; *-mEn-s* >  
*-mis*; *äts-*, cust.; *n*, in; *gwun-ix<sup>w</sup>*, be true; *-inä<sup>ä</sup>*, ear; *mi[n]-*,  
 use for; *-sEn*, 1-3 cust.)  
*tcin-tsän-kwi'n-x<sup>w</sup>-tsEn*, I replied, agreed, accepted (*tcin-*, I;  
*tsän-*, under, off; *k<sup>w</sup>in*, take one; *-tsEn*, mouth)

### 456-531. Nominal Suffixes

456. The wellknown Salishan elements include body-parts and incorporated nouns:

*-ups* anus, anal region

- s-tcs-su-su'ps-Eni*, small tail, tail feathers (*tcs-*, after, behind)  
*s-q<sup>w</sup>ä'd-ups*, grouse (*s-*, nom.; *q<sup>w</sup>äd*, black)  
*tcs-n-Estci'tcä<sup>ä</sup>-ups*, horse manure (*tcs-s-hin*-vowel initial >  
*tcsn-*; *hin-*, in; *-ästci'tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, horse)

457. *-axEn*, arm, wing:

*a-tsan-tuk<sup>w</sup>-a'xEn-mEstus*, he had her under his arm (*ats-ts- > ats-*; *-mEn-s- > -mEs*; *ats-*, made so; *tsan-*, under; *täk<sup>w</sup>*, lay one; *-mEn*, use; *-stus*, 3-3 cust.)

*tsan-tšul-tšulx<sup>w</sup>-a'xEn-ts*, he clawed it under the arms (*tsan-*, under; *tšalx<sup>w</sup>*, or *tšalx<sup>w</sup>*, claw; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

*s-tcu<sup>g</sup>w-a'xEn*, arm (*s-*, nom.; *tcu<sup>g</sup>w*, extend)

*tcu<sup>g</sup>w-tcu<sup>g</sup>w-a'xEs*, his wing feathers (*-axEn-s > -axEs*; *-s*, 3 poss.)

458. *-iplä<sup>ä</sup>* (*-aplä<sup>ä</sup>*, *-äplä<sup>ä</sup>*), perhaps *-ip-lä<sup>ä</sup>*, attachment, handle, connection:

*t-q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>a</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>äl</sup>-iplä<sup>ä</sup>-än-ts*, he judges it, it hangs on his talk (*t-*, on attached to, with *-i'plä<sup>ä</sup>*; *q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>al</sup>*, talk, speak, always redupl.; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

*tsan-Räts-i'plä<sup>ä</sup>-än*, fishline (*-ä<sup>ä</sup>-En > -ä<sup>ä</sup>än*; *tsän-*, under; *Räts*, tie; *-En*, that which)

*t-tčEts-a'pla<sup>a</sup>-qEn*, swingletree (*-qEn-En > -qEn*; *t-...-apla<sup>a</sup>*, as above; *tčäts*, long object lies; *-qEn*, tip, head; *-En*, that which)

*ttčä'r<sup>w</sup>-plä<sup>ä</sup>-cäc*, bless us (*ttčär<sup>w</sup>*, pray; *-cäc*, 2-1 pl. compl.)

*s-t-miy-i'plä<sup>ä</sup>s*, descriptive (*s-*, nom.; *miy*, make clear; *-s*, 3 poss.)

*s-t-pistä-i'plä<sup>ä</sup>*, relatives in one line, on one side (*pistä<sup>ä</sup>*, half)

459. *-itcn* (*-ätcn*, *-Etcn*), back, ridge:

*a-sin-tčam-i'tcn-s*, behind her (*s-hın- > sin-*; *a-*, preposition; *s-*, nom.; *hın-*, place; *tčäm*, extend; *-s*, 3 poss.)

*a-n-xal-xäl-i'tcn-cEn*; he has boards for sandals (*ats-hın- > an-*; *ats-*, cust.; *n-*, on; *xäl*, lie in orderly position, as boards on floor; *-cEn*, foot; back of foot is "sole")

*sE-sar-i'tcn*, one of the squirrels or chipmunks

*s-x<sup>w</sup>i'l-ätcn*, dentalium

460. *-iy* (*-äy*), billowy

*säp-i'y-alqs*, leather coat (*sip-äy*, leather; *-alqs*, clothes)

*s-gwaq-i'y*, moonlight (*gwaq*, divide, part)

*tčäl-äy*, bark

*tu<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>-iy-i'gw-t*, covering (on which game lay) was stained here and there (*tuk<sup>w</sup>*, be bloody; *-igw*, neglected)

*tsa'q-äy-Ents*, he roasted meat (*tsaq*, set one hollow object upright)

*p-pa'q-m-ay-qEn*, cow with white on face and top of head

*un-yarp-y-i'gwt-äntc*, lassos were looped all neglected covering the wall (*uts-n- > un-*; *u-*, just; *n-* with *-äntc*, hollow object, i. e., wall of room; *yarp*, loops hang; *-igwt*, neglected, without owner)

461. *-num*, body. This suffix seems to be an old Salishan leftover, and is rare in Coeur d'Alene:

*äts-xäts-nu'm*, he is clothed (*äts-*, condition of being made so; *xäts*, get ready)

462. *-ämıc* (*-Emäc*, *-mıc*), born, may be related to suffix § 506. It is one of a number of cases in which related suffixes seem to have become a common form with a few left-over or borrowed forms. This is not at all common, but could, I think, be interpreted "born":

*s-ci'<sup>t</sup>-Emi'<sup>c</sup>-ält*, firstborn child

*s-ci'<sup>t</sup>-Emäc-qEn-tct*, middle finger (*ci'<sup>t</sup>*, be first, oldest)

463. *-ip* (*-ap*, *-äp*, *-p*) bottom, after, behind. This suffix combines with many others (§§ 546–549) and with verb stems, in some cases so intimately as to lose its identity:

- tcEc-i'p-Ents*, he chased her (*tcäc*, accompany)  
*at-q'wusw-i'p-ält*, hen has a brood of chickens (*ats-t* > *at-*; *u-i* > *w*;  
*t-*, attached to; *q'wäsu<sup>u</sup>*, bunch; *-ält*, offspring; dim.)  
*s-yälx<sup>w</sup>-a'p-qEn*, cape, that which covers the back of the head  
*hin-ni'tc-p-Ents*, he drove it in (*hin-*, in; *nitc*, drive one animal with  
 goad; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3–3 compl.)

464. One of the meanings this suffix has taken on is that of door, doorway, door opening. It has this meaning in combination with the prefix *tcsin-*, a combination of *tcs-hin-*:

- tssin-tcä'm-äp*, door  
*ts-sin-täk<sup>w</sup>-i'p-En-tEm*, he was laid near (in) doorway (*täk<sup>w</sup>*, lay  
 one; *-En*, tr.; *-tEm*, 3 pass. compl.)  
*tcsin-car-i'p-Ents*, he hung it near (in) doorway (*car*, one hangs;  
*-ts*, 3–3 compl.)  
*tcsin-cEł-ä'p*, threshold (*cät*, one stiff object projects)

465. With the prefix *tsän-*, under:

- tsän-tcam-i'p-Ents*, latch

466. When used with the prefix *hin-*, in, it refers to the interior (bottom) of a hollow object, usually a bucket. Especially is this true in counting:

- hin-k<sup>w</sup>i'nc-äp*, how many buckets? eggs? (*k<sup>w</sup>inc*, how many)  
*hin-mu's-p*, four buckets

467. *-aqs*, breast:

- s-tca'm-aqs*, breast (*s-*, nom.; *tcam*, extend)  
*pEn-pEn-a'qs*, parfleche (*pän*, bend)  
*s-yar-a'qs-Es*, his breastplate (*-En-s* > *-Es*; *yar*, dislike)

468. *-ätqix<sup>w</sup>* (*-lqix<sup>w</sup>*), breath:

- ças-a'tqix<sup>w</sup>*, it smells nice (*ças*, be well)  
*u-q<sup>w</sup>a'ts-lqix<sup>w</sup>*, wind is warm (*u-*, within; *q<sup>w</sup>its*, be warm)  
*u<sup>u</sup>-tE'c-lqix<sup>w</sup>*, it smells sweet (*tic*, be sweet)  
*taç-a'tqix<sup>w</sup>*, it smells pungent (*taç*, be swift)

469. *-ältp*, (*-alp*, *-Ełp*), part of a bush, plant, root, tree:

- s-taq-a'tp-alq<sup>w</sup>*, serviceberry bush (*taq*, serviceberry; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long  
 object)  
*s-tEc-a'tp-alq<sup>w</sup>*, huckleberry bush (*tic*, sweet)  
*tša'q-ältp*, fir tree (*tšağ*, clump)  
*dä'l-Ełp*, willow tree (*däl*, one inanimate object stands)  
*s-xu-x<sup>w</sup>än-i'tc-ältp*, thornberry bush

470. *-tx<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, camas, (?). This stem must be from the independent word *ätx<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, camas:

- s-xa'w-ulu-tx<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, raw camas (*xiw*, raw)  
*i<sup>i</sup>-ta'qiy-tx<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, the leaves are falling (*its-t* > *i<sup>i</sup>-t*; *its-*, cont.; *taqi<sup>u</sup>*,  
 pl. objects fall)

471. *-alqs*, clothes:

- ma<sup>a</sup>-ma<sup>a</sup>m-alqs*, Sisters (*miyäm*, woman; redupl., pl.)  
*säp-i'y-alqs*, buckskin shirt, leather jacket (*sip*, buckskin; *-iy*, billowy)  
*tcat-qa'l<sup>t</sup>tc-alqs*, overcoat (*tcat-*, on surface of; *qilttc*, body)  
*s-l-lä'x<sup>w</sup>-alqs*, little suit, i. e., little holes in small shirt (*läx<sup>w</sup>*, perforate)

472. *-asqit* (*-sqit*), day, sky, atmosphere:

- t-tcEm-a'sqit*, sky, heaven (*t-*, on and part of)  
*tci-yar-p-a'sqit*, Rolling-in-the-Sky (*tcits-y-* > *tciy-*; *tcits-*, hither; *yar*, roll like hoop, disc like; *-p*, without volition)  
*k<sup>w</sup>ä'nc-qit*, how many days (*c-s* > *-c*, *k<sup>w</sup>inc*, how many)

473. *-inä<sup>ä</sup>* (*-änä<sup>ä</sup>*), ear. The prefix *t-*, on attached to, is used to denote "outer ear"; *hin-*, inner ear:

- ti'nä<sup>ä</sup>*, outer ear (*t-*, before vowel > *t'*, *t-*, attached to)  
*t-par<sup>k</sup>w-änä<sup>ä</sup>-äntsut*, he pierced his own ear (*t-*, attached to; *par<sup>k</sup>w*, pierce; *-Entsut*, reflex.)  
*t-tsaq-i'nä<sup>ä</sup>*, he heard, obeyed (*t-...inä<sup>ä</sup>*, ear; *tsaq*, hollow object stands)  
*t-Räts-Räts-i'nä<sup>ä</sup>-än*, ear ornaments (*Räts*, tie; *-En*, that which)  
*tci'n-tsa'ar-i'nä<sup>ä</sup>*, I ear-ache (*tcin-s-its-hin-* > *tci'n-*; *tcin-*, I; *its-*, cont.; *t<sup>s</sup>a'ar*, be sick, ache)

474. (*-itsä<sup>ä</sup>*), *-ätsä<sup>ä</sup>*, "er", used in "story words", probably *-it-tsä<sup>ä</sup>*, or *-it-tsä<sup>ä</sup>* (see § 576):

- ku<sup>u</sup>n-kwi'tän-ätsä<sup>ä</sup>*, thou art a mouse-eater (*ku<sup>u</sup>-äts-n-* > *ku<sup>u</sup>n-*; *ku<sup>u</sup>*, thou; *äts-*, cust.; *hin-*, in; *k<sup>w</sup>i'tän*, mouse)  
*ku<sup>u</sup>n-t<sup>s</sup>El-a'lq<sup>w</sup>-ätsä<sup>ä</sup>*, thou art a stickgame player *t<sup>s</sup>El-alq<sup>w</sup>*, play stickgame; *t<sup>s</sup>äl*, pl. long objects stand upright)  
*ku-mä<sup>ä</sup>m-s-tsu't-m-ätsä<sup>ä</sup>*, thou art a card-player (*mä<sup>ä</sup>m*, bore; *-s*, artificially; *-tsut*, reflex.; *-Em*, caus.). This may be a newly coined word, or an old one previously used to designate some other game.

475. *-tsin* (*-tsän*, *-tsEn*), edge, mouth, shore. This is a common suffix which enters into numerous combinations, taking on very generalized meanings:

- gwi<sup>j</sup>-tsi'n-<sup>l</sup>lc*, they finished eating, they mouth-finished (*gwä<sup>j</sup>*, finish; *-<sup>l</sup>lc*, 3 pl.)  
*tcits-pänä<sup>ä</sup>-yaR-tsi'-stus-<sup>l</sup>lc*, this way they brought it to shore (*-tsin-s-* > *-tsis-*; *tcits-*, hither; *pänä<sup>ä</sup>-*, as far as; *yaR*, be at edge; *-stus*, 3-3 cust.; *-<sup>l</sup>lc*, 3 pl.)  
*s-tsän-tcäm-tsi'n-tct*, wrist (*tsän-*, under; *tcäm*, extend; *-tct*, hand)  
*tci'ts-p<sup>o</sup>'<sup>o</sup>s-tsä'n*, I am joking (*tcin-s-its-* > *tci'ts-*; *p<sup>o</sup>'<sup>o</sup>s*, joke)

476. *-idEn*, effort:

- ku-k<sup>w</sup>ä'-i'dEn*, thou gottest a nibble (*ku-*, thou; *k<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>*, bite)

477. *-alqs*, end:

- s-tcä'm-tcäm-alqs*, end (*s-*, nom.; *tcäm*, extend, be surface)  
*hin-x<sup>w</sup>a'tp-alqs*, that's the end of the story  
*hin-xa'yxiy-alqs*, high-priced object (*hin-*, at; *xayxiy*, one is large)  
*gul-cam-cam-a'was-alqs*, (they had heads) on both ends (*gul*, each; *cam*, be between; *-iwäs*, between, in contact)

478. *-us* (*-əs*, *-s*), eye, face, fire. This suffix has often a general meaning; "orifice" would probably define it, although it means "opening" in the sense of "a place through which light shines":

- s-tc-tu's-mEn*, eye (*tc-*, on not part of; *tus*, eye; *-mEn*, instrument)  
*tcī-ni'<sup>t</sup>-dä'x-us*, she fell into the fire (*tcits-n-* > *tcin-*; *tcits-*, toward;  
*ni'<sup>t</sup>- . . . -us*, in fire; *däx<sup>w</sup>*, lower one)  
*hn-pat-pat-əs-Entso't*, he dreamed, i. e., he poured mush in his eyes  
(*pat*, pour mushy stuff; *-Entsut*, reflex.)  
*tša'w-s-En*, soap, that which washes face (*tšaw*, wash; *-En*, that  
which)  
*i'p-us-En*, towel (*ip*, wipe; *-En*, that which; glot., rep.)

479. *-alp*, feeling:

- hn-ta'aḡ-a'lp*, I felt pungency (*hn-*, in; *taḡ*, bitter, pungent; medial  
redupl., gradually)  
*hn-ta'ac-a'lp*, I felt sweetness (*täc*, sweet)

480. *-kup*, fire, fuel:

- i<sup>i</sup>-ni'tc-kup*, he is cutting firewood (*its-n* > *i<sup>i</sup>n-*; *its-*, cont.; *nitc*,  
cut with blade)  
*s-t-q<sup>w</sup>i'l-kup*, fire (*s-*, nom.; *t-*, on and part of; *q<sup>w</sup>i'l*, light)  
*s-q<sup>w</sup>i'l-kup*, match  
*s-q<sup>w</sup>un-i't-kup*, ashes (*q<sup>w</sup>un*, be blue; *-it*, inside)  
*cEl-i't-kup*, he split wood for immediate use (*cäl*, split, chop; *-it*,  
for use)  
*mä'n-kup-alq<sup>w</sup>*, firedrill (*min*, rub; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long stiff object)

481. *-isgwäl* (*-sgwäl*, *-aswäl*), fish:

- lEdj-i'sgwäl-En*, fishspear (*lädj*, spear; *-En*, instrument)  
*ḡäs-i'sgwäl*, edible fish (*ḡäs*, good)  
*pä'q-sgwäl*, halibut (*sic!*) (*päq*, white)  
*pat-a'swäl*, trout (*pat*, be mushy)

482. *-cin* (*-cän*, *-cEn*), foot, leg, the leg from hip to toe:

- qä'ä-ci'n-Em*, he put his shoe on (*qä'<sup>t</sup>*, stick onto; *-Em*, intr.)  
*tsän-pat-cä'n-En*, cement (*tsän-*, under; *pat*, pour mushy stuff; *-En*,  
that which)  
*s-t-tca'm-alq-cEs*, it is on his leg (*-cEn-s* > *-cEs*; *t-*, attached to;  
*tca'm*, extend; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long stiff object; *-s*, 3 poss.)  
*pi'gw-pägw-cEn*, he has swollen feet (*pi'gw*, swell; redupl., pl.)  
*s-tsän-tsi's-tsis-tcEn-cEn*, boots (*tsän-*, under; *tsic*, be long; *c* > *s*  
in this position; *-tsin*, edge)

483. *-ilEn*, food, pertaining to food:

- qul-i'lEn*, she produced food (*qul*, produce)  
*ḡay-i'lEn*, leftovers  
*s-qäm-i'lEn*, throat (*qäm*, long for)  
*tä'<sup>t</sup> tsä-s-gwulq-i'lEn*, camas baking is ready to be uncovered (*tsäs*, ?;  
*gwulq*, uncover bakepit)  
*s-ti'tc-il-sils*, their provisions for travelling (*-ilEn-s* > *-ils*)  
*ar<sup>w</sup>-i'lEn*, he acquired (*ar<sup>w</sup>*, be much). Evidently from a time when  
food meant wealth



484. *-ilk<sup>wä</sup>*, forehead, brow. This suffix describes the broad part of the forehead; I have found it only in compounds with *-us*, face (§ 478):

*ä-tcät-pu'y-ilk<sup>wä</sup>-us*, his forehead is wrinkled (*äts-tc* > *ätc*; *äts*-, made so; *tcät*-, on surface; *pu'y*, wrinkle)

*tcin-tca-tšar-i'lk<sup>wä</sup>-us*, my forehead hurts (*tcät-tš* > *tcäts*; *tcin*-, I; *tcät*-, on broad surface; *tšar*, be hurt)

485. *-ilup* (*-älup*), foundation, something on which to rest:

*tcät-ḡäl-i'lup-En*, floor (*tcät*-, on broad surface; *ḡäl*, lay evenly edge to edge; *-En*, that which)

*s-tük<sup>w</sup>-tük<sup>w</sup>-i'lup*, mats (*täk<sup>w</sup>*, one lies)

*n-äm-ic-älu'p-n*, I took his place (*n*-vowel > *n*-; *n*-, in; *äm*, one sits; *-ic*, be in act of; *-n*, 1-3 compl.)

486. *-ulūmx<sup>w</sup>*, (*-olūmx<sup>w</sup>*), ground:

*tcäl-tc-gwi'tc-ulūmx<sup>w</sup>*, we'll see the world (*tcäl*-, fut.; *tc*-, we; *gwitc*, see)

*ut-tEl-tElq-u'lūmx<sup>w</sup>*, he stepped on the ground again, reached the earth (*ut*-, again; *talq*, step on)

*hin-gwün-un-i'c-ulūmx<sup>w</sup>*, he sank gradually into the earth (*gwän*, be low)

*hin-pat-olūmx<sup>w</sup>*, he poured it on the ground (*hin*-, on; *pat*, pour mushy stuff)

487. *-itct* (*-ätct*, *-tct*), hand including fingers. This suffix is found in many combinations and idiomatic phrases, but often, though the literal meaning is obscured, the feeling remains that it refers to the fingers:

*hin-lar<sup>w</sup>-i'tct-ät-k<sup>wä</sup>*, he plunged his hand into the water (*hin*-, in; *lar<sup>w</sup>*, plunge headfirst; *-ätk<sup>wä</sup>*, water)

*s-tš'i'y-ätct*, right hand

*ku-t-tšäl-tšEl-ätct*, thou actest terribly (*ku*-, thou; *t*-, on and part of; *tšäl-tšEl*, affect by fierceness)

*ḡE-ḡi't-tct-m-En-ts*, let me go (*ḡi't*, leave; *-m*, caus.; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 2-1 imp.)

488. *-itcs* (*-ätcs*, *-tcs*), hand. This suffix refers to either side of the hand but does not include the fingers, that is, it is the palm or back of the hand:

*tšük<sup>w</sup>-i'tcs-En*, cane (*tšäk<sup>w</sup>*, poke; *-En*, that which)

*tcäl-hin-t-p-pa'ḡ-paḡ-alq<sup>w</sup>-atcs-En*, (what) will be my little knife-sharpener (*tcäl*-, fut.; *hin*-, my; *t*-, on and part of; *paḡ*, scratch on rough surface, dim.; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long stiff object; *-En*, that which)

*t-ḡolq<sup>w</sup>-ätcs-En-tsu't*, I wound string around my hand (*t*-, on and part of; *ḡolq<sup>w</sup>*, wind string; *-tsut*, reflex.)

There are several remarks to be made about these two suffixes: *-itcs* may well be a combination of *-itct-us*, or *-itct-s* and mean "face of the hand"; in such cases *t-s* > *s*. A second possibility and the more likely one is that two Salishan suffixes, *-itct*, and *-itcst* have made themselves at home in Coeur d'Alene, both having become formalized. The one, *-itct*, is used more generally.

489. *-qin* (*-qEn*), head, tip, top:

*kə'm-qEn*, or *qə'm-qEn*, head

*tča<sup>a</sup>-qi'ntx<sup>w</sup>*, open it (box) (*tči'<sup>t</sup>*, open; *-tx<sup>w</sup>*, 2-3 compl.)

*sin-tča'm-qEs*, its tip (*s-hm-* > *sin-*; *-qEn-s* > *-qEs*; *s-*, nom.; *hm-*, on; *tčam*, extend; *-s*, 3 poss.)

*qu-q<sup>w</sup>a'ts-qEni*, little hat (redupl., dim.; *q<sup>w</sup>its*, warm)

*a-tšEL-č't-qEn-ä'üst*, he stood at the edge of cliff (*ats-tš-* > *ats-*, be left . . . ; *tšäl*, one stands; *-ut*, be in position; *-i'<sup>t</sup>st*, surface of round thing)

*t-χat-χat-a'<sup>a</sup>st-qEn-ts-ülc*, they clubbed him on head (*t-*, on and part of; *χät*, club; *-i'<sup>t</sup>st*, surface of round object)

*a-n-tčEm-a'was-qEn*, it is in the corner (*ats-n-* > *an-*; *ats-*, be left . . . ; *n-*, in; *tčäm*, be surface; *-iwäs*, in, between)

When this refers to "tip of a digit, or body-part", *n* is glottalized although no other part of the word need be diminutive. Lawrence, however, feels that this means "small" and certainly the "tip" of anything is comparatively small:

*tčEnp-qi'n-tct*, finger ring (*tčänp*, clasp; *-tct*, finger)

*Rats-Rats-qi'n-cEn*, garters (*Rats*, tie; *-cEn*, foot, leg)

*s-ci'<sup>t</sup>t-Emac-qEn-tct*, middle finger (*s-*, nom.; *ci'<sup>t</sup>t*, be first; *-ämıc*, born)

490. *-ilgwäs* (*-älgwas*), heart, stomach. Although literally this suffix refers to the stomach, it is used to form a great many of the most figurative words, and the organ it describes is considered the seat of the mind or intelligence:

*tci'<sup>t</sup>in-tčü<sup>u</sup>-p-i'lgwäs*, I am lonesome (*tcm-s-hm-* > *tci'<sup>t</sup>n-*; *tčü<sup>u</sup>*, be gone; *-p*, without volition)

*in-Räj-Ej-i'lgwäs*, he is angry (*in-*, in; *Räj*, be angry; final redupl. prog.)

*t-tčEs-Es-m-i'lgwäs*, he got indigestion (*t-*, attached to; *tčäs*, be bad, with final redupl. "it came to be"; *-m*, of own accord)

*χas-χas-i'lgwäs*, he is a virtuoso (*χäs*, good)

491. *-ilx<sup>w</sup>* (*-älx<sup>w</sup>*, *-lx<sup>w</sup>*), hide, skin, mat, covering:

*t-gwuc-i'lx-ün-ts*, he curried horse (*t-*, on and part of; *gwäc*, comb; *-ün*, for *-En* after labial, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

*tcät-tčä'<sup>ä</sup>ti's-älx<sup>w</sup>*, three bundles (*tcät-*, on surface; *tci'<sup>t</sup>iläs*, three)

*tcä-tar-i'lx<sup>w</sup>-unts*, she untied string from bundle (*tar*, untie)

492. *-gwil* (*-gwul*), hollow object, wagon, canoe, abdomen:

*hm-tuk<sup>w</sup>-gwi'l-En-ts*, he laid it in his canoe (*hm-*, in; *täk<sup>w</sup>*, lay one; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

*t-χä'y-χij-gwul*, big waist, belly (*t-*, on and part of; *χä'yχij*, one is big, always redupl.)

*s-r<sup>w</sup>äl-gwul*, fishnet (*r<sup>w</sup>äl*, dip)

*s-t-tčäm-i'gwul-s*, his belly (*s-*, nom.; *t-*, on and part of; *tčäm*, surface extends; *-s*, 3 poss.)

493. *-intc* (*-äntc*), hollow, whence: belly; with *hin-*, room:

*äl-da-dar-i'ritc*, watch, little sun

*a-n-qä'tx<sup>w</sup>-äntc*, she was hooked to the wall (*äts-n-* > *an-*; *ats-*, made so; *qäl'x<sup>w</sup>*, hook)

*pä'n-äntc*, liver (*pän*, bend)

*s-ta'x-äntc*, intestine (*tax*, bitter)

494. *-istcEn* (*-stcEn*), *-il-stcEn*, *-äl-stcEn*, horn, forehead at the edge of the hair. Only one example shows the simple form of this suffix, but it seems justified to treat *-äl-stcEn* as a compound, *-il* (*-äl*) meaning where two planes meet:

*s-x<sup>w</sup>äl-i'stcEn*, buck (*x<sup>w</sup>äl*, ?)

*ä-ni'<sup>t</sup>-ku's-älstcEn*, hair curls back from forehead (*kus*, be curly)

*ä-ni'<sup>t</sup>-tcEn-äl-stcEn-tsu't*, he cust. holds his forelock (*äts-n-* > *än-*; *äts-*, cust.; *ni'<sup>t</sup>*, among, often meaning hair; *tcän*, hold one object; *-tsut*, reflex.)

*x<sup>w</sup>i'st-äl-stcEn*, Walking-Antler

*ä-s-tsu't-um-i'p-äl-stcEn*, buffalo horn

*r<sup>w</sup>ä'x<sup>w</sup>-alstcEn*, Taut-String-on-Temple, name of former chief (*r<sup>w</sup>äx<sup>w</sup>*, string is stretched)

*a-ni'<sup>t</sup>-tcEn-i'l-stcEn*, he (sun) held something on head

495. *-ästcicä'<sup>ä</sup>*, horse, stock. There can be no doubt that this suffix is the independent noun, *ästci'tcä'<sup>ä</sup>*, horse (§ 521). The use of the suffixes following it shows its complete incorporation into the verb complex:

*t-gwuc-älx<sup>w</sup>-äl-stci'tcä'-än*, curry comb (*-äl*-vowel > *-äl*; *t-*, on and part of; *gwac*, comb; *-älx<sup>w</sup>*, hide; *-äl*, for use of; *-En*, instrument)

*Räts-äl-stci'tcä'-än*, rope (*Räts*, tie)

*hin-łEp-Ep-äl-stci'tcä'-än*, pasture, place where stock come to a stop (*täp*, pl. animate objects stand, stop)

496. *-ilx<sup>w</sup>* (*-łx<sup>w</sup>*), house:

*in-tcam-q-i'łx<sup>w</sup>*, on the roof (*-qin-łx<sup>w</sup>* > *-qilx<sup>w</sup>*; *in-*, on; *tcam*, extend; *-qin*, tip, top)

*sEp-ıy-i'łx<sup>w</sup>*, skin tent (*sıp*, always with *-ıy* (§ 460), buckskin)

*syä-wı'c-łx<sup>w</sup>*, mason, carpenter (*syä-*, one whose occupation is; *wıc*, build)

*tc-tä'p-Ep-łx<sup>w</sup>*, they arrived at the door (*tc-*, on not attached; *täp*, pl. stop; final redupl. "come to")

497. *-il* (*-äl*, *-l*), inside from within. I have never found this suffix except with some other. With *-tsä'<sup>ä</sup>* it has come to mean most often "meat", or "body", but it really means "all through from the inside":

*xäs-i't-tsä'<sup>ä</sup>*, delicious meat, nice inside, all through (*xäs*, good)

*s-q<sup>w</sup>ın-i't-kıy*, ashes (*s-*, nom.; *q<sup>w</sup>ın*, be blue; *-kıy*, fire)

*s-tsä'<sup>ä</sup>w-i't-cEn*, Splinter-Leg (*s-*, nom.; *tsä'<sup>ä</sup>w*, ?; *-cEn*, leg)

*nä'<sup>ä</sup> n-tıx<sup>w</sup>-p-i't-k<sup>w</sup>ä'<sup>ä</sup>*, maybe they drowned (*nä'<sup>ä</sup>*, doubt; *n-*, in; *tıx<sup>w</sup>*, pl. die; *-p*, without volition; *-k<sup>w</sup>ä'<sup>ä</sup>*, water)

*tEl-tElq-ät-tsä'-ul*, kicker (*talq*, step on, kick; redupl., again and again; *-ul*, habitually)

*mot-t-tsä'-än-ts*, he smoked meat (*mot*, smoke)

498. *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, (*-alq*), log, sticklike object, tree. This suffix is used for trees and bushes, often in combination with *-älp* (§ 469). The labialization of *q* is lost before *-cEn*, leg:

*t-par̄-par̄k<sup>w</sup>-a'lq-un-tEm*, he was crucified (*t-*, on and part of; *par̄k<sup>w</sup>*, nail; *-un-tEm*, 3 pass. compl.)

*a'lte-älp-alq<sup>w</sup>*, kinnikinnick bush (*ilte*, kinnikinnick berry)

*tc-yäl-yälx<sup>w</sup>-a'lq-cEn*, leggings (*tc-*, on not part of; *yälx<sup>w</sup>*, cover with fabric; *-cEn*, foot, leg)

*tc-lur̄<sup>w</sup>-lur̄<sup>w</sup>-p-a'lq<sup>w</sup>*, pocket-knife (*tc-*, on, not part of; *tär<sup>w</sup>*, plunge headfirst; *-p*, bottom)

499. *-alpq<sup>w</sup>*, mouth inside, oral cavity:

*tcäl-kup-s-tux<sup>w</sup>-alpq-untsu't*, henceforth you will provide for yourselves (*tcäl-*, fut.; *hup-*, you; *s-*, inten.; *tix<sup>w</sup>*, provide; *-untsu't*, reflex.)

*sm-täm-ä's-alpq<sup>w</sup>*, inside of mouth and throat (*s-hn-* > *sm-*; *s-*, nom.; *hn-*, in; *täm*, extend; *-us*, orifice)

*hn-Rats-a'lpq<sup>w</sup>-En*, bit and bridle (*hn-* . . . .-*En*, where; *Rats*, tie)

500. (*-ips*), *-äps*, neck all around, as compared with *-ilps*, which means back of neck. This is a rare suffix which, like several others, seems to be a survival or a borrowing from other Salishan languages (cp. § 580):

*s-qa-qa'l-ä'ps*, small necklace

*s-qa'l-ä'ps*, horse collar, necklace (*qa'l*, hook [?])

*kun-tsi'ts-äps-Em*, thou art to close thy eyes (*tsi'ts*, pinch shut)

*tsic-ps*, fisher (*tsic*, long)

501. *-i'qs* (*-a<sup>a</sup>qs*), nose, beak. oral and nasal cavity, seat of taste. This suffix is used often with the prefix *ni'<sup>l</sup>-*, among, amongst, and when so used indicates the nose in general, but means literally "among the hair of the nose", that is, "nostril":

*s-ni'<sup>l</sup>-tä'm-täm-i'qs*, nostrils (*täm*, be surface)

*tä'pq-i'qs*, snipe (*tapq*, be needlelike)

*i'<sup>i</sup>-t-xä's-i'qs*, he enjoys food immensely (*its-t-* > *i'<sup>i</sup>-*; *its-*, cont.; *t-*, attached to; *xäs*, good)

*tcäl-m-ci'<sup>i</sup>t-Em-a<sup>a</sup>qs-En*, it will be thy first course (*tcäl-*, fut.; *m-*, in; *ci'<sup>i</sup>t*, be first; *-Em*, cause [?]; *-En*, instrumental)

502. *-ilt* (*-ält*, *-ältl*), offspring, child:

*gu-gwax-t-i'lt*, baby (*gwax*, be young; *t-*, subjective; dim.)

*s-ku-k<sup>w</sup>ut-i'lt*, fawn

*s-tst-tsim-i'lt-ältl*, children in relation to parents (*tst-tsim*, be small pl.)

*xit-äl-n-tsu't*, he deserted his own child (*-ält-En* > *-älEn-*; *xit*, leave; *-Entsut*, reflex.)

503. *-u<sup>u</sup>*, seems to mean "pendent" although examples are few:

*s-q<sup>w</sup>ä'y-u<sup>u</sup>*, grape (*q<sup>w</sup>äy*, purple)

*q<sup>w</sup>äl-u<sup>u</sup>*, gall (*q<sup>w</sup>äl*, moss)

*a-t-q<sup>w</sup>ä's-u<sup>u</sup>*, bunch. It is doubtful if this is the same, more probably it is not.

504. *-ilumx<sup>w</sup>*, (*-alumx<sup>w</sup>*, *-älumx<sup>w</sup>*), person, man:  
*püg<sup>w</sup>-i'lumx<sup>w</sup>*, echo (*pägw*, echo)  
*häp-i'lumx<sup>w</sup>*, Gobbler (*häp*, gobble)  
*s-ni'k<sup>w</sup>-älumx<sup>w</sup>*, tribesman  
*tcä-tul-umx<sup>w</sup>-i'lc*, person easy to get along with (*tcät-t- > tcäl-*;  
*tul*, be decent; *-ilc*, grow, become)

505. *-stcint* (*-stcänt*), people, persons. This form is exactly the same as the independent noun:

*ä-gul-ni-üt-s-ci'n-En*, by man-eaters (*hn-vowel > n-*; *n-s > s-*;  
*t-n > n*; *ä-*, preposition; *gul-*, pl.; *hn-*, in; *itn*, eat; *-En*, the one who)  
*gwun-ästci'nt.c*, call (summon) the people (*t-s > s-*; *gwun*, call *-ät-s > äs* [?]; *-c*, s. imp.)  
*tsugw-ästci'nt*, guardian spirit (*tsägw*, disposition)  
*lap-stcä'nt*, he shot (*lap*, shoot). An example of a suffix giving the intr. verb a general meaning.

506. *-umc* (*-Emc*), people. This suffix, related to the common Salishan one which corresponds closely, refers to "people as a kind or group":

*s-tci'tsä'ämc*, Coeur d'Alene  
*s-q<sup>w</sup>at-q<sup>w</sup>at-u't-umc*, people living at *sq<sup>w</sup>atu'* (*q<sup>w</sup>atu*, place name; redupl. pl.; *-ut*, be in position of)  
*sp<sup>o</sup>qi'n-Emc*, Spokane  
*sin-mu'lcäntc-umc*, Beaver People (*s-hn- > sn-*; *s-*, nom.; *hn-mu'lc-äntc*, beaver)  
*s-pa<sup>a</sup>yo'l-umc*, Spaniard (from French espagnol)  
*t-qi'l<sup>t</sup>tc-umc*, Flathead (*t-*, attached to; *qil<sup>t</sup>tc*, inland)  
*sin-si'k<sup>w</sup>ä'ämc*, Water People (*s-hn- > sn-*; *s-*, nom.; *hn-*, in; *sik<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, water)

507. *-istcäyt*, pharynx. A suffix which seems to be derived from an independent nominal form which, however, I have not found:

*täx-i'stcäyt*, he is long-winded, enduring (*täx*, be swift)  
*s-tux<sup>w</sup>-m-i'stcäyt-Em*, glottal stop (*-mEn-is- > -mis-*; *s-*, nom.; *täx*, one stops; *-mEn*, use; *-Em*, intr.)  
*hn-tcäv-i'stcäyt*, he has a deep voice<sup>1</sup>  
*tuk<sup>w</sup>-i'stcäyt*, he held his breath (*täk<sup>w</sup>*, be stuffy, choke)

508. *-ilgwäs* (*-älgwas*), property. It is impossible to detect any difference of form or function between this suffix and § 490; the only difference is one of meaning:

*s-łEq-i'lgwäs*, drygoods (*s-*, nom.; *łEq*, clothes lie)  
*ä-sux<sup>w</sup>-i'lgwäs*, cust. she carried property on her back (*äts-s- > äs-*; *äts-*, cust.; *säx<sup>w</sup>*, carry on back)  
*püq-i'lgwäs*, he stored property (*pätq*, store)  
*tux<sup>w</sup>-älgwäs-Entsu't-En*, that he gathered it for his own use (*tix<sup>w</sup>*, get, collect; *-Entsut*, reflex.; *-En*, that which)

<sup>1</sup> Pascal George, one of the famous interpreters, always says this and his son and Lawrence thought it was wrong, but Lawrence heard his grandmother use it. The young people use *hn-tca'w-qEn*, whence it appears that *-qEn*, meaning "voice", may have supplanted this suffix to some extent (§ 518).

509. *-alqs*, road:

*hin-gwa'r-alqs-Em*, road was scraped (*hin-*, on, in; *gwar*, scrape; *-Em*, pass. cont.)  
*hin-lak-ɔ't-alqs*, long road (*hin-*, in; *läk<sup>w</sup>*, be far; *-ut*, be in position)

510. *-i'utEm*, self-doer, auto-, that which performs of itself, a neuter reflexive, not applied to persons:

*taq-taq-aq-i'utEm*, telegraph, typewriter, self-toucher (*taq*, touch; redupl., again and again; final redupl., "come to")  
*tä<sup>ä</sup>-tä<sup>ä</sup>-i'utEm*, aeroplane, self-flyer (*tä<sup>ä</sup>*, one flies; redupl., here and there)  
*äts<sup>s</sup>-Etcän-i'utEm*, how in the world did it get that way (*äts<sup>s</sup>-*, cust. before vowel; *ätcin*, do with)  
*tc<sup>s</sup>-äts-ku-k<sup>w</sup>ä-k<sup>w</sup>ä-ä-m-i'ut-Emic*, we are just taking a light lunch; (*k<sup>w</sup>i<sup>t</sup>*, bite; *-m*, caus.; glot., dim.)

511. *-al-qi'wt*, shoulder, part from neck to edge of shoulder:

*hin-tuq<sup>w</sup>-tuq<sup>w</sup>-alqi'wt-En*, suspenders (*hin-*, on; *tuq<sup>w</sup>*, band; *-En*, that which)  
*tsan-tcEm-alqi'wt*, point at side of back just below shoulder (*tsän-*, under; *tcäm*, surface)  
*gwin-alqi'wt*, low shoulder (of mountain ridge at Tekoa)

512. *-ingwilEn* (*-EngwilEn*), something:

*xit tcEn-ts-mus-Es-Engwi'len*, I might come to feel something (*tcin-its-* > *tcüits-*; *tcin-*, I; *its-*, cont.; *mus*, feel, fumble about; final redupl., come to)  
*ti<sup>t</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-ungwi'len*, he procured some (*ti<sup>t</sup>x<sup>w</sup>*, procure)

513. *-i's-t* (*-a<sup>s</sup>st*, *-ä<sup>ä</sup>st*), surface of round object, rock:

*tc-ludj-i's-En-ts*, he stabbed spherical object (*-i'st-En* > *-i's-En*; *tc-*, on, not part of; *lädj*, stab; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)  
*t-pat-a<sup>s</sup>st-qEn-ts*, she poured mush on his head (*t-*, attached to; *pat*, pour mushy stuff; *-qEn*, head)  
*a-tsal-ɔ't-qEn-ä<sup>ä</sup>st*, he is standing at edge of cliff (*ats-tš-* > *ats-*; *ats-*, made to . . . ; *tsal*, stand; *-ut*, be in position of; *-qEn*, top, head). Note the difference in meaning indicated by the order of the two suffixes *-i'st-qEn*, surface of head; and *-qEn-ä<sup>ä</sup>st*, top of surface.  
*t-k<sup>w</sup>ar-k<sup>w</sup>arä'q-ä<sup>ä</sup>st*, orange (*t-*, on and part of; *k<sup>w</sup>aräq*, yellow)  
*sin-wül-wül-i'ni-us-ä<sup>ä</sup>st*, arrow point (*s-hin-* > *sin-*; *wül-wül-im*, metal; *-us*, face, orifice)

514. *-ilps* (*-älps*), throat of person, back of animal's neck:

*its-qä<sup>s</sup>-i'lps-uc*, (maybe) it is stuck in his throat (*qi<sup>t</sup>*, stick in)  
*tuw-i'lps*, throat is stuffed (*tuw*, stuff)  
*t-pä'q-älps*, white-maned horse (*t-*, attached to; *päq*, white)  
*s-t-tcä'm-älps*, mane (*s-*, nom.; *t-*, on and part of; *tcäm*, surface)

Used in counting certain animals, and not free:

*t-mu's-älps*, four pigs, wolves (*t[tc]-*, prefix used in counting animate objects)

515. *-iptti'x<sup>w</sup>tstc* (*-äptti'x<sup>w</sup>tstc*), tongue, tongue-shaped. The independent word for "tongue" is *tix<sup>w</sup>tstc*, and the last of the following examples by the terminal pronouns shows it is fully incorporated:

- in-q<sup>w</sup>äl-iptti'x<sup>w</sup>tstc*, he burned his tongue (*in-*, in; *q<sup>w</sup>äl*, burn)  
*sin-män-äptti'x<sup>w</sup>tstc*, small dagger (*s-hin-* > *sin-*; *min*, turn [?])  
*hin-k<sup>w</sup>äp-äptti'x<sup>w</sup>tstc*, he bit his tongue (*hin-*, in; *k<sup>w</sup>i'*, bite)  
*tsi'c-itix<sup>w</sup>tstc*, it has a long tongue  
*hin-nutč-pł-ti'x<sup>w</sup>tstc-En-ts*, he cut tongue off it (*hin-*, out of; *nutč*, cut; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

516. *-ins* (*-äns*), tooth:

- in-xuk-uk<sup>w</sup>-i'ns-Emc*, he is cleaning teeth, teeth are coming to be clean (*xäk<sup>w</sup>*, clean; *-Emc*, cont. intr.)  
*u-n-q<sup>w</sup>üd-q<sup>w</sup>äd-d-äns*, his teeth are black (*u-*, objective; *n-* for *hin-*, on; *q<sup>w</sup>äd*, be black)  
*hin-gwi'ts-äns-En*, toothpick (*hin-*, in; *gwits*, pick with small stick; *-En*, instrument)

This suffix may mean "something separable, something which falls off":

- y-äl-äns*, pitch chips for kindling fire  
*ku<sup>w</sup>-pi's-äns*, you big raindrops (*kup-*, you; *pis*, pl. objects are large)

517. *-stq*, seems to refer to vegetation, crops. This may or may not be the same as *-astq*, in opposition to (§ 542); I do not have many examples of either:

- s-tca-stq*, camas digging (*tcastq*, dig roots)  
*syä<sup>a</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>äl-stq*, farmer (*syä-*, one whose occupation is; *qul*, produce)  
*y-al-stq*, summer (*s-* before vowel initial > *y*; *s-*, nom.; *äl*, move from position of rest)

518. *-qin* (*-qEn*), voice, throat. This suffix has the same form and apparently is treated exactly the same as the one meaning "head" (§ 489), but always with the prefix *hin-*. The examples above show that *hin-* may be used with *-qin* when it means "head" also. They seem, however, to be distinct:

- hin-tčä'w-qEn*, deep voice (*hin-*, in; *tčä'w*, widening from certain point)  
*hin-tčE-řtca-qi'n*, high-pitched voice (*tčE-tčäŘ*, narrowing dim.)  
*un-x<sup>w</sup>a'l-qEn*, distinct speech (*u-*, just; *x<sup>w</sup>äl*, be living)

519. *-k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, water, liquid:

- ä-tčä-řuk<sup>w</sup>-i't-k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, it floats (*äts-tč-* > *ätč-*; *äts-*, made so; *tčät-*, on surface; *täk<sup>w</sup>*, one lies; *-it*, for use)  
*ä-dar-tsi'n-k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, canoes are standing on shore (*dar*, pl. hollow objects stand; *-tsin*, edge)  
*hin-q<sup>w</sup>äd-d-k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, ink (*hin-*, in; *q<sup>w</sup>äd*, black)  
*sa'x<sup>w</sup>-ł-k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, vein, blood vessel (*sax<sup>w</sup>*, ?; *-ł*, within)

520. *-inx<sup>w</sup>* (*-änx<sup>w</sup>*), weather:

- tc-q<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>'</sup>ts-änx<sup>w</sup>*, (now) we are getting warm weather (*tc-*, we; *q<sup>w</sup>its*, be warm; medial redupl., come to be)  
*tc-k<sup>w</sup>ä'l-El-änx<sup>w</sup>*, we had pleasant weather (*k<sup>w</sup>äl*, bright and hot; redupl., come to be)  
*i<sup>i</sup>-yaR-m-i'nx<sup>w</sup>*, he is waiting for the weather to change for the better (*yaR-min*, be unfavorable)  
*tcä's-änx<sup>w</sup>*, bad weather

521. *-äl* (*-l*). Like some other elements of Coeur d'Alene the suffix *-äl* seems to have several functions none of which is so definite that it may not be mistaken for another. (See also §§ 587, 617–633.)

a) One meaning seems to be "for, for the use of":

- stcint-äl-yulmi'* (*xum*), superintendent (*stcint*, people; *yulmi'* *xum*, chief)  
*s-tsi'<sup>'</sup>l-äl*, substitute  
*s-kum-äl-ti'ts*, pitch gum (*tits*, pitch)  
*s-dar-äl-du'tdu'tp*, aspen  
*Räts-äl-stci'tcä'-än*, rope (*-äl*-vowel > *-äl*; *Räts*, tie; *-ästci'tcä'ä*, horse; *-En*, that which)

b) A second kind of example may be really the same as the first. It is the use of *-äl* in compounding:

- tcn-tci-ti'<sup>'</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-äl-qäy<sup>'</sup>mi'nEn*, I received a letter (*tcits-t-* > *tcit-*; *tcn-*, I; *tcits-*, hither; *ti'<sup>'</sup>x<sup>w</sup>*, secure for use, procure; *qäy<sup>'</sup>mi'nEn*, letter)  
*ti'<sup>'</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-äl-ttsugw-i'<sup>'</sup>s-En*, he had secured feathers (*ttsugwi'<sup>'</sup>sEn*, feather)  
*xäs-äl-tsä'gwät*, he has nice disposition  
*ti'<sup>'</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-äl-tits-i'ln-ülc*, they secured something to eat  
*nä'ä ku-ti'<sup>'</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-äl-gugwa<sup>'</sup>xti'lt*, thou wilt have a baby  
*ti'<sup>'</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-ä-smi'yäm*, he secured a wife (*-äl-s* > *-äs-*; *mi'yäm*, woman, wife)  
*nä'ä tc-kul-l-tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>*, let's make a house (*nä'ä*, imp.; *kul*, make; *tsätx<sup>w</sup>*, house)

c) *-äl* is used with numerals perhaps meaning "times or measures", but the construction seems to be much the same as that for cases a) and b), complicated however, by phonetic contraction or assimilation:

- mus-äl-xu'i*, 4 times he went (generally, however, the simple cardinal numbers are used for multiples)  
*äs-äl-tu'm*, 2 families, groups (*äsäl-äl-* > *äsäl-*)  
*mus-äl-tu'm*, 4 families  
*upEntc-l-tu'm*, 10 families (*upEntc-l-* > *upEntc-l-*)  
*nyk<sup>w</sup>-l-mi'mc*, one box (*näk<sup>w</sup>-ä'ä*, one)

The whole question of number is phonetically, and doubtless historically, complicated and I shall have more to say about it (§§ 634–650). Here it may be noted that the suffix *-äl* is used only if a noun is incorporated, never if the counting is considered in classes expressed by affixes. In this respect the numerals which



allow of incorporation behave much as other stems which incorporate (§§ 617-633).

d) An idiomatic use of *-äl* is in the set of phrases meaning "belonging to the house":

- ut-tcuts-k<sup>w</sup>än-(t)-tEtc<sup>i</sup>'p*, he fetched (came back and got) a bucket belonging to the house (*ut-*, back, again; *tcuts-*, hither; *k<sup>w</sup>in*, take hold of one; *tEtc<sup>i</sup>'p*, bucket)  
*k<sup>w</sup>än-t-xuk<sup>w</sup>i'lup-En*, she took the broom (*xuk<sup>w</sup>i'lupEn*, broom, what cleans floor)  
*k<sup>w</sup>än-cä'l-mEn*, he took the ax (evidently *t* is assimilated to *-c* in this word)  
*k<sup>w</sup>än-spa'n<sup>x</sup>*, she took the house-bag along (*t-s* > *s*)

The following suffixes evidently belong in this class but the examples are too few to allow of any exactness as to their meaning.

522. *-äls*, round object (?). I suggest that this is the Salishan *-äls*, which has not been changed to *-ä<sup>ä</sup>st* (§ 586):

- k<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>ä</sup>-k<sup>w</sup>ä'als*, he chewed lice (*k<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>ä</sup>*, bite)

523. *-i'<sup>t</sup>*, *-ä<sup>ä</sup>t*, source (?):

- gwi'tc-gwitc-ä<sup>ä</sup>t*, source of bad luck (*gwi'tc*, harm)  
*k<sup>w</sup>a'r-ä<sup>ä</sup>t*, copper (*k<sup>w</sup>ar*, yellow)  
*ku-k<sup>w</sup>a'r-ä<sup>ä</sup>t*, gold (little yellow)  
*ä-qu-qul-i'<sup>t</sup>*, balsam fir  
*pä'x<sup>w</sup>-i'<sup>t</sup>*, he coughed  
*ö'h-i'<sup>t</sup>*, he had a cold

524. *-ät*, open to question, doubtful (?):

- ku'ls-ät-En*, I hired him  
*tsä<sup>ä</sup>n-i'm-ät-Ent*, wait for him (*tsän-n-vowel* > *tsä<sup>ä</sup>n<sup>i</sup>-*; *tsän-*, under; *-im*, cause; *-Ent*, 2-3 imp.)  
*sä'gwät*, who is it?  
*tcät-m-tsä'gw-ät*, thou willst behave (*tcät*, fut.; *tsägw*, behave)

525. *-läyt*, ?:

- t<sup>i</sup>' pi's-läyt*, already they (eaglets) were big (*t<sup>i</sup>'*, already; *pis*, pl. be large)

526. [*-iltc*], *-Eltc*, check (?):

- s-pi'gw-Eltc*, man's belt (*pi'gw*, swell, breathe)

527. *-tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, ?:

- s-ku's-Es-tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, ghost (*skust*, cedar [?])  
*ästci'-tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, horse, stock  
*s-t<sup>i</sup>'m-tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, daughter  
*q<sup>w</sup>a'm-q<sup>w</sup>am-tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, he enjoyed it  
*lut pi'n-tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, never

528. *-i'<sup>ä</sup>*, *-ä<sup>ä</sup>*. This suffix, unlike the others whose meaning cannot be determined, is used so frequently that it is difficult to classify. It is used especially with kin-terms and names for persons, but in only rare cases can I determine the meaning of the stem. A suggestion is "someone who . . . for" (§ 585):

*tcEtcä'y-ä'ä*, maternal grandmother  
*a-s-qu-q<sup>w</sup>ä's-ä'ä*, little boy (*q<sup>w</sup>äs*, be foolish, unwise)  
*s-q<sup>w</sup>a's-q<sup>w</sup>Es-ä'ä*, son  
*si'nts-ä'ä*, man's younger brother  
*ä-i'x<sup>w</sup>-ä'ä*, mother's sister (*i<sup>x</sup>*, ?, redupl. dim.)  
*si'l-ä'ä*, mother's father  
*ti'k<sup>w</sup>-ä'ä*, father's sister (*ti<sup>k</sup>*, suspect[?])  
*sEsi'ä'*, mother's brother (redupl. dim.)  
*yj-uk<sup>w</sup>-ä'ä*, woman's older sister (*s*-vowel > *yj*; *uk<sup>w</sup>*, carry ?)  
*tä'd-ä'ä*, canoe

529. Nouns to which the suggested meaning can hardly apply:

*ä-s-tš'i'q<sup>w</sup>-ä'ä*, prepared inner bark (bundle of ?)  
*s-c-tšEs-l-u's-ä'ä*, hail  
*päst-ä'ä*, half dollar (*päst*, half)  
*s-t-tš'i'k<sup>w</sup>-ä'ä*, left side  
*s-k<sup>w</sup>a'r-är-ä'ä*, rust (*k<sup>w</sup>ar*, yellow; final redupl., come to be without agent)  
*l-tä'x<sup>w</sup>-ä'ä*, shirt (*täx<sup>w</sup>*, sew)

530. The suffix may enter into combination in a reduplicated form, in which case, the form remains for the first part of the reduplication but is shortened at the end, an unusual ending of a Coeur d'Alene word:

*sEl-ä'ä-säl-l-ä*, great-grandfather five or more generations removed (*säl*, be obscure [?])  
*sul-ä'ä-sul-ä*, rubber (*sutä'ä*, stretch)

531. It is a part of certain verbs also:

*tcE-tcä'n-ä'ä*, one (animate or inanimate object) is small  
*tsE-tsä'm-ä'ä*, pl. are small  
*pu't-ä'ä-nts*, he honored (worshipped him)  
*s-du<sup>w</sup>-du<sup>w</sup>uk<sup>w</sup>-ni'n-ä'äs*, he is stingy about lending something  
*xu-x<sup>w</sup>i'ts-ä'ä*, it is short

### 532-542. Locative Suffixes

These suffixes differ from those of §§ 456-531 only in their meaning which is more locative than nominal. They often denote a meaning in combination with a prefix, even as the nominal suffixes do.

532. *-älwis* (*-älwis*, *-älwis*), about, go about to indefinite places:

*ι-tcEc-älwi's-Ems*, he is accompanying him about to indefinite places (*ιts-tc* > *ιtc*-; *ιts*- . . . *-Ems*, 3-3 cont.; *tcäc*, accompany)  
*lut ar<sup>w</sup> x<sup>w</sup>äy xuy-älwi's*, not many were traveling (*lut*-, not; *ar<sup>w</sup>*, many; *x<sup>w</sup>äy*, these; *xui*, one goes)  
*syä-daxt-älwi's*, scouts (*syä*-, one whose occupation is; *daxt*, pl. go)

533. *-itsä'ä* (*-tsä'ä*), all around, all over, used especially of wrapping or covering (cp. § 497):

*ä-tc-yilx<sup>w</sup>-i'tsä'ä*, it is covered all over (*äts-tc* > *ätc*-; *äts*-, made so; *tc*-, on and not part of; *yilx<sup>w</sup>*, cover with flimsy object)  
*mu's-tsä'ä*, four blankets not folded  
*a-t-djäx-tsä'ä*, it is scratched all over (*ats-t* > *at*-; *t*-, part of, in this case, ridges on surface; *djäx*, scratch, make groove)

534. *-ust*, along, meaning movement along:

*ut-x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>'</sup>n-ust*, again he went along here (*ut-*, again; *x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>'</sup>n*, demonstrative verb, be here)

*u-n-gwi's-t-ust*, she moved along up high (*u*, just; *n-*, on; *gwi's*, be high; *-t*, subjective)

*u-si'k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>'</sup>-ust*, he went by water (*u-*, just; *sik<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>'</sup>*, water in a body)

535. *-älniw* (*-älnäw*, *-lniw*), alongside at rest, or in position alongside:

*hin-r<sup>w</sup>ux<sup>w</sup>-r<sup>w</sup>ux<sup>w</sup>-älni'w-En*, harness (*hin-*, on, in-; *r<sup>w</sup>ux<sup>w</sup>*, line lies; *-En*, that which)

*ä-tsän-ciltc-älni'w*, they were surrounded (*äts-ts-* > *äts-*; *ä-*, made so; *tsän-*, under; *ciltc*, be, go in a circle)

*hin-tap-lnä'w-yn-tEm*, it was shot alongside (*hin-*, on; *-yn*, for *-En*, tr.; *-tEm*, 3 compl. pass.)

536. *-yuyä<sup>'</sup>ä* (*-yoyä<sup>'</sup>ä*), back and forth:

*qäp-qäp-l-yu'yä<sup>'</sup>ä*, butterfly (*qäp*, flap; redupl., again and again; *-il*, angle where two planes meet; glot., rep.)

*hin-qälä<sup>'</sup>ä-yu'yä<sup>'</sup>ä*, he swung (*hin-*, on; *qälä<sup>'</sup>ä*, swing)

*ta'm-tEm-yoyä<sup>'</sup>ä*, snail (*tam*, dampen)

537. *-iwäs* (*-awäs*, *-äwäs*), between, together, have contact with, be in contact. This suffix is used commonly with the prefix *hin-*(*n-*), in, or *ni'<sup>'</sup>*-, among, amongst:

*n-saq-saq-i'wäs*, it split in two (*n-*, in, on; *saq*, gape)

*hin-qa'-i'wäs-En*, wedge, i. e., stuck in between (*hin-*, in; *qi'<sup>'</sup>*, stick; *-En*, instrument)

*lax-t-i'wäs*, they were friends (*lax*, be friend; *-t*, subjective)

*x<sup>w</sup>iyä tsutsiyä'i'wäs*, these sisters (together)

538. *-u'us* (*-o'os*), directly. The best word to express this suffix is the unorthodox "spang":

*pat-o'os-u's-En-tEm*, he was mush-poured spang in the face (*pat*, pour mush; *-us*, face; *-En*, tr.; *-tEm*, 3 compl. pass.)

*xEt-u'us-u's-En-ts*, he clubbed him spang on the face (*xät*, club)

*pa'gw-o'os-qEn*, nagger, loud talker (*pagw*, echo; *-qEn*, voice)

539. *-it*, direction, -ward:

*na<sup>x</sup>wt-i't*, downstream

*a-n-car-ic-i't*, upstream (*ats-hin-* > *an-*; *ats-*, made so; *n-*, in; *car*, be difficult [?]; *-ic*, be in act of)

*s-yux<sup>w</sup>mus-ulumx<sup>w</sup>-i't*, north (*yux<sup>w</sup>mus*, cold; *-ulumx<sup>w</sup>*, ground, land)

*s-q<sup>w</sup>Ets-ulumx<sup>w</sup>-i't*, south (*q<sup>w</sup>its*, be warm)

*nu<sup>k</sup>w-t-i't*, once (*nu<sup>k</sup>w*, once; *-t*, times)

540. *-mä<sup>'</sup>ä*, in every way:

*s-tsun-mä<sup>'</sup>ä-ntsut*, education (*s-*, nom.; *tsun*, show, point; *-Entsut*, reflex.)

*tcäs-ti's-mä<sup>'</sup>ä-ntsut*, he would try his strength (*tcät-s-* > *tcäs-*, *tcät-*, fut.; *s-*, inten.; *tis*, measure)

*su'x<sup>w</sup>-mä<sup>'</sup>ä-nts*, he felt it (*sux<sup>w</sup>*, know)

541. *-inä<sup>'</sup>ä* (*-änä<sup>'</sup>ä*), over, on top of but not entirely covered. Frequently used with prefix *tc-*, on, not part of, or *tcät-*, on surface:

*tca-talq-i'nä'üntEm*, he was stamped on (*tcät-t- > tcät-*; *tcät-*, on broad object; *talq*, step on; *-än-tEm*, 3 compl. pass.)

*tcät-gwäl-p-i'nä'ä*, he burned all over (*tcät-*, as above; *gwäl*, burn; *-p*, without volition)

*tcä-tu'x<sup>w</sup>-ilc-änä'-än-ts*, he jumped on him (*tcät-*, on; *tux<sup>w</sup>ilc-*, jump, motion in horseshoe shape; *-än*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

542. *-astq (-stq)*, in opposition to:

*cEt-Et-a'stq*, he won in sport (*cät*, level)

*tsaq-a'p-stq*, he pursued, went behind in opposition to (*tsaq*, ?; *-ip*, at back)

*akö'-stq*, he answered back (*-n-s > -s*; *äk<sup>w</sup>n*, say)

*ku-tcac-a'p-stq*, thou followedst against orders (*ku-*, thou; *tcäc*, accompany)

### 543-560. Compounded Suffixes

543. There are certain marked tendencies in the use of suffixes, some of which can hardly be separated from the use of prefixes with which they may have an intimate relationship (cp. § 573). One tendency is to use the suffixes in a much generalized sense: *-tsin*, e. g., which means "mouth", means more exactly "edge of, around the edge"; *-ip*, bottom, may take on a great many generalized meanings which range through the more literal notions of "seat, posterior" to the idea of "after, behind", or "foundation". Another tendency is to combine suffixes. Combination is not entirely free, but it is used very commonly and certain groupings of suffixes have taken on particular meanings. I will give a few of these as well as idiomatic combinations of prefix . . . suffix. Meanings depend upon relative position of the suffixes, on accent, and on prefixes:

544. *-qin-ups*, seat:

*hn-qap-qin-ups-En*, pad for a chair, lit. where end of anus pads.

545. *-os-aæn*, top of arm, perhaps ball and socket joint:

*s-t-tcEm-os-aæn*, top of arm

546. *-t-tsä'-i'p*, hip:

*s-tcEm-t-tsä'-i'p*, hip

*t-qa<sup>a</sup>-qa<sup>a</sup>-t-tsä'-i'p-mEnts*, he put one on each side of his belt, i. e., used it to hip-stick on

547. *-ap-alqs*, bottom clothes:

*Rats-a'p-alqs-En*, woman's belt (*Räts*, tie)

548. *-ip-äns*, chin, i. e., bottom of teeth:

*s-tcEm-i'p-äns*, chin

*xä's-p-äns*, good beard

549. *-ip-äl-sicEn*, stubby horn, stump of horn (?):

*ä-s-tsuł-Em-i'p-äl-sicEn*, buffalo horn

550. *-awás-qEN*, corner, angle:  
*an-tċEM-a'wás-qEN*, floor or wall at corner, perhaps angle,  
 but *ni'<sup>t</sup>-...awás-qEN*, space in corner  
*ni'<sup>t</sup>-tsaq-a'wás-qEN-EN*, I set hollow object in corner

The same combination may also mean "in hair" or "on top of head":

- ni'<sup>t</sup>-xa'p-xap-awás-qEN-EN*, I (bird) fluttered over his head (*xap*, pile flat things)  
*s-ni'<sup>t</sup>-tċEM-a'wás-qEN*, on his head, in top hair

551. However, when the skull is referred to, the top and back are differentiated:

- t-xat-xat-a'<sup>wa</sup>st-qEN-ts-ILC*, they clubbed him on top of the head, i. e., blow came from above  
*xat-xat-a'p-qEN-ts-ILC*, they clubbed him on occiput (back of head), i. e., blow from below or back  
*s-yälx<sup>w</sup>-a'p-qEN*, cape, i. e., flimsy object lies at back of head

552. *-alq-CEN* (for *-alq<sup>w</sup>-CEN*) is used for the long bones of the leg:  
*s-tċa'm-alq-CEN*, leg  
*hn-q<sup>wa</sup>a'-alq-CEN*, corner of house (*q<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>*, be hollow)

553. *-us-CEN*, toe (face of foot):  
*lupx-u's-CEN*, he has a hole in the toe of his moccasin

554. *-iplä<sup>ä</sup>-CEN*, heel (handle of foot):  
*s-tċEL-tċEL-i'plä<sup>ä</sup>-CEN*, spurs (*tċäl*, pl. objects stand upright)

555. The combination *-ip-wás-CEN* is the generalized word for privates:

- ni'<sup>t</sup>-tuq<sup>w</sup>-i'p-wás-CEN*, breechelout (*ni'<sup>t</sup>-*, refers to hair; *tuq<sup>w</sup>*, band)  
*k<sup>wa</sup>ġ-k<sup>wa</sup>ġc-i'p-Ewás-CEN*, he startles (by flying) between the legs

556. *-itcñ-tct*, back of hand:  
*hn-m<sup>wa</sup>t-ä'tcñ-tct*, he smoked back of his hand

557. *-tsin-tct*, wrist, edge of hand:  
*s-tsän-tċEM-tsi'n-tct*, wrist (*tsän-*, under; *tċäm*, be surface) (cp. *s-tsän-tċEM-tsi'n-CEN*, ankle)

558. *-il-tsä<sup>3</sup>-us*, inside of face (eye):  
*s-t-gwup-gwup-i't-tsä<sup>3</sup>-us*, eyelashes (*gwäp*, be hairy)

559. *-tsin-k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>3</sup>ä*, shore (edge of water):  
*tsaq-aq-tsi'n-k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>3</sup>ä*, canoe came ashore (*tsaq*, one hollow object stands)

560. *hn-...itct-ätk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>3</sup>ä*, hand in water:  
*hn-lar<sup>w</sup>-i'tct-ätk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>3</sup>ä*, he plunged his hand into water

### 561-569. Syntactic Suffixes

561. Syntactic suffixes serve the purpose of showing relationships between different parts of the sentence. There are several datives, all used with the usual transitive combinations of object-subject in all of the tenses. In all cases the dative refers to the

object. Simply placing the suffix before the pronominal suffixes, of course with the proper phonetic changes, gives the dative meaning.

562. *-t*, in behalf of, instead of:

- k<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>-ts-ku'l-t-tEm*, I am making it for thee (*ku-hin-s-its-* > *k<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>-ts-*;  
*ku'l*, make; *-tEm*, cont. ending instead of *-Em*, § 354)  
*gwi'tc-t-t-s-äx<sup>w</sup>*, thou foundest it (something I had hidden) for me  
(*gwi'tc*, see; *-ts-äx<sup>w</sup>*, 2-1 compl.)  
*äts-Exi'l-t-sEn*, I cust. move it for him (*äts-*, initial vowel > *äts-*;  
*axEl*, do thus; *-sEn*, 1-3 cust.)

563. *-tul*, for, in reference to:

- a'ts̄x-tul-ts*, she looked at him for it (expecting him to have it)  
(*ats̄x*, look at; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)  
*x<sup>w</sup>ä tcä-s-tcs-xu'i-tul-tEm*, what is to be fetched for? (*tcät-s-* >  
*tcäs-*; *x<sup>w</sup>ä*, article; *tcät-*, fut.; *s-*, inten.; *tcs-*, for a purpose;  
*xui*, go; *-tEm*, 3 pass. compl.)  
*tc-cEl-Em-tu'l-t-s*, he aimed gun at him (*tc-*, on not part of; *cät*, one  
long object projects; *-Em*, cause; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)  
*x<sup>w</sup>ä tcäs-tcs'-a'ts̄x-tul-tEm*, (what is he) that he should be looked to  
for (anything)? (*tcäs-*, as above; *tcs-*, for purpose; *ats̄x*, look  
at; *-tEm*, 3 pass.)

564. *-cit* (*-cit*), as a favor to:

- nä<sup>a</sup> t-tcä'r<sup>w</sup>-ci-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*, when (and if) thou prayest for me (*cit-ts-* >  
*cits-*; *nä<sup>a</sup>*, doubt; *t-*, on part of; *ttcär<sup>w</sup>*, pray; *-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*,  
2-1 compl.)  
*tei't-cits*, she gave him (something) (*tei't*, give)  
*äts-gun-i't-ci-tsEn*, I cust. ask thee as a favor (*äts-*, cust.; *gunit*, ask;  
*-tsEn*, 1-2 compl.) This suffix, for phonetic reasons, demands  
the completive pronominals with the customary, § 359.  
*k<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>s̄-axi'l-cit-Em*, I am doing thus as a favor to thee (*k<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>-ts-*,  
see § 334; *-Em*, cont.)

565. *-cic* (*-cäc*, *-cEC*), something, for someone. When used with an intransitive verb, this suffix is used to complete (§ 287) the meaning and may be translated as an indefinite pronoun. If used with the transitive it means "for someone":

- tcät-wül-wültc-Em-ci'c-En*, pool table, that on which something  
is rolled again and again for someone (*tcät-*, on surface;  
*wältc*, roll; *-Em*, caus.; *-En*, that which; glot., rep.)  
*its-xä's-Em-cäc-s*, he is using something carefully (*its-...-s*,  
3-3 cont.; *xäs*, good)  
*mä'r<sup>w</sup>-cäc-mEn-ts*, he broke it (someone else's property) (*mär<sup>w</sup>*,  
break, destroy; *-mEn*, use for; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)  
*tcil-cäc-mi'n-En*, I gave it to somebody, used something for giving

566. I believe that, for some undiscernible reason, this suffix was taken over for the pronominal completives 2-1p and 2p-1p where the forms for completive and customary which have no correspondence to any Coeur d'Alene system are, e. g., *ku'-ätc'i'n-cäc*, thou gavest it to us, or thou gavest it (did with) as a favor to us. In other words, it does for the ordinary pronouns but also contains the idea expressed by *-cit*, "as a favor to", here omitted:

*ku'u-tš-Etci'n-cäc*, thou cust. scolded us (*ku-äts*-vowel > *ku<sup>u</sup>tš-*; *äts-*, cust.; *ätcin* has the meaning of "scold" in the customary)  
*kup'-uts-Eku'n-cäc*, you are telling us (*its-* vowel > *itš-*; *kup-*, you; *its-*, cont.)

A few words have the accent on *-cic* when it is used with *ku-* or *kup-*:

*ku-lEdj-ci'c*, thou stabbedst us (*ku-*, thou; *lädj*, stab. The form *ku-lä'dj-cäc* is also correct, perhaps even preferable)  
*tcä't-ku-s-tcEn-ci'c*, thou art to help us (*tcän'*, take hold of, with *-cic* always means "help")

567. *-tsut* (*-tsot*), reflexive. According to my observation *-tsut* is treated, as far as accent is concerned, like any of the nominal or locative suffixes (§§ 456-542), except that if it occurs in combination with one or more of them which would ordinarily take the accent, the tendency is to throw the accent to the reflexive. That *-tsut* is a true transitive form is shown by the fact that, except with rare exceptions, it is preceded by the transitivizer *-En*:

*hm-tčEs-tčEs-t-m-En-tsu't*, he regretted (*hm-*, in; *tčäs*, bad; *-t*, subjective; *-m*, use)  
*kul-En-tsu't-En*, God (*kul*, create; *-En*, the one who)  
*kul-tsEn-tsu't*, cook (*kul*, make; *-tsin*, mouth)  
*tcä<sup>ä</sup>-yi'lx<sup>w</sup>-änä'-än-tsut*, he covered himself with his blanket (*tcät-y* > *tcäy-*; *tcät-*, on surface; *yi'lx<sup>w</sup>*, cover with blanket; *-inä<sup>ä</sup>*, on)  
*lutä-tčäm-y-ä'l-m-En-tsut*, he could not even move (*s-* stem vowel > *y-*; *lutä-*, neg.; *tčäm*, result; *s-*, nom.; *äl*, move; *-m*, use)  
*hm-tä'p-tšä'-än-tšot-En*, pineapple (*hm-*, in; *täp*, shoot; *-tšä<sup>ä</sup>*, all through the inside)  
*hm-pulu-s-tsu't-En*, my means of killing myself (*t-s-En-* > *s*; *hm-*, my; *pulut*, kill one; *-s*, artificially; *-En*, that which)

568. *-twic* (*-twäc*), reciprocal. This suffix, like the reflexive, usually takes the transitivizer *-En*:

*tcs-x<sup>wi</sup>'s-En-twäc*, they went toward each other (*tcs-*, for a purpose; *x<sup>wi</sup>*, one goes, walks; glot., limited rep.)  
*tä'p-En-twäc*, there was war (*täp*, shoot)  
*tšim-tcs-En-twäc*, they shook hands (*tšim*, shake hands; *-tcs*, hand; glot., as above)  
*s-q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>a</sup>qwä'äl-s-twi'c*, quarreling (*s-*, nom.; *q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>a</sup>qwä'äl*, speak; *-s*, artificially)  
*s-qä'y-ci't-wäc*, correspondence (*cit-t-* > *cit-*; *s-*, nom.; *qä'y*, write, mark; *cit-*, as a favor)

569. *-i'..* (*-a'..*, *-ä'..*), exaggeration or emphasis, particularly on the duration or force of an action. Wherever the accent may ordinarily be, if the verb takes on this emphatic form, the accent is shifted to this suffix which at the same time is articulated with a "song" proper to the meaning, a long glide of the voice with many tunes:

*muq<sup>w</sup>-untEm-i'* . . . , many heaps (of meat) were made (*maq<sup>w</sup>*, pl. objects lie; *-EntEm*, 3 pass. compl.), emphasizing the large amount of meat.

*än-tütčän-i'* . . . , small thing was in it (*äts-n- > än-*; *än-*, made so in; *tütčänä'ä*, one is small), emphasizing surprise and chagrin at finding this small object.

*cEl-Em-i'* . . . , he chopped hard and long (*cäl*, chop; *-Em*, intr.)

*pEs-pEs-t-ä'*, it was an astonishing incident (*pas*, astonish; redupl. form with *-t*, have effect of . . . (§ 302). The stem *pas* modifies the vowels prog., hence *-ä'*)

### 570-572. Nominalizing Suffixes

570. Just as there are a few nominalizing prefixes so there are several suffixes which transform a verb into a noun.

571. *-En*, nominalizing suffix, when personal "the one who", when non-personal "that which". When used with the prefix *hin-*, the combination may indicate "place where":

*kul-En-tsu't-En*, God, the one who created himself

*s-tcät-Em-u't-En*, chair (*s-*, nom.; *tcät-*, on; *äm*, one sits; *-ut*, be in position of)

*atsx-us-En-tsu't-En*, mirror (*atsx*, look at; *-us*, face; *-Entsut*, reflex.; glot., rep.)

*hin-lä'q-Entsut-En*, sweat-house (*hin-. . . -En*, place where; *läq*, bury)

*sin-pi'gw-n*, balloon (*s-hin- > sin-*; nominal form of *hin-. . . -En*, "what is in", or "place of being"; *pi'gw*, swell)

*hin-pulu-s-tsu't-En*, my means of killing myself (*t-s > s*; *pulut*, kill one; *-s*, artificially; *-tsut*, reflex.)

572. *-tn*, that which. A rare suffix which seems to be an intrusion of the common Salishan instrumental *-tEn*, or *-tn*. Since *t-n- > -n* in Coeur d'Alene I believe *-En* is a direct relative of this suffix. However, a few words seem to retain *t-* and in so doing have compromised by glottalizing *n*, a common Coeur d'Alene device for keeping derivations distinct (see e. g. "balloon", § 571):

*wi'c-tñ*, tipi pole (*wic*, build, erect)

*pä'x<sup>w</sup>-tn*, snowdrift (*päx<sup>w</sup>*, wind blown). In this word *-tn* seems to have become a part of the stem, cp. *tä pä'x<sup>w</sup>tn-mäs*, when the snow drifts.

*swa'i'-tn*, spring of water

### 573. Combination of Prefixes and Suffixes

573. The large number of prefixes and suffixes and the attendant differentiation in meaning due to position and accent (§§ 651-698) make a stereotyped charting of the parts of the Coeur d'Alene word impossible. However, the following outline will give an idea of the setup showing how relatively simple words include many ideas. The table of prefixes carries the elements up to the stem; and another table of suffixes includes the stem and suffixes. The sentences are given with letters and translation.



sentence	syntactic	inten.	prefixes							
			verbal	ul-	tk <sup>w</sup> äl- tcits- ut-	pro- nominal	nom.	aspect	dir.	prepos- itional
a.						tcin-	s-syä-			
b.	tcät-			ul-		ι-	s-			
c.			ats-					ä(ts)-		
d.			u-			ku-				
e.			u-		tcits-					
f.	nä <sup>ä</sup>					ku-				t-
g.									tä-	(h)n-
h.					tk <sup>w</sup> äl-			its-		ni <sup>t</sup> -
i.	tcät-	s-			tk <sup>w</sup> äl-			(ä)ts-		
j.					ul-tcits-			its-		
k.									tu <sup>s</sup>	(h)in-

	stem	verbal	nominal	ti.	use	pronominal and aspective					nominal locative
						dat.	asp.	obj.	subj.	reflex. recip.	
a.	cäl	-it	-kup								
b.	nik <sup>w</sup>		-ilumx <sup>w</sup>								
c.	tsaR	-ip					-Em				
d.	nas										
e.	dilk <sup>w</sup>		-cEn				-Em				
f.	djar <sup>i</sup>				-min				-tsut	-äwäs	
g.	tcitc	-min	-alp <sup>w</sup> q <sup>w</sup>	-En			-ts				
h.	tsäl,	-ut	-itx <sup>w</sup>								
i.	xui										
j.	atsqä <sup>ä</sup>										
k.	sigw		-tsin		-min				-tsut		
l.	gwitc					-t̄	-ts	-ä	-x <sup>w</sup>		

- a. tcis-syä-cEl-i't-kup, I am a wood-chopper
- b. tcät-ul-ι-s-ni'k<sup>w</sup>-älumx<sup>w</sup>, it is to be for thy tribe
- c. ats-a<sup>a</sup>-tsaR-i'p-Em, he would be made to scream
- d. u-ku-na's, thou art wet
- e. u-tci<sup>i</sup>-di'llk<sup>w</sup>-cEn-Em, he just covered his leg entirely
- f. nä<sup>ä</sup> ku-t-djar<sup>i</sup>-mEn-tsu't-äwäs, brace thyself firmly
- g. tä-n-tcitc-mi'n-alp<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>-un-ts, he threw it into her mouth
- h. tk<sup>w</sup>äl-ni<sup>t</sup>-tsäl-u'itx<sup>w</sup>, he was standing about in the streets (among houses)
- i. tcäs-tk<sup>w</sup>äl-ts-xu'i, he is to be cust. going about
- j. ul-tci<sup>t</sup>-ts-a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup>, he was coming out again
- k. tu<sup>s</sup>-in-sägw-tsEn-mi'n-tsut, he went so far as to ask (for a wife)
- l. gwi'tc-t̄-ts-ä-x<sup>w</sup>, thou foundest it for me

574-589. *Comparative Notes on Suffixes*

574. So far the division of Salishan languages into their several groupings has rested on a comparison of small vocabularies, and especially of suffixes which have remained remarkably stable, particularly within each of the groups. Boas and Haeberlin have determined *i-* as against *a-* languages<sup>1</sup> which may exist, but it seems likely to me that a great deal of theory may hinge upon a careful study of the vowel changes as they exist within each language even as they are present in Coeur d'Alene. It would be impossible to consider it either an *i-* or an *a-* language in the face of the fact that the vowels change regularly according to usage, position, accent, and the like. It is likely that these changes in themselves are due to historical causes. If so, we must know more about them in other languages, for it is apparent that they exist even from the examples given by Haeberlin<sup>2</sup>. One of the most outstanding characteristics of these examples is the change of vowel and its loss. He had not enough examples from any one language to determine the exact meaning of the change and altogether the material is very uneven. This remains one of the main problems in the attack on the languages as a whole.

575. No one, to my knowledge, has done much with the prefixes — this again doubtless because of phonetically inaccurate material and even more particularly because of lack of analysis. There is every reason to believe that the prepositional prefixes are present with nearly the same meanings in the inland dialects. I have not seen anything which corresponds to the directionals, but that may be due to the fact that simple examples are more commonly recorded than those idiomatically used, for most of the material is from vocabularies; little, if any, from texts.

576. A few suggestions as to relationships may be ventured on the basis of the detailed study of the Coeur d'Alene suffixes and a more casual one of Haeberlin's Salishan suffixes. Besides, it is possible to summarize the character of Coeur d'Alene suffixes. The large majority are of two kinds; those beginning with *a*, whether accented or not, are probably to be considered the same since they all precede *q*, *x*, or *q<sup>w</sup>* which stabilizes *i* as *a*; and those beginning with *-il* (*-al* before *q*, *x*, or *q<sup>w</sup>*). I list them here since we have not looked at them from the point of view of their relationship to one another:

*-axen*, *-asqit*, *-aqs*, *-inä<sup>ä</sup>*, ear; *-inä<sup>ä</sup>*, on top of; *-ins*, *-inx<sup>w</sup>*, *-ingwil*, *-intc*, *-itct*, *-itcs*, *-(ips)*, *-äps* (§ 580); *-i<sup>u</sup>tem*, *-iptlix<sup>w</sup>tstc*, *-itsä<sup>ä</sup>*, *-iwäs*; *-itcn*, *-isgwäl*, *-istcäyt*.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas and Herman Haeberlin. Sound Shifts in Salishan Dialects. Int. Jour. Am. Ling. IV: 117-136.

<sup>2</sup> Distribution of Salishan Suffixes, unpublished material.

*-alq<sup>w</sup>*, *-alpq<sup>w</sup>*, *-alqs*, *-alqs*, end; *-alqs*, road; *-ilt*, *-ilup*, *-ilgwäs*, *-ilumx<sup>w</sup>*, *-ilx<sup>w</sup>*, *-ilps*; *-älwis*, *-älstcEN* (the last two never have the accent on *-äl* in any of my examples but they almost surely belong here).

There is still another group, not so large as the other two, beginning with *-it*:

(*-itp*) *-ätp* unaccented; *-itx<sup>w</sup>*, *-ätniw*, *-ätqiwt*, *-ätqix<sup>w</sup>*

Although these do not exhaust the list of suffixes, they nevertheless determine our problems. If we start from the *-it* set it does not seem to me difficult to see that they are composed of a suffix *-it* which, from other settings, we have shown to mean "inside of". This meaning would not conflict with that of any of the suffixes beginning with *-it*, even though we should not expect all parts to retain literal meanings. If this is true, we then reduce our suffixes to *-p*, *-x<sup>w</sup>*, *-niw*, *-qiwt*, *-qix<sup>w</sup>*.

577. If we view the set in *-al* or *-il* in the same way we get what is to be expected, i. e., a less uniform means of translation. This is even more apparent since *-il* is difficult to translate. I have shown that it may mean "where two planes or elements come together" which fits in some cases, and in others does not. If we accept the division of the suffixes leaving the meaning as indefinite we then have for determination *-q<sup>w</sup>*, *-pq<sup>w</sup>*, *-qs*, *-t*, *-up*, *-gwäs*, *-umx<sup>w</sup>*, *-x<sup>w</sup>*, *-ps*, *-wis*, *-stcEN* (*-istcEN*).

578. Certain of these lend themselves to discussion and comparison. There is every reason to believe that *gw* (Coeur d'Alene)  $> w$  in other languages (Kalispelm, for example), and we know that  $l > i$  or  $'$  in other languages, Thompson for example, whence I believe that *-ilgwäs*  $> -iwäs$ , even though the suffixes have taken on different and distinct meanings and uses. Since the tendency to change *gw* to *w* is only slight in Coeur d'Alene, since *l* is usually retained, and since other examples seem to point in the same direction, I should say that *-ilgwäs* and *-iwäs* came into Coeur d'Alene from two sources.

579. If we separate *-il* from *-il-umx<sup>w</sup>*, once more we have left *-umx<sup>w</sup>* which means "person", a common Salishan element. *-x<sup>w</sup>* allows of comparison between *-it-x<sup>w</sup>*, house and *-il-x<sup>w</sup>*, mat or hide. If we remember that the old houses were made of mats, we should have *-it-x<sup>w</sup>* defined as "that space in (within) mats", and *-il-x<sup>w</sup>*, perhaps "one flimsy surface meets another".

580. My suggestion about *-ilgwäs* and *-iwäs* gains weight upon viewing *-ilps* and *-äps*. A glance at § 500 shows that the number of examples of Coeur d'Alene *-äps* is small, and at the same time an effort seems to be made to keep *-ilps* in a class somewhat distinct from "neck" or "back of neck" when, for example, only pigs, wolves, and a few other animals are counted with it as classifier,

and it applies to "throat" as well as to neck. The distinction seems to be between the kind of neck or throat rather than between inside and outside. The Coeur d'Alene meaning seems to me to be that a neck or throat hardly different from the rest of the body, i. e., not cylindrical (outside), would be referred to as *-ilps*, whereas a person's neck or throat would be *-al-pq<sup>w</sup>*, and I believe *-q<sup>w</sup>* has to do with length even as it does in *-al-q<sup>w</sup>*. (All this in spite of the fact that Lawrence says *-ilps* of an animal is equivalent to *-apqEN*, occiput, back of head, of a person).

581. I confess I have few suggestions to make about the series in *i*, except to call attention to the fact that many of these suffixes, when separated from the introductory vowel, have as initial a sound which in Coeur d'Alene is unstable: *s*, *n*, *tc*, *w* (> *u*-vowel). Since we also have verbal suffixes such as *-it*, *-in*, *-igw*, *-itc*, (*äpl*), whose final consonant may assimilate to any of them and at the same time tend to take the accent, it does not seem fantastic to look for the presence of the accent and the strong vowel in some such influence. These verbal suffixes are difficult to translate and the possibilities of assimilation are also rather too great to allow of very definite conclusions on this point. It might, however, be settled if we could find the parts in some language in which contraction and assimilation are not so strong, although it is likely that the amalgamation of two suffixes, if such it be, is an old one, to judge by the apparent distribution.

582. A few examples illustrate the force of this suggestion:

The stem for "one" is almost certainly *näk<sup>w</sup>*, although in a great many cases it appears as *näk<sup>w</sup>-ä<sup>ä</sup>*, as it does in counting in the abstract, for persons (classified by prefix *ttc*-). When, however, the echo-vowel assimilates to a following *i* of a suffix, that contraction is represented by the accent on the *i*:

*nük<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>-i'tsä<sup>ä</sup>*, one blanket  
*nük<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>-i'tx<sup>w</sup>*, one house, tent  
*hin-nük<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>-i't.l<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, one lake

583. When the stem is followed by *a*, it seems not to be felt as contracted:

*na'k<sup>w</sup>-a'alq<sup>w</sup>*, one tree, pole, string  
*nä'k<sup>w</sup>-ä<sup>ä</sup>st*, one stone (for slingshot)

584. The stem for "two" is *äs-äl*, presumably normal with accent on *äs*:

*ttc-ä'säl*, two persons

585. With such facilities for comparison as I have, I make the following suggestions:

*-ä<sup>ä</sup>* (§ 528) is a suffix used sometimes by itself, but often in connection with other elements, stems, for example, and suffixes

such as *-in-ä<sup>ä</sup>*, *-i-ts-ä<sup>ä</sup>*, *-tc-ä<sup>ä</sup>*. I have mentioned the fact that the words including it have so many meanings as to make it almost impossible of classification. It is likely that here as elsewhere. Coeur d'Alene accepted (or developed) forms in several ways. It is likely, I think, that *-ä<sup>ä</sup>* of persons and kin-terms is from (or related to) *-ela*, person, which Haeberlin cites for only the western dialects (Lkuñ, Kwantlen [Fra], Sesh). It is well established that *l > i'* (*ä<sup>ä</sup>* without accent). In the same region (Puget Sound) which has *-ela* for "person", there is a suffix *-ala*, *-ale*, *-al*, "place of". There is a strong possibility that this might have become *-ä<sup>ä</sup>* and that some of my meanings should be "place where . . .". It is difficult to ascertain which of these is meant because I cannot analyze many of the words containing *-ä<sup>ä</sup>*. It seems as if it would apply to "half dollar", "left side", "rust", "shirt" (§ 529), and to some of the verb stems which seem to demand it.

586. Still another suffix, *-i'st* (*-ä'üst*) suggests derivation from more than one source. The suffix *-als*, stone, of the Coast becomes *-e'ist* and it is likely this is the same in Coeur d'Alene, although it has become much generalized so as to mean "rounded surface". In the West (Halkomelen [L. Fra], Lkuñ) it appears as *-a'lst*, *-a'lest*, and is interpreted "round things". In the same class formally in Coeur d'Alene is the ending meaning "weapon" which Haeberlin classifies separately as *-elst* (*-En*), and I think it likely that this even should be in the same class as *-als*. A knife and an arrow were in the old days made of stone and were therefore "round things". Following up my suggestion of § 577 we should then have to compare *-st*, and *i'-* (*ä<sup>ä</sup>*) would come in the class with *-il*. In Coeur d'Alene, for instance, it is not used for "bow", "gun", or "club" but the few examples of its use can all be related to "round object".

587. The suffixes in *-äl* (*al-*) as well as those in *s-* show definite relationships to incorporated nouns and several of them furnish hints as to their derivation: *-al-qix<sup>w</sup>*, breath, smell, is definitely from the stem *qix<sup>w</sup>* which is used in the same way as other verb-stems. I think that *-äl-niw*, *-äl-qiwt* may turn out to have the same kind of derivation. As for those in *s-*, they should be susceptible to the rule *l-s > s* and there may be accentual (*i'*) or phonetic (*ä<sup>ä</sup>* before accented syllable) remnants of this elision here and there. A possible derivation is suggested by *-iptix<sup>w</sup>tstc*, tongue-shaped. (*ipt*, have?). This may be the derivation of the *i's-* suffixes, for Kalispelm has, e. g., *-epts'chin*, and *-els'chin* (Giorda II, 191), and other examples which suggest that Kalispelm *-ept-s >* Coeur d'Alene *-i's*. Thompson perhaps has lost *pt* before *s* also, for we

have *-e-sut*, fish, as compared with Coeur d'Alene *-i'-sgwäl* (Coeur d'Alene *gw* > Thompson *w*, and evidently *l* > *l*). Again Coeur d'Alene *-i-stčayt* is to be compared with *-et-kolt* of the other inland dialects, *k* > *tč*?), and here *l* is retained, although we cannot be very sure of the phonetic structure.

588. I have already suggested the relationship of Coeur d'Alene instrumental *-EN* to Salishan *-tEN*, for *t-n* > *-n*. Consequently, when the instrumental *-tEN* occurs in Coeur d'Alene (survival or borrowing?), it is *-tn̄* so as to keep both sounds. Perhaps when we have better recordings of the other languages we may find this is the suffix; or at least some reason for the glottalization of the *n*.

589. This discussion makes no pretensions as to exhaustiveness, but attempts to point the directions in which the various problems lie. There is a vast amount of comparative work necessary before the question can be answered conclusively, and before that is done most of the material is still to be gathered. Haeberlin's paper which evidences great industry and intuition, suffers from the lack of phonetic exactness of his material. It seems to me that the facts of Coeur d'Alene, especially those having to do with phonetics, contraction and assimilation, should furnish numerous clues which point in various directions and will, I believe, if followed carefully, bring out closer relationships between the Coast and Inland dialects.

## 590-612. REDUPLICATION

### 590-591. *Introductory*

590. Coeur d'Alene uses many types of reduplication although each is not entirely free. Generally speaking, verbs belong in classes, not absolutely rigid, which may take one or more types of reduplication. Many stems, however, may be reduplicated in different ways for indicating as many different ideas. All reduplication must be considered in connection with other processes such as affixing and stress, since practically no Coeur d'Alene process is entirely exclusive. Because of the different nature of the stems, certain variations in reduplication may occur in expressing the same idea.

591. Since the relationship between noun and verb is so close that which is said for the verb applies to nouns also.

### 592-602. *Reduplication of Types CVC-CVC, CVC-CVCC, VC<sup>2</sup>-VCC, VC<sup>2</sup>-VCVC, CV-CV*

592. When the stem consists of *cvc*, by far the largest group of stems, it may be duplicated: to form derivatives (§ 302), and to indicate plurality and distribution.

593. The duplicated derivative which expresses the idea "it has the effect of . . ." has already been discussed (§ 302). Several additional examples are given:

<i>u<sup>u</sup></i> - form expressing objectivity	duplicated form with - <i>t</i>
<i>u<sup>u</sup>-tsä'l</i> , he is fierce	<i>tsä'l-tšEL-t</i> , he is terrible in effect
<i>u<sup>u</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>a'r<sup>w</sup></i> , he is foolish	<i>q<sup>w</sup>ä'r<sup>w</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>ä'r<sup>w</sup>.t</i> , he is reckless
<i>u<sup>u</sup>-ca'r</i> , he is lazy, does not exert himself	<i>ca'r-car-t</i> , it is too difficult to attempt

594. Stem duplication is used frequently to express plurality, especially with the body-part, or nominal suffixes. The stem-vowel is weakened when it does not carry the accent:

<i>t-tcä'n-tcEn-Em</i> , he held on with both hands
<i>s-tu'x<sup>w</sup>-tu'x<sup>w</sup>-tct</i> , gloves ( <i>tu'x<sup>w</sup></i> , draw on)
<i>gwä'p-gwup-cEn</i> , his feet are long-haired ( <i>gwäp</i> , be long-haired)
<i>hn-säl-sEL-p-us</i> , he was dizzy, his eyes turned without volition ( <i>hn-</i> , in; <i>säl</i> , turn about; <i>-p</i> , without volition; <i>-us</i> , eye)
<i>hn-pät-pät-əs-En-tso't</i> , he dreamed ( <i>pät</i> , pour mushy stuff; <i>-En-tsut</i> , reflex.)

595. The plural of most verbs is indicated by subject or object-subject pronouns, and in such cases the form indicates that "we", "you", or "they" act as a body. However, if the idea to be conveyed is distributive, i. e., if each acts individually, the stem is duplicated:

<i>qä't-qEt-p</i> , they each climbed ( <i>qät</i> , go up incline)
<i>säl-sEL-p</i> , they each spun about ( <i>säl</i> , turn rapidly)
<i>xa's-xas-t</i> , each of them is good ( <i>xäs</i> , be good)

596. Another form of the distributive, hardly differing from plurality, gives the idea that an action takes place repeatedly or "here and there". The difference is more closely related to the class of the verb (verbs which take *-p* § 306), than to the difference in meaning or morphology. However, slight changes indicate differences if the meaning becomes subjective (§ 304):

<i>Ra'w-Raw-p</i> , it dropped here and there ( <i>Räw</i> , drop)
<i>gwä'l-gwEL-p</i> , it blazed here and there ( <i>gwäl</i> , blaze, be afire)
<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-djä'm-djEm</i> , it is pinned here and there ( <i>djäm</i> , pin)
<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-tsäl-tšEL</i> , fenceposts are set ( <i>tsäl</i> , pl. objects stand)
<i>x<sup>w</sup>ä'p-xup-Em-stEm</i> , blankets are spread here and there ( <i>x<sup>w</sup>äp</i> , spread blanket-like object)

597. The above examples illustrate a type of duplication in which the accent falls on the stem which appears with its full vowel first. The distributive of verbs with *u<sup>u</sup>*-form is expressed by duplication with accent on the second instead of the first use of the stem, with consequent weakening of the vowel where it first appears. The meanings are the same as in §§ 595-596:

- u-q<sup>w</sup>ats-q<sup>w</sup>i'ts*, each is warm, it is warm here and there (*q<sup>w</sup>its*, be warm)  
*u-cEt-cä't*, they are each level, it is level here and there (*cät*, be level)  
*u-tcäp-tci'p*, each is soft, it is soft here and there  
*u-t-qal-qä'l-ä'üst*, camas is not thoroughly cooked (*qäl*, be raw)  
*t-xaj-xi'y-gul*, big belly (*t-*, on; *xajxiy*, be large, *-gul*, be cavity)

598. If the stem consists of CVCC, the final consonant is not repeated when the derivatives or distributives are formed. Since the final consonant of a cluster does not function in terminal reduplication either, it seems as if these final consonants are suffixes or remnants of suffixes:

- tša'l-tšElx-untš*, he clawed it here and there (*tšälx<sup>w</sup>*, claw)  
*ä'ä-tcä'n-tcEnp*, it is clamped here and there (*tčänp*, clamp)  
*tc-sä'x<sup>w</sup>-sEx<sup>w</sup>q*, each of them splashed (*säx<sup>w</sup>q*, splash)  
*a'tš-Etsqä'ä*, they went out one by one (*atsqä'ä*, go out; *-ä'ä*, or *-qä'ä* is almost certainly a suffix)

599. The process of reduplication holds for stems having a vowel initial also, the only difference being that the initial consonant is missing so that the reduplication is VC'VCC:

- kup'-it-Et.c-u'l*, you sleepyheads (*it.c*, sleep)  
*i't-Et.c*, each one slept, they slept repeatedly

600. When the stem is bisyllabic, only the first vowel and consonant are repeated, a process which suggests my belief that the second syllable is a verbal suffix which has become thematic or fossilized:

- a:x-axi'l-uc*, they each did thus, or they did thus and so (*axil*, do thus)

601. Stems consisting of CV are reduplicated CVCV for the same reasons as those of the form CVC:

- his-qa-qa<sup>a</sup>-qä'ä-ci'n*, my little moccasins (*qi't*, stick to; *-cin*, foot)

602. Duplication is used for baby talk; but the syllables repeated have no stem value:

- du du*, animal or bug  
*bi bi't*, milk  
*mä'ä mä'ä*, mother  
*bä bä'ä*, papa  
*dä dä'ä*, food, something to eat

#### 603-605. Reduplication of Types CV-CVC and V'-VC

603. Initial reduplication, that is, repetition of the first consonant, or vowel, or of the first consonant and vowel of a stem, denotes diminutive. It must always be accompanied by glottalization of the following sounds in the complex into which it enters: *m*, *n*, *w*, *y*, *l*, *r*, *R*, *r<sup>w</sup>*, with the sole exception of *n* in *hvn-*, in.



604. The diminutive reduplication may refer, as do the other reduplicated forms, to either a small subject or a small object:

- ce-ceĒ-u' lumx<sup>w</sup>-n̄*, hoe, something which gives the ground little chops (*cāl*, chop; *-ulumx<sup>w</sup>*, ground; *-En*, that which)  
*t-tšE-tšĒ-tšĒ-i'tct*, twigs (*t-*, on attached to; *tšäl*, pl. objects stand or project; *-itct*, fingers)  
*hın-ḡE-ḡĒn-ḡĒn-ätni'w̄*, shafts, little long objects lie in alongside (*pän*, long objects lie; *-ätniw̄*, alongside)  
*ä-'i't.c*, little one slept (*it.c*, sleep)

605. The diminutive is often used by adults to express modesty:

- tc-nĒ-nä'<sup>a</sup>-nä'<sup>as</sup>*, we each became wet (*tc-*, we; *nas*, wet)  
*xu-xwist*, he went

### 606. Medial Reduplication Type CV'-VC

606. The idea of "gradually becoming", a kind of progression, is expressed by medial reduplication of some verbs, that is, a repetition of the stem vowel. Those stems which require the suffix *-p*, "without volition" (§ 306) form a class (although not the only class) which allows medial reduplication, and does not, with certain exceptions, permit that type of final reduplication which means "come to be . . . without agent" (§ 262):

- lu'up*, it became dry (*lup*, be dry)  
*na'as*, it became wet (*nas*, be wet)  
*hın-q<sup>w</sup>ä'äts-i'lgwäs*, he became warm inside (*q<sup>w</sup>its*, be made warm)  
*hın-xa'as-a'lpq<sup>w</sup>*, he relished it (it became good in oral cavity)  
*hın-ta'ax-i'lgwäs*, he was worried (it became bitter in heart)

### 607-612. Final Reduplication Types, CVC-VC, CVC<sub>1</sub>-VC<sub>1</sub>-C<sub>2</sub>

607. Another kind of progression, difficult to differentiate from the above in English, is expressed by reduplication of the final consonant of the stem, or of the vowel and consonant. When the consonant is labialized the vowel is *u*. When the stem ends in a consonant cluster, the vowel and first element of the cluster are repeated. Final reduplication expresses the idea "it came to be" and includes the notion that no agent or power from the outside had to do with it. Since this idea is also implicit in medial reduplication, it seems that the difference is not primarily one of meaning, but rather one of process involving a different classification of verbs.

608. The significance of this usage, as of so many in Coeur d'Alene, may be brought out best by a contrast. For example, let us say, there is a rod outside. If I come and find it has been bent I may say: "*ätspä'n̄*, it is bent", but I mean that it exists in a bent condition because someone has acted upon it, as by throwing a rock at it, or "it has been acted upon by an agent and is, therefore, bent".

If I say, "pä' n'En, it is bent", I mean it has come to be bent through some unknown or natural agency as by frost.

609. Because the difference in meaning is so subtle, I include one other example at this point. If I say of this same rod "pä' n'En'EM", I mean "it has come to be bent through some natural force, such as contraction due to change in temperature":

- yaR-aR*, they assembled (*yaR*, assemble)  
*pä't-El*, mushy stuff spilled (*pät*, pour mushy stuff)  
*hin-la'r<sup>w</sup>-ur<sup>w</sup>*, he was indicted (*lar<sup>w</sup>*, plunge headfirst)  
*ul-tul-ul-stci'nt-Em*, he rose again (*tul*, be real person; *-stci'nt*, be person)  
*täl-El-x<sup>w</sup>*, hollow object came to upside-down position (*täl<sup>w</sup>*, be convex)  
*t-pa<sup>r</sup>-är-k<sup>w</sup>-us-En-tsu't*, he self-pierced eye (*t-*, on attached to; *pa<sup>r</sup>k<sup>w</sup>*, pierce; *-us*, eye; *-En-tsut*, reflex.)

610. It is interesting to note that some suffixes if used with a verb which has been subjected to final reduplication must themselves be duplicated:

- its-xumi-umi-i'lt-ält*, she has come to miss her child (*-ilt*, offspring)  
*täl-El-i'c-ic*, he came to a standing position (*-ic*, act of)  
*äm-Em-i'c-ic*, he came into a sitting position  
*tsaq-tsaq-aq-El-i'p-äp*, he fell on his back (*tsaq*, hollow object stands; *-El*, planes meet; *-ip*, back, bottom)

611. A case of final reduplication expresses diminutive:

- städa-dä*, a little grass, grass was young and green. (This example is from a text which does not suggest baby talk)

612. The following are a few examples which have been treated by more than one of the reduplicating processes:

- na'a-na'as*, they each became wet  
*qä'<sup>22</sup>qä'<sup>22</sup>ts-üc*, they each became fat  
*gwa'r-gwar-ur*, they got scraped  
*gwi'w-gwäw-w*, they got shredded with wear  
*än-gu-gux<sup>w</sup>-gux<sup>w</sup>-i'nitc*, little ones hung here and there on the wall  
*ku-k<sup>w</sup>ä't-ül*, it became clear, pleasant warm weather came on  
*ä'-än-äni's*, little ones went off one by one  
*ax-äxi't-üc*, little ones did thus

### 613-616. GLOTTALIZATION

613. In Coeur d'Alene glottalization not only causes mechanical changes for phonetic reasons, but has also particular grammatical functions, some of them used in connection with reduplication. The prefix *hin-*, in, is the only element immune to glottalization under the conditions given; even the susceptible sounds of the verb-stem are affected. The series of consonants *m*, *n*, *w*, *y*, *l*, *r*, *R*, *r<sup>w</sup>* become glottalized under the following circumstances:

614. When the noun or verb is diminutive:

Regular form	Diminutive
<i>mar-mari'm-EntEm-ɪc</i> , they were treated one by one	<i>m̄-mar̄-mari'm̄-EntEm̄-ɪc</i> , they little ones were treated one by one
<i>yä'r-yär-p</i> , wagon, they roll	<i>ȳ-yä'r̄-yä'r̄p</i> , cart

615. When the action is considered as being performed not just several times, but repeatedly within an interval of time:

Regular form	Limited repetition
<i>yä'p-yEp-ɪc</i> , rocker	<i>ȳä'p̄-yEp̄-m̄En̄-tsut</i> , he rocked, used himself to sway re- peatedly
<i>ta'x<sup>w</sup>-tu<sup>w</sup>-mEn-tsut</i> , he stopped again and again	<i>ta'x<sup>w</sup>-tu<sup>w</sup>-m̄En̄-tsut</i> , he hes- itated
<i>tsu'n-mä'änts</i> , he showed him, pointed out every way to him	<i>h̄n-tsu'n̄-tsun̄-mä'ä'n̄</i> , school- house, place where it is shown repeatedly
<i>tä'tap-Em</i> , he shot several	<i>t̄ä'tap-Em̄</i> , he hunted
<i>t̄uq<sup>w</sup>-t̄uq<sup>w</sup>-atcs-En-tsu't</i> , he slapped his own hand re- peatedly	<i>t̄uq<sup>w</sup>-t̄uq<sup>w</sup>-atcs-En̄tsu't</i> , they clapped
<i>tsän-uk-uku'n-äm-En</i> , I sug- gested it to him several times	<i>tsän-uk-uku'n̄-äm̄-En̄</i> , tempta- tion
<i>h̄n-tsu<sup>w</sup>-tsu<sup>w</sup>-i'tcs-Ents</i> , he emulated him	<i>h̄n-tsu<sup>w</sup>-tsu<sup>w</sup>-i'tcs-En̄ts</i> , he mocked him

616. Since the repetitive is usually closely related to the distributive, it is to be expected that it will be found most frequently with the reduplicated form. This, however, is not absolutely necessary and the proper sounds of the ordinary verb may be glottalized to indicate repeated action:

<i>t̄o'm-En̄ts</i> , she scolded him
<i>s-ȳo'q-yn̄tsut</i> , telling lies ( <i>ȳoq<sup>w</sup></i> , tell lies; <i>yuq<sup>w</sup></i> , pretend; <i>yoq<sup>w</sup></i> , pretend with)

#### 617-633. NOMINAL INCORPORATION AND VERBAL COMPOUNDING

617. Up to the present time work on the Salishan languages has suggested the probability that nominal incorporation is one of the grammatical processes. It has been found in Chehalis<sup>1</sup> and now it appears in Coeur d'Alene as a well-developed process. We must leave aside the question as to whether or not the suffixes may be stems and take only examples which are unquestionable.

618. Verbal stems may be made nominal simply by prefixing *s-*, the nominalizer, or participial prefix. The tendency to use a nominal form is so pronounced in Coeur d'Alene that it may even

<sup>1</sup> Franz Boas, A Chehalis Text. Int. Jour. Am. Ling. VIII: 107.

be used twice in the same word, once to nominalize the entire complex, and again, either apparent or phonetically disguised, in the continuative which is itself a participial form. In this discussion of incorporation we may omit the similarity between nominal and verbal stems and take for our criterion of incorporation first those words which retain the nominalizer *s-* and those nouns which have some other initial.

619. *ästci'tcä'ä*, horse, stock:

*t-gwuc-älx<sup>w</sup>-äl-stci'tcä'-än*, curry comb (*-äl*-vowel > *-äl*; *t-*, on; *gwäc*, comb; *-äl*, for [?]; *-En*, that which)  
*Räts-äl-stci'tcä'än*, lariat, lasso (*Räts*, tie)  
*tss-n'-Estci'tcä'-ups*, horse manure (*tcs-* > *tss-* before following *tc*: *n*-vowel > *n*; *tcs-*, after; *hün-*, in; *-ups*, anus)

620. *tsägw*, behavior, character:

*xäs-äl-tsä'gw-ät*, he has nice disposition (*xäs*, good; *-ät*, ?)  
*sEl-sEl-äl-tsä'gw-ät*, he is vacillating (*säl*, be obscure)

These examples are excellent to show, the way in which a stem behaves, now as a verb and again as a noun.†

621. *ätx<sup>wä'ä</sup>*, camas:

*sxa'wul-ütx<sup>wä'ä</sup>*, raw camas  
*i<sup>i</sup>-tä'qiy-tx<sup>wä'ä</sup>*, leaves are falling (*taqi'<sup>t</sup>*, pl. fall) (the meaning is not clear in this case)

622. *tix<sup>wtstc</sup>*, tongue. I have given *-iptitix<sup>wtstc</sup>* as a suffix also (§ 515). This example certainly points to relationship with Kalispelm *-ipt-* with suffixes (§ 587), and supports the argument that the vowel is to be considered as an element in itself rather than an integral part of the suffix although now it may seem to be the latter:

*in-q<sup>w</sup>äl-ipt-ti'<sup>t</sup>x<sup>wtstc</sup>*, he burned his tongue (*in-*, in, on; *q<sup>w</sup>äl*, burn)  
*sin-män-üpt-ti'<sup>t</sup>x<sup>wtstc</sup>*, small dagger  
*hün-nitc-pt-ti'<sup>t</sup>x<sup>wtstc</sup>-Ents*, he cut off its tongue (*hün-*, in; *nitc*, cut)

623. *tsätx<sup>w</sup>*, house:

*üt-kul-tsä'tx<sup>w</sup>*, again she made a house  
*nä<sup>ä</sup>tc-kul't-t-tsätx<sup>w</sup>*, let's make a house (*nä<sup>ä</sup>*, exhortative; *kul*, make; *-t*, connective?)

624. *stcint*, person, people:

*tap-stcä'nt*, he shot  
*tcäl-ku-s-tsän-tsäl-u<sup>u</sup>-stci'nt*, if thou intendest to stand in people's way (*-ut-s* > *-u<sup>u</sup>s*; *tcäl-*, fut.; *ku-*, thou; *s-*, inten.; *tsän-*, under; *tsäl*, one person stands; *-ut*, be in position)  
*ku-ni-it-stci'n-En*, thou art a man-eater (*n-s* > *s*; *n-t* > *n*; *ku-*, thou; *itn*, eat; *-En*, one who)  
*hün-tsugw-tsugw-u<sup>u</sup>s-tci'nt*, he set bad example, people behave in eye (?) (Lawrence's etymology) (*tsägw*, behave)

625. *si'dist*, night:*mus-ä-ä-si'dist*, 4 nights (*sidist*, night passes)*tsuntctEm-ä-ä-si'dist*, 7 nights626. *spinttc*, year:*nuk<sup>w</sup>-spi'nttc*, one year*hä'änim-ä-spi'nttc*, 8 years

627. The number of incorporated nouns with participial prefix *s-* and the number of verbs which have been found with incorporated nouns is small, but the process is typical incorporation. (*ästci'tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, horse, does not really belong with them because even the initial vowel is incorporated and is to be seen in the *l* preceding, which is a combination of *l* and a vowel).

The following verbs have occurred in compounded forms, but it is likely that many others have the potentiality of being used in the same way:

*xäs*, well, good*täs*, bad*miy*, make clear, definite*gwäy*, finish*yuq<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, pretend*x<sup>w</sup>än*, hurry*yä<sup>ä</sup>*, secure game*ci't*, be first*k<sup>w</sup>in*, take*äpl*, have*kul*, make, create*qäy*, design, mark*lut*, negative

628. The compounding is done by using the weak form of the stem, because it lacks the accent; a possible connective *-äl* (§ 521 b) and a noun which takes the accent. Most often the noun is a participial form beginning with *s-* and for this reason the *l* would be lost (§ 145). On the other hand, the *-ä* (*a-*) which occurs may be related rather to the *ä-* prefix which is an indefinite article, e.g., *qä'i'-a<sup>a</sup>-tri'<sup>ä</sup>d*, he hot coal-stuck in (between toes). As far as I know *l* does not assimilate to *t* although the echo vowel indicates that some assimilation has taken place, as it does in a number of other compounds, as e.g., *mus-ä-ä-si'dist*, four nights. The function of this *ä-* will have to be left an open question until we get some comparative material to help us with it. Kalispelm, according to Giorda, has *l* in places and *s* in others and omits the vowel. Since however, the consonant is more important in Coeur d'Alene, I incline to the belief that the suffix-connective is *-äl*.

629. A few examples of the regular verb, *gwäy*, finish, show how the forms are compounded:

*gwiy-ä-y-s'q<sup>w</sup>s*, he finished drinking (*s-* vowel > *y-*; *q<sup>w</sup>s*, drink)*gwiy-ä-s-ku'l*, he finished doing (*kul*, do)*gwiy-ä-s-ya'R-aR*, they finished assembling, i. e., the feast is over (*yaR*, assemble)*nä<sup>ä</sup> gwiy-ä-s-tcät-u'sä<sup>ä</sup>*, when they had finished (getting) the fut. eggs (*nä<sup>ä</sup>*, doubt; *tcät-*, fut.; *usä<sup>ä</sup>*, egg)

630. This construction is almost entirely free, and since *gwäy* is a stem in its own right and subject to all the modifications of a

regular verb, it may be said that this is merely the usual verb with object-noun construction which could as well be written *gwiŷ äskul*. The pushing of the accent back to the participle and the consequent weakening of the stem-vowel rules out this interpretation, if nothing else did. The final test of incorporation comes, however, when transitive or more complex forms are demanded. Although *gwäŷ* may take the transitive pronominal suffixes when used independently — e.g., *gwä'ŷ-stus*, he finished it — nevertheless when the construction here under consideration is used, the syntactic elements are a part of the participle which takes the accent:

*gwiŷ-ä-s-t-q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>a</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>ä'ä<sup>l</sup>-ni'ñ-tEm*, he is finished being spoken of,  
his trial is over (*t-*, on attached; *q<sup>w</sup>a<sup>a</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ä'ä<sup>l</sup>*, speak; *min-*, use;  
*-tEm*, 3 pass. compl.)  
*gwiŷ-ä-s-tsä'k<sup>w</sup>-En-ts*, he finished skinning it (*tsäk<sup>w</sup>*, pull off; *-En*,  
tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)  
*gwiŷ-ä-ŷ-Eku'-stEm-ülc*, they had been fully instructed (*s*-vowel >  
*ŷ*-; *äk<sup>w</sup>n*, tell; *n-s* > *s*-; *-stEm*, 3 pass. cust.; *-ülc*, 3 pl.)  
*x<sup>w</sup>ä gwiŷ-ä-s-pu'lu-stus-ülc*, when they finished killing

631. And, if these examples are not convincing, there are the following in which the affixes bind the stem which cannot be an auxiliary, and the incorporated participle so thoroughly as to leave no question that the process must be interpreted as incorporation:

*äts-gwiŷ-ä-ŷ-Eku'-stm-ä-s*, he cust. finishes telling me (*äts-*, cust.;  
stem as above; *-stmäs*, 3-1 cust.)  
*uts-gwiŷ-ä-s-ni'tc-Em-s*, he is finishing cutting it (*uts-...-Ems*,  
3-3 cont.; *nitc*, cut)

632. I will append a few examples of the usage with other stems, any of which may be treated in the same way within the limitations of their meanings:

The stem *yä<sup>ä</sup>*, procure by hunting, earn, incorporates any of the animal names and seems quite free:

*yä<sup>ä</sup>-tsi'<sup>t</sup>*, he secured a deer  
*yä<sup>ä</sup>-äskuk<sup>w</sup>ut-i'lt*, he secured a fawn  
*i'ya'-anta'mqä<sup>ä</sup>*, they were impounding animals (*nta'mqä<sup>ä</sup>*, black  
bear)  
*yä<sup>ä</sup>-ä'sEl*, he got two

633. The stem *xa* or *xäs*, good, is used as the independent element of a compound verb to denote "under favorable circumstances", or "without interruption". This use is very common indeed:

*k<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>s-xas-a-s-q<sup>w</sup>a'<sup>a</sup>l-Em*, I am talking to you without interference,  
everyone agrees with me  
*na<sup>a</sup> xa-tcas-tcE-ttci'gwul*, so he will climb easily

#### 634-650. NUMBER

634. By this time it should be more than apparent that there is no adjective in Coeur d'Alene, but that two forms of the verb *u<sup>u</sup>*-

and *-t* take care of what in Indo-European we designate as adjective. The numeral is likewise in the verbal category. A consideration of the numerals from one to ten gives a kind of cross-section of the Coeur d'Alene verbs: All the stem-types are represented except that ending in a consonant cluster. The suffix *-tct*, finger, has become so closely knit up with the stems for 5, 6, 7, and 10 that it is treated as a part of them and may be considered a cluster; the combination is in its turn treated as a stem. Many of the laws of harmony, accent, of assimilation and contraction are represented in the numerals. The stem "nine" is a diminutive and regularly treated as such, as are some of the multiple units. Many objects are counted by affixing the designations of their class so that affixing is representative.

635. In agreement with the forms we have already met in the construction of the verb complex, the numerals represent three types of verbal structure: the class of an object may be designated by a suffix which is sufficiently specific to show the relationship and needs no syntactic element; the form may be that of an incorporated compound with the connective-suffix *-äl*, which in this case seems to mean "times or measures" (§ 521, c); or, the numeral may be independent in which case it is treated exactly as an adjective (i.e., a verb) with the definite article, *hä*, showing its relationship to the noun which follows.

636. The numerals from one to ten illustrate all these processes and give us a clue as to what is happening in other cases.

The independent forms of numerals are as follows:

<i>nä'k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä</i>	1
<i>ä'sEl</i>	2
<i>tci'itäs</i>	3
<i>mus</i>	4
<i>tsil(tct)</i>	5
<i>täwä(tct)</i>	6
<i>tsu'n-tct-Em</i>	7
<i>hä'i'n-Em</i>	8
<i>ɣaxanu't</i>	9
<i>upEn(tct)</i>	10

637. From 11 to 19 inclusive the numbers are compounded on the basis 10 again 1; 10 again 2. Each stem, i.e., the stem, ten, and the one following retains its accent showing that they are thought of as two separate words:

<i>u'pEn ütci'itäs</i>	13
<i>u'pEn ulɣaxanu't</i>	19

638. The tens are formed by multiplication, for, although in practise the Coeur d'Alene usually use the ordinals for the numeral adverbs, special forms exist to express them, and the more common form (used for 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7) is the one used for counting tens:

*nuk<sup>w</sup>txu'i*, once he goes  
*äsältxu'i*, twice he goes (for *äsil-ät-*)  
*tcä<sup>ä</sup>tätxu'i*, thrice he goes (for *tcä<sup>ä</sup>täs-ät-*)  
*mus-ät-xu'i*, 4 times he goes  
*tuwc-ät-xu'i*, 6 times he goes  
*tsuntctEm-ät-xu'i*, 7 times he goes

*äsä<sup>ä</sup>l-u'pEn*, 20, twice 10 (for *äsil-ät-vowel*)  
*tcä<sup>ä</sup>tä<sup>ä</sup>l-u'pEn*, 30, 3 times 10 (for *tcä<sup>ä</sup>tis-ät-vowel*)  
*mus-ä<sup>ä</sup>l-u'pEn*, 40, 4 times 10  
*tsilte-l-u'pEn*, 50, 5 times 10 (for *tsiltct-l-*)  
*tuwcätc-l-u'pEn*, 60, 6 times 10 (for *tuwcätct-l-upEn*)  
*tsuntcm-ä<sup>ä</sup>l-u'pEn*, 70, 7 times 10 (for *tsun-tct-m-ät-vowel*)  
*hä<sup>ä</sup>änm-ä<sup>ä</sup>l-u'pEn*, 80, 8 times 10  
*ṣaxñ-u'pEn*, 90, 9 times 10 (for *ṣaxEnut-l-vowel*)

639. Tens with digits are simply built up regularly from these forms:

*äsä<sup>ä</sup>lu'pEn utnä'k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, 21  
*tcä<sup>ä</sup>tä<sup>ä</sup>l-u'pEn ut'a'sEl*, 32  
*mus-ä<sup>ä</sup>l-u'pEn utmu's*, 44

640. Hundred is formed by adding the suffix *-qin*, with the attendant effects of *q* on the preceding vowels. This may be the suffix meaning "head or tip" (cp. § 489):

*nuk<sup>o</sup>-qi'n*, 100 (since *ä<sup>ä</sup>* never changes to *o<sup>o</sup>*, *nuku<sup>u</sup>* (?) may be a derivative stem)  
*nuk<sup>o</sup>-qi'n utnä'k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, 101  
*nuk<sup>o</sup>-qi'n ul-Esä<sup>ä</sup>l-u'pEn-t-tsil*, 125  
*nuk<sup>o</sup>qi'n ultsuntcmäl'u' (pEn) utha'i'nEm*, 178

It is characteristic of Coeur d'Alene to leave off a part of a word and heavily accent the last syllable which is pronounced as here *-l'u'*.

641. Multiples of 100 are diminutives formed by initial reduplication and the accompanying glottalization (§§ 613-616):

*a'asa'l-qEn*, 200 (two little 100's)  
*tcE-tca<sup>a</sup>ta's-qEn*, 300  
*m-mö's-qEn*, 400  
*tsE-tsäl-tct-qEn*, 500  
*tE-tuwc-a'tct-qEn*, 600  
*tsu-tsö'ntctm-qEn*, 700  
*hä'i'nEm hä snuk<sup>o</sup>-qi's*, 800 (8 the its hundred. Note that this and the next are not dim.)  
*ṣaxñu't (h)asnuk<sup>o</sup>-qi's*, 900  
*u<sup>o</sup>'pañ-tct-qEn*, 1000

642. For multiple thousands the adjectival form is used with *ha*, the definite article:

*ä'säl ha ya'ö'panitctqEn*, 2000, 2 the being 10 small heads  
*tc'i'<sup>ä</sup>läs ha ya'ö'panitctqEn*, 3000  
*u'pän ha ya'ö'panitctqEn*, 10,000



643. In counting particular objects specification may be denoted by affixing. Since I derived many of the laws of assimilation, contraction, and sound change from examples involving number, I shall not record here every number with every classifier, but I will summarize them:

*ttc-*, perhaps meaning astraddle, used to count persons

The same prefix is used with the following affixes:

*ttc*-. . . .-*ält*, children, offspring

*ttc*-. . . .-*ä'ä'st*, used to count objects more or less round which have a covering, e. g., orange, apple, ball, berry, but not rock. Solid round objects are counted with this suffix without the prefix.

*ttc*-. . . .-*älps*, used to count animals counted by "necks"; pigs, wolves

644. The following affixes are used to count classes as indicated:

-*älx<sup>w</sup>*, hide, hidelike object

*tcät*-. . . .-*älx<sup>w</sup>*, bundle (*tcät*-, on surface)

-*alq<sup>w</sup>*, long objects like logs, poles, strings

-*gul*, spacious objects like wagon, canoe, auto

-*ulumx<sup>w</sup>*, parcels of land

-*tct*, finger, hand, glove, is used always in its contracted form for counting with the exception of: *tuwc-i'tct*, 6 gloves. This is perhaps equivalent to *tuwc-i'tct-tct*, or *tuwc-tct-i'tct*, since the stem for six practically demands *-tct*.

-*itsä'ä*, blanket not folded

-*itx<sup>w</sup>*, house, tent

-*asqit*, day

*hin*-. . . .-*itk<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, bodies of water

*hin*-. . . .-*äp*, smallish objects like containers; the affixes refer to the bottom inside

645. The summary must include phonetic changes as well as form. In the following classes of counting the accent is on the suffix for "one", on the numeral stem for all the rest of the numbers (2-10): -*itsä'ä*, blanket not folded; -*itx<sup>w</sup>*, tent, house; *hin*-. . . .-*itk<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, lake, body of water; -*ulumx<sup>w</sup>*, parcels of land; -*usem*, kind.

646. In all the rest of the classes the accent is on the stem. Several remarks may be made on the stems for theoretical reasons.

The stem for "one" is *näk<sup>w</sup>*, which at times seems to demand a suffix -*ä'ä*, and in other cases, it does not. The suffix -*ä'ä* is present in those cases where the specifying suffix takes the accent and when the following suffixes are used without the accent: -*ätct*, glove; -*ält*, child; -*älps*, neck; -*älx<sup>w</sup>*, hide; -*alq<sup>w</sup>*, long object; -*gul*, object with capacity; -*äp*, bucket.

647. Bisyllabic stems:

a) *äsil*, two, and *tcil'läs*, three, being bisyllabic, take the accent on the first syllable only when they carry no suffixes. Whenever there is an unaccented suffix the accent falls on the second syllable of the stem. The stem for six, *tuwcitct*, definitely a compound with

suffix *-itct*, finger, is treated in exactly the same way, as is *ha'i' nEm*, the stem for eight, which is doubtless a compound also.

b) Although *tsuntctEm*, seven, seems to be a combination with the suffixes of six and eight, it never loses the accent to a suffix nor is the accent on *-itct*, although it may lose it to an incorporated noun. *upän*, ten, likewise, never has the accent on the second syllable, but may lose it to an incorporated noun.

c) *ɣaxanüt*, nine, always has the accent on *-ut*, last syllable, remaining entirely consistent with the rule that certain stems, of which it is one, shift the accent to the last syllable in the diminutive.

648. One example will demonstrate each of these principles:

Kinds	Days
1 <i>nük<sup>w</sup>ä'u'sEm</i>	<i>nä'k<sup>w</sup>-sqit</i>
2 <i>äsi'l-usEm</i>	<i>asa's-qit</i>
3 <i>tcä'äti's-usEm</i>	<i>tca'äta's-qit</i>
4 <i>mu's-usEm</i>	<i>mö'sqit</i>
5 <i>tci'ltct-usEm</i>	<i>tsä'ltc-sqit</i>
6 <i>tuwci'tct-usEm</i>	<i>tuwca'tc-sqit</i>
7 <i>tsu'ntctEm-usEm</i>	<i>tsö'ntctm-asqit</i>
8 <i>hä'i'nim-useM</i>	<i>ha'a'nim-asqit</i>
9 <i>ɣaxanüt-usEm</i>	<i>ɣaxanös's-qit</i>
10 <i>u'pEntct-usEm</i>	<i>ö'pantc-sqit</i>

649. The form of counting in which the connective *-äl* is used between the numeral stem and the incorporated noun has been illustrated in the discussion of *-äl* (§ 521, b).

650. A third means of counting is the one in which the numeral is a verb-stem with accent and the noun follows with the definite article *hä*. Since *h* is often lost, it is sometimes difficult to tell which nouns are related to the stem by *-äl* and which by *hä*:

*mus-ä'äsi'dist*, 4 nights (*si'dist*, night passes)  
*hä'änim-äspi'nttc*, 8 years

#### 651-698. ACCENT

651. Among the many complications of Coeur d'Alene, not the least are the rules of accent. Accent plays a major grammatical role, modifying the meaning of the complex, and in cases of the simpler compounds this function is relatively clear. The use of accent strengthens my opinion, formed on other bases, that Coeur d'Alene is a repository of numerous influences which have become astonishingly well unified and coordinated. I shall first give the rules which have grammatical significance.

652. The accent shifts from the stem syllable to the final syllable of some diminutives:

Regular form	Diminutive
<i>at-q<sup>w</sup>ä't-ut</i> , Plummer (place-name)	<i>at-q<sup>w</sup>ü-q<sup>w</sup>ü-l-u't</i> , Little Plummer
<i>hin-cä'gwäl</i> , road	<i>hin-cE-cEgw-i'l</i> , trail
<i>at-da'r-äntc</i> , sun, clock	<i>at-dE-dar-i'ntc</i> , watch
<i>si'sä<sup>w</sup>ä</i> , mother's brothers	<i>si'si'<sup>w</sup></i> , little mother's brother
<i>smi'yäm</i> , woman, wife	<i>s-mE-mä'i'ni</i> , little woman
<i>xal-äx<sup>w</sup></i> , tooth	<i>xE-xal-i'x<sup>w</sup></i> , small tooth
<i>tcä'l-äx<sup>w</sup></i> , muskrat	<i>tcE-tcä-l-i'x<sup>w</sup></i> , little muskrat
<i>t-tsä'l-tšEL-utct</i> , branches	<i>t-tšE-tšEL-tšEL-i'tct</i> , twigs

653. Compare with the above the following shifts of accent which I cannot explain :

*xal-i'x<sup>w</sup>-un*, dentistry, that which tooths  
*ma<sup>a</sup>-ma<sup>a</sup>-a'm-alqs*, Sisters (*mi'<sup>t</sup>m*, be woman; *-alqs*, clothes)

654. Other diminutives which seem to have the same structure retain the accent in the usual position :

*hin-mu'lc-äntc*, beaver                      *hin-mi-mu'lc-äntc*, little beaver

655. The suffix *-ilc*, third person pl., may cause the accent to move forward. This is especially noticeable in bisyllabic stems, but is found also with suffixes :

3 S.	3 Pl.
<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> , he said	<i>äku'n-ilc</i> , they said
<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>tš-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n</i> , he cust. says	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>tš-Eku'n-ilc</i> , they cust. say
<i>a<sup>a</sup>tš-a'xEl</i> , he does thus cust.	<i>a<sup>a</sup>tš-axi'l-ilc</i> , they do thus cust.
<i>hin-gwa'y-qEn</i> , he grew up (finish on-head)	<i>hin-gway-gwi'y-qi'n-ilc</i> , they grew up
<i>q<sup>w</sup>ä'y-m-Entsut</i> , he danced (used self for bouncing)	<i>q<sup>w</sup>iy-m-Entsu't-ilc</i> , they danced
<i>tsä'näl</i> , it was he	<i>tsEn-i'l-ilc</i> , they are the ones
<i>ttč-ä'säl</i> , there are 2 persons	<i>ttč-äsi'l-ilc</i> , they are two
<i>x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>n-ust</i> , he passed along here	<i>x<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>n-u'st-ilc</i> , they passed along here
<i>s-mi'y-äm</i> , woman	<i>sni'<sup>t</sup>-s-mä'-i'm-silc</i> , their (men's) only sister

656. The continuative also has a tendency to throw the accent forward, although the rule does not apply regularly to the suffixes, but rather to the bisyllabic or compounded stems :

Completive	Continuative
<i>a'xEl</i> , he did thus	<i>its-axi'l</i> , he is doing thus
<i>hin-gwä'y-qEn</i> , he grew up	<i>in-gwi'y-qi'n</i> , he is growing up
<i>ku<sup>u</sup>ä'k<sup>w</sup>n</i> , thou saidst	<i>ku<sup>y</sup>tš-äku'n</i> , thou wert saying

But note

*itsq<sup>w</sup>ä'y-mEntsut*, he was dancing                      *its-q<sup>w</sup>iy-mEntsu't*, people as a  
body were dancing

657. There is a tendency for the accent to move forward with numerous suffixes but it is by no means general. I will give only a few examples :

*tcäy-Eku'n-Em*, he was going to say (for *tcäl-s-äk<sup>w</sup>n-*; *s-...Em* inten.)

*ätci'n-cits*, she did with it as a favor to him, gave to, took out  
*ut-'äku'n-ul*, say it again (*ut-*, again; *-ul*, 2 pl. imp.)

658. A number of suffixes tend to take the accent, but there are exceptions to this as to many of the rules of accent. They are: the suffixes §§ 434—455 and *-il*, direction, except *-ilc*, in horseshoe curve; all of which may be called auxiliaries. The same tendency is shown in the following formal combinations of stem with suffix:

*tcEc-älwi's*, go about with (lit., about-accompany)  
*tsaq-i'p*, chase (lit., bottom-set hollow object)

659. Certain rules of accent accompany reduplication (§§ 593—597): *u<sup>v</sup>*- forms of the verb for distributive are accented on the second instead of the first appearance of the stem (§ 597).

660. When the suffix is reduplicated to denote progressive action, the accent usually falls on the first use of the suffix:

*äm-Em-i'c-ic*, it alighted (*äm*, one sits; *-ic*, act of)  
*tsst-tsim-i'lt-ält*, child in relation to parent (*tsutsämä<sup>ä</sup>*, pl. are small; *-ilt*, young)

661. In rare cases the accent falls on the pronominal suffixes and causes a slight change of meaning, really making a statement which is contradictory to the facts or to the situation:

*tux-un-ti'lis*, he was beating us (cp. *tä'x-untälis*, he killed us)  
*tux-un-tu'lmüt*, you were beaten  
*ä-tux<sup>w</sup>-sti'lit*, we are cust. beaten (but *a<sup>a</sup>tä'x<sup>w</sup>-stälit*, we are cust. killed)

662. One can understand the change in meaning achieved by the accent here, for the stem *täx<sup>w</sup>*, really means “plural die” and one cannot tell about his own death, nor can “they” be customarily killed. It is another example of a fact I mentioned before (§ 261) that Coeur d'Alene shows great willingness to express what might seem to be psychological impossibility. The same seems to hold for the next examples:

*ut-tcEc-En-tu'lmEni*, I (will) accompany thee again repeatedly.  
There is nothing in this form to show its impossibility, but the grandfather has just told Catbird that he is going to die and then goes on to say that he will go with him repeatedly  
*tsän-cE'En-ti'lit*, we are surrounded (it is not likely one would talk thus when surrounded by the enemy)  
*twi<sup>t</sup> sti'nä lä tcäy-äm-tu'lmüt*, why poor food is it that you should be fed with it? (it is really too poor to share at all)

663. Other shifts of accent which I cannot explain seem to be for purposes of derivation:

*uk<sup>w</sup>ä'r-äq-us*, he is pale; but *uk<sup>w</sup>ärä'q-us*, his face looks yellow  
*u<sup>v</sup>-ca't-aqs*, he is flat-chested; but *u-pat-a'qs*, he is smooth-chested  
*tcsm-tä'm-äp*, doorway; but *tcsm-cE'ä'p*, threshold, it bottom-stands up singly

664. The accent usually falls on the incorporated noun rather than on the verb-stem (§§ 495, 505, 515) and this is true also of compounded verbs, i.e., the finite verb loses its accent in favor of the incorporated participle (§§ 627—633).

665. The relationship between stem and suffix, between several suffixes, and between prefix, stem and suffix is indicated by accent. For the sake of convenience in introducing the question of accent accompanying suffixes I am regarding the verbal suffixes of §§ 434—455 as if they were a part of the stem and, in most cases, they may be so regarded. Consequently when I say the accent is on the stem I mean on the stem or its verbal suffix which may be regarded as auxiliary in meaning.

666. We may look at the suffixes from the point of view of their composition in connection with our study of accent. The monosyllabic suffixes consist of *cvc* and their vowels appear as *i-ä-E*. They are *-cin*, foot (§ 482); *-qin*, head (§ 489); *-gwil*, hollow object (§ 492); *-stcin*, horn (§ 494); *-tsin*, mouth, edge (§ 475). Such abbreviations as these suffixes have are related to contraction and assimilation (§§ 121—171).

667. I have no examples in which the following suffixes lose the vowel: *-ags* (§ 467), *-axen* (§ 457), *-alp* (§ 479), *-alpq<sup>w</sup>* (§ 499), *-alqs*, end (§ 477), *-alqs*, road (§ 509), *-alq<sup>w</sup>* (§ 498), *-alqs* (§ 471), *-i'qs* (§ 501). The weakest form in which they are found is with the vowel preserving its timbre but very briefly articulated. It should be noted that all except *-alp*, feeling; and *-alp*, part of plant, contain a velar which evidently stabilizes the vowel. In the few examples I have for *-alp*, it carries the accent. *-älp* usually precedes the suffix *-alq<sup>w</sup>* whose *q<sup>w</sup>* supports the preceding vowel in its *ä*-form. I have never found it with the accent but its theoretical strong form is *-ilp*.

668. *-alqiwt*, which is rare and takes the accent on *i* whenever it occurs, doubtless belongs with this group.

669. The largest group and one susceptible to the greatest variety of changes includes the following monosyllabic suffixes: *-i'st* (§ 513), *-ip* (§ 463), *-ips* (§ 500), *-ins* (§ 516), *-intc* (§ 493), *-inx<sup>w</sup>* (§ 520), *-itct* (§ 487), *-itcn* (§ 459), *-itcs* (§ 488), *-iy* (§ 460), *-ilps* (§ 514), *-ilEn* (§ 483), *-ilt* (§ 502), *-ilx<sup>w</sup>* (§ 491), *-il* (§ 497), *-ilx<sup>w</sup>* (§ 496), *-ups* (§ 456), *-umc* (§ 506), *-us* (§ 478), *-u'us* (§ 538), *-ust* (§ 534).

670. The bisyllabic suffixes of this group may take the usual vowel changes in either syllable but more frequently than not the changes involve the initial vowel: *-i'ut* (§ 510), *-iplä<sup>ä</sup>* (§ 458), *-iwäs* (§ 537), *-idEn* (§ 476), *-inä<sup>ä</sup>*, ear (§ 473); *-inä<sup>ä</sup>*, on top of (§ 541); *-istcäyt* (§ 507), *-itsä<sup>ä</sup>* (§ 533), *-ilup* (§ 485), *-ilumx<sup>w</sup>* (§ 504), *-ilgwäs* (§ 490), *-ulumx<sup>w</sup>* (§ 486), *-yuyä<sup>ä</sup>* (§ 536).

671. The suffix *-älniw'*, which probably consists of *-äl-niw'* is in a class by itself and not common; the accent is usually on the second syllable and *i* may change to *ä*.

672. The changes which occur in this group of suffixes are as follows: they may lose the initial vowel altogether; the vowels may be retained in their weak form and are therefore unaccented; almost any of the vowels, but most often the first of the bisyllabic suffixes, may be strong with the accent, or weak and unaccented, but affected by the consonants involved in vocalic dissimilation (§§ 198–250).

673. Since the composition of the suffixes is so different, the following differentiations of meaning are often far from obvious, yet there is considerable proof that they are made. The accented suffix with its strong vowel is definite and regular in form and meaning. A problem arises in the use of the suffix with weakened vowel and without any vowel, for although the vowel is weak, there is no doubt that at times it is significant. The distinction, when present, is that if the suffix is used with no vowel it has an agentive or locative meaning, but if the weak vowel is used the meaning is a nominative of reference:

<i>[ip'-s-Em</i> , he wiped <i>with</i> his face]	but <i>i'p'-us-Em</i> , he wiped his face (as to his face)
<i>xäs-tct</i> , good (with) hand,	but <i>xä's-ätct</i> , good as to the hand, i. e., well-shaped hand

674. In many cases there is no psychological difference in meaning and there is a choice of forms:

Preferred form	Also possible
<i>äts-pä'n-ätct</i> , finger is bent not at joint	<i>äts-pä'n-tct</i>
<i>ats-pa'q-atct</i> , (paw) is grayish	<i>ats-pa'q-tct</i>
<i>u<sup>u</sup>-pä'q-tct</i> , his hand is white	<i>u<sup>u</sup>-pä'q-atct</i>

675. There is too much order in the abbreviation of suffixes for us to dismiss it as a hit or miss result, and in some cases, as in those above, and in others to be cited, we can tell why one is used in preference to the other, which might even be entirely incorrect.

676. The syntactic suffixes: *-cit* (§ 564), *-cic* (§ 565) and *-tsut* (§ 567) conform to the same rules as the nominal and locative suffixes.

677. It will be necessary to consider the accent in detail, but before doing so certain generalizations may be made. The most important is that the element of the complex which carries the accent is the one which is most emphatic and sets the note for interpretation, in fact, it might be said that one should begin with the accented element in translating. *When two suffixes of the kind under consideration are used, and neither is accented, or if the first is accented,*

the second is often the genitive of the first, henceforth the two may be considered as one. In fact, so frequently has this been done in Coeur d'Alene that certain suffix combinations, still analyzable, have meanings as stereotyped as any single suffix:

- it-tšä'ä*, inside-all over, body, meat
- tsin-k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, edge-of water, shore
- ip-äns*, bottom-of teeth, chin
- a<sup>a</sup>st-qEn*, top-of person's head
- alq-cEn*, longpart- of foot, leg

678. If there are two suffixes and the accent is on the second, the second is the subject acted upon with reference to the first. Prefixes modify the meaning of stem, and of suffixes whether subject, object or referential, according to the conditions of their particular setting. Sometimes, however, prefixes have a meaning in connection with a suffix; if the suffix is accented in such cases, the affixes may be translated as a unit (§§ 543—560).

679. The remarks about vowel changes (§§ 202—208) show them to be closely related to accent and I will not repeat the reason for each vowel in its particular position. I will first give examples to show the contrasting effect of accent if it falls on stem or on suffix.

680. *Stem accented with suffix*: In this combination the suffix is a nominative of reference:

- qi'ä-cEn*, he has shoe on, is stuck to as to foot (*qi'ä*, stick to, wedge in; -*cin*, foot)
- a<sup>a</sup>-ca'n-qEn*, it has lid on, is laid on as to top (*cän*, flat object lies; -*qin*, head, top)
- mə't-tšä'ä*, he smoked as to meat (-*itšä'ä*, meat)
- di'k<sup>w</sup>-s-Em*, he turned back, crossed as to face (*dik<sup>w</sup>*, cross; -*us*, face)

681. *Stem with suffix accented*: It will be remembered that the accented suffix is thought of as the receiver of the action. This is true whether the verb is intransitive or transitive, active or passive. If it becomes transitive, it is because a personal element is added to the complex and that personal element is the agent, or it may be the receiver, of the action, or both may be indicated. Consequently I shall treat such a suffix as if it were a part of the verb, an incorporated noun, as it were:

- qä'ä-ci'n-Em*, he put his shoe on, is foot-stuck to (intr.)
- cEn-qi'n-ts*, he put lid on it (tr.), he head-laid flat object

682. These two rules are of fundamental importance in the understanding of the verb and I will give several examples to show the difference in meaning in the two uses of accent:

## Stem accented

[*xä'p-tx<sup>w</sup>*, houses pile up]

*pä'rk<sup>w</sup>-ätx<sup>w</sup>-un*, nail, that which  
nails house

*xä's-ttsä<sup>ä</sup>*, good meat, but not  
as good a form as

*tä'm-Entsut*, itself licked

*tä'k<sup>w</sup>-alqs-Ents*, he laid it on the  
end of it

*s-tca'm-aqs*, chest, extending as  
to chest

*a<sup>a</sup>-tä'q<sup>w</sup>-qEn*, he is banded as to  
head

*ats-qa'<sup>a</sup>-qEn*, it is corked

## Suffix accented

*tcät-xap-i'tx<sup>w</sup>-un*, something  
house-piled on surface,  
shingle

*pärk<sup>w</sup>-i'tx<sup>w</sup>*, it is house-nailed,  
the house is nailed

*xäs-i'ttsä<sup>ä</sup>*, inside-good, meat  
is good all the way through  
*t'am-Entsot*, he self-scorched,  
scorched himself

*tcits-tük<sup>w</sup>-a'lq<sup>w</sup>-unts*, he shipped  
it hither, long object (rail-  
road)-laid it on

*tčEm-i'tcñ*, mountain ridge, it  
ridge-extends

*tųq<sup>w</sup>-qi'n-En*, I put band on his  
head, I head-banded him

*qa'<sup>a</sup>-qi'n-En*, cork, what head-  
sticks (in)

683. If there are *two full suffixes and the accent is on the stem or on the first suffix*, the second is to be treated as the genitive of the first:

## a) accent on stem:

*äts-pi't-tsEn-k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, they existed scattered on the shore, they sat  
as to edge of water

*a-tsäl-ot-t-qEn-ä<sup>ä</sup>st*, he stood at edge of cliff, top of rock made stood  
(on)

*tcii-da'lk<sup>w</sup>-qEn-tsut*, she covered her own head, hither she covered  
as to head of self

b) When the *accent is on the first of two suffixes*, the combined suffixes are treated exactly as the single suffix of Rule 681:

*tsaq-aq-tsi'n-k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, canoe came ashore, edge of water comes to be  
one hollow object-set up on

*moxot-a'p-gul*, car smoked, back of hollow object-smoked

*s-tsil-tsil-i'plä<sup>ä</sup>-cEn*, spurs, what is attachment of foot (heel)-  
projected pl.

c) If the *first suffix of the two lacks the vowel*, the genitive idea is still present and the translation is "it is<sup>1</sup> . . . with suffix 1 of suffix 2":

*xä's-p-äns*, good beard, it is good with bottom of teeth

*s-qu's-p-gul*, skirt, it is gathered (with) bottom of belly

684. However, if the *second suffix has no vowel* the relationship between the suffixes changes and we have ". . . as to suffix 1 with suffix 2":

<sup>1</sup> Dots are used to indicate the verb stem.



*s-tsu'n-us-tct*, index finger, show as to eye with finger  
*s-tsäh-i'p-tct*, thumb, bottom-nearing with finger  
*qälx<sup>w</sup>-i'wäs-tct*, two fingers (of same person) were interlocked, he  
 contact-hooked with finger  
*k<sup>w</sup>i'n-äten-tcs-Ents*, he took hold of the back of her hand, he took  
 hold of back with hand

685. If there are *two suffixes and the accent is on the second suffix*, the suffix with the accent is to be regarded as the "limit of action . . . with reference to the first suffix":

*tūq<sup>w</sup>-tūq<sup>w</sup>-atcs-Entsu't*, they clapped, self-slapped as to hands  
 repeatedly for an interval  
*tcät-kup-s-tux<sup>w</sup>-alpq<sup>w</sup>-untsu't*, you are to provide food for yourselves,  
 self-provide as to the throat  
*qälx<sup>w</sup>-cEn-i'wäs*, chain, it contact-hooked as to toe (cp. *qälx<sup>w</sup>-i'wäs-tct*, above)

686. If there are *three suffixes and the accent is on the third*, the interpretation will begin with the third, which "nominally or locatively limits the stem with reference to suffix 1 of suffix 2":

*its-q<sup>w</sup>äy-q<sup>w</sup>äy-qEni-tct-Entsu't*, he was wringing the ends of his fin-  
 gers, he was self-wringing the ends of his fingers  
*ut-Räts-p-u<sup>u</sup>s-i'wästus*, he tied deer heads together, he contact-tied  
 it with bottom of face

687. Rules §§ 680–686 involve only stem and suffixes, the next include the prefix and show how the accent on stem or suffix denotes the relationship of the prefix to the element carrying the accent, and vice versa. The rules already established operate here with the prepositional prefix as an additional idea. It is often possible to tell which suffixes belong to the prepositional prefix because they retain the vowel, whereas those which may be called instrumental lose it. These rules consider only the prepositional prefixes (§§ 392–408), for the directional prefixes (§§ 409–431) belong to the verb and have only verbal or adverbial force.

688. *If the complex consists of prefix, stem with accent, and suffix*, the suffix may be said to be the object of the prepositional prefix:

[*hn-mə'ət-äten*, it smoked on his back]  
*ni'<sup>t</sup>-xa't-i'<sup>t</sup>qs-Ents*, she clubbed him on the nose (*ni'<sup>t</sup> . . . i'<sup>t</sup>qs*, nose)  
*ä-n-tä'k<sup>w</sup>-äp*, it exists having been laid in bucket (*n . . . -äp*,  
 bucket)  
*hn-gwi'gw-äp-Em*, he stepped back, moved at back  
*tc-dEla'm-alq<sup>w</sup>*, train, it gallops on long stiff object  
*hn-pi'gw-pägw-Entsut-En*, breath, where it swells again and again  
 in self  
*at-djä'x-tsä'ä*, it is scratched all over, it is scratched on all around

689. *If the complex consists of prefix, stem with accent, and two suffixes*, the interpretation should be made in accordance with Rules § 680 and 683 a. The second suffix is the genitive of the first and the prefix makes a prepositional phrase with the combination:

*tsan-gwa'n-t-alqs-cEn*, underwear, low under clothes of leg  
*a-t-pá'ax<sup>w</sup>-a<sup>a</sup>st-qEn*, it shines on surface of head (i. e., on top of)  
*t-marä'm-alq-cEn*, he treated leg, treated on long part of foot  
*tc-ca'<sup>a</sup>-qEn-tsut*, he is fastidious about his own hair, is fastidious  
 about on head of self (*tc-...-qEn*, hair)

690. The first suffix with lost vowel is likewise to be taken as the object of the prepositional prefix:

*a-n-tä'k<sup>w</sup>-q-älx<sup>w</sup>*, it is laid on roof, it lies because placed there on  
 top of house (*-qEn-älx<sup>w</sup> > -qälx<sup>w</sup>*)  
*sın-tcä'c-ttsä'-alqs*, overcoat, what is long with inside on clothes  
*t-mus-p-lx<sup>w</sup>*, she felt about door, felt with bottom on house

691. The combination of prefix, stem, suffix with accent corresponds with Rule § 681 regarding the suffix, and the prefix is adverbial, i.e. prefix-stem-suffix with accent means "verb nominally or locatively limited-prefix":

*ä-t-tšaw-tšaw-i'nä'-äm*, it cust. washes its ears, ear-washes (on)  
 (*t-...-inä'<sup>ä</sup>*, outer ear)  
*s-tsan-tčan-tčanp-a'xEn*, vest, being arms-clasped under  
*t-x<sup>w</sup>ar-p-i'lgwäs*, he trembled inside, he heart-trembled without  
 volition (*t-...ilgwäs*, normal combination used to describe  
 disease)  
*hın-taq-taq-u's-Em*, he covered his eyes, he eyes-touched on  
*s-tsan-qäj-Entsu't*, picture, self-designing under

692. When the complex: prefix, stem, suffix with accent, suffix, is found, the translation is: accented suffix 1 verb-limits modified by prefix suffix 2:

*ts-tčEtš-a'pla'<sup>a</sup>-qEn*, whiffletree, it is attachment-long thing laid at  
 (not part of) end  
*a-n-xal-xal-i'tcñ-cEn*, he had boards for sandals, he is back-boarded  
 on feet  
*tcäyElx-u's-kyp*, he is covering fire with blanket, he is fire-covering  
 on fire  
*hın-qü-qus-n-i'tcñ-cEn*, dog, back arranged in gathers on foot  
*s-t-gwup-gwup-i'ttsä'-us*, eyelashes, being inside-hairy on attached  
 to eyes  
*a-t-q<sup>w</sup>usw-i'p-ält*, (hen) has flock of chicks, is back-bunched on  
 young  
*hın-lar<sup>w</sup>-i'tct-ätk<sup>w</sup>ä'<sup>ä</sup>*, he plunged his hand into water, he hand-  
 thrust tipfirst into water.

In this and the word for "eyelashes" the suffixes *-itk<sup>w</sup>ä'<sup>ä</sup>* and *-ittsä'<sup>ä</sup>* are each compounds (§§ 451, 497, 519, 677) but in these combinations, as frequently, each is treated as a unit as far as accent is concerned.

With reduced vowels:

*sın-tčEm-tsi'lx<sup>w</sup>*, tent flap, being edge-extended on house (*tsın-lx<sup>w</sup> > -tsi'lx<sup>w</sup>*)  
*s-tsäın-tčEm-tsi'n-tct*, wrist, being edge-extended under hand

693. If the combination is composed of the same elements as in Rule 692, but with accent on the second suffix instead of on the first,

i.e.: prefix, stem, suffix 1, suffix 2 with accent, Rule 691 applies with the prefix taken with suffix 1, i.e., suffix 2 verb-limits modified by prefix suffix 1:

- t-xas-cEn-i'wäs*, it is easy to climb, it contact-goods on foot  
*hın-tEm-algwäs-tsi'n-Em*, he licked the inside of his mouth, he mouth-dampened on the inside  
*ä-sın-cEł-u<sup>us</sup>-i'wäs*, (Cricket grasped) on the armpits (region of Coyote under the front leg), it being between-long object stood up in orifice  
*t-xəlq<sup>w</sup>-ätcs-Entsu't*, she string-wrapped her own hand, she self-string-wrapped attached to hand  
*hın-tcEc-cEn-tsu't*, he back-tracked, self-accompanied in tracks  
*tc-tu<sup>ı</sup><sup>w</sup>-tu<sup>ı</sup><sup>w</sup>-p-a'lq<sup>w</sup>*, pocket knife, long thing-thrust pointfirst on bottom repeatedly  
*hın-peñ-peñ-wäs-tsu't*, he bucked, self-bent repeatedly in middle

694. The use of three suffixes is not very common but it is by no means impossible. *If the complex consists of prefix, stem suffix 1 with accent, suffix 2, suffix 3*, the meaning is: suffix 1 of suffix 2 verb-limits modified by prefix, suffix 3:

- ni<sup>ı</sup>-tuq<sup>w</sup>-i'p-äväs-cEn*, breechcloth, bottom of between-bands (hides) among (hair of) leg  
*hın-ğu-ğus-mi-tci-c-ıtk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, seal, back of foot-arranged in gathers in water (-cEn-ıtk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup> > -ıtk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>)

695. *If the complex consists of the same elements but with accent on the third suffix*, i.e., prefix-stem-suffix 1-suffix 2-suffix 3 with accent, the construction "suffix 3 verb-limits modified by prefix suffix 1 of suffix 2" will render the translation:

- t-tšmı-alq-cEn-tsu't*, he sucked his own leg, self-sucked attached to long part of foot  
*tc-nıad-əs-alqs-i'wäs*, let's exchange suits, together-exchange clothes (this cannot be interpreted literally since *n-id-us-* has come to be a stem meaning "exchange, barter", hence -əs cannot be taken with -alqs but belongs rather with the stem *nıd*),  
*tca-tuq<sup>w</sup>-tuq<sup>w</sup>-ätcñ-tcs-Entsu't*, he slapped on surface of back of own hand, self slapped on back with (or of) hand

696. A number of facts throughout the discussion suggest that some accents may be the result of contraction. Instead of repeating the cases here I shall refer back to the chapter on Contraction (§§ 162-197) especially to the contractions of such stems as *äsäl*, two; *tci<sup>ı</sup>läs*, three; *xaxanıu't*, nine. These stems involve numerous contractions depending on what follows and often the accent falls on the syllable which is the result of the contraction. But, as happens with so many rules, there are contractions in which the accent does not so fall. The possibilities are so varied that there is little chance of more than a guess as to their derivation.

697. Numerous examples show that *-nun*, succeed in (§ 450), often takes the accent. This may be due to the fact that it assimilates to *-En* of the transitive:

- k<sup>w</sup>än-änu'n-tx<sup>w</sup>*, thou receivedst it (for *k<sup>w</sup>än-än-nun-Entx<sup>w</sup>*)

698. It is likely that *-min* is accented often for the same reason. But even if this is true, it does not give an absolute clue as to its meaning:

*yaR-t-mi'nts*, he was in need of it (for *yaR-t-mEn-Ents*)  
*tċEs-t-mi'n-tEm*, he was angered (for *tċEs-t-mEn-EntEm*)  
*mä<sup>ä</sup>m-mi'nts*, he sent her away (for *mä<sup>ä</sup>m-mEn-Ents*)

#### 699-708. DEMONSTRATIVES

699. There is a close relationship between demonstrative adjective, pronoun, adverb, and verb. They are as follows:

##### 700. Demonstrative adjective

*x<sup>w</sup>ijä*, this  
*tsijä*, that near thee  
*tuwä*, that

##### 702. Demonstrative adverb

*x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>*, here  
*tsi'<sup>t</sup>*, there near thee  
*tu<sup>u</sup>*, there far from speaker  
 and second person, or  
 not near anyone

##### 701. Intensive demonstrative pronoun diminutive form

*xux<sup>w</sup>ijä*, this very one  
*tsitsijä*, that very one near thee  
*tu<sup>u</sup>wä*, that very one

##### 703. Demonstrative adverb with connective

*x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>i*, here is where  
*tsi'<sup>t</sup>i*, there near thee is where  
*tu<sup>u</sup>i*, that is where

704. The demonstratives with *-l* are almost certainly compounds of the adverb with the conjunction *l* (§ 800) and are used when an explanation or subordinating meaning is desired.

##### 705. Demonstrative pronoun and adverb

*xux<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>*, this here  
*tsitsi'<sup>t</sup>*, that there near thee  
*tEt<sup>u</sup>*, that there

##### 706. Demonstrative verb static

*ä-n-t-x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>*, it is here  
*ä-n-tsi'<sup>t</sup>*, it is there near thee  
*ä-n-tu<sup>u</sup>*, it is there

##### 707. Demonstrative verb active

*x<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>n*, motion hither  
*tsi'<sup>t</sup>l*, motion to thee  
*ti'n*, motion thither

708. From a comparison of these forms, many of which are used generally or idiomatically, it is not difficult to see whence the relationship to the definite articles. They are:

*x<sup>w</sup>ä*, the here  
*tsä*, the near thee  
*tä*, the there

Of these *tsä* is not used often and is consistent in meaning when used. The other two, *x<sup>w</sup>ä* and *tä*, are used constantly, and the rules which I have been able to determine for their use will be treated in the chapter on Syntax (§§ 722-748).

## 709-858. SYNTAX

## 709-721. THE NOUN

709. The proper discussion of the Coeur d'Alene noun is, in my opinion, a discussion of other parts of speech, particularly of the verb, and I refer to these phases of the grammar rather than repeat them here. Nevertheless, it will doubtless prove convenient to summarize the use of the noun in the language.

710. A large number of nouns begin with *s*, without doubt the nominalizing prefix, making the participial form. However, there is a group of nouns which do not begin with *s* and these may perhaps be called true nouns.

711. The tendency to verbalize or to modify a verbal idea to make it a different part of speech is shown elsewhere also. Demonstratives easily become verbs, or perhaps we should say, are derived from verbs. Even prefixes and suffixes show such close relationship to verbs that they have in cases taken on all forms and functions of the finite verb (§ 252).

712. This tendency should be borne constantly in mind in interpreting Coeur d'Alene thought. Within the limitations of such a process, we may, nevertheless, have nominal forms which are as follows:

Those which seem to be true nouns.

Participial forms, i.e., the verbal structure to which *s-* is prefixed after which the complex may be treated exactly as a noun (§§ 124, 297).

Nouns formed by prefixing *hii-* that which, to a verb-stem (§ 375).

Nouns formed by suffixing *-En* to a stem or complex, indicate the one who, or that which (§ 571).

Nouns formed by affixing *hin- . . . . En* to a verbal stem or complex mean "that in which, or place where" (§ 571).

Nouns formed by suffixing *-im*, the causative, or *-min*, the usitative, usually with additional *-En*, that which, make up a large series of instrumentals (§§ 439, 452).

713. All these forms are treated in the same way as regards the following relationships. There is no such thing as case in Coeur d'Alene, except the possessive which includes all relationships between two nouns. The possessive is expressed by affixes used for nouns and verbs:

## Possessive affixes

S.	Pl.
1 <i>hin-</i> , my	<i>-ät</i> , our
2 <i>m-</i> , thy	<i>-mp</i> , your
3 <i>-s</i> , his, her, its	<i>-s-ülc</i> , their

714. It should be remembered that *n* of *hin-* and *in-* assimilates to the *s*-initial of the following noun.

715. There is a nominal prefix *ä-*, which takes the place of many cases which we should express by prepositional phrases. It means many of the prepositions of place; in, at, into, on, and their opposites, as well as the agentive, by, and the instrumental, with, by means of. There are some other prepositions which usually indicate motion (§§ 788–796):

*x<sup>w</sup>ä 'ääsä'tte*, (it was poured for him) into a paunch

*tä 'a-gul-qaqi'tstcs*, (he was said to) by those who are his little older brothers

*x<sup>w</sup>ä 'ä-mi'ttädä'ä*, (it was stained) with blood

716. This is certainly related to the Chehalis<sup>1</sup> general preposition *at-* and the echo-vowel may well indicate the loss of *l*.

717. Vocative is expressed merely by repeating the name or kin-term of the person addressed, or it may be used with the article and the independent pronoun in which case it forms an independent clause:

*yo ku<sup>w</sup>tsx<sup>w</sup>ulx<sup>w</sup>ulti' . . . sdu'mtsEn sq<sup>wi</sup>'ts<sup>w</sup>mc*, My! thou art still alive, relative-friend Rabbit

*tsx<sup>w</sup>uc smiti'tc*, come salmon!

*ta k<sup>w</sup>isla'xt*, thou my friend!

A consideration of the noun is largely a question of syntax, of the relationship of one noun to another, and of the noun to other classes of words in the sentence. I have discussed nominal incorporation; I have discussed the demonstrative and the position of words in the sentence (§§ 699–708; 825–858); and shall consider the relationship of articles, demonstrative and position of words in the sentence (§§ 825–858); but here I wish to point out the relationship of nouns to one another.

718. Apposition is indicated simply by placing one noun in juxtaposition to another often without the article:

*sq<sup>w</sup>a'sq<sup>w</sup>asä'äs, si'mtcä'äs*, her child, her daughter

*hä sfädä'ä tä tu'k<sup>w</sup>än*, a grass which was jointgrass

*tcäl h<sup>w</sup>sk<sup>wi</sup>'st tciagsi'nä'ä*, it will be my name, *tciagsi'nä'ä*

719. A clause may be used in apposition to a noun:

*äk<sup>w</sup>n | ta qi'x<sup>w</sup>lc | ta xa'yxiyt | hä | y<sup>w</sup>lumi'x<sup>w</sup>m*, said | the Fish / the one who was the big / — / the chief

*tä smik<sup>w</sup>t | tä pä'x<sup>w</sup>tnmä's | tä tsängwä'nt*, the snow / when it drifts / which is deep

*tcaytsi'tis | äspi'täm | ääpä'x<sup>w</sup>pux<sup>w</sup> | axali'q<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, something to be for his food / some bitterroot / with prairie camas / some dry salmon roe

*x<sup>w</sup>ä 'atsma'rk<sup>w</sup>ä'ä | ha<sup>a</sup> | 'ä'tx<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, that which is seasoned with blood / — / (mixed) with camas

<sup>1</sup> Boas, Franz. A Chehalis Text. IJAL VIII: 104.

720. One noun which is the genitive of another shows the relationship by the use of the definite article *hä* and the possessive:

*tcñaqsi'nä'ä* / *ha* / *stsantc'ema'pqis*, *tcñaqsi'nä'ä* / — / the back of his head  
*hıstcsu'psEn* / *hä* / *sınttca'mqis*, my tail / — / its tip  
*hınmu'lcäntc* / *hä'ä* / *yju'k'w'ä'äs*, beaver / — / with her younger sister  
*ulyaRi'lumx<sup>w</sup>* / *ha* / *tsätx<sup>w</sup>s*, International House, belonging to all people / — / their house

721. A special use of the noun, consonant with its verbal connotation, is the case in which the noun, used often with the element *tcät*, and taking the accent, means "go for", "go to get":

*ut-tcäs-qi'gwts*, again she was going for "water-potatoes" (for *ut-tcät-s-*; cp. § 767)  
*tcät-tc-s-tcät-qäli'tsä'ä*, in order that we may go for what is to be (our) fresh meat (cp. § 767).

#### 722-748. ARTICLE AND DEMONSTRATIVE

722. There are several articles in Coeur d'Alene and some of their uses are as elusive and unresponsive to rule as the use of the articles in English. Certain rules have been determined, but the idiom requires usage for which I at least, am unable to find rules. Anyone who has tried to teach English to foreigners will realize the problem. It is not always so difficult to say why I use this article here, but it is almost impossible to explain why I do *not* use it there. The most exasperating answer to such a question is, of course, that there is no difference, either will do, and so it will often, but there are times when one, and only one may be used, or when neither is proper.

723. *hä*, the definite article, is used quite consistently. It is used to show the relation of one noun, a genitive, to another (§ 720).

724. Still another function, in Coeur d'Alene not very different from it, is to show the relation between a verb of state (objective, subjective or acted upon) and the noun. This corresponds to the use of the adjective in English, but the noun may be construed as the subject of the verb:

*u<sup>u</sup>tca'i ha sqilttc*, tough meat, the meat is tough  
*qäst hä 'ästci'tcä'ä*, a good horse, the horse is good  
*x<sup>w</sup>ä tätc at.car ha mi'ttädä'ä*, to that which had been hung the blood (in paunch) (the directional particle, *tätc*, follows the article)  
*tä qäst hä stci'nt*, the good people, the people who are good  
*tä 'äytsä'łtsEl hä ätsmi'k<sup>w</sup>*, where there are trees it is snowy  
*tä sni'<sup>u</sup>stsEtsi'ütumic ha stsutsa'salqs*, the one who is the youngest mosquito  
*mus hä łtci'p*, four buckets full

725. *ä-* is an indefinite article meaning "some". It is used regularly with the indefinite nominal object of a verb, but may also be used in the sense of "some" in English, either with subject or object noun. This article may be related to *ä-*, which makes clear the nominal subject of a sentence as differentiated from the object if there should otherwise be ambiguity (§ 834):

*qä'w̄m̄ul äsx̄i'w̄xu'ni'tc̄äp*, break some thornbush  
*tc'ä'äxu'sEm̄ ä'cä'fut*, we'll look about for a rock

726. The next two articles, best considered as demonstratives, are the ones which, of great importance, are nevertheless, not wholly susceptible to rule. They are *x<sup>w</sup>ä* and *lä* and their formal relationship to demonstrative adverbs and verbs is clear (§§ 699–708). One generalization may be made about them, although there will be exceptions to it: If the object or person to which it attaches itself is near to the speaker in place or relationship, *x<sup>w</sup>ä* is more likely to be used. If the noun is generalized in space, or distant in place or relationship from the speaker, *lä* is used.

727. It is quite true that in many cases either *x<sup>w</sup>ä* or *lä* may be used but again one or the other is incorrect. The situation is analogous, I feel, to one in which, let us say, a chair is midway between you and me. I might say to you, "Put it on *that* chair", and the next minute I might say, "I just had *this* chair fixed". Now the chair was in the same place and so were you and I with respect to the chair and each other, when I said "this chair" as when I said "that chair". The difference in idiom is strictly psychological, I changed my point of view between my two statements. This kind of thing must happen quite frequently in Coeur d'Alene if one is to judge by the use of articles and demonstratives.

728. In order to understand the articles it will be necessary to consider them in their relationship to demonstrative pronouns, adverbs and verbs, all of which, based on the same three stems: *x<sup>w</sup>i'ʔ*, near me, here; *tsi'ʔ*, near you, there near thee; *lu'w*, near third person, or remote, there; are listed in §§ 699–708.

729. Such rules as I have been able to determine for the use of the articles *x<sup>w</sup>ä*, the here; *tsä*, the near thee; and *lä*, the there, follow.

730. The most general view to remember is that articles and demonstratives, except *hä*, tend to make a descriptive relative clause of the materials they introduce:

*x<sup>w</sup>ä tätc ti'ku*, (her parents) who were at Tikoia (but *tätc ti'ku*, to Tikoia)  
*tcv̄nä x<sup>w</sup>a ʔa<sup>a</sup>x̄äst hītsi'tn*, I am the one who has good food (lit., it is I who it is good my food)  
*lä kusari'ten*, thou the Squirrel, thou who art Squirrel (cp. *kusari'ten*, thou art a squirrel)



731. However, their use has become so highly formalized that they may be regarded as articles even though the meaning behind a simple word, as e.g., *x<sup>wä</sup> bän* is literally "he who is Ben".

732. Any one of the three articles, *hä*, *x<sup>wä</sup>*, or *lä*, may be used with the nominal subject of the verb:

*äk<sup>wn</sup> hä tenäk<sup>wä</sup>*, he said one of them (a certain one)  
*tesqami'len ta smaçi'<sup>t</sup>cn*, Grizzly became hungry  
*äk<sup>wn</sup> x<sup>wä</sup> bän*, he said the Ben, Ben said  
*äk<sup>wn</sup> / ha xä'yxiyt / hä yulimi'xum / hä qi'x<sup>w</sup>ilc*, said / the he was  
 big / the chief / the fish, said a certain fish who was a big'chief

733. Any of the three articles may be used with the nominal object of a verb specifying a definite object:

*k<sup>w</sup>ints tä yä'läns*, he took pitch chips  
*nä<sup>ä</sup> k<sup>w</sup>i'ntx<sup>w</sup> x<sup>wä</sup> stcint*, thou art to bite people  
*gwitcts hä tsi'<sup>t</sup>*, he saw a certain deer

734. *x<sup>wä</sup>* when used in a general sense remains nevertheless more specific than *lä*:

*xäst x<sup>wä</sup> stcint*, people are good (cp. *xäst tä stcint*, mankind is good)  
*a<sup>r</sup><sup>w</sup> x<sup>wä</sup> stci'tsä'ämc*, there are many Coeur d'Alene (in their group)

735. *x<sup>wä</sup>* may be used with proper names as well as with common nouns:

*tcica'pstq x<sup>wä</sup> bän*, he followed the Ben

736. *lä* is used to denote those of a class, "all the . . . in the world":

*xäst tä stcint*, it is good mankind  
*a<sup>l</sup>ä'qstus ta stsäni*, it cust. buries bones (all the bones there are)  
 (this is incorrect because impossible)  
*tä skultsEntsu't*, cooking in general (not "what we expect to eat"  
 which would be *x<sup>wä</sup> skultsEntsu'tät*, what we have ready to eat)  
*a<sup>r</sup><sup>w</sup> lä stcint*, there are many Indians  
*utmic mi'tcädä<sup>ä</sup> lä 'ätsi'tstus*, it is just blood which he eats (of all  
 the things there are to eat)

737. *lä* may indicate the proper name of a person or animal (or object) remote in space or relationship:

*gwi'tcEn tä tsi'<sup>t</sup>*, I saw it, Deer (but *pu'lutsEn x<sup>wä</sup> tsi'<sup>t</sup>*, I killed the  
 deer, the one we know at our place)  
*äk<sup>wn</sup> / ta qi'x<sup>w</sup>ilc / ta xä'yxiyt / hä / yulimi'xum*, said / Fish / who  
 was the big / — / chief

738. The article is omitted:

a) If there is only one of a class of persons or objects, or if one out of all the class is referred to:

*tcEc-a'pstq bän*, Ben cannot catch up (in narrative if Ben ran after  
 runaway horse)  
*ulx<sup>wä</sup>'tp spä'rk<sup>w</sup>alqs*, Turtle (of all) fled again (the others gave up  
 the chase)

This of course includes names of the Deity in church translations:

*isq<sup>w</sup>a'sq<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup> dji'su*, thy Son Jesus (was blessed)

*sq<sup>w</sup>a'sq<sup>w</sup>äsä<sup>ä</sup>s sk<sup>w</sup>ist.s dji'sakri'*, (I believe in just one) his son  
his name is Jesus Christ (in this case the expressed selection  
of "only one" would show the article not needed)

*kulul tä<sup>l</sup> s<sup>i</sup>iitcEmi'c ma<sup>a</sup>ri'*, born of the Virgin Mary

b) Place names generally lack the article:

*tätc si'k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, (it was looked at), at the water (near which the man-  
eating birds lived)

*tätc atququtu't*, (go) toward Little Plummer

*tätc wahi'mä*, to Nez Percé country

739. However, if any noun is used in a relative sense it will have the article:

*x<sup>w</sup>a 'a-sk<sup>w</sup>atu'*, at that which is Cataldo (in introducing the setting  
of the story)

740. There are numerous other cases where the article is omitted and I can find no rules for its absence. In the story of Rabbit and Jack Rabbit, for instance, the same names are used with and without articles in what appears to be exactly the same setting. In the story of Catbird the same is true. He has persuaded the largest and oldest of the Elks to carry him and complains that his moccasins are getting wet. Elk tells him to go successively into the following places: my heel, my middle of foot, my tip of tail, my top of head, then finally in a sentence of exactly the same construction he says, "Go into *x<sup>w</sup>ä h<sup>s</sup>ni'tcä'mi'qs*, that is, go into the my nose". A perusal of the texts shows the same variation of usage again and again.

741. Such rules as have been stated illustrate the close relationship of *x<sup>w</sup>ä* and *lä* to the demonstratives, "near me", and "remote". They show more specifically too, the first general rule I gave, namely, that the speaker identifies himself intimately with the actors in which case he uses *x<sup>w</sup>ä*, or he does not, and the article *lä* predominates. The following examples and comparisons bring out the contrast:

*u<sup>w</sup>tca'i / ha / sqilttc / x<sup>w</sup>ä ni'tcEnts / x<sup>w</sup>ä djon*, it was tough / — /  
meat / which he cut it / John

742. In this case *lä* could not be used because the action is accomplished. That could not be the case unless John knew the meat. The speaker knew the meat and he knows John, therefore the use of a remote or generalized article would make the sentence grammatically incorrect. The same explanation holds for the continuative:

*u<sup>w</sup>tca'i / ha / sqilttc / x<sup>w</sup>ä ytsi'tEms*, it is tough / — / meat / he is  
eating it

But, if the customary aspect is used, the meat may become general and the article of the subject must agree with the article of the object:

*u<sup>w</sup>tca'i / ha / sqilttc / lä / 'äni'tcstus / lä djön*, it is tough / — / meat  
which he cust. cuts it / John

Compare the following:

*mi'ttädä<sup>ä</sup> / x<sup>w</sup>ä 'ätsi'lstus*, blood / is what he cust. eats. In this  
case the blood is definitely near and specific.

The following example is also instructive:

*gwitets / täni / ustsa'mi / tä qaqi'tstes*, he saw them / as a result /  
just bones / his little older brothers

“It would be better to use *x<sup>w</sup>ä* here because his brothers were close in relationship and the bones were right near him.” It is likely, however, that the story-teller felt the brothers were not near because they had become only bones.

743. If there are a nominal subject and object the same article is generally used for both, i.e., once the point of view is taken, it must be maintained. A kind of adverbial force of the articles is shown, however, by the following examples in which two places, both objects of an indefinite verb, are designated, or where contrast is expressed:

*tsi'<sup>t</sup> / lä<sup>ä</sup>pt / hiitskul / tä 'attcama'sqit / kum / x<sup>w</sup>ä 'ätmi'x<sup>w</sup>ul<sup>w</sup>mx<sup>w</sup>*  
there / is the one who made / Heaven (far off) / and / earth  
(right here)

*sEsari'tcni / x<sup>w</sup>ä s-ci'<sup>t</sup>Emc / hi / ququtswi'yä<sup>ä</sup> / tä stsitsi'wEmc*,  
Squirrel / who was the older / and / Chipmunk / who was the  
younger

744. It seems possible to use both the definite and indefinite articles, but *ä-*, the indefinite, may be the prepositional prefix (§ 371):

*x<sup>w</sup>ä 'ä<sup>ä</sup>mi'ttädä<sup>ä</sup>*, some of the blood; perhaps, some from the blood  
*tsämu'lEm tä 'ä<sup>ä</sup>si'k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, he dipped up some of the water

745. The article may be used with the possessive:

*x<sup>w</sup>ä 'intä'dä<sup>ä</sup>*, the thy canoe

*x<sup>w</sup>ä h<sup>w</sup>sn<sup>i'</sup>tca'mi'qs*, (go to) the my nose

*x<sup>w</sup>ä sEsu'sis*, the his little spoon

746. The demonstrative adjectives are used consistently and literally and it is not necessary to give more than a few examples. They are used often, so often that they have the effect of our recent slang use of the word “this” in English when a student bursting with enthusiasm blurts out, “Now this man I met”, when this is the first inkling we have had that there is a man or that she met him. Coeur d’Alene may use any one of the demonstrative adjectives correctly without an immediate or obvious antecedent:

*x<sup>w</sup>iyä 'ätswi'c*, there was this house

*tsiyä stsuts<sup>w</sup>mi'lt*, those children near you

*hwä<sup>ä</sup> tsätx<sup>w</sup>ilc*, that their house

747. The intensive demonstrative pronouns are used as the demonstratives:

*xux<sup>w</sup>ijä sci'ci'tumc*, those oldest ones  
*tūtūwä mi'ttädä'ä*, that very blood

748. The demonstrative adverbs have subtle and special meanings, depending upon the point of view of the speaker and the use he makes of gesture. Direction, among the Coeur d'Alene, as among many Indians, is indicated more definitely by gesture than by word. In the story, *Muskrat Trespasses*, the grandmother said one day, "What is in this direction don't eat about but in this direction". But the next day she said, "Toward this way do not graze, (but) toward that direction, not toward here"; yet the words of the tale are the same in both cases. In the tale *Coyote Marries Pinesquirrel*, the brothers always say, "Sit over here (toward here)" when they mean "there", the exactness of the position being indicated by gesture of the hands.

#### 749-796. SYNTACTIC ELEMENTS

##### 749. *Introductory*

749. The analysis of the language up to this point demonstrates the fact that affixes and accent take care of many syntactic matters. Besides these there are many particles difficult to classify. They often stand alone seeming to be independent and again they influence the form of the verb, assimilate to its parts, and in so doing, lose their unsupported identity. Some of these I have written as affixes (prefixes chiefly). Others which stand midway between independence and affixes I discuss here once more, since they at times seem to hold the verb-complex together; still others are independent.

##### 750-756. *The Negative*

750. The negative is almost certainly a verb, for it has many verbal characteristics. The independent forms are *lu*, "no", used in answer to a question, and probably the stem; and *lut*, "no", used to refuse a request. When used as an independent stem it means "refuse":

*nī tōq<sup>w</sup> ul-lu'tEm*, did he also refuse again? (others had refused)  
*miyäl ku<sup>u</sup>lu't*, thou art unbearable, "too not"  
*lut-u't-Em*, he is inferior (-*ut*, be possible)  
*lu'tsEn*, thy speech is not (what it ought to be), "thou no-st it"  
 (*t-ts* > *ts*)

751. There is a relation, perhaps the mere fact of subordination, between *lutä-*, negative, and *tcäl*, future, for both take certain constructions. Many of the examples suggest that *lutä-* (which is

really *lut-hä-*) is a compound with *lut*, negative, and the participial form of another verb, for in the intransitive *lutä-* takes the possessive affixes with an *s-* prefix which may be nominal:

*lutä-hijä'k<sup>w</sup>n*, I did not say  
*lutä<sup>2</sup>-us-na's-s*, it is not just wet  
*lutä-s-x<sup>w</sup>ä'tic*, he did not get up  
*lutä-s-tul-stci'nt*, he is not reasonable (he is inhuman, insane)

752. The transitives are formed simply by prefixing *lutä-s-* to the regular indicative forms:

*lutä<sup>ä</sup>-j-ä'm-ts*, he did not share it (*ämts*, he shared it)  
*lutä-j-ts-gwi'tc-sEn*, I do not see him cust. (*äts-gwi'tc-sEn*, I see him cust.)  
*lutä-hi'n-it-nu'mt*, I have no appetite (I do not desire to eat it)

753. There are, however, a number of cases in which *lutä-* is used with the usual forms without prefixing *s-*, or using the possessives:

*lutä-tä<sup>ä</sup>-ku't-Ents*, he did not fix it  
*lutä<sup>ä</sup>-pu'lustp*, you did not kill him  
*lutä-tsän-tci'tc-ätcn'tEm*, he was not overtaken  
*lutä-xi't-tct-mEnts*, he did not let go of it  
*tgwäl stinim x<sup>w</sup>ä luta-ku<sup>u</sup>-n-qäm-i'lgwäs*, why are you not in good humor?  
*lutä-tcät<sup>2</sup>-äts-gwitc-stus*, so he would not cust. see him

754. Although there are certain similarities between the forms demanded by *lutä-*, and those required by *tcät*, *lutä-* seems to dominate in a future negative in that the indicative pronouns are used, although it is not entirely clear what the *s-* prefix is in every case:

*lutä-tcä-s-hun-tuxux<sup>w</sup>-un-mi'nts*, that will not cause him to die  
*lutä-tcä-s-t-qä<sup>ä</sup>-i'lgwäs-mEn-tsit*, no one will care for thee, lit., he is not to cause thee to stick in heart  
*lut-tcät-us-k<sup>w</sup>i'n-Em*, I am not to take it again (*ut-his* > *us-*)  
*lutä-tcäj-i'd-tEn-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*, don't answer back, lit., don't exchange it the mouth

755. These constructions are to be distinguished from that in which two verbs (or a particle, if *lut* be so considered, and a verb) are used, in which case each is independent:

*lut steint*, he is not a person, i. e., he has no training, is wild or unhuman, lit., he is not, he is a person  
*lu*, or *lut u<sup>w</sup>na's*, no, it is wet

756. The compounds of *lut* are interesting and show again how capable Coeur d'Alene is of overworking an idea:

*lutä-tcä-s-lut.s tcäj-Eni's.s*, she *must* go, lit. she is not to "no" (refuse) to leave (the positive purposive form would be *tcäj-Eni's*; this form with the possessive *-s* shows how *lutä-* dominates the whole sentence)  
*x<sup>w</sup>ä lutä-s-tcäs-lut.s*, necessity, lit. that which is not to negate it

757-768. *tcäl*

757. The particle *tcäl* is of great syntactic importance. It signifies primarily "immediate or continuing future".

It may be used of nouns or pronouns which are spoken of as existing in the future, or when implying a future relationship to the subject:

*tcäl-ül-ıs-ni'k<sup>w</sup>-älumx<sup>w</sup>*, they are to belong to thy tribe (*ın-s- > ıs-*; *ül-*, belong; *ın-*, thy; *s-*, nom.; *nik<sup>w</sup>*, be made one; *-ilumx<sup>w</sup>*, person)

*tcäl-hii-tš-i'tn*, my food to be (*hii-*, that which; *its-*, cont.; *itn*, eat)  
*a-tcäl-i-ın-Rats-Rats-i'nä<sup>ä</sup>*, made to be thy ear ornaments (*ats-tc- > tc-*; *ın-s-hın- > ısın-*; *ats-*, made so; *ın-*, thy; *s-*, nom.; *hın-*, on; *Räts*, tie; *-inä<sup>ä</sup>*, ear)

*nä<sup>ä</sup> gwi'y-ä-s-tcäl-'u'sä<sup>ä</sup>*, when they finished (getting) what were to be eggs (*nä<sup>ä</sup>*, fut. doubt; *gwi'y*, finish; *ä-*, connective with incorporated noun; *s-*, nom.; *usä<sup>ä</sup>*, egg)

*tcäl-tc-s-tcäl-qäl-i'tšä<sup>ä</sup>*, in order for us to get what is to be fresh meat (*tcäl*, fut. inten.; *tc-*, we; *s-*, inten. with *tcäl*; *tcäl*, fut. referring to meat; *qäl*, fresh; *-itšä<sup>ä</sup>*, inside, meat)

*tcäl-ku-'ül-ä'ngwät*, (they) are to belong to thee

758. *tcäl* modifies the meaning of verb-complexes and clauses in many ways and often requires the *s*-form of the verb. Its most obvious use is as a future intentional, or it may be used to give permission, or to urge a mild request:

*tsi'<sup>t</sup> tcäl-ku-s-ık<sup>w</sup>äl-tš-i'tn*, thou mayst eat about, graze

*tcäl-ku-s-tsi'<sup>i</sup>i'tn*, thou art to eat first

*u-tcäs-ın-mä'tp.s*, it was just about to boil

*tcäl-his-tu<sup>w</sup>y-a'tšxn*, I'll go so far as to look at

*tcäl-kup-s-tä'x<sup>w</sup>p*, you may die (go ahead and die then if you like)

*tcäl-xäs-his-gwi'tct-Em*, I am going to see right

*tcäl-tc-s-tšEl-a'lq<sup>w</sup>*, let's play stickgame

*tcäl-k<sup>w</sup>i'<sup>t</sup>-s-gwi'tc-t-Em*, let me look at it for thee

*tcä-s-k<sup>w</sup>ä'tp-Ems*, he was going to pull it off (his shirt)

*tcäl-tcis-lukuk-u't-us-mEn-Em*, I intend to use my face to remain in position far off

759. It is used with the intentional to express purpose, "to . . . ., in order to . . . .":

*tcäl-tcis-gwi'tc-ülumx<sup>w</sup>*, (give me a ride) so I may see the world

*tcäl-u-s-xu'y-ılc*, so they go back (for *tcäl-ül-s-xu'y-ılc*)

*tcäl-kup-s-tap-q<sup>w</sup>a'ts-q<sup>w</sup>ats-t-Emc*, so you may warm up on the way

*tcäl-tci-s-k<sup>w</sup>i't-tEms*, to snatch it from me

*tcäs-gwi'tct-Ems*, (he was looking at him) to see it

*äyjni't tcäl-his-xu-x<sup>w</sup>o'lq-En*, because I intend to get a spearhead

*lut tsi'<sup>t</sup> tcäs-tä'k<sup>w</sup>-untsut*, not there to lie down

*na<sup>a</sup> lut la'q<sup>w</sup>ın tcätustci'tEn*, perhaps not I am able to give her up, how can I give (her) back

760. With *nä<sup>ä</sup>*, imperative, and the intentional construction, *tcäl* is used to chide or to threaten, or to express a doubtful future intention:

*nä<sup>ä</sup> tcäl-kup-s-tä' x<sup>w</sup>p*, you are to die, you must want to die  
*nä<sup>ä</sup> tcäl-ku-s-tk<sup>w</sup>äl-tš-i'ln*, thou must want to eat about (graze)

761. *tcäl* may be used with the intentional prefix and the finite indicative pronouns:

*xälä<sup>ä</sup> tcäy-Exi's-tmäx<sup>w</sup>*, thou mightest do thus to me (and I don't want you to)

*kum<sup>i</sup> lutxä'st tcäs-gwi'tc-tsälp*, then not well you should see me

762. With *hxi*, *tcäl* with the intentional prefix and indicative pronouns, has simply a future participial or substantive significance:

*hxi x<sup>w</sup>ä tcäs-tc-cä't-Entx<sup>w</sup>*, stop watching her in the future

*hxi lustus x<sup>w</sup>ä tcäs-tc-cä't-Ents*, now she refused to take care of her

*hxi lä tcäc-ni'tc-Entx<sup>w</sup>*, stop cutting it (*s* > *c* under influence of following *té*)

763. *tcäl* with the indicative may be literally translated "future without intention" (i.e., by decree or without premeditation):

*tcäl-kup-gwac-qi'n-Emc*, you will head-comb

*hxi tcäl-gwul-i'nä'änts*, then he was going to burn it over (down)

*tsmi'<sup>t</sup> tcäl'ä'm-tsen*, I was going to share it with you but now I won't

*tsi'<sup>t</sup> x<sup>w</sup>a tcäl-xä'q-En-tsälp*, that's what you should pay (owe) me

*tcäl-ku<sup>u</sup>-q<sup>w</sup>a'y-q<sup>w</sup>i'jt*, thou wilt be pitiable

764. *nä<sup>ä</sup> tcäl*, with the indicative, expresses a future command:

*nä<sup>ä</sup> tcäl-ku-tk<sup>w</sup>äl-tš-i'ln*, thou art to graze about

765. *tcälcił*, past future:

*tcäl-cił-uj-a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup>*, just as he would have gone out again

*tcäl-cił-ku-täpi'ln*, thou wouldst just have eaten on thy way. . . .

766. When used with one of the articles or demonstratives, the intentional prefix and the finite forms of the indicative pronouns, it forms a rhetorical subordinate clause meaning "why should . . . since . . . ; how should . . .":

*x<sup>w</sup>ä tcäy-ts-gwi'tc-stx<sup>w</sup>*, why should thou cust. see it since. . . .

*x<sup>w</sup>ä tcäl'i'tš-ä'm-Em*, why shouldst thou be sharing with him (since thou cannot afford it) ?

*x<sup>w</sup>ä tcäs-qä'y-Entx<sup>w</sup>*, (thou hast learned) how thou shouldst write it

*x<sup>w</sup>a tcas-tcis-ta'xux*, (I) who should be the one to die

*x<sup>w</sup>a tcäl-tcni-u-s-ta-ta'xux*, (since) I should die in your stead (why . . . ?)

*twi'<sup>t</sup> stim<sup>i</sup> lä tcäy-Em-tu'łmat*, what poor stuff shouldst thou be fed with, i. e., what is good enough for thee ?

767. In the following, *tcäl* functions as a verbal element as well as a nominal one:

*tcäl-tc-s-tcał-qäl-i'łtsä<sup>ä</sup>*, in order that we may get what will be fresh meat

*lutä-tcä-s-lu't.s tcä-s-tcäy-Eni's-s*, she *must* go, not the her would refusing to the future her going

768. *u-tcäl*, forms a subordinate clause "just as . . . preparatory to . . .":

*u-tcas-ta'r-Ents*, just as he untied it preparatory to . . . (cp. *u-ta'r-Ents*, she just untied it and did nothing else)

769-796. *Other Elements*

769. *cił*. It is somewhat difficult to tell the exact difference between *cił* and *ucił*, although usage is very exacting regarding them. They are derived from the stem *cił*, be fitting, exacting, sharp (as prompt), and the stem form is *u<sup>u</sup>-cił*. It seems that the action which follows *ucił* is more imminent than that which follows *cił*.

*cił*, just:

- tä cił ni<sup>l</sup>-mi<sup>l</sup>'t-äwäs*, in the very middle amongst  
*cił utniłx<sup>w</sup>*, just as he went in (he looked)  
*äcił tcäyitsi<sup>l</sup>'tn*, just to be food (just enough for a meal)  
*cił kucitsän-ti<sup>l</sup>'tct*, just as thou approachedst paddling in canoe  
*cił tcaj-a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup>*, he was just about to go out  
*hri cił tcäyi<sup>l</sup>'t.c*, he was just on the point of going to sleep

770. *ucił*, just at the moment, he was just to . . . , but he did not:

- ucił tcä-s-m-pö'fEm-qEn*, he was just about to arrive at the fork of  
the river  
*ucił ähä<sup>l</sup>'niEm untutu<sup>l</sup>'nius*, at 8 o'clock sharp, just at eight, on the  
very sharp point  
*ucił i<sup>l</sup>'ts-a'tsç-Ems*, just as he was looking at it

771. The following elements have syntactic functions but do not change the form of the verb:

*ni*, interrogative. It is often used rhetorically:

- ni q<sup>w</sup>a'mq<sup>w</sup>amt*, is this pleasant?  
*ni 'äku'stulmis*, did he tell you?  
*ni ti<sup>l</sup>'kup'aya'R*, are you all assembled? is everyone here?

772. *ni kum<sup>l</sup>*, interrogative expecting the answer "no", also used frequently as a rhetorical device:

- ni kum<sup>l</sup> nä<sup>ä</sup> tcis-tci-tsän-tci<sup>l</sup>'ts-Ems*, he cannot reach me anyway,  
can he?  
*ni kum<sup>l</sup> tcäl-kup-sm-gwun-m-i<sup>l</sup>'x<sup>w</sup>-Enä<sup>ä</sup>*, you would not have believed,  
would you?  
*ni kum<sup>l</sup> nä 'u<sup>l</sup>'ätci<sup>l</sup>'s-tmät*, we shall not take it back, shall we?

773. *ni lut*, interrogative expecting the answer "yes", meaning as in English, "is it not?":

- ni lut ti<sup>l</sup>'tci<sup>l</sup>'l-tsäs*, did he not actually give it to me?  
*ni lut tcäs-djiy-p-mi<sup>l</sup>'n-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*, will you not despise me in the future?  
*ni lut pEpu<sup>l</sup>'lustp*, did you not abuse the little one?

774. *ni* is often used with other short syntactic words but it is usually satisfactory to render them literally, so I need not list them here.

775. It is necessary to introduce the answer to a question, if it be not merely "yes" or "no" with the element *tu<sup>u</sup>*, which really needs no translation:

- tu<sup>u</sup> la'ax<sup>w</sup>*, in answer to question "when?" "in the morning"  
*tu<sup>u</sup> ninus*, in answer to question "what for?" "perhaps for nothing"  
*tu<sup>u</sup> kuytsäku'n*, but you were just saying



776. *tcin*, interrogative, "after all did?" This interrogative is used to ask a question when the speaker does not believe the answer can be positive, or does not want it to be:

*tcin lut gwi'tcstEn*, after all did I see you? really, "did I not not see you?"

*tcin tcits-xu'i*, did he come after all? (I did not want him to) (cp. *ni tcits-xu'i*, did he come? as I wished he would)

*tcin ätsawi'tcstx<sup>w</sup>*, dost thou see him cust.? I'm surprised that you do.

*tcin tci'tsä'lEl*, did he arrive after all?

777. *nä<sup>ä</sup>* is a word (element, particle) which performs a great many functions which lend subtlety to a language. Primarily it expresses doubt. With this general meaning, it is used to denote uncertainty, prediction and imperative, all of which of course imply doubt. The position of this word is such that it often makes me think it is the beginning of a verbal-complex, although that is not at all necessary, for it may well enough set off a thought without being a part of the word itself. Although the two examples under *ni kum* which have the word *nä<sup>ä</sup>* presuppose and expect the answer "no", the occurrence of *nä<sup>ä</sup>* shows there is a doubt in the speaker's mind:

*na<sup>a</sup> la'q-stx<sup>w</sup>*, make it wide

*nä<sup>ä</sup> tcäyi'tmp*, perhaps you are going to eat it!

778. It is used for generalizing:

*nä<sup>ä</sup> sä'gwät ku<sup>u</sup>p-sq<sup>w</sup>a'sq<sup>w</sup>äsä<sup>ä</sup>*, whichever one of you owns the child (is the parent of)

*nä<sup>ä</sup> tu<sup>u</sup>sti'm*, whatever it was for the purpose

*nä<sup>ä</sup> mä<sup>ä</sup>ti'tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, I wonder where

*nä<sup>ä</sup> xit'gwäl stim*, he must have a reason (lit. perhaps might because)

779. *nä<sup>ä</sup> . . . . .nä<sup>ä</sup>*. A repetition of *nä<sup>ä</sup>* each time introducing a new clause has the idea also of prediction which involves doubt and it may be translated "if . . . then . . .":

*nä<sup>ä</sup> tsi<sup>t</sup> xwä 'istci'nu'tx<sup>w</sup> nä<sup>ä</sup> ku'i'tn*, if thou comest in, thou mayst eat

*nä<sup>ä</sup> utsu' . . . p tsi<sup>t</sup> nä<sup>ä</sup> tcä'a-qi'n-tx<sup>w</sup>*, when there is a noise of grass, right then open it

*nä<sup>ä</sup> x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>t</sup> ku'a'xEl kum nä<sup>ä</sup> ku-dä'x<sup>w</sup>t*, if here you do, thus, then you will fall

780. *tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, ought, sense of obligation:

*tcä 'ut-tu<sup>u</sup>s-tci'l-tEm*, it should have been given back

*tcä 'äpl*, if there ought to be (someone)

*tcä<sup>ä</sup> tc-ti'tc-El-Emc*, we ought to take provisions for a journey

*ti<sup>t</sup> tcä 'ut-tci'ts-u'k<sup>w</sup>-tsäläm*, surely I ought to be brought back

781. *tcä<sup>ä</sup> . . . . . tcä<sup>ä</sup> . . . . .* means "would that . . . . . so that . . . . ."

*tcä'ä cül ku-tap-'äpt-i'ts-i'tn tcä'ä cül tsi't gwi'tcsäx<sup>w</sup>*, thou wouldst just have had something to eat on thy way but that just there thou must have seen me  
*tcä'ä tcüñplji'tn tcä'ä ku'i'tn*, would that I had something to eat so that thou mightest eat  
*ta tcä<sup>a</sup> pa'xpaxtäs tsi't tcä'ä sutsnü'tx<sup>w</sup>*, if he were wise (he is not) then he ought eventually to go in

782. *tü'*, already, surely, {absolutely, quite. An emphatic particle used frequently:

*tä tü' atxapi'tsä'ä*, that which was already wrapped

This is a good example of the close relationship of the adverb to the verb for it is taken into the verbal complex and set off from the rest of the sentence by the article *tä* which makes a substantive clause (§ 730):

*tü' miyät ar<sup>w</sup>*, it is certainly too much

*tü' utgwiyaspa'tq-En*, I have already finished packing it again

783. *suts*, *cuts*, then finally. When this word is used it signifies that "an effort has been exerted . . . and at last . . ."

*cuts äku'stus*, at last (after long silence) he said to him

*suts x<sup>w</sup>a'rp*, finally it (dam after Coyote had worked long time to break it) shook

*cütcünnä'pt*, at last they came in hither (for *cuts-tcuts-hün-näpt*).

This example shows that in a setting of this kind the "word" loses its identity.

784. *xäli'* (*xälä'ä*), might, in sense of threatening, "it might but you don't want it to", or evidential "there is evidence that . . .":

*xälä 'axi'stmäx<sup>w</sup>*, thou mightest do thus to me (and I don't want you to)

*xäli' 'intmi'x<sup>w</sup>ulüm<sup>w</sup>*, it might be thy land (and I don't want it to be)

*xäli' tcüñpt tmusänu'nä'ä*, I might have four mothers (but I don't want them)

*ni kümi xElä'ä utcün'a' t lut tcäl hi'utsbita'im*, might I be the only one not to beat time (I want to)<sup>1</sup>

*xäla 'açu'pt*, (don't!) it might rain (as if one could make it rain)

785. *xil*, might, ordinary possibility:

*xil la'ax<sup>w</sup>*, it might be tomorrow

*na<sup>a</sup> xil ats-mä'ṛ<sup>w</sup>-t-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*, he might make it broken for me

*xil na'atsçu'pt*, it might rain (looks like it)

786. *tsut*, although:

*na<sup>a</sup> xil tsut sisiyu's*, although he might have been clever (*na<sup>a</sup>*, doubt; *xil*, might)

787. *tsmi'*, used to . . . , but is not now; had the intention but did not carry it out:

*tsmi' itšEmu't*, he used to stay (but he is not there now)

*tsmi' uts-xi't-Ems*, she was going to leave him (but she did not)

<sup>1</sup> Dorothy's grandchildren spoke English to her and she often incorporated English words or stems into her speech.

788. Besides the verbal prefixes (§§ 392-408) and the general preposition *ä-* which is prefixed to nouns (§ 715), Coeur d'Alene has several words which have prepositional value. They might perhaps be regarded as adverbs, but they, like most of the other particles here listed, sometimes seem more closely related to the noun or the nominal complex.

789. *täl*, literally "from", but taking on idiomatic connotations:

*täl tä'dä'äs*, (he was taken) from his canoe  
*x<sup>w</sup>ä nä'k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä täl isi'tsEm*, one of your blankets

It is the device used to express the comparative degree:

*tcn-tsä'c-alq<sup>w</sup> täl kuwä'*, I am taller than you  
*täl armu's t tcä'c-alq<sup>w</sup> x<sup>w</sup>ä bän*, Ben is taller than Elmer  
*lä täl y'ln*, (thou comest) after the food, thou art worth less than food

790. With *tsi'*, there, *täl* forms the word *tältsi'*, meaning literally "from there", and more figuratively "farther", "from there on":

*tältsi'*, from there

791. It sometimes has the meaning of "about, on account of":

*hçi limt tä nu'nä'äsilc täl x<sup>w</sup>ijä gut tcücä'yä'äsilc*, then she was glad their mother on account of these who were her grandchildren

792. *tätc*, to, toward, the opposite of *täl*:

*nä'ä tätc hnlä'qEntsutEn*, maybe to the sweathouse (he went)  
*x<sup>w</sup>ä tätc huntägwä'*, to the shore  
*tätc x<sup>w</sup>i'*, toward here, in this direction  
*x<sup>w</sup>ä tätc at.car*, to where it was hung

793. *pänä'ä*, as far as. This word, like the two which precede, includes the idea of motion, and in this fact resides the difference between *pänä'ä* and *twä* which follows:

*xul pänä'ä si'k<sup>w</sup>ä'ä*, he went as far as the water  
*tcüts-pEna-yaR-tsi'stusilc*, they brought it ashore. In this case, as in so many, *pänä'ä* has no independent existence.  
*pänä'ä xäsulüm<sup>w</sup>*, as far as the prairie

794. *twä*, be with, at, alongside in the sense of accompaniment. This particle indicates "place where" rather than "end of place to which":

*x<sup>w</sup>ijä twa sk<sup>w</sup>a'rcEn hä tcücä'yä'äs*, this with Crane his grandmother (dwelt)  
*tcäp<sup>w</sup>us-tcütä-twa<sup>a</sup>-yaR-tsi'n-Emsilc*, they are to have it ashore again before I get there.

This construction is exactly parallel to the one given above and the two examples show nicely the difference between the two particles:

*ti'* *hçi tcälisx<sup>w</sup>i'st lä twä sink<sup>w</sup>i'-'ts*, thou must surely stop thy traveling with the night

795. These prepositions are used to indicate subtle meanings according to the elements and parts of speech with which they are combined and according to the position they occupy. If used without an article or other syntactic element and followed by a noun, they may designate location:

*tätc ä'äli'c*, toward in the mountains  
*tätc sq<sup>w</sup>its-ul<sup>ym</sup>x<sup>w</sup>-i't*, to the south  
*twa tcitcä'jä'äs*, with his grandmother  
*kuni täł smiyi'w tätc pä'ätcni*, then from Coyote to Lynx

796. More often these elements give the idea of motion, of "getting to . . .":

*x<sup>wä</sup> ucit tcin-pänä'ä stci'nt*, at the moment when I arrived at the Indians  
*tcäl 'uspänä'ätsä'tx<sup>w</sup>*, (he thought) to go home, fut. inten. again motion to house (a noun with preposition used as a verb to form purposive clause)  
*nä'ä tcin-ul-pana'a-qä'lpjä*, (he thought, I wonder what I should do) to get back to Black Swan  
*hxi ut-tcits-lä-nu'nä'äs*, then he came back to his mother  
*tcits pEnä'ä smiyi'w*, it reached Coyote  
*x<sup>wä</sup> tcu-twä- tcitcä'jä'äs*, it went to her who was his grandmother  
*tcni-ul-twä-n-tägw-mi'ntsuten*, I am going again (as usual) to the store

#### 797-810. CLAUSES

797. The common sentence construction in Coeur d'Alene is a succession of short finite verb complexes, often without connectives, each really a little sentence in itself. But, as in most languages, short words and particles give special meanings which are determined by construction and context.

#### 798-801. Connectives

798. The connectives have a purely syntactic effect, all being used with finite and dependent clauses. These forms themselves are determined by formal factors, as e.g., the continuative (§§ 283, 332), negative (§§ 750-756), or future-intentional (§ 759).

799. There are several connectives, *hul* and *l*, which are at times interchangeable, but at others only one will do. Both have the function of emphasizing what follows because the verbs themselves may be used without them. So emphatic is the sense, that a verb which retains its independent form may take on a subordinate meaning. It has already been noted several times that no differentiation is made between "the thing which" and "the one who". Similarly Coeur d'Alene is not particular, with a few exceptions,

to distinguish between "place where" and "the one who" or the "time when", and the connectives *t* and *hüt* may take any of these meanings:

*ucit tcasta'rEm s t äku'stEm*, just when she was going to untie it that is when she was told  
*lutäslä'kut .s t ädEdä'xwt*, it was not far that's where it fell small  
*lutätütä'nä'ä t tcät-istcatElqu'lumxw*, not a little (the least bit) is it that you are to step on the ground  
*asa'sqit t utciti'p*, two days it was that he hunted again  
*kuni tsi't ünä'xw'pEm*, just then it was that he rushed back in (where he had been before. Cp. *kuni tsi' ünä'xw'pEm*, once more [in addition to other times] he rushed back in)

800. *t*, like *hüt*, sometimes means "and", "yet", or "but":

*lutäji'tn | t | tcvni't.c*, I did not eat / but / I slept  
*tä'ätc-u'sEn | xwa stsEtsa'salqs | t | gwitct s*, he stuck his face out / Little Mosquito / and (that's when) / he saw it  
*tsut tsi' | kuv-gwün-i'xw-tsEn | hüt | luthä'i'ncä'algwäs-tci'nt*, even though / thou art telling the truth / yet / thou dost not respect people  
*hüt | kuni | nä'utcmitsi'ngwät*, well / then / how shall I speak?

801. *hüt* shows the same usage but may connect "nouns" or "verb" and "noun" as well as coordinate verbs, or verb and participle:

*xw'i't | ätswi'cwäc | hä stcint | hüt | luku . . t | ätswi'cüc*, here / dwelt / people / and / at a distance / they lived  
*tä 'ästcint | hüt | tsi't | pu'lustEmüc*, the Indians are the ones / — / by whom / they were killed  
*ttcEmi'ptxw | hüt | tcintcEtcmi'nts*, it was from the outside / that / he threw it in hither  
*nä'ä | tcinxw'ist | kuni | ti' | tcintä'xux | hüt | nä'ä | tcinEntxw'i' | tcintä'xux*, if / I go / then / surely / I am dead (will die) / but / if / I stay / I am dead (will die)  
*sEsari'ten | xwä sci'tEmc | hüt | quq'wutswi'jä'ä | tä stsitsi'wEmc*, Squirrel / who was the older / and / Chipmunk / who was the younger  
*mi'nEnts | tä stü'smüs | hüt | tä sttää'mätsüs*, he rubbed / his face / and / his back

### 802-803. Causal Clauses

802. Cause is expressed in two ways:

By *tgwäl*, that is the reason, with a purposive construction (one of the *s*- constructions) to express the dependent clause, then *t* with the independent clause:

*tgwäl | tcät-u-his-tcitsgwüni'tEm | t | tsaqi'p-En*, because / I am to call him back / that is why / I followed him  
*tgwäl | tcäs-ti's-mä'äntsut | t | hn-gwi'c-ic-stus*, because / he was to test his own strength / that is why / he lifted it  
*tgwäl | i'tsi't.cs | t | sult*, for the reason that / he was sleeping / that's why he was cold (*i'tsi't.cs* is cont., a nominal form)

803. By *äyñi't*, because, a conjunction which connects clauses of equal or unequal rank. *äyñi't* has a meaning of inevitability as compared with *tgwäl'* which is explanatory:

*nä<sup>ä</sup> tcmta'xux* / *ayñi't* / *tçu<sup>u</sup>* / *ta 'aya'R*, I may die / because / are gone / all (both verbs are finite)  
*u<sup>u</sup>sä't* / *äyñi't* / *sä'lsElt*, he was bewildered / because / it was obscure (not clear)  
*äyñi't* / *äku'stEmulc* / . . . . *kum* / *a<sup>a</sup>ya'R* / *tmic yä<sup>ä</sup>ä'säl*, because / they were told / . . . . then / all / just / two secured  
*hwi* *kum* / *tcäy-i't.c* / *äyñi't* / *sult*, and so / he was going to go to sleep / because / he was cold  
*tvi'* / *nlukuku'tmEntEm* / *äyñi't* / *gultä'xt*, already / they were left far behind / because / the others were swift

#### 804–805. Relative Clauses

804. Any verbal construction may be transformed into a relative clause by prefixing one of the articles or demonstratives.

805. The meaning is substantive in such cases as the following:

*tä tvi' atxapi'tsä<sup>ä</sup>*, that which was already wrapped  
*x<sup>w</sup>ijä 'atjä<sup>ä</sup>tsä'i'pmustus* / *ha* / *sqilttc*, this which he had stuck (it) in his belt / — / meat  
*tsä'lsElt* / *x<sup>w</sup>ä 'ätcätEmu'tk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, it was fierce / that which sat upon the water  
*x<sup>w</sup>ijä tcEcäp-Entsu't-is-iltc*, those who were their means of killing themselves

#### 806–807. Temporal Clauses

806. A temporal clause which has a durative meaning is formed by prefixing one of the definite articles, *x<sup>w</sup>ä*, or *lä*, or one of the demonstrative adjectives to the verb in any of the aspects, and suffixing *-äs*:

*tä 'ätsük<sup>w</sup>i'n-äs* / *tcitä'ätsEku'stEm*, while he was running / he was spoken to this way  
*nä<sup>ä</sup>* / *xut* *kum* / *tä s<sup>u</sup>x<sup>w</sup>sux<sup>w</sup>stci'nt-äs*, perhaps / — / when she might have got acquainted  
*x<sup>w</sup>ä tcin<sup>x</sup>wi't-tsän-äs*, when I hurried eating  
*x<sup>w</sup>ä nä<sup>ä</sup> pintc ku<sup>u</sup>ts-axi'l-äs*, if thou art always like that

807. The construction occurs without the article and with the same meaning. It is of theoretical interest to note that this is not a nominalizing (subordinating) element:

*sits* / *utcäsinnmä'lpäs*, finally / just when it was about to boil  
*nä<sup>ä</sup> tcni-(ts)tçu'wäs*, when I am absent  
*utcäl-'ust-tsaq-i'nä'äs*, just when he could hear again

#### 808–810. Conditional Clauses

808. A condition of doubt may be expressed by the use of *nä<sup>ä</sup> tsi'* with substantive clause:

*nä<sup>ä</sup> tsi<sup>'</sup> / x<sup>wä</sup> hi<sup>'</sup>pyi<sup>'</sup>tn / nä<sup>ä</sup> ku<sup>w</sup>i<sup>'</sup>tn*, if / I have (any) food / thou art to eat (I don't know whether I have or not)  
*nä<sup>ä</sup> tsi<sup>'</sup> / x<sup>wä</sup> 'i<sup>'</sup>tsä<sup>'</sup>mut / nä<sup>ä</sup> / ku<sup>w</sup>i<sup>'</sup>tn*, when thou art at home (but thou art not) / perhaps / thou eatest  
*nä<sup>ä</sup> tsi<sup>'</sup> / x<sup>wä</sup> spa<sup>'</sup>xpaxt.s*, if he were wise (I don't know if he is or not)

809. A condition contrary to fact is expressed by the durative construction with *lä* and with the element *tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, ought, before the verb:

*ta tca<sup>ä</sup> pa<sup>'</sup>xpaxt-äs*, if he were wise (but he is not), lit., when he ought to be wise

810. An interrogative conditional clause has been discussed under *tcäl* (§ 766). The construction: article *tcäl-* intentional prefix . . . . indicative pronouns, is used to indicate "why (or how) should . . . ." "why art thou the one to . . . ." and implies "since something else is the case".

#### 811-816. INTERROGATIVES

811. I have noted two syntactic combinations for asking questions, *ni kum*, implying the answer "no", and *ni lut*, implying the answer "yes". Besides these, *ni* may indicate a question when used with other elements, and *tcim* asks a question which implies an answer against expectation (§§ 771-776). There is also a series of direct interrogatives:

*tim*, what (nominal)

*stim*, what is it?

*x<sup>wä</sup> stim*, whatnot, various and sundry (that which is what)

*lä ninus t-tim*, something on which (what I don't know on what)

*tgwäl stim*, why (because what)?

*ä-his-ti'm*, with what (am I to do it)? (with my what?)

*k<sup>w</sup>isti'm*, what am I to thee? (thou art my what)

812. The second example above is a means of generalizing, the third leaves the speaker free of all responsibility by its use of "I don't know" and "what", both means being combined in this case.

813. Besides the interrogative noun there is an interrogative verb *ingwät*, what was it?:

Question: *i'ngwät*, what did he say?

Answer: *lutä<sup>ä</sup>y-i'ngwät.s*, he said nothing (did not say what)

*kuy-ts-Engwä-tsEn-mi'n-tsut*, what art thou fussing about (using self to what with mouth)?

814. Although Coeur d'Alene often fails to differentiate between the "one who", the "thing which", and even in some cases the "place where" and "time when", there is nevertheless an interrogative pronoun "who", *sä'gwät*, which may be related to the stem *sigw*, ask.

815. *hi'tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, where (at), is treated as a verb, with the common loss of *h* after syntactic elements:

*hi'tcä<sup>ä</sup> hnpí'pä<sup>ä</sup>*, where is my father?

*hä<sup>ä</sup>tcí'n-ust*, where did he go along? (cp. *x<sup>wi'</sup>'n-ust*, he went along here)

*ä-mä<sup>ä</sup>l-i'tcä<sup>ä</sup> / t / ku<sup>u</sup>ts-wi'e*, at where is it / that / thou dwellest?  
(cp. *x<sup>wä</sup> sän-mäl-tsi's*, where he makes his home, where it is at on there) (*mäl-*, in addition to, besides)

*tätc i'tcä<sup>ä</sup>äl*, toward where? (cp. *tsi'<sup>l</sup>-ust*, he went along there)

816. I have referred to the interrogative use of the stem, *ätcin* (§ 366).

#### 817-824. SYNTACTIC RELATIONS MISSING AND SUPERFLUOUS

817. Perhaps there are no two languages which have chosen identical ideas for expression and identical ways of expressing them. English has almost no interest in gender except, and the exception is vastly important, as it concerns pronouns. French retains gender of nouns but somewhat carelessly, and is again most particular about its pronouns. The two languages are about equally concerned with case, but each uses it differently. One cannot proceed to the formation of a single sentence of the simplest nature without gender and case in German, and even illiterate speakers have a strong feeling for it. Every language stresses certain ideas to the neglect of others and this neglect is often interesting. The German has a hard time getting rid of "already" (*schon*) in English and very few dispense with "together" (*zusammen*) in such expressions as "we met" or "I was with him". We who are used to Indo-European, feel a little uncomfortable, if not even intolerant, of the absence of number and tense in American languages, each of which has numerous other ideas which we consider dispensable or have never even heard of.

818. Coeur d'Alene has some indication of number although, in cases where we should demand it, it often omits the plural. "Their" is more frequently than not expressed by the singular possessive. Instead of tense it has seemed more accurate to designate aspects which are concerned as much with other ideas as with time, or more so. Completive is the only real past. Customary embraces past, present and future with equal emphasis, and continuative is not much concerned with the question as to whether an act or a state occurs in the past or present. The modification for future is formal for customary and continuative and does not involve an actual conjugation.

819. It may be noticed that I have no paragraph heading for that very important subject "pronoun". This is not due to inadvertency, but rather to the fact that the pronoun, which has numerous



variations, is an intimate part of the verb. There is a set of independent pronouns, but even their relationship to the verb is so close that they were given twice, once as illustrating assimilation of sounds, and once as explaining the continuative. The same thing holds true for the possessives. Demonstratives however, have been shown to have forms related to many different parts of speech (§§ 699-708) and similarly, the dative which we do not feel at all in English, has several kinds of expression (§§ 562-566).

820. Just as preoccupation with Indo-European makes us uncomfortable without tense, so do we, without linguistic training, worry about the absence of the copula. Coeur d'Alene has a form which serves, to some extent, the purpose of the copula and at the same time that of the demonstrative indefinite expression "there is". This is by no means a substitute for our verb "to be" for it is used comparatively seldom. Consequently adjectives are treated in an entirely different fashion from English. As in many American languages, the adjective in Coeur d'Alene is a verb. It has various forms which express reason of condition (§ 262) but they are foreign to English thought. Hence, to say "it is tough" must be thought of as "it toughs because it is naturally so", or "it toughs for some other reason", but never "it *is* tough" as two separate words or ideas.

821. Comparison likewise is absent as a grammatical modification. Comparative degree is expressed by the preposition (or adverb) *täl*, from, which is placed before the noun to be compared; the verb (adjective) is the same as usual:

*täl djm t tsä'calq<sup>w</sup> xwä bän*, Ben is taller than John

822. Superlative is expressed by suffixing *s-ni'<sup>t</sup>*- to the noun designated, *s-* nom.; *ni'<sup>t</sup>*-, among:

*s-ni'<sup>t</sup>-t'i'k<sup>w</sup>tik<sup>w</sup>t*, the oldest, amongst the old ones

*s-ni'<sup>t</sup>-s-tse'tsi'w-tumc*, the youngest, amongst the young ones

*s-ni'<sup>t</sup>-smä'i'm-sulc*, their only sister, their womanest, woman among them

It will be noticed that *s-* which seems to be nominal is used twice with nouns whose initial is *s*.

823. Still another set of ideas which is noticeably lacking in this as in other Indian languages, is the whole series which has to do with certain of our subjunctive expressions, the emphatic and obligatory forms such as may, must, can, etc. We cannot say exactly that mode is lacking for, as we have seen, *nä'<sup>a</sup>* (§§ 777-779) and *tcäl* (§§ 757-768) take care of a great many modal ideas. It is rather that Coeur d'Alene does not feel a need for an idea like *must*, although the linguistic machinery will allow of it, once its need is apparent. "She *must* go", an idea which would not occur naturally

to a Coeur d'Alene will, have the awkward form "not-the-her-future-not. Future-her going". The language has a natural means of expressing "can", but it must be done impersonally. "I can do it", has no reference to me but rather to the act "it is do-able". These are only a few examples of many which show different categories of ideas and of ways of expressing them.

824. Just as certain categories of thought are absent, so too there are others which are expressed, but cannot be translated in English. Such words are, *hä*, the definite article when it shows the relation between an adjective and a noun (§ 724), or between two nouns (§ 720). Still another is *t'u'u* (§ 775) which should always precede the answer to a question. The word *dä'äl*, and other adverbial-interjectional words, are difficult to render. *dä'äl*, which might perhaps be left untranslated, means "I see that . . . . . is the case although it seems impossible or improbable, or even, see now I told you so, or evidence has it, or he alone of all did the unexpected". As a final suggestion to emphasize the importance of ideas foreign to us in achieving really idiomatic speech, there is the custom of articulating *ä* . . . at intervals during a narrative to show that one is paying attention and understands. This is used in conversation. When myths are narrated, the polite audience repeats the last syllable or word or two of the sentence as the narrator proceeds.

#### 825-858. POSITION

825. Position is an important syntactic device in Coeur d'Alene. Although there seems to be considerable freedom about the place of certain words in the sentence, nevertheless ambiguity may be avoided by their position.

826. Adverbs, especially adverbs of time and demonstrative adverbs, generally precede the verb:

*pinttc* / *a'axa'lsqit* / *itcEli'puc*, always / every day / they went hunting  
*kum* / *tältsi't* / *tcitsxwä'tp*, then / farther / he fled

827. Descriptive adverbs or adverbial phrases generally follow the verb:

*pinttc* / *itsEmu't* / *xwä 'äätSATxws*, always / he stayed / at home  
*kum* / *xwist* / *tuwä tätc nlä'qEntsutEn*, there / he went / to that sweathouse

828. The position of adverbs seems to be quite free, however, for they may also follow the verb:

*kum* *tmic i'tsu'umc* / *a'atmalk<sup>w</sup>ma'sqit*, he did nothing but cry / all day long

829. It has been noted (§ 730) that articles and demonstratives theoretically make a relative clause of the stems which they

precede. When they do this with a noun preceded by a preposition, the preposition always stands between the article and the noun, never before the article:

*x<sup>w</sup>ä tätc tsä'tx<sup>ws</sup>*, to his house  
*lut x<sup>w</sup>ä tätc tu<sup>u</sup>*, not what is in that direction, toward there  
*qäsp / tä snk<sup>w</sup>i'ʔts / kuni / ttsaqi'nä'amEnts*, long / into the night  
 / — / he heard it

830. The usual order of the sentence is: verb subject:

*ätswi'c / x<sup>w</sup>ä smiyi'w*, he dwelt / Coyote

831. If there is a nominal object, the usual position is: verb object:

*tci'ʔtsgwi'tc / ä'ätsi'ʔ*, I am seeing / a deer

832. If there is only one noun with a transitive verb, the verb generally determines whether it is subject or object because pronominal subject and object must always be expressed in the verb whether or not a noun is used:

*tci'ʔts-gwi'tc-Em / ä'ätsi'ʔ*, I am being seen / by a deer (although the noun is the same as that of § 831, the passive of the verb makes the meaning clear)

833. The nominal subject precedes the verb, if it designates a new third person:

*x<sup>w</sup>iya / stsitsa'salqs / pinttc / itsEmu't*, this / little mosquito / always / stayed home (his brothers have been (the subject of the preceding sentence)

834. If nominal subject and object are expressed, the most usual order is: verb object subject:

*its-gwi'tc-Ems / x<sup>w</sup>ä'ä tsi'ʔ / x<sup>w</sup>ä'ä'äbän*, he is seeing it / the deer / the Ben, Ben is seeing the deer

In a case like this *x<sup>w</sup>ä 'ä'ä* distinguishes the subject as against *x<sup>w</sup>ä'ä* the object (§ 725).

835. Although this is the preferred order, the following may be used and the same meaning is clear:

*its-gwi'tc-Ems / x<sup>w</sup>ä 'ä'äbän / x<sup>w</sup>ä'ä tsi'ʔ*

836. With more nominal forms the general rule is that the noun-order parallels the order in the verb: indirect object object subject:

*tcilts / x<sup>w</sup>ä'ä bän / x<sup>w</sup>a<sup>a</sup> mimc / x<sup>w</sup>a 'a<sup>a</sup>djɔn*, he gave it to him / the Ben / the box / the John, John gave the box to Ben

837. However, the structure will depend upon the number and kind of third persons:

*k<sup>w</sup>ilts / x<sup>w</sup>a sqilttc / x<sup>w</sup>ä'ä bän / x<sup>w</sup>a 'a<sup>a</sup>djɔn*, he took it from him / the his meat / the Ben / the John, John took Ben's meat from him (the order here shows it was Ben's meat; if the order had been Ben-meat-John, it would have been impossible to tell whether it was Ben's meat or John's)

838. If there is no danger of ambiguity the regular order is followed:

*tcitts / x<sup>wä</sup> bän / h<sup>nn</sup>mi'mc / x<sup>wa</sup> 'a<sup>dj</sup>ɔn*, he gave it to him / the Ben / my box / the John, John gave Ben my box

839. If the possessive noun is used to show the owner of a nominal object, the order is as usual, the portion descriptive of the object taking its place and order between indirect object and subject:

*tcitts / x<sup>wa</sup> ma<sup>ri</sup>' / x<sup>wä</sup> 'ulbän / hä / mimc / x<sup>wa</sup> 'a<sup>dj</sup>ɔn*, he gave it to her / the Mary / the belonging to Ben / — / box / the John, John gave Mary Ben's box (*ul*, belonging to)

840. If the verb is passive the order is: verb object subject agent:

*i'tci'ttEm / x<sup>wa</sup> mimc / x<sup>wä</sup> bän / x<sup>wa</sup> 'a<sup>dj</sup>ɔn*, he is being given / the box / the Ben / by John, Ben is being given the box by John

841. If the impersonal object becomes the subject, the verb is changed, as is the nominal construction:

*i'tci'tcäcmEnEm / x<sup>wä</sup> mimc / tätc bän / x<sup>wa</sup> 'a<sup>dj</sup>ɔn*, it is being given (used for giving) / the box / to Ben / by John, a box is being given Ben by John

842. With a locative noun the order is: verb object place subject:

*n'Etci'stus / x<sup>wä</sup> päk<sup>w</sup>lä<sup>wä</sup> / x<sup>wä</sup> 'ä<sup>m</sup>mimc / x<sup>wa</sup> djɔn*, he put it in / the ball / into the box / John

843. A descriptive modifier usually precedes the noun it modifies, being consistent with its character as a verb:

*la xä' yx<sup>i</sup>y<sup>t</sup> / hä / yilimi' xum*, the one who is big / — / chief  
*x<sup>wä</sup> ja<sup>k</sup>pqi'n hä stci'nt*, the many people  
*x<sup>wä</sup> ulbän / hä / mimc*, the belonging to Ben / — / box

844. The order of clauses is reasonably consistent with other phases of the order of the sentence, although it seems to be freer.

845. Temporal clauses, like temporal adverbs, usually precede the main clause:

*h<sup>oi</sup> / lä xä'lpäs / h<sup>oi</sup> / a'tsqä<sup>wä</sup>*, then / when it was light / now / he went out  
*x<sup>wä</sup> gwi'ytsi'näs / tsä'lic*, when he had finished eating / he stood up

846. But, like adverbs, they seem relatively free:

*utsäxi't / ttsaqi'nä'amEntsilc / xux<sup>wi</sup>' / gwi'yästsu'<sup>u</sup>mäs*, suddenly / they heard / the very (moment) / when he stopped crying

847. Relative clauses have the position of the noun for which they may stand, or follow the noun they limit:

*mi'ttädä<sup>wä</sup> / x<sup>wa</sup> xami'ntcs*, it is blood that he likes  
*lutäytsi'tsEn / x<sup>wa</sup> 'atsma'rk<sup>wä</sup>*, I do not eat what is seasoned  
*djä'ydj<sup>i</sup>y<sup>t</sup> / ha / sk<sup>w</sup>a'rcEn / tsi'<sup>t</sup> / x<sup>wa</sup> xahäsyätci'ti'p*, there was an ugly / — / crane / that one / was the one who was a good hunter, or  
*djä'ydj<sup>i</sup>y<sup>t</sup> / ha / sk<sup>w</sup>a'rcEn / tsi'<sup>t</sup> / la xäst / hä / syätci'ti'p*, there was an ugly / — / crane / that was one / who was the good / — / hunter

848. Purposive clauses generally follow the main verb:

*i'tnc / x<sup>w</sup>ä 'ä<sup>ä</sup>mi'ttädä<sup>ä</sup> / tcätkusxunä-singwä'yjEn*, eat / some of the blood / so thou wilt grow up fast

849. The examples under relative clauses illustrate the order of what we may call demonstrative clauses. The clause which points out precedes the connective *t* which is followed by the main clause:

*tä 'äsi'k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup> / t / hmlE<sup>w</sup>i'tctätk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, it was into the water / that / he thrust his hand

*hwi / a<sup>t</sup>tsa'xEl / ä<sup>ä</sup>tä'dä<sup>ä</sup> . / t / nä'mic*, then / it was like / a canoe / that which / he sat in

*tä 'ästcuts-xu'yis / t / tcütsi'<sup>l</sup>lust*, it was in his tracks / that / it came along

850. But, like a number of other modifiers, the order may be reversed:

*hndi'k<sup>w</sup> / t / ta 'astaqi'tk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>*, he turned / so that / he water-lay on belly; he turned bellywise in the water

851. The causal clause with *tgwäl* . . . . *t* usually precedes the main clause, but in this respect behaves as clauses connected by *t* usually behave:

*tgwäl stim t ämtx<sup>w</sup>*, why is it that thou feedest him?

*tgwäl / tcasq<sup>w</sup>a'<sup>a</sup>q<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>l / t / tsäluc*, because / he was going to speak / it was that / he stood up

852. The causal introduced by *äyñi't* may precede or follow the main clause:

*kum / äyñi't / x<sup>w</sup>ä 'äsi'k<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup> / kum sult*, then / because / of (being) in the water / he was inevitably cold

but:

*kum / x<sup>w</sup>i't / ta'qis / a'yñi't / sult*, then / here it was that / he lay on his belly / because / he was cold

*tiv' / nlukuku't-mEn-tEm / äyñi't / gut taxt*, already he was out-distanced / because / they were swift

853. The order of particles is difficult to summarize because of the many possible combinations. I can best show their significance in their special positions by giving examples.

854. *nä<sup>ä</sup>*, the element which shows doubt, usually precedes all other elements:

*nä<sup>ä</sup> xil / cil / x<sup>w</sup>i' / tcintsa'xEl / aya'RaR ätsa'mi*, I might have been / just / this / I was like / He-Gathers-Bones, i. e., I may have been the age (size) of He-Gathers-Bones (boy's nickname)

*nä<sup>ä</sup> t<sup>o</sup>q<sup>w</sup> t<sup>p</sup>Ets<sup>o</sup>'sEntsEN*, I'll eye-squirt thee too

*nä<sup>ä</sup> xil tsu't / sisiyu's*, although / he may have been clever

855. *nä<sup>ä</sup>*, may, however, be incorporated in the relative clause:

*x<sup>w</sup>ä nä<sup>ä</sup> si'gwuntEm / nä<sup>ä</sup> ku-cEtç-qi'nEm*, (to) what he may be asked / listen (to it)

856. Interrogatives stand first in a sentence, even precede *nä<sup>ä</sup>*:

*ni tɔq<sup>w</sup> ut-lu'tEm*, did he also refuse again ?

*ni kum nä 'u'ätci'stmät*, are we to take it back ?

*mal'i' | na<sup>a</sup> tc'a'xal | x<sup>wä</sup> nä<sup>ä</sup> lut kuna'asäs*, where / are we to do thus / that thou dost not get it wet ?

857. It will be remembered that prepositions come within the complex of the relative formed by the article (demonstrative)-preposition-noun. An interesting example of the position of a preposition is:

*kum tcä-s-tä<sup>ä</sup>tc-i'tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, but where (else) would he be ?

(*tcäl-s- > tcäs-*; *tcäl*, fut.; *s-* ?; *tätc*, at; *hitcä<sup>ä</sup>*, where)

858. The position of what I have called adverbs is interesting in the following examples:

*tä tsi'<sup>t</sup> ätsEmu'täs*, there where she had been sitting

*lutä-x<sup>wi'</sup>t-ya'xäs*, it was not doing thus (*x<sup>wi'</sup>t a'xal* is an idiomatic phrase which has here been treated exactly like a single verb)

#### 859-876. PROBLEMS POSED BY COEUR D'ALENE

859. The grammar has been presented as the usual analysis of a Salishan language and as such is largely descriptive. The entire approach has, however, been made with the problems having to do with the languages of the Salishan family in mind, rather than as a mere linguistic record. Within the body of the text a few references have been made to questions which must be affected by comparison, but an effort was made to keep these matters apart so as to avoid the confusion which they elicit before one language at least is understood.

860. Consequently, it seems fitting to summarize here those problems which are apparent. I cannot undertake to discuss the general questions which must include practically every phase of the language, and constitute a work in comparison which I hope will sometime be done. A perusal of the short summary of Chehalis<sup>1</sup> suggests many points, as do the few published discussions already referred to. The Chehalis Text is the only comprehensive systematic treatment we have of a Salishan language. Even the bits we have of other languages suggest the most apparent problems of comparison, i. e., phonetic changes. A comparison of Chehalis and Coeur d'Alene makes necessary a treatment of the relative functions of glottalization as a grammatical device. Chehalis inserts a glottal stop, for instance, to express diminutive, and this comes usually before a consonant, any consonant it seems. There must be some

<sup>1</sup> Boas, Franz. A Chehalis Text IJAL VIII: 103—110

relationship between this device and the Coeur d'Alene glottalization of a whole series of sounds to express diminutive (§§ 613-616).

861. It is hardly necessary to mention again the importance of vowel change within Coeur d'Alene itself and the relationship of such changes to the same or different ones in other languages. The suffixes which constitute the most stable parts of all the languages will ultimately furnish the major clue in answering this question. The suffixes too will show the development of elements and of compounding and nominal incorporation.

862. The preceding paragraph shows the futility of separating phonetic from grammatical problems, and the same is true of vocabulary, for in Coeur d'Alene vocalic changes within the stem modify its meaning. This is a subject of the greatest interest for the illumination of which the material so far available though inadequate is highly suggestive.

863. Chehalis has only two aspects, completive and continuative, but within these there are three classes of pronouns, their usage seemingly formal. Coeur d'Alene has these two aspects with pronouns which correspond only slightly, but the treatment of the Coeur d'Alene continuative seems to show a combination of the Chehalis (perhaps of a much closer relative) prefixes which are *it* for completive and *s-* nominal for continuative. It will be remembered that the Coeur d'Alene continuative prefix is *its-*, or *its-*, that it is a nominal form in which *s-* has been disguised, and that it assumes different phonetic forms, some of which suggest known consonantal assimilations which sometimes leave their mark in an echo-vowel (*i<sup>i</sup>-* before a syllable with accent) (§§ 131-133). Analysis of material in the region between the Coast and the Interior will almost certainly solve this problem and will help us too, with one I have not been able to solve, namely, why we sometimes have *its-* and at others *its-*.

864. Further, a comparison of pronominal forms will show that Coeur d'Alene seems to have remnants from all classes and aspects of Chehalis (or the other way round) which fact suggests the question of influences in the development away from classes within aspects and choice of forms, as well as the purpose for which they have been employed.

865. Another pronominal classification of Chehalis concerns gender, feminine or non-feminine; and within these divisions, specification as to definiteness or indefiniteness, presence or absence. Coeur d'Alene is not particularly interested in these ideas, yet shows some emphasis on definite or indefinite in certain cases, never in presence or absence. For instance, there are verb forms which seem to be intransitive but which must have a sort of indefinite completing element. Again, there is a form of the imperative

which indicates definiteness of an object, or its absence. Suffixes such as those of §§ 512, 528, 565 also indicate some feeling for these categories.

866. Related to the same question, but in a different form is the matter of *ä-* which may be a general preposition (§ 715) or what seems to be an indefinite article (§ 725). It seems to me quite possible that these two could be the same, especially since in the passive the agent of the verb is indicated by exactly the same form as the subject of the transitive verb if nouns are used for subject and object. The fact that *at* is a general preposition and a subordinating element as well in Chehalis lends credence to this suggestion, as does the fact that *ä-* is followed by an echo-vowel in both cases in Coeur d'Alene, almost a sure sign that a consonant has been lost.

867. Still another problem concerning the pronouns is that concerning position. The independent pronouns, formally very similar, stand *before* the verb in Coeur d'Alene and *after* it in Chehalis. The material available gives a clue as to the way in which this may have come about. In the Coast dialects the relationship between stem, object and subject pronouns is very close, as indeed it is in Coeur d'Alene. But in the Coast dialects adverbial modifications of the stem tend to take on auxiliary forms, a process foreign to the Interior language. When a stem of a Coast dialect is preceded by an adverb, it loses the subject which is then attached to the auxiliary (adverb in Coeur d'Alene). For instance, "I see you" in both regions would be expressed "see-you-I"; but "I see you clearly" would be on the Coast "clearly-I see you". In Coeur d'Alene the modifier is adverbial and independent so that the position of the parts would be "clearly I-see you". Such examples suggest the reason for the position of the subject pronouns of intransitive verbs in Coeur d'Alene for if the pronoun is not a part of the adverb and not independent it would become prefixed to the stem. On the other hand, this does not explain the peculiarity of the transitive continuative pronominal prefixes which are equivalent to "you-my seeing".

868. The numerals in Coeur d'Alene, because of the variety of the ways in which they are treated (§§ 634-650) seem to be the repository of a complex history. A thorough and satisfactory study of these stems and their compounds would include most of the problems of the language.

869. Included in that study would be the investigation of certain elements which are formally similar but are probably different in origin. The suffix *-ät* may mean "for, for use of", "times or measures", or "belonging to the house", and is further an element used in compounding. Because of its phonetic relation to Chehalis *at*, and its ability to assimilate to sounds which follow, it can easily be



seen that the exact origin of it (or them, if there are more than one) is not now determinable. Realizing the shifts in position as evidenced by Chehalis and Coeur d'Alene, it is even possible that this may be related to *ä-*, preposition, or *ä-*, indefinite article.

870. The problems posed by *ä-* and *-äł* are typical of others of the language, for there are numerous elements which have duplicate uses. There seem to be five uses of *s-*, some of which — nominalizing, continuative, negative and intentional — are the same, in that they are nominalized for the sake of subordination. There is, in addition to this (or these), another *s-* form which I cannot analyze. Can it be a leftover of some other continuative comparable to Chehalis in which *s-* retained its identity without becoming susceptible to the assimilatory processes?

871. The suffixes in *-im* (*-äm*, *-EM*), or *-min* (*-män*, *-MEN*) present difficulties due to their frequency and variation in meaning. Furthermore, they appear in such settings that it is frequently impossible to differentiate the weak forms since the causative *-EM* may occupy the same position as the usitative (instrumental) *-MEN*, and it may be followed by *-EN*. *-im* (*-äm*, *-EM*) seems to be causative, but the weak form *-EM* may complete an intransitive verb in which case it seems not to be (§ 287). It may also be used with the opposite meaning "become of own accord", in reduplicated forms (§ 308). Furthermore, it seems to be compounded, sometimes with other stems so as to form a bisyllabic stem, in which case it carries the accent (*dilim*, gallop, run on all fours; *trahi'm*, give warwhoop).

872. *-min* is a suffix which seems to yield to the translation "use for" quite consistently, but it furnishes difficulties because of its setting which prevents one from determining whether it is causative or usitative. Combined with the reflexive it is frequently used with verbs signifying vigorous action, e.g. *du'l-mEN-tsut*, pl. fled; or *q'wa'y-mEN-tsut*, he danced, used himself for bouncing.

873. Of the same type is the problem having to do with the element *-EN*. Certain verbs require it in the intransitive. In these few cases it does not seem to mean "attempt", as it does in cases where it appears in its strong or weak forms (§ 438). Most verbs demand it apparently as a formal element in the transitive. It will be interesting to try to determine the function or functions of this suffix by comparison.

874. Again, there has been discussion of the suffix *-t* which is called a suffix with subjective verbs (§§ 300—304), but the same suffix appears with verbs of action and probably is not the same. The suffix *-t* is also the third personal objective pronoun and seems not to be related to the others.

875. In addition to the general comparison which must of course be based upon an analysis of details, and extreme specification,

there is the major subject of accent, a grammatical device which in Coeur d'Alene has been exploited to incredible lengths. I have done what I can with the subject, which from the general Salishan point of view is practically a virgin field. It must be studied in detail for there is no part of the language which it does not touch, and which it may not be expected to illuminate.

876. It seems to me that the very fact of the several appearances and diversified functions, as well as the exaggerated use, even to repeating the same idea more than once in a single form (e.g., use of *s-* prefix twice, for nominalizing) must show Coeur d'Alene to be a fascinating clue to the determination of historical processes and lines of development. At the same time the type of emphasis and subtlety of specification and the versatile use of grammatical processes doubtless point to growth within the language and contributions made by it reciprocally in various directions. It is hoped that the presentation of this grammar will not only pose the problems, but that it will also point the way to their solution.

#### 877-890. PARADIGMS

877. To illustrate the composition of the verbs with aspect affixes and phonetic changes the following verbs which illustrate a number of types are written out in full form for the convenience of the student. When a prefix (for instance, *ul-*, again) is used with no phonetic modifications the paradigm for that particular form is omitted.

#### 878. Intransitive Completive

*xäs-t*, be good innately

*x<sup>w</sup>äät-p*, one flees  
*duł*, plural flee

S.

- 1 *tcin-xä's-t*, I was good
- 2 *ku<sup>u</sup>-xä's-t*, thou wert good
- 3 *xäs-t*, he was good

Pl.

- 1 *tc-xäs-t*, we were good
- 2 *kup-xä's-t*, you were good
- 3 *xä's-t-ılc*, they were good

*xäs*, be well

S.

- 1 *u-tcin-xä's*, I am well
- 2 *u-ku-xä's*, thou art well
- 3 *u-xä's*, he is well

Pl.

- 1 *u-tc-xä's*, we are well
- 2 *u-kup-xä's*, you are well
- 3 *u-xä's-ılc*, they are well

S.

- 1 *tcin-x<sup>w</sup>äät-p*, I fled
- 2 *ku<sup>u</sup>-x<sup>w</sup>äät-p*, thou fleddest
- 3 *x<sup>w</sup>äät-p*, he fled

Pl.

- 1 *tc-duł-mEntsut*, we fled
- 2 *kup-duł-mEntsut*, you fled
- 3 *duł-mEntsut*, they fled

Note: This verb illustrates several common occurrences: the change in stem from singular to plural; absence of the pluralizing suffix *-ılc*, for third person, since the plural stem without a pronoun could mean nothing else; and the suffixes *-mEn-tsut*, "use self for", a combination common in verbs of action.

*fäkuk<sup>w</sup>*, one falls, comes to lie

S.

1 *tcin-tä'kuk<sup>w</sup>*, I fell, came to  
a lying position

2 *ku-tä'kuk<sup>w</sup>*, thou fellst

3 *tä'kuk<sup>w</sup>*, he fell

stem changes in plural

*ƒap-stcänt*, shoot (people). A suffix is necessary to complete this verb (§ 287)

S.

1 *tcin-ƒap-stcä'nt*, I shot

2 *ku-ƒap-stcä'nt*, thou didst shoot

3 *ƒap-stcä'nt*, he shot

*nitč*, cut with blade

S.

1 *tcin-ni'tč-Em*, I cut (some-  
thing)

2 *ku-ni'tč-Em*, thou didst cut

3 *ni'tč-Em*, he cut

Pl.

1 *tc-ni'tč-Em*, we cut

2 *kup-ni'tč-Em*, you cut

3 *ni'tč-Em-ɪc*, they cut

Pl.

1 *tc-ƒa-ƒap-stcä'nt*, we shot

2 *kup-ƒa-ƒap-stcä'nt*, you shot

3 *ƒa-ƒap-stcä'nt-(ɪc)*, they shot

Note: Many Coeur d'Alene stems may take either of two forms in the plural, the regular form which means that the action is performed by more than one, all acting together; the reduplicated form meaning that each subject acts individually. Many verbs have such a meaning as to rule out the first form. They are acts which are momentary and Coeur d'Alene feels it "better" to use the reduplicated form in the plural. The stem *ƒap* is one of these.

*gwič*, see

S.

1 *tcin-gwi'tc*, I saw

2 *ku-gwi'tc*, thou didst see

3 *gwič*, he saw

Pl.

1 *tc-gwič*, we saw

2 *kup-gwi'tc*, you saw

3 *gwi'tc-ɪc*, they saw

*uł-gwič*, see again

S.

1 *tcin-uł-gwi'tc*, I saw again

2 *ku-<sup>2</sup>-uł-gwi'tc*, thou sawest again

3 *uł-gwi'tc*, he saw again

Pl.

1 *tc-<sup>2</sup>-uł-gwi'tc*, we saw again

2 *kup-<sup>2</sup>-uł-gwi'tc*, you saw again

3 *uł-gwi'tc-ɪc*, they saw again

*äk<sup>w</sup>n*, say, tell

S.

1 *tcin-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n*, I said

2 *ku-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n*, thou saidst

3 *äk<sup>w</sup>n*, he said

Pl.

1 *tc-äk<sup>w</sup>n*, we said

2 *kup-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n*, you said

3 *äku'n-ɪc*, they said

*hin-xił*, fear

S.

1 *tcin-in-xi't*, I was afraid

2 *ku-n-xi't*, thou was afraid

3 *(hi)n-xi't*, he was afraid

Pl.

1 *tc-in-xi't*, we were afraid

2 *kup-in-xi't*, you were afraid

3 *hin-xi't-ɪc*, they were afraid

### 879. Customary

*xäs-t*, be good innately

S.

1 *tcničs-xä'st*, I am cust. good

2 *ku<sup>u</sup>ts-xä'st*, thou art cust. good

3 *äts-xä'st*, he is cust. good

Pl.

1 *tc<sup>2</sup>äts-xä'st*, we are cust. good

2 *kup<sup>2</sup>äts-xä'st*, you are cust.  
good

3 *äts-xä'st-ɪc*, they are cust. good

*x<sup>w</sup>äł-p*, one flees

*duł*, plural flee

S.

1 *tcničs-x<sup>w</sup>äłp*, I cust. flee

2 *ku<sup>u</sup>ts-x<sup>w</sup>äłp*, thou cust. fleest

3 *äts-x<sup>w</sup>äłp*, he cust. flees

Pl.

1 *tc<sup>2</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>-duł-mEntsut*, we cust. flee

2 *kup<sup>2</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>-duł-mEntsut*, you cust.  
flee

3 *ä<sup>ä</sup>-duł-mEntsut*, they cust. flee

<i>täkuk<sup>w</sup></i> , one falls	<i>nitc</i> , cut with blade
S.	S.
1 <i>tcin-tä'kuk<sup>w</sup></i> , I cust. fall	1 <i>tcin-ni'tc-Em</i> , I cust. cut (something)
2 <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-tä'kuk<sup>w</sup></i> , thou cust. fallest	2 <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-ni'tc-Em</i> , thou cust. cuttest
3 <i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-tä'kuk<sup>w</sup></i> , he cust. falls	3 <i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-Em</i> , he cust. cuts
	Pl.
	1 <i>tc'ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-Em</i> , we cust. cut
	2 <i>kup'ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-Em</i> , you cust. cut.
	3 <i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-Em-ilc</i> , they cust. cut

*tap-stcänt*, shoot-people

S.	Pl.
1 <i>tcin-tap-stcä'nt</i> , cust. I shoot	1 <i>tc'-a-ta-tap-stcä'nt</i> , cust. we shoot
2 <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-tap-stcä'nt</i> , cust. thou shootest	2 <i>kup'-a-ta-tap-stcä'nt</i> , cust. you shoot
3 <i>a<sup>a</sup>-tap-stcä'nt</i> , cust. he shoots	3 <i>a-ta-tap-stcä'nt-ilc</i> , cust. they shoot

*gwi<sup>c</sup>*, see

S.	S.
1 <i>tcin<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'tc</i> , cust. I see	1 <i>tcin<sup>ts</sup>-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n</i> , I say cust.
2 <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-gwi'tc</i> , cust. thou seest	2 <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n</i> , thou sayest cust.
3 <i>ä<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'tc</i> , cust. he sees	3 <i>ä<sup>ts</sup>-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n</i> , he says cust.
Pl.	Pl.
1 <i>tc'-ä<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'tc</i> , cust. we see	1 <i>tc'-ä<sup>ts</sup>-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n</i> , we say cust.
2 <i>kup'-ä<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'tc</i> , cust. you see	2 <i>kup'-ä<sup>ts</sup>-ä'k<sup>w</sup>n</i> , you say cust.
3 <i>ä<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'tc-ilc</i> , cust. they see	3 <i>ä<sup>ts</sup>-äku'n-ilc</i> , they say cust.

*ul-gwi<sup>c</sup>*, see again

S.	S.
1 <i>tcin-ul-ts-gwi'tc</i> , I cust. see again	1 <i>tcin-in-xi't</i> , I am cust. afraid
2 <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-ul-ts-gwi'tc</i> , thou dost cust. see again	2 <i>ku<sup>u</sup>-n-xi't</i> , thou art cust. afraid
3 <i>ul-ts-gwi'tc</i> , he cust. sees again	3 <i>an-xi't</i> , he is cust. afraid
Pl.	Pl.
1 <i>tc'-ul-ts-gwi'tc</i> , we cust. see again	1 <i>tc'-an-xi't</i> , we are cust. afraid
2 <i>kup'-ul-ts-gwi'tc</i> , you cust. see again	2 <i>kup'-an-xi't</i> , you are cust. afraid
3 <i>ul-ts-gwi'tc</i> , they cust. see again	3 <i>an-xi't-ilc</i> , they are cust. afraid

## 880. Continuative

*xäst*, be good innately

S.	S.
1 <i>tciv'ts-xä'st</i> , I am being good	1 <i>tciv'ts-x<sup>w</sup>ä'tp</i> , I am fleeing
2 <i>ku<sup>y</sup>ts-xä'st</i> , thou art being good	2 <i>ku<sup>y</sup>ts-x<sup>w</sup>ä'tp</i> , thou art fleeing
3 <i>uts-xä'st</i> , he is being good	3 <i>uts-x<sup>w</sup>ä'tp</i> , he is fleeing

*x<sup>w</sup>ätp*, one flees*dul*, plural flee

Pl.

- 1 *tc'its-xä'st*, we are being good
- 2 *kup'its-xä'st*, you are being good
- 3 *its-xä'st-ɪlc*, they are being good

*täkuk<sup>w</sup>*, one falls

S.

- 1 *tc'i'-tä'kuk<sup>w</sup>*, I am falling
- 2 *kuy'-tä'kuk<sup>w</sup>*, thou art falling
- 3 *i'-tä'kuk<sup>w</sup>*, he is falling

Pl.

- 1 *tc'i'-du'lmEntsut*, we are fleeing
- 2 *kup'i'-du'lmEntsut*, they are fleeing
- 3 *i'-du'lmEntsut*, you are fleeing

*nitc*, cut with blade

S.

- 1 *tc'i'-ni'tc-Emc*, I am cutting
- 2 *kuy'-ni'tc-Emc*, thou art cutting
- 3 *i'-ni'tc-Emc*, he is cutting

Pl.

- 1 *tc'i'-ni'tc-Emc*, we are cutting
- 2 *kup'i'-ni'tc-Emc*, you are cutting
- 3 *i'-ni'tc-Em-ɪlc*, they are cutting

*tap*, shoot (people)

S.

- 1 *tc'i'-tap-stcä'nt*, I am shooting
- 2 *kuy'-tap-stcä'nt*, thou art shooting
- 3 *i'-tap-stcä'nt*, he is shooting

Pl.

- 1 *tc'i'-ta-tap-stcä'nt*, we are shooting
- 2 *kup'i'-ta-tap-stcä'nt*, you are shooting
- 3 *i'-ta-tap-stcä'nt*, they are shooting

*gwi<sup>tc</sup>*, see

S.

- 1 *tc'i'<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>*, I am seeing
- 2 *kuy<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>*, thou art seeing
- 3 *its-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>*, he is seeing

Pl.

- 1 *tc'its-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>*, we are seeing
- 2 *kup'its-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>*, you are seeing
- 3 *its-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>-ɪlc*, they are seeing

*utgwi<sup>tc</sup>*, see again

S.

- 1 *tcin-uy<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>*, I am seeing again
- 2 *ku'uy<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>*, thou art seeing again
- 3 *uy<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>*, he is seeing again

Pl.

- 1 *tc'uy<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>*, we are seeing again
- 2 *kup'uy<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>*, you are seeing again
- 3 *uy<sup>ts</sup>-gwi'<sup>tc</sup>-ɪlc*, they are seeing again

*äk<sup>w</sup>n*, say, tell

S.

- 1 *tc'i'<sup>ts</sup>-Eku'n*, I am saying
- 2 *kuy<sup>ts</sup>-Eku'n*, thou art saying
- 3 *ts'-Eku'n*, he is saying

Pl.

- 1 *tc'its'-Eku'n*, we are saying
- 2 *kup'its'-Eku'n*, you are saying
- 3 *its'-Eku'n-ɪlc*, they are saying

*hinxi<sup>t</sup>*, fear, be afraid

S.

- 1 *tciy'-n-xi'<sup>t</sup>*, I am fearing
- 2 *kuy'-n-xi'<sup>t</sup>*, thou art fearing
- 3 *in-xi'<sup>t</sup>*, he is fearing

Pl.

- 1 *tc'in-xi'<sup>t</sup>*, we are fearing
- 2 *kup'in-xi'<sup>t</sup>*, you are fearing
- 3 *in-xi'<sup>t</sup>-ɪlc*, they are fearing

## 881—884. Negative imperative

The negative imperative is expressed by a combination of the prefixes *lut-*, negative, and *tcäl-*, near future. The verb is then treated as it would be with the future, *tcäl-*.

## 882. Negative imperative completive

- 2 S. *lut-tcäl-'is-xu'i*, don't go  
2 Pl. *lut-tcäs-xu'i-mp*, don't go you pl.

## 883. Negative imperative customary

- 2 S. *lut-tcäl-i'its-xu'i*, don't make a habit of going  
2 Pl. *lut-tcäy-ts-xu'y-mp*, don't cust. go you pl.

## 884. Negative imperative continuative

- 2 S. *lut-tcäl-kuy-ts-xu'i*, don't be going (not common)  
2 Pl. *lut-tcäl-kup-'uts-xu'i*, don't you be going (not common)

## 885. Transitive active completive

*gwite*, see

- 1-2 *gwi'tc-tsEn*  
1-3 *gwi'tc-En*  
1-2p *gwi'tc-tulmEn*  
2-1 *gwi'tc-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*  
2-3 *gwi'tc-tx<sup>w</sup>*  
2-1p *ku<sup>u</sup>-gwi'tc-cäc*  
3-1 *gwi'tc-tsäs*  
3-2 *gwi'tc-tsıs*  
3-3 *gwi'tc-ts*  
3-1p *gwi'tc-tälıs*  
3-2p *gwi'tc-tulmıs*  
1p-2 *gwi'tc-tsıt*  
1p-3 *gwi'tc-tmät*  
1p-2p *gwi'tc-tulmit*  
2p-1 *gwi'tc-tsälp*  
2p-3 *gwi'tc-tp*  
2p-1p *kup-gwi'tc-cäc*

*nité* cut

- ni'té-EntsEn*  
*ni'té-En*  
*ni'té-En-tulmEn*  
*ni'té-En-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*  
*ni'té-En-tx<sup>w</sup>*  
*ku<sup>u</sup>-ni'té-cäc*  
*ni'té-En-tsäs*  
*ni'té-En-tsıs*  
*ni'té-En-ts*  
*ni'té-En-tälıs*  
*ni'té-En-tulmıs*  
*ni'té-En-tsıt*  
*ni'té-En-tmät*  
*ni'té-En-tulmit*  
*ni'té-En-tsälp*  
*ni'té-En-tp*  
*kup-ni'té-cäc*

*äk<sup>w</sup>n*, say, tell

- 1-2 *äku'n-stmEn*  
1-3 *äku'n-sEn*  
1-2p *äku'-stulmEn*  
2-1 *äku'-stmäx<sup>w</sup>*  
2-3 *äku'-stx<sup>w</sup>*  
2-1p *ku'äku'n-cäc*  
3-1 *äku'n-stmäıs*  
3-2 *äku'n-stmıs*  
3-3 *äku'-stus*  
3-1p *äku'-stälıs*  
3-2p *äku'-stulmıs*  
1p-2 *äku'-stmıt*  
1p-3 *äku'-stmät*  
1p-2p *äku'-stulmit*  
2p-1 *äku'-stmälp*  
2p-3 *äku'-stp*  
2p-1p *kup-äku'n-cäc*

*hinxił*, fear

- hin-xi't-En-tsEn*  
*hin-xi't-En*  
*hin-xi't-En-tulmEn*  
*hin-xi't-En-tsäx<sup>w</sup>*  
*hin-xi't-En-tx<sup>w</sup>*  
*ku-n-xi't-cäc*  
*hin-xi't-En-tsäs*  
*hin-xi't-En-tsıs*  
*hin-xi't-En-ts*  
*hin-xi't-En-tälıs*  
*hin-xi't-En-tulmıs*  
*hin-xi't-En-tsıt*  
*hin-xi't-En-tmät*  
*hin-xi't-En-tulmit*  
*hin-xi't-En-tsälp*  
*hin-xi't-En-tp*  
*kup-in-xi't-cäc*

## 886. Transitive active customary

1-2	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmEn</i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stmEn</i>
1-3	<i>äts-gwi'tc-sEn</i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-sEn</i>
1-2p	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stulmEn</i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stulmEn</i>
2-1	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmäx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stmäx<sup>w</sup></i>
2-3	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stx<sup>w</sup></i>
2-1p	<i>ku<sup>uts</sup>-gwi'tc-cäc</i>	<i>ku<sup>uts</sup>-ni'tc-cäc</i>
3-1	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>
3-2	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>
3-3	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>
3-1p	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stäl<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stäl<sup>s</sup></i>
3-2p	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stulmä<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stulmä<sup>s</sup></i>
1p-2	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmä<sup>t</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stmä<sup>t</sup></i>
1p-3	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmä<sup>t</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stmä<sup>t</sup></i>
1p-2p	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stulmä<sup>t</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stulmä<sup>t</sup></i>
2p-1	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmä<sup>lp</sup></i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stmä<sup>lp</sup></i>
2p-3	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stp</i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>-ni'tc-stp</i>
2p-1p	<i>kup<sup>'</sup>äts-gwi'tc-cäc</i>	<i>kup<sup>'</sup>ä-ni'tc-cäc</i>

The customary with *ut-*, again, is formed by prefixing *ut-* to the forms given above, when *ut-ä* > *ut-*. Since this is perfectly regular it is unnecessary to write all the forms again.

1-2	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stmEn</i>	<i>an-xi'l-stmEn</i>
1-3	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-sEn</i>	<i>an-xi'l-sEn</i>
1-2p	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stulmEn</i>	<i>an-xi'l-stulmEn</i>
2-1	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stmäx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stmäx<sup>w</sup></i>
2-3	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stx<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stx<sup>w</sup></i>
2-1p	<i>ku<sup>uts</sup>-äku'n-cäc</i>	<i>kui-xi'l-cäc</i>
3-1	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>
3-2	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>
3-3	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stmä<sup>s</sup></i>
3-1p	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stäl<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stäl<sup>s</sup></i>
3-2p	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stulmä<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stulmä<sup>s</sup></i>
1p-2	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stmä<sup>t</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stmä<sup>t</sup></i>
1p-3	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stmä<sup>t</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stmä<sup>t</sup></i>
1p-2p	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stulmä<sup>t</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stulmä<sup>t</sup></i>
2p-1	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stmä<sup>lp</sup></i>	<i>an-xi'l-stmä<sup>lp</sup></i>
2p-3	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'-stp</i>	<i>an-xi'l-stp</i>
2p-1p	<i>kup<sup>'</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-äku'n-cäc</i>	<i>kup<sup>'</sup>an-xi'l-cäc</i>

## 887. Transitive active continuative

	<i>gwitc,</i>	<i>ut-gwitic</i>
	... is seeing....	... is seeing ... again
1-2	<i>k<sup>w</sup>i<sup>'</sup>ts-gwi'tc-Em</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>in-uyts-gwi'tc-Em</i>
1-3	<i>h<sup>i</sup>i<sup>'</sup>ts-gwi'tc-Em</i>	<i>hin-uyts-gwi'tc-Em</i>
1-2p	<i>kup(h)i<sup>'</sup>ts-gwi'tc-Em</i>	<i>kupin-uyts-gwi'tc-Em</i>
2-1	<i>tcin<sup>'</sup>i<sup>'</sup>ts-gwi'tc-Em</i>	<i>tcin-in-uyts-gwi'tc-Em</i>
2-3	<i>i<sup>'</sup>ts-gwi'tc-Em</i>	<i>in-uyts-gwi'tc-Em</i>
2-1p	<i>ku<sup>'</sup>ts-gwi'tc-cäc</i>	<i>ku<sup>'</sup>uyts-gwi'tc-cäc</i>
3-1	<i>tc<sup>'</sup>i<sup>'</sup>ts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>	<i>tcin-uyts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>
3-2	<i>ku<sup>'</sup>yts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>	<i>in-uyts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>
3-3	<i>its-gwi'tc-Ems</i>	<i>uyts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>

3-1p	<i>tc'uts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>	<i>tc'uÿts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>
3-2p	<i>kup-'uts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>	<i>kup'uÿts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>
1p-2	<i>kuyts-gwi'tc-Em-ät</i>	<i>ku'uÿts-gwi'tc-Emät</i>
1p-3	<i>uts-gwi'tc-Em-ät</i>	<i>uÿts-gwi'tc-Emät</i>
1p-2p	<i>kup'uts-gwi'tc-Em-ät</i>	<i>kup'uÿts-gwi'tc-Emät</i>
2p-1	<i>tcì'uts-gwi'tc-mp</i>	<i>tcinuÿts-gwi'tc-mp</i>
2p-3	<i>uts-gwi'tc-mp</i>	<i>uÿts-gwi'tc-mp</i>
2p-1p	<i>kup'uts-gwi'tc-cäc</i>	<i>kup'uÿts-gwi'tc-cäc</i>

*nitc,*

... is cutting . . . .

1-2	<i>k<sup>w</sup>i<sup>i</sup>-ni'tc-Em</i>
1-3	<i>hi<sup>i</sup>'ni'tc-Em</i>
1-2p	<i>kup'i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Em</i>
2-1	<i>tcin<sup>i</sup>-i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Em</i>
2-3	<i>i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Em</i>
2-1p	<i>ku<sup>i</sup>i<sup>i</sup>-ni'tc-cäc</i>
3-1	<i>tcì<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Ems</i>
3-2	<i>kuj<sup>i</sup>-ni'tc-Ems</i>
3-3	<i>i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Ems</i>
3-1p	<i>tc<sup>i</sup>i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Ems</i>
3-2p	<i>kup<sup>i</sup>i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Ems</i>
1p-2	<i>kuj<sup>i</sup>-ni'tc-Emät</i>
1p-3	<i>i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Emät</i>
1p-2p	<i>kup<sup>i</sup>i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Emät</i>
2p-1	<i>tcì<sup>i</sup>i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Emp</i>
2p-3	<i>i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-Emp</i>
2p-1p	<i>kup<sup>i</sup>i<sup>i</sup>'-ni'tc-cäc</i>

*äk<sup>w</sup>n,*

... is telling . . . .

<i>k<sup>w</sup>i<sup>i</sup>'ts-äku'n-Em</i>
<i>hi<sup>i</sup>'ts-äku'n-Em</i>
<i>kup-i<sup>i</sup>'ts-äku'n-Em</i>
<i>tcin<sup>i</sup>-i<sup>i</sup>'ts-äku'n-Em</i>
<i>i<sup>i</sup>'ts-äku'n-Em</i>
<i>ku<sup>i</sup>ts-äku'n-cäc</i>
<i>tcì<sup>i</sup>'ts-äku'n-Ems</i>
<i>kuj<sup>i</sup>-ts-äku'n-Ems</i>
<i>ts-äku'n-Ems</i>
<i>tc<sup>i</sup>ts-äku'n-Ems</i>
<i>kup<sup>i</sup>ts-äku'n-Ems</i>
<i>kuyts-äku'n-Emät</i>
<i>ts-äku'n-Emät</i>
<i>kup<sup>i</sup>-ts-äku'n-Emät</i>
<i>tcì<sup>i</sup>'ts-äk'ün-Emp</i>
<i>ts-äku'n-Emp</i>
<i>kup<sup>i</sup>'ts-äku'n-cäc</i>

*hin-xit,* fear

... is being afraid of . . .

1-2	<i>k<sup>w</sup>iÿn-xi't-Em</i>
1-3	<i>hiÿn-xi't-Em</i>
1-2p	<i>kup-hiÿn-xi't-Em</i>
2-1	<i>tciniÿn-xi't-Em</i>
2-3	<i>iÿn-xi't-Em</i>
2-1p	<i>kujn-xi't-cäc</i>
3-1	<i>tcìÿn-xi'tEms</i>
3-2	<i>kujn-x-i'-t-Ems</i>
3-3	<i>in-xi'tEms</i>

3-1p	<i>tc'in-xi't-Ems</i>
3-2p	<i>kup<sup>i</sup>-in-xi't-Ems</i>
1p-2	<i>kujn-xi't-Emät</i>
1p-3	<i>in-xi't-Emät</i>
1p-2p	<i>kup<sup>i</sup>in-xi't-Emät</i>
2p-1	<i>tcìÿn-xi't-Emp</i>
2p-3	<i>in-xi't-Emp</i>
2p-1p	<i>kup<sup>i</sup>in-xi't-cäc</i>

### 888. Transitive passive completive

*gwic*

... have been seen

S.	
1	<i>gwi'tc-tsäläm</i>
2	<i>gwi'tc-tsit</i>
3	<i>gwi'tc-tEm</i>
Pl.	
1	<i>gwi'tc-tälut</i>
2	<i>gwi'tc-tulmut</i>
3	<i>gwi'tc-tEm-üc</i>

*nitc*

... have been cut

S.	
1	<i>ni'tc-En-tsäläm</i>
2	<i>ni'tc-En-tsit</i>
3	<i>ni'tc-En-tEm</i>
Pl.	
1	<i>ni'tc-En-tälut</i>
2	<i>ni'tc-En-tulmut</i>
3	<i>ni'tc-En-tEm-üc</i>



*äk<sup>w</sup>n*  
 ... have been told  
 S.  
 1 *äku'-stmäläm*  
 2 *äku'-stmit*  
 3 *äku'-stEm*  
 Pl.  
 1 *äku'stälit*  
 2 *äku'-stulmit*  
 3 *äku'-stEm-ilc*

*hinxiit*  
 ... have been feared  
 S.  
 1 *hin-xi't-En-tsäläm*  
 2 *hin-xi't-En-tsit*  
 3 *hin-xi't-En-tEm*  
 Pl.  
 1 *hin-xi't-En-tälit*  
 2 *hin-xi't-En-tulmit*  
 3 *hin-xi't-En-tEm-ilc*

## 889. Transitive passive customary

*gwič*  
 ... is seen cust.  
 S.  
 1 *äts-gwi'tc-stmäläm*  
 2 *äts-gwi'tc-stmit*  
 3 *äts-gwi'tc-stEm*  
 Pl.  
 1 *äts-gwi'tc-stälit*  
 2 *äts-gwi'tc-stulmit*  
 3 *äts-gwi'tc-stEm-ilc*

*nitč*  
 ... is cut cust.  
 S.  
 1 *ä<sup>ä</sup>ni'tč-stmäläm*  
 2 *ä<sup>ä</sup>ni'tč-stmit*  
 3 *ä<sup>ä</sup>ni'tč-stEm*  
 Pl.  
 1 *ä<sup>ä</sup>ni'tč-stälit*  
 2 *ä<sup>ä</sup>ni'tč-stulmit*  
 3 *ä<sup>ä</sup>ni'tč-stEm-ilc*

*äk<sup>w</sup>n*  
 ... have been told cust.  
 S.  
 1 *äts-äku'-stmäläm*  
 2 *äts-äku'-stmit*  
 3 *äts-äku'-stEm*  
 Pl.  
 1 *äts-äku'-stälit*  
 2 *äts-äku'-stulmit*  
 3 *äts-äku'-stEm-ilc*

*hinxiit*  
 ... have been feared cust.  
 S.  
 1 *an-xi't-stmäläm*  
 2 *an-xi't-stmit*  
 3 *an-xi't-stEm*  
 Pl.  
 1 *an-xi't-stälit*  
 2 *an-xi't-stulmit*  
 3 *an-xi't-stEm-ilc*

## 890. Transitive passive continuative

*gwič*  
 ... is being seen  
 S.  
 1 *tc'i'ts-gwi'tc-Em*  
 2 *ku'yts-gwi'tc-Em*  
 3 *its-gwi'tc-Em*  
 Pl.  
 1 *tc'its-gwi'tc-Em*  
 2 *kup'its-gwi'tc-Em*  
 3 *its-gwi'tc-Em-ilc*

*utgwič*  
 ... is being seen again  
 S.  
 1 *tc'm-uyts-gwi'tc-Em*  
 2 *ku'yts-gwi'tc-Em*  
 3 *uyts-gwi'tc-Em*  
 Pl.  
 1 *tc'u'yts-gwi'tc-Em*  
 2 *kup'u'yts-gwi'tc-Em*  
 3 *uyts-gwi'tc-Em-ilc*

*čap*  
 ... is being shot  
 S.  
 1 *tc'i'-čap-Em*  
 2 *ku'y-čap-Em*  
 3 *i'-čap-Em*  
 Pl.  
 1 *tc'i'-čap-Em*  
 2 *kup'i'-čap-Em*  
 3 *i'-čap-Em*

*nitč*  
 ... is being cut  
 S.  
 1 *tc'i'-ni'tč-Em*  
 2 *ku'y-ni'tč-Em*  
 3 *i'-ni'tč-Em*  
 Pl.  
 1 *tc'i'-ni'tč-Em*  
 2 *kup'i'-ni'tč-Em*  
 3 *i'-ni'tč-Em-ilc*

	<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i>		<i>hınxīt</i>
	... is being told		... is being feared
S.		S.	
1	<i>tcī'ʹts-Eku'n-Em</i>	1	<i>tcījn-xī't-Em</i>
2	<i>kujts-Eku'n-Em</i>	2	<i>kujn-xī't-Em</i>
3	<i>ts-Eku'n-Em</i>	3	<i>in-xī't-Em</i>
Pl.		Pl.	
1	<i>tc' ts-Eku'n-Em</i>	1	<i>tc' in-xī't-Em</i>
2	<i>kup' ts-Eku'n-Em</i>	2	<i>kup' in-xī't-Em</i>
3	<i>ts-Eku'n-Em</i>	3	<i>in-xī't-Em</i>

## ANALYZED TEXT

## Muskrat Trespasses

<i>twä</i>	<i>tcitcīlī' x<sup>w</sup>(1)</i>	<i>twä</i>	<i>tcitcä' yä'äs(2)</i>	<i>ätswi' cılıc(3).</i>
with	muskrat little	with	his grandmother	they had a house
<i>äku' stus(4)</i>	<i>tä(5)</i>	<i>tcitcīlī' x<sup>w</sup>(1)</i>	<i>tuwä(6)</i>	<i>'äti' k<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>t(7).</i>
she said to him	the	little muskrat	that	old woman
<i>tä(5)</i>	<i>la'ax<sup>w</sup>(8)</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>ultcäsqi' gwts(9).</i>	<i>kum tcitcīlī' x<sup>w</sup>(1)</i>
when	in the morning	then	again she went to dig roots	then little muskrat
<i>ätcä' yä'äs(10)</i>	<i>äku' stem(11)</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup>ä(12)</i>	<i>tätc</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup>i' (13)</i>
by his grandmother	was said to	this	toward	here
<i>nä'ä(14)</i>	<i>kutk<sup>w</sup>ältsi' tn(15)</i>	<i>ästä' dä'ä(16).</i>	<i>lut</i>	<i>x<sup>w</sup>ä(12)</i>
	eat about	some grass	not	this

(1) Dim. of *tä'äläx<sup>w</sup>*, muskrat, accent is thrown to last syllable in dim. and *m, n, w, y, l, r, R, r<sup>w</sup>* are glottalized. See §§ 613–616 for consonant changes.

(2) Maternal grandmother, always dim. in form; -s, 3 poss., see note 1.

(3) *äts-*, cust.; *wic*, dwell, erect; -*ilc*, 3 pl.

(4) *äk<sup>w</sup>n*, say, tell, takes cust. pronouns in compl.; -*stus*, 3–3 cust.

(5) *tä*, article, less intimate, far away.

(6) *tuwä*, demon. “that”, corresponds to article *tä*.

(7) *'ä-*, article which differentiates subj. from obj. when both are nominal; *tik<sup>w</sup>*, old.

(8) *la'ax<sup>w</sup>*, it becomes day.

(9) *tcäl-s-* > *tcäs-*; *ul-*, again; *tcäl*, fut; *s-*, inten.; *qigwts*, “potatoes” which grow in the water. A noun with this construction may mean “go to get. . . .”

(10) See note 2. *ä-*, general preposition, here agentive “by”.

(11) -*tEm*, 3 pass. compl. See note 4.

(12) *x<sup>w</sup>ä*, article, near speaker, makes relative clause of the next two words “what is toward here”.

(13) *x<sup>w</sup>i'*, demon. adverb, “here near speaker”, corresponds to article *x<sup>w</sup>ä*. The only way the difference in place here and two lines below can be understood is by gesture.

(14) *nä'ä*, doubt, imperative.

(15) *tk<sup>w</sup>äl-its-* stem vowel > *tk<sup>w</sup>älts-*; *ku*, thou; *tk<sup>w</sup>äl*, about; *its-*, cont.; *itn*, eat.

(16) *ä-*, article of indef. obj.; *stääd'ä*, grass.

<i>tätc</i>	<i>x<sup>wi'</sup></i> (13)	<i>x<sup>wä</sup></i> (12)	<i>tätc</i>	<i>x<sup>wi'</sup></i> (13).	<i>hçi</i>	<i>kum'</i>
toward	here	this	toward	here	and	then
<i>ink<sup>wi'</sup>'ts</i> (17)	<i>kum'</i>	<i>ultci'tsä' lEl</i> (18).	<i>hçi</i>	<i>kum'</i>	<i>lä</i>	
at night	then	she came back	and	then	the	
<i>tcitcili' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1)	<i>ultci'tsä' lEl</i> (18).	<i>hçi</i>	<i>ulla'ax<sup>w</sup></i> (19)	<i>hçi</i>		
little muskrat	came back	then	again it was morning	then		
<i>ults<sup>wi'</sup>st</i> (20)	<i>lä</i> (5)	<i>tcitcä' yä'äs</i> (2)	<i>kum'</i>	<i>ul'äku'stem</i> (21)		
again she would go	the	his grandmother	then	again he was said to		
<i>tätc</i>	<i>x<sup>wi'</sup></i> (13)	<i>nä<sup>ä</sup></i> (14)	<i>kutk<sup>w</sup>ältsi' ln</i> (15)	<i>lut</i>	<i>x<sup>wä</sup></i> (12)	
toward	here		eat about	not	the	
<i>tätc</i>	<i>lu<sup>u</sup></i> (22)	<i>lut</i>	<i>x<sup>wä</sup></i> (12)	<i>tätc</i>	<i>x<sup>wi'</sup></i> (13).	<i>hçi</i>
toward	there	not	the	toward	here	then
						<i>ulx<sup>wi'</sup>st</i> (23)
<i>x<sup>wä</sup></i> (24)	<i>tcitcä' yä'äs</i> (2).					
the	his grandmother					
<i>hçi</i>	<i>nä<sup>ä</sup>ku'</i> (25)	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcitcili' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1)	<i>tgwäl</i>	<i>stim'</i>	
then	he thought	the	little muskrat	because (why)	what	
<i>hül</i> (26)	<i>atqi' x<sup>w</sup>stmäs</i> (27).	<i>nä<sup>ä</sup>ku'</i> (25)	<i>hçi</i>	<i>tätc</i>	<i>x<sup>wi'</sup></i> (13)	
is it	that she forbids me?	he thought	then	toward	there	
<i>tcinxu'i</i> (28).	<i>hçi</i>	<i>tätc</i>	<i>x<sup>wi'</sup></i> (13)	<i>xui</i> (29)	<i>lä</i> (5)	
I am going	then	toward	there	he went	the	
<i>tcitcili' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1).	<i>hçi</i>	<i>yäRpqi'n</i>	<i>hä</i> (30)	<i>stä' dä<sup>ä</sup></i> (16).		
little muskrat	then	lots		there was grass		

(17) *m-*, in; *k<sup>wi'</sup>ts*, dusk, getting dark. (*h*)*m-*, is used with almo stems denoting time or weather.

(18) *tcits-tš-* before accented syllable > *tcit's*; *ut-*, see note 9; *tcits-*, hither; *tšäl*, one person stands; final redupl. "come to"; *l* always glot. in this form.

(19) See notes 9 and 8.

(20) *ut-äts-* > *ults-*; see notes 9 and 3; *x<sup>w</sup>ist*, one travels, goes. The customary is used in the sense of "she would".

(21) See notes 9, 4, 11. Notice that *t* of *ut* does not become *l* before stem vowel, but is followed by a stop.

(22) *lu<sup>u</sup>*, demon. adverb "there" corresponding to article *lä* (note 5) and demon. adjective *luwä* (note 6).

(23) See notes 9, 20.

(24) The speaker has changed her point of view, with *x<sup>wä</sup>* she is near the grandmother, or identifies herself with Little Muskrat.

(25) Abbreviation of *nä<sup>ä</sup>ku'nEm*; *nä<sup>ä</sup>ku*, think; *-Em*, intr.

(26) *hül*, syntactic element making next clause emphatic "is it that"? It has many meanings, see note 111.

(27) *ts-t-* > *t-*, *ats-*, see note 3; *t-*, on attached; *qix<sup>w</sup>*, forbid; *-stmäs*, 3-1 cust.

(28) *tcin*, subject pronoun with intr.; *xui*, go.

(29) Third person intr. lacks pronoun.

(30) *hä*, def. article, connects adjective and noun which it modifies and hich follows, or a noun with a genitive.

<i>nä'äku'</i> (25) he thought oh!	<i>kun</i> (31) now I know!	<i>tgwäl'</i> why	<i>x<sup>wi'</sup>t</i> (32) here	<i>atqi' x<sup>w</sup>-</i> she warns me		
<i>stmäs</i> (27) (away from)	<i>x<sup>wä</sup></i> (12) the	<i>h<sup>int</sup>cutcä' yä'ä</i> (33). my grandmother	<i>h<sup>oi</sup></i> then	<i>tätc</i> toward	<i>tsi'</i> (34) there	
<i>x<sup>wi</sup></i> (29). he went	<i>itn</i> (15) he ate	<i>lä</i> (5) the	<i>stä' d<sup>ä</sup>'ä</i> (16) grass	<i>hit</i> (26) it was	<i>gwitcts</i> (35) that he saw	
<i>lä</i> him	<i>lutku'</i> the otter	<i>äku' stem</i> (11) he was said to	<i>atsqä'ä mästci' nt</i> (36). I drive people away	<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> (4) he said		
<i>lä</i> (5) the	<i>tcitcili' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1) little muskrat	<i>xäli'</i> (37) it is perhaps	<i>'intmi' x<sup>w</sup>ul<sup>um</sup>x<sup>w</sup></i> (38). your land?			
<i>äku' stem</i> (11) he was said to	<i>lä</i> by the	<i>'älitku'</i> (10) otter	<i>hit</i> (26) is it	<i>ni</i> that	<i>kumi</i> (39) it is not	<i>xal</i> also
<i>intmi' x<sup>w</sup>ul<sup>um</sup>x<sup>w</sup></i> (38). your land (either)	<i>h<sup>oi</sup></i> then	<i>tältsi'</i> (40) more	<i>quq<sup>w</sup>a' aq<sup>wä</sup>'äl</i> (41) he started to say			
<i>tcitcili' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1) little muskrat	<i>h<sup>oi</sup></i> then	<i>tcit<sup>sk</sup>wi' ntem</i> (42) he was taken	<i>tts<sup>o</sup>'qi' ntem</i> (43) he was head-punched on			
<i>ätsmä'lk<sup>w</sup></i> (44). all over	<i>lä</i> the	<i>q<sup>u</sup>q<sup>o</sup>' m<sup>q</sup>es</i> (45) his head little	<i>tts<sup>o</sup>'qi' ntem</i> (43). was head-punched on			
<i>h<sup>oi</sup></i> then	<i>k<sup>wi</sup>' ntem</i> (42) he was taken	<i>täl</i> (40) from	<i>tä' d<sup>ä</sup>'äs</i> (46) his canoe	<i>h<sup>oi</sup></i> then		
<i>ul<sup>int</sup>cutcmi' ntem</i> (47). he was thrown in again	<i>h<sup>oi</sup></i> then	<i>ul<sup>x</sup>wist</i> (23) again he went	<i>lä</i> the	<i>lutku'</i> otter		

(31) Interjection indicating "now it is clear" after one has been troubled, or doubtful, and including element of surprise.

(32) *x<sup>wi'</sup>t*, demon. adverb corresponding to article *x<sup>wä</sup>* and demon. adj. *x<sup>wi'</sup>* (notes 12, 13).

(33) *hin-*, 1st poss. Note that *x<sup>wä</sup>* is often used with the poss. and precedes it.

(34) *tsi'*, there near 2nd person.

(35) *gwitc*, see; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.

(36) *atsqä'ä*, go out; *-m*, cause; *ä-*, form taken before incorporated noun (perhaps *ät-s-*); *stcint*, people.

(37) *xäli'*, might, form of threat "perhaps but I hope not".

(38) *'in-*, glottal stop separates *i* and *i*; *in-* 2nd poss; *t-*, on, attached to; *mi<sup>x</sup>*, hang in brushy bunches (as trees); *-ul<sup>um</sup>x<sup>w</sup>*, ground.

(39) *ni kumi*, is it? expects answer "no".

(40) *täl*, from. See note 34.

(41) *q<sup>w</sup>a' aq<sup>wä</sup>'äl*, talk, dim., see note 1.

(42) See notes 18 and 11; *k<sup>w</sup>in*, take hold of one obj.; *k<sup>w</sup>in-En* > *k<sup>w</sup>in*; *-En*, tr.

(43) See notes 38, 11, 42; *tsu<sup>u</sup>*, punch; *-qin-En* > *-qi'n*; *-qin*, head.

(44) *äts-*, made so; *mälk<sup>w</sup>*, be complete in time or space.

(45) *-En-s* > *-Es*; *q<sup>o</sup>'m<sup>q</sup>en* or *k<sup>o</sup>'m<sup>q</sup>en*, head; dim. see note 1.

(46) *tä' d<sup>ä</sup>'ä*, canoe. See note 2.

(47) See notes 9, 17, 11, 42; *-min-En* > *-mi'n*; *tcitc-min*, throw one, a compound stem, probably "used for throwing", always found in this form.

<i>hwi</i> then	<i>lä</i> (5) the	<i>tcitcä' yä'äs</i> (2) his grandmother	<i>ultci' tsä' lEl</i> (18) arrived back	<i>lä</i> (5) where
<i>'ätsätx<sup>w</sup> silc</i> (48). they lived		<i>tčuw</i> (29) he was gone	<i>lä</i> (5) the	<i>tcitcil' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1). little muskrat
<i>nä'äku'</i> (25) she thought	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tätc</i> toward	<i>xwi'<sup>l</sup></i> (13) here	<i>xui</i> (29). he went
<i>cił</i> just	<i>q<sup>w</sup>änp'</i> (49) at dark	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tcitsaqi' nä'ä</i> (50) she listened	<i>tätsäncEtčämi' n-</i> she heard him
<i>cEnts</i> (51) coming	<i>ustci' tsEku' n</i> (52) saying just		<i>ultcits</i> (53) again hither	<i>änä</i> änä
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>ta'a' tsxEn</i> (54) she looked	<i>ta'a' tsxEntem</i> (55) he was seen	<i>ultci' ti' tct</i> (56) again paddling	<i>lä</i> the
<i>'ätä' dä'äs</i> (46) in his canoe	<i>tciv' nla' k<sup>w</sup></i> (57). hither in he lay	<i>kum</i> then	<i>tciv' ti' tct</i> (56) thither he paddled	<i>änä</i> änä
<i>'änä.</i> änä	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>ultci' tsä' lEl</i> (18) again he arrived	<i>tciv' tsä' qaq</i> (58) hither he came ashore	<i>tägwiv' tctem</i> (59) he was seen
<i>lä</i> (5) the	<i>'ätc itcä' yä'äs</i> (10) by his grandmother	<i>pi' · · gwt</i> (60) swo · · llen	<i>la</i> the	<i>q' mQEs</i> (45) his head
<i>lä</i> the	<i>stcslu' tusmEs</i> (61) his eyes	<i>tčäm</i> just	<i>tsutsä' mä'ä</i> (62) they were small	<i>kum</i> then
<i>la</i> the	<i>tEl' i' nfanä'äs</i> (63) his little ears	<i>tsutsä' mä'ä</i> (62). were small	<i>kum</i> then	<i>xwiyä</i> (64) this

(48) See note 10; *tsätx<sup>w</sup>*, house; *-silc*, 3d poss.; *-ilc* is pl. for all pronouns of the 3d person, poss., subj. and obj.

(49) *q<sup>w</sup>änp'*, go out of sight, hence sun sets.

(50) *ts-ts-* > *tcits-*; *tsaq*, one hollow obj. stands; *-inä'ä*, ear.

(51) *tä-*, thither, opposite of *tcits-*; *tsän-*, under; *cätč*, wait; *-äm?* *-min*, use; *-cEn*, foot; *-ts*, see note 35.

(52) *tcits-its-* stem vowel initial > *tciv' ts-*; *u-*, just; see notes 18, 4; *its-*, cont.; accent shifts from first to last syllable of bisyllabic stem in cont., for although *äk<sup>w</sup>n* may look like a monosyllabic stem the labialization of *k* gives it the potentiality of becoming a vowel with the accent.

(53) See notes 9, 18. Here is an example where the prefixes simply attach themselves to a sound combination or are perhaps separate words.

(54) See note 51; *atsx*, look at; takes *-En* in intr.

(55) See notes 51, 54, 42.

(56) *tcits-l-* before accented syllable > *tciv' l-*; see notes 9, 18; *tict*, tongue-rod; *r* intrudes, hence "paddle canoe".

(57) *tcits-hin-* > *tciv' n-*. See notes 18, 17; *täk<sup>w</sup>*, one lies.

(58) *tcits-ts-* before accented syllable > *tciv' ts-*; *tsaq*, hollow obj. stands; final redupl. "come to".

(59) See notes 51, 35, 11.

(60) *pi<sup>w</sup>*, swell; *-t*, subjective.

(61) *-men-s* > *-mEs*; *s-* nom.; *tcs-*, for purpose; *tus*, eye; redupl., pl.; *-mEn*, used for (?)

(62) *tsutsämä'ä*, pl. are small.

(63) *inä'ä*, ear (see 38 and 50); redupl. pl. dim. See notes 1, 2.

(64) *xwiyä*, demon. adj. "this, these".

<i>mälx<sup>wi'</sup>'is</i> (65) beside his here (cheeks)	<i>pi' stäyjt</i> (66) were big	<i>x<sup>wa</sup></i> the	<i>'amäl'mälx<sup>wi'</sup>'is</i> (67). his cheeks		
<i>äku' stem</i> (11) he was said to	<i>lä</i> the	<i>'ätc'ä' yä'äs</i> (10) by his grandmother	<i>äku' stmit</i> (68) I told you	<i>lutä</i> (69) don't	
<i>tätc</i> toward	<i>x<sup>wi'</sup>'</i> (13) here	<i>lä</i> you should go	<i>'itsxu'i</i> (70) you should go	<i>kum</i> then	<i>iittsä' x<sup>w</sup></i> (71) it's your fault
<i>kuxu'i</i> (72) you went	<i>tätc</i> toward	<i>x<sup>wi'</sup>'</i> (13). here.			
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>k<sup>wints</sup></i> (73) she took him	<i>lä</i> the	<i>'ätsätx<sup>w</sup>silc</i> (48) into their house	<i>hit</i> (26) it was that	<i>fä' k<sup>w</sup>-</i> she
<i>unts</i> (74). laid him	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>ätsmä' lk<sup>w</sup></i> (44) all over	<i>änä</i> änä	<i>lälä' lts</i> (75) sprinkle it little for me	
<i>hinquq' mqEni</i> (76) my little head	<i>tc'ä' yä'ä</i> (2) grandmother	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>na</i> (77) in	<i>'asa' sqit</i> (78) two (a few) days	
<i>äk<sup>wn</sup></i> (4) he said	<i>lä</i> the	<i>tc'ä' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1) little muskrat	<i>xuic</i> (79) go	<i>ku' lts</i> (80) fix it for me	<i>x<sup>wä</sup></i> the
<i>hntä' dä'ä</i> (81) my canoe	<i>tcälh<sup>stu</sup>spu' lutEm</i> (82) I am going to kill them	<i>lä</i> the	<i>lutluku'</i> (83). otters		
<i>äku' stem</i> (11) he was said to	<i>lut</i> no	<i>k<sup>wnä'ä</sup></i> soon	<i>pupu' lüstmis</i> (84) he will kill you little	<i>k<sup>w</sup>inxux<sup>wi'</sup>'</i> . . . you are my little	

(65) *mal*, next to; *x<sup>wi'</sup>'*, here, hence "his next to right here", whence "his cheeks".

(66) *pis*, pl. are big; *-läyjt*, ?

(67) See note 65. This is the redupl. pl.

(68) See note 4; *-stmit*, 1-2 cust.

(69) *lutä* for *luthä*, neg.

(70) See note 12, literally the "where your going"; *its-*, 2nd poss. cont.

(71) *ii-*, 2nd poss. of *hii-*, that which; *t-*, see note 38; *täx<sup>w</sup>*, promise.

(72) See notes 15, 29.

(73) See notes 42, 35.

(74) See notes 57, 35; *-En* > *-un* after a labialized consonant.

(75) *läl*, sprinkle, dim.; *-l*, dat. "for, instead of"; *-ts*, 2-1 imp.; see note 1.

(76) See notes 33, 45.

(77) *nä'ä* > *na'a* before *q*, doubt, used also to denote generalization.

(78) *äsel-asqit* > *asa'sqit*; *äsel*, two; *-asqit*, day (see §§ 198-250 for vowel change).

(79) See note 29. *-c*, intr. imp. This word is used in conversation to precede a great many verbs, especially in address.

(80) *kul*, fix, make, do; *-l*, indirect obj. "instead of . . ."; see note 75.

(81) See notes 33, 46.

(82) See note 9; *his-. . . -Em*; 1-3 inten.; *tu<sup>s</sup>-*, go so far as, propose to; *pulut*, kill, injure one.

(83) *lutku'*, otter; redupl. pl.

(84) See note 82. *pulut-s-* > *pulus-*; dim. see note 1; *-stmis*, 3-2 cust.; *pulut* takes cust. endings in compl.

<i>tsän</i> (85). companion	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>q' x<sup>w</sup>untEm</i> (86). he was forbidden	<i>k'ul'ttEm</i> (87) it was fixed for him	<i>x<sup>wä</sup></i> the
<i>tü'dä'äs</i> (46). his canoe	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tütct</i> (56) he paddled	<i>lä</i> the	<i>tcutci' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1). little muskrat
<i>ätsgwi'tcstus</i> (88) she watched him	<i>täfi'tct.</i> (89) paddle off	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tsanq<sup>wä</sup>'nǰ</i> (90). he went out of sight	<i>hwi</i> then
<i>xui</i> (29) he went	<i>lä</i> the	<i>tcutci' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1). little muskrat	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>gwitcts</i> (35) he saw it
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tütct</i> (56) he paddled	<i>ätskuk<sup>w</sup>Eyi'</i> . . . (91). qui . . etly	<i>gwitcts</i> (35) he saw her	<i>ätswi'c</i> (3). a dwelling
<i>smä<sup>ä</sup>mu'lum x<sup>w</sup>silc</i> (92) their only sister		<i>tcä<sup>ä</sup>yü'tsk<sup>w</sup>mc</i> (93). about to bathe		<i>tsku'lEmc</i> (94) she was fixing
<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>lä' . . x<sup>w</sup></i> (95). a hole	<i>kum'</i> then	<i>lä</i> the	<i>cä'fut</i> (96) rocks	<i>tk<sup>w</sup>ul'k<sup>w</sup>ulti'tcstus</i> (97) she caused to be hot on
<i>kum'</i> then	<i>inpu'k<sup>wi</sup>'tk<sup>wä</sup>'änts</i> (98) she put them into the water	<i>lä</i> the	<i>'äsi'k<sup>wä</sup>'ä</i> (99). into the water	<i>hwi</i> then
<i>kum'</i> it was hot	<i>ink<sup>wä</sup>'lt</i> (100) it was hot	<i>lä</i> the	<i>si'k<sup>wä</sup>'ä</i> (99). water	<i>kum'</i> now
				<i>apł</i> she had

(85) *ku-hin-* > *k<sup>w</sup>in-*, *ku-*, thou; *hin-*, my; *x<sup>w</sup>itsEn*, a helper, companion, always dim. (see note 1), doubtless a pet name.

(86) See notes 27, 74, 11.

(87) See notes 80, 11.

(88) See notes 3, 35, 4.

(89) See notes 51, 56.

(90) See notes 51, 49.

(91) See note 3. *kuk<sup>wi</sup>y*, gently, carefully, slowly, always dim.; *-i' . . .*, exaggeration.

(92) This word is used of the only sister in a large family of brothers. *s-*, nom., *miyäm*, woman; *-ilumx<sup>w</sup>*, person; (if this is the correct suffix, I know of no reason why the accented vowel should be *u*.) See note 48.

(93) *tcäl-s-* vowel stem initial before accented syllable > *tcä<sup>ä</sup>y-*; see note 9; *utsk<sup>w</sup>*, bathe; *-Emc*, inten. with indef. obj.

(94) *ts- . . . -Emc*, cont. intr. See note 80.

(95) *ä-äts-l-* > *ä<sup>ä</sup>l-*, *ä-*, article of indef. obj.; *äts-*, see note 44; *läx<sup>w</sup>*, be hole, lengthened for rhetorical effect.

(96) *cätut* may possibly be analyzed: *cät*, one stands upright, projects; *-ut*, be in position.

(97) See notes 38, 4. *k<sup>w</sup>äl*, be comfortably warm, redupl. pl.; *-t*, subjective form of verb; *-ilc*, grow, used as caus. of subjective stems and requires cust. pronouns in compl.

(98) (*h*)*in- . . . -itk<sup>wä</sup>'ä*, in, into water; *päk<sup>w</sup>*, put, pour round objects. See notes 42, 35.

(99) *sik<sup>wä</sup>'ä*, water, cp. this independent form with the suffix of note 98.

(100) (*h*)*in-*, see notes 17, 97. Characteristic is the fact that the stones are heated "on", but the water is hot "in".

<i>gugwaxti'tl</i> (101). a baby	<i>lu'ul</i> (102) there	<i>äl'elä' k<sup>w</sup></i> (57) it lay little	<i>lä</i> the	<i>gugwaxti'tl</i> (101). baby
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>xui</i> (29) he went	<i>ti · · · tct</i> (56) he paddled	<i>tsi</i> (103) there	<i>'ultskuk<sup>w</sup>äy'i · · ·</i> (104). again qui · · etly
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tu<sup>w</sup>stctsa'qaqEnts</i> (105). he came ashore for a purpose.			
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>lä'pEnts</i> (106) he shot her	<i>uwEntsi'<sup>t</sup></i> (107) right then and there	<i>hindux<sup>wi'tk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup></sup></i> (108) she fell into the water	
<i>lä</i> the	<i>q'omqis</i> (45) her head (headfirst)	<i>hindux<sup>wi'tk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup></sup></i> (108). fell into the water	<i>uwEntsi'<sup>t</sup></i> (107) at once	
<i>lä</i> the	<i>tcitcili'x<sup>w</sup></i> (1) little muskrat	<i>ultci'i'i'tct</i> (56) again paddled hither	<i>tcisuyEMstsu't</i> (109) he exerted himself	<i>tcii-</i> he
<i>ti'tct</i> (56). paddled hither	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>lutägwitctEM</i> (110) he was not seen	<i>l</i> (111) until	<i>'ultcitsan-</i> again he went out of
<i>q<sup>w</sup>ä'nöp</i> (112). sight hither	<i>kumi</i> then	<i>lä</i> the	<i>tcitcä'yä'äs</i> (2) his grandmother	<i>ätšEmu't</i> (113) was sittin g
<i>i'tsa'tšxEMs</i> (114). she was watching for him	<i>luwa</i> (6) there	<i>tsanq<sup>w</sup>ä'npäš</i> (115) when he came in sight	<i>kumi</i> then	
<i>itša'tšxEMs</i> (114) she was watching for him	<i>tšExi'l</i> suddenly	<i>tägwitctš</i> (116) she saw him from there	<i>lu</i> (22) there	
<i>'ultcitsäni's</i> (117). again coming hither	<i>hayo</i> my!	<i>stci'<sup>s</sup>uyEMstsu't</i> (118) he was exerting himself	<i>lä</i> the	

(101) *gwaX*, be young, dim.; *-ilt*, young; see note 1.(102) *lu<sup>w</sup>l*, demon. adverb corresponding to forms in note 22.(103) *tsi'<sup>t</sup>* before *ul* > *tsi'*, see note 34.

(104) See notes 20, 91.

(105) See notes 58, 42, 35. *tc-*, on not a part of.(106) *lap*, shoot. See notes 42, 35.(107) *u-ä-* > *uw-*; *u-*, just; *äntsi'<sup>t</sup>*, in there; *tsi'<sup>t</sup>*, demon.(108) See note 98. *däx<sup>w</sup>*, lower, fall.(109) *ts-s-* > *s-*; *siy*, be ambitious; *-Em*, cause; *-s*, artificially; *-tsut*, reflex.; lit., hither cause self-ambitious beyond normal.(110) See notes 69, 35, 11; *lutä* often has the *s-* form of the verb; in some cases only that form is allowable, in others either is correct (as here), and in still others only the form without *s-* is permissible. Note that *gwite* does not take the transitivizer in the compl. tr.(111) *l*, connective of coordination and subordination (see note 26).(112) See notes 9, 18, 51, 49. *tcits-tsän-* > *tcitsän-*.(113) *ts-* before stem vowel initial > *tš-*; *äm*, one sits, stays; *-ut*, be in position.(114) See notes 113, 54; *ts- . . . -Ems*, 3-3 cont.(115) See notes 51, 49. *-äs*, syntactic suffix making durative clause.

(116) See notes 51, 35.

(117) See notes 9, 18. *tcits-* before vowel stem initial > *tcits'*; *änis*, leave, depart.(118) *tcits-its-s-* > *tcii'<sup>s</sup>-*; see note 109. *s-*, ?



<i>tcitci'li' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1). little muskrat	<i>hayə</i> my!	<i>li' mlEmc</i> (119) she was glad (that)	<i>ultcitsx<sup>w</sup>ä' lx<sup>w</sup>ult</i> (120) he is alive again hither
<i>lä hntcicä' yä<sup>ä</sup></i> (33). the my grandchild	<i>xut</i> he proceeded	<i>ultci'tsä' lEl</i> (18). to arrive back	<i>äku'stEm</i> (11) she was said to
<i>pupu'luseñ</i> (121) I little killed her	<i>lä</i> the	<i>smä<sup>ä</sup>mu' lumx<sup>w</sup>silc</i> (92). their sister	<i>äku'stEm</i> (11) he was said to
<i>tcäm</i> as a result what will	<i>ku'ultci' nEm</i> (122) ? happen now ?		
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>utnu'tx<sup>w</sup></i> (123) he went into the house again	<i>ulfä' k<sup>w</sup>mEntsut</i> (124) again he lay down	<i>lä</i> the
<i>tcitci'li' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1) little muskrat	<i>i'yämu'tEn</i> (125) where he sat	<i>äku'stus</i> (4) he said to her	<i>tcicä' yä<sup>ä</sup>s</i> (2) his grandmother
<i>ätsämu't</i> (113) (where) you are sitting	<i>nä<sup>ä</sup></i> make	<i>lä' x<sup>w</sup>untx<sup>w</sup></i> (126). a hole	<i>kum nä 'ändi'<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup></i> then cross it
<i>stx<sup>w</sup></i> (127) (the water)	<i>kum</i> then	<i>lä 'ätCESu'lumx<sup>w</sup></i> (128) as far as the woods	<i>tsi'<sup>w</sup></i> (34) <i>nä<sup>ä</sup></i> (14) there
<i>tsi'<sup>w</sup>li' mstx<sup>w</sup></i> (129) make it go	<i>kum</i> then	<i>lä dä'al</i> there surprisingly	<i>tätc nda' räp nä</i> (14) toward a lake
<i>'ul'a' tsqä'amstx<sup>w</sup></i> (130). come out there again	<i>kum</i> then	<i>äntsi'<sup>w</sup></i> (131) right there	<i>nä<sup>ä</sup></i> (14)

(119) *lim*, be glad, redupl. again and again. See note 79.

(120) See notes 9, 18. *x<sup>w</sup>äl*, live, be alive; redupl. form means "alive although all hope been had abandoned".

(121) See note 84; *-sEn*, 1-3 cust.

(122) This phrase is used to announce an irrevocable happening. *ul-* stem vowel initial (exceptional) - > *ul-* with loss of stem vowel; *ätcEn*, do with; see notes 15, 9.

(123) See note 9. *nu'lx<sup>w</sup>*, one enters. This stem is used as a unit but is doubtless composed of *n-*, in; *-ut*, be in position; *-tx<sup>w</sup>*, house; the fact that *nu'lx<sup>w</sup>*, is "among the houses", helps to substantiate the analysis.

(124) See notes 9, 57; *-mEn-tsut*, use self for; common combination of suffixes for verbs of action.

(125) See notes 71, 113. *ii-s-* stem vowel initial > *i'y-*; *-En*, what, where, here used with *ii-* to denote place.

(126) See notes 95, 74; *-tx<sup>w</sup>*, 2-3, compl. Any of the finite verbal forms may be used after the imp. with *nä<sup>ä</sup>*.

(127) *äts-in-* > *än-*; see notes 44, 17, 126; *dik<sup>w</sup>s*, cross, has idea of "face" in it, and used thus only when *dik<sup>w</sup>* refers to a person (cp. note 213); medial redupl. indicates prog.

(128) See note 10, 38; *tcäs*, bad.

(129) *tsi'<sup>w</sup>l*, demon. verb corresponding to *tsi'<sup>w</sup>*, *tsi'<sup>w</sup>t* (notes 34, 107); *-im*, may be a contraction of *-im*, cause, requires the cust. pronouns; *-stx<sup>w</sup>*, 2-3 cust. form in compl.

(130) See notes 9, 36, 129.

(131) *äts-hin-* > *än-*; *äntsi'<sup>w</sup>*, is used also for "be at home" (see note 34).

<i>x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>ʔ</sup>ʔ(32)</i> there	<i>ku<sup>ʔ</sup>ultci<sup>ʔ</sup>sa<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup> xal<sup>ʔ</sup>(132)</i> do like this	<i>kum<sup>i</sup></i> then	<i>nä<sup>ʔ</sup>ä(14)</i> make	<i>tsängwänt-'</i> it deep		
<i>ust(133)</i> along	<i>lä</i> the	<i>dEdä'ldil.</i> bushes	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tsi<sup>ʔ</sup>ʔ(107)</i> there	<i>a<sup>x</sup>i<sup>ʔ</sup>stus(134)</i> she did it thus	
<i>äli'k<sup>w</sup>ʔik<sup>w</sup>t(7).</i> the old woman	<i>lä<sup>ʔ</sup> x<sup>w</sup>unts(135)</i> she made a hole	<i>kum<sup>i</sup></i> then	<i>tk<sup>w</sup>älxu'i(136)</i> she went around	<i>lä</i> the		
<i>ʔätsä<sup>ʔ</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>silc(48).</i> their house	<i>äku<sup>ʔ</sup>stem(11)</i> she was said to	<i>ätci<sup>ʔ</sup>ci<sup>ʔ</sup>li' x<sup>w</sup>(137)</i> by little muskrat	<i>nä<sup>ʔ</sup>ä(14)</i> tie it			
<i>lä<sup>ʔ</sup>tčłtsäx<sup>w</sup>(138)</i> up for me	<i>x<sup>w</sup>a</i> the	<i>hinq<sup>ʔ</sup>mqEn(45).</i> my head	<i>hwi</i> and	<i>kum<sup>i</sup></i> then	<i>lä<sup>ʔ</sup>tčł-</i> it was tied	
<i>tEm(139)</i> for him	<i>x<sup>w</sup>a</i> the	<i>q<sup>ʔ</sup>mqis(45).</i> his head	<i>hwi</i> and	<i>kum<sup>i</sup></i> then	<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n(4)</i> he said	<i>änä</i> änä
<i>łilä'łłts(75)</i> sprinkle it for me	<i>q<sup>ʔ</sup>q<sup>ʔ</sup>niqEn(45)</i> my little head	<i>tcitcä'jyä<sup>ʔ</sup>ä(2).</i> grandmother	<i>hwi</i> and	<i>kum<sup>i</sup></i> then		
<i>pinttc</i> a long	<i>ta<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>tsats<sup>ʔ</sup>x(140)</i> time she watched	<i>lä</i> the	<i>łi'k<sup>w</sup>ʔik<sup>w</sup>t(7).</i> old woman			
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>lä</i> the	<i>gul(141)</i> those	<i>łilłtku'(83)</i> who were otters	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tsu<sup>ʔ</sup>um(142)</i> it cried	
<i>lä</i> the	<i>gugwa<sup>x</sup>ti'łł(101)</i> baby	<i>hä(30)</i>	<i>smä<sup>ʔ</sup>ämu<sup>ʔ</sup>lumx<sup>w</sup>silc(92).</i> their sister(s)			
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tsu<sup>ʔ</sup>um(142)</i> it cried	<i>wä<sup>ʔ</sup>ä</i> wä <sup>ʔ</sup> ä	<i>wä<sup>ʔ</sup>ä.</i> wä <sup>ʔ</sup> ä	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tcitci'nEmc(143)</i> what's the matter	
<i>łutäqä<sup>ʔ</sup>i'lgwäsmistus(144)</i> she don't take care of it		<i>ła</i> the	<i>gugwa<sup>x</sup>ti'łł.s(101)?</i> her baby	<i>hwi</i> then		
<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n(4)</i> he said	<i>xuic(79)</i> go	<i>tu<sup>ʔ</sup>jäku'nätcul(145)</i> so far as to say to her	<i>tcäsk<sup>w</sup>i'n<sup>w</sup>Ems(146).</i> take it up			

(132) See notes 1, 15, 9, 18. *a<sup>x</sup>El*, do thus, dim.

(133) See note 51; *gwän*, be low, deep; -*t*, subjective; -*ust*, motion along.

(134) *a<sup>x</sup>El*, do thus always takes cust. pronouns in compl. -*ł-s* > -*s*.

(135) See notes 95, 74, 35.

(136) See notes 15, 29.

(137) See notes 1, 10.

(138) *łätč*, bind. See note 75; -*tsäx<sup>w</sup>*, 2-1 compl.

(139) See notes 138, 75, 11.

(140) See notes 51, 54, 119; redupl. again and again.

(141) *gul*, verbalizing pl., with article "those who were....".

(142) *tsu<sup>ʔ</sup>um*, cry. See note 29.

(143) Idiomatic phrase abbreviation of *tsitci'nEmc*; *its-....-Emc*, cont. intr.; *ätcEn*, do with.

(144) See notes 69, 129. *q<sup>ʔ</sup>i<sup>ʔ</sup>*, stick to; -*ilgwäs*, heart.

(145) *s* before stem vowel initial > *y*. See note 52. -*ätc*, def. obj. with imp.; -*ul*, 2 pl. imp.

(146) See notes 9, 42. *s-....-Ems*, 3-3 inten.

<i>hɔi</i> then	<i>a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup></i> (36) he went out	<i>ttenä'k<sup>wä</sup><sup>ä</sup></i> (147). one of them	<i>hɔi</i> then	<i>xui</i> (29) he went
<i>tsitci'nEmc</i> ?(143) what is the matter	<i>ta'xux</i> (148) she was dead	<i>x<sup>wä</sup></i> the	<i>smä<sup>ä</sup>mu'lumx<sup>w</sup>silc</i> (92) their sister	
<i>a<sup>a</sup>ta'p</i> (149) she was shot	<i>ät<sup>ä</sup>ta'pämEn</i> (150) with an arrow	<i>ätclä'k<sup>w</sup></i> (151). sticking in her	<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> (4) he said	
<i>ta'xux</i> (148) she is dead	<i>x<sup>w</sup>a</i> the	<i>smä<sup>ä</sup>mu'lumx<sup>w</sup>ät</i> (152) our sister	<i>hiitsu'lut</i> (153). is the one who was killed	
<i>hɔi</i> then	<i>tci<sup>i</sup>t<sup>sä</sup>'tsqä<sup>ä</sup></i> (154) they went out hither	<i>tägwi'tctEm</i> (155). she was seen	<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> (4) he said	
<i>umäi</i> (156) evidently	<i>tcitcili'x<sup>w</sup></i> (1) little muskrat	<i>axi'stus</i> (134) he did it	<i>l<sup>u</sup>u<sup>u</sup></i> (157). that very one	<i>x<sup>wä</sup></i> the
<i>sci'<sup>u</sup>tEmc</i> (158) eldest	<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> (4) said	<i>hɔi</i> then	<i>tu<sup>u</sup>spu'luseN</i> (159) I am going so far as to kill him	<i>tä</i> the
<i>tcitcili'x<sup>w</sup></i> (1) little muskrat	<i>äy<sup>n</sup>i'l</i> because	<i>u<sup>u</sup>mäi</i> (160) it is plain	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>t<sup>sä</sup>'näl</i> (161) he is the one	<i>hit</i> (26) who
<i>pu'lustus</i> (162). killed her	<i>hɔi</i> then	<i>tci<sup>i</sup>fi'tct</i> (56). he set off paddling		
<i>x<sup>w</sup>i<sup>yä</sup></i> (64) this	<i>fik<sup>w</sup>t</i> (7) old woman	<i>u<sup>l</sup>pinttc</i> (163) again long	<i>ta'atsä'ts<sup>x</sup></i> (140) was watching	<i>hɔi</i> then
<i>äku'stus</i> (4) she said to him	<i>tä</i> the	<i>tcitcili'x<sup>w</sup></i> (1) little muskrat	<i>tä</i> the	<i>'ätctcä'yä'äs</i> (10) his grandmother
<i>hɔi</i> now	<i>luwä</i> (6) there	<i>tcitsäni's</i> (117). they come	<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> she said	<i>utcta'··x<sup>w</sup></i> (164) we are silent
				<i>hɔi</i> then

(147) *tte-*, prefix denoting persons in counting; *näk<sup>wä</sup><sup>ä</sup>*, one.

(148) *tax<sup>w</sup>*, one stops; final redupl., come to.

(149) *ats-ä-* followed by accented syllable > *a<sup>a</sup>t-*. See notes 44, 106.

(150) See notes 1, 106. *-im*, cause; *-En*, that which.

(151) *äts-tc-* > *ätc-*. See note 44. *tc-*, on at point; *täk<sup>w</sup>*, pierce with small sharp object.

(152) See note 92. *-ät*, 1st pl. poss.

(153) See notes 71, 15, 82.

(154) *tcits-* stem vowel initial followed by accented syllable > *tci<sup>i</sup>t<sup>sä</sup>-*; see note 36.

(155) See notes 51, 35, 11.

(156) *u-*, objective form of verb.

(157) *l<sup>u</sup>u<sup>u</sup>*, dim. emphatic demon. cp. forms of note 22.

(158) *s-*, nom.; *ci<sup>i</sup>t*, be first; *-Emc*, born (?).

(159) See notes 82, 121.

(160) Cp. note 156.

(161) *tsä'näl*, indep. pronoun 3d person. *äts-ts-* before accented syllable > *ä<sup>ä</sup>ts-*, see note 44.

(162) See notes 4, 82; *pulut* takes cust. pronouns in compl.

(163) See note 9; *pinttc*, always.

(164) See notes 148, 156. *tc-*, 1st pl. subj.

<i>tcitäxu'i</i> (165)	<i>kum̄</i>	<i>ä'mic</i> (166)	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcitcä'yä'äs</i> (2)	
before they got there she went	then	she sat down	the	his grandmother	
<i>lä</i>	<i>tcs'ämi'cEnts</i> (167)	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcitcä'yä'äs</i> (2)	<i>hwi</i>	
she	sat caring for him	the	his grandmother	then	
<i>tcit'sa'qaq</i> (58).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>kum̄</i>	<i>tcitsx<sup>wi</sup>'st</i> (168).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>tcin'u'l<sup>w</sup></i> (169)
they came ashore	and	then	he came	then	he came in
<i>kum̄</i>	<i>tsk<sup>wi</sup>'nEm</i> (170)	<i>kuwä</i> (6)	<i>siyo'lalq<sup>w</sup></i> (171).		
then	he took it	that	stick		
<i>äku'stus</i> (4)	<i>nä<sup>ä</sup></i>	<i>kuwä</i> (172)	<i>l</i> (111)	<i>pu'lustx<sup>w</sup></i> (173)	
he said to him		you must be	the one who	killed her	
<i>xwä</i>	<i>smä<sup>ä</sup>mu'lumxwät</i> (152).				
the	our sister.				
<i>äk<sup>wn</sup></i> (4)	<i>tcitcä'yä'äs</i> (2)	<i>lut</i>	<i>lut</i>	<i>atskukū'ytsEn'</i>	
she said	his grandmother	no	no	he is small and	
<i>mīstp</i> (174)	<i>hä!</i> (175)	<i>ni</i>	<i>lut</i> (176)	<i>pupu'lustp</i> (177).	
helpless	why	did	you not	beat him up	
<i>hil</i> (26)	<i>xwi'l</i> (32)	<i>itsäxi'l</i> (178)	<i>it'etä'l<sup>w</sup></i> (179)	<i>lutäyts-</i>	
that is	the way	it is like	that he lies little	he never	
<i>xwä'tic</i> (180).	<i>äk<sup>wn</sup></i> (4)	<i>hil</i> (26)	<i>kum̄</i>	<i>ä<sup>ä</sup>sä'gwät</i> (181)	
gets up	he said	who could		it have been	
<i>hil</i> (26)	<i>tcäyaxi'lEm</i> (182).	<i>kum̄</i>	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcitcili'x<sup>w</sup></i> (1)	<i>änä</i>
that	would do it?	then	the	little muskrat	änä
<i>lilä'lts</i> (75)	<i>quqō'mqEn</i> (183)	<i>tcitcä'yä<sup>ä</sup></i> (2).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>kum̄</i>	
sprinkle it for me	my little head	grandmother	and	then	

(165) *tcitä-*, from there hither; see note 29.

(166) See note 113. *-ic*, be in act of.

(167) See notes 113, 166; 42, 35. *tcs-*, for a purpose.

(168) See notes 18, 20.

(169) *tcits-n'* before accented syllable > *tcin'*. See notes 18, 123.

(170) *ts-* . . . *-Em*, 3 cont. intr.; see note 42.

(171) *siyo-lalq<sup>w</sup>*, general word for "stick, piece of wood"; *-alq<sup>w</sup>*, long object.

(172) *kuwä*, indep. pronoun, 2 sing.

(173) See notes 82, 129, 162.

(174) See notes 1, 3; *Ruy*, waste; *-tsin*, mouth, edge; *-m*, cause (?); *-stp*, 2 pl.-3 cust.

(175) Exclamation.

(176) *ni lut*, interrogative expects answer "yes".

(177) See notes, 1, 82, 174.

(178) See notes 15, 132. Accent of bisyllabic stem is on second syllable in cont.

(179) *ts-t'* > *t'*; see note 57.

(180) See notes 69, 15, 166. *s-t'* > *y*; *xwät'*, move hurriedly.

(181) *äts-s-* before accented syllable > *ä<sup>ä</sup>s-*. See note 44. *sägwät*, who is it?

(182) See notes 93, 132; *s-* . . . *Em*, inten.

(183) See notes 33, 45. Baby talk without poss. *hū-*.

<i>nä<sup>ä</sup></i>	<i>tü<sup>u</sup></i> (184)	<i>gwüni' x<sup>w</sup></i> (185) it must be true	<i>kum'</i> if	<i>tcä<sup>ä</sup></i> (186) ought	<i>lutä'i<sup>i</sup></i> he
<i>tsä'lm</i>	<i>entsut. s</i> (187). never to get up	<i>höi</i>	<i>ul'a'tsqä<sup>ä</sup></i> (188) then he went out off	<i>höi</i>	<i>ult'i'tct</i> (189). then again he paddled
<i>äku'stus</i> (4)	<i>lä</i> he said to her	<i>tcücä'yä'äs</i> (2) the his grandmother	<i>lä</i>	<i>'ätcücili' x<sup>w</sup></i> (1) the little muskrat	
<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> (4)	<i>na</i>	<i>'atsä'ts<sup>x</sup>stx<sup>w</sup></i> (190) he said keep watching him	<i>nä<sup>ä</sup></i>	<i>cil</i>	<i>sinq<sup>w</sup>ä'nip</i> (191) just as he goes out of sight
<i>nä<sup>ä</sup></i>	<i>kuträhi'm</i> (192). give a warwhoop	<i>kum'</i> then	<i>nä<sup>ä</sup></i>	<i>kunk<sup>wi</sup>'nem</i> (193) sing out then	<i>kum'</i>
<i>nä<sup>ä</sup></i>	<i>kuq<sup>w</sup>ä'ymentsut</i> (194). dance	<i>höi</i> then	<i>a<sup>t</sup>tsä'tsats<sup>x</sup>stus</i> (195) she kept watching him	<i>cil</i> just he	
<i>tcäl</i>	<i>ucil</i>	<i>tsanq<sup>w</sup>ä'nip</i> (196) was just on the point of going out of sight	<i>höi</i>	<i>trähi'm</i> (192) then she let out a warwhoop	
<i>äk<sup>w</sup>n</i> (4)	<i>uhu. . .</i> she said uhu. . .	<i>pupu'luttEmilc</i> (197) she was killed for them		<i>lä</i> the only	
<i>sni&gt;'smä'i'msilc</i> (198)	<i>lä</i>	<i>gul</i> (141) their woman among them those who	<i>lutluku'</i> (83). are otters	<i>äncet-</i> stuck in the	
<i>i' . . tcñ</i> (199)	<i>älEfa-pämEñ</i> (150) back with a little arrow	<i>kum'</i> then	<i>hundux<sup>wi</sup>tk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup></i> (108) into the water she fell		
<i>lä</i>	<i>q<sup>o</sup>'mqEs</i> (45). her head (first)				
<i>höi</i>	<i>nä<sup>ä</sup>ku'</i> (25) then they thought	<i>gul</i> (141) the	<i>litku'</i> (83) otters	<i>kum'</i> then	

(184) Element used in answering question, needs no translation.

(185) *gwün-ix<sup>w</sup>*, be true, perhaps analyzed *gwän*, deep, low; *-ix<sup>w</sup>*, willingly (?)

(186) *tcä<sup>ä</sup>*, element meaning "ought".

(187) See notes 69, 15, 124, 2; *its-* vowel stem initial > *i'ts-*; *äl*, person moves. The negative often takes a nom. form, the cont. seems to be nom.

(188) See notes 9, 36.

(189) See notes 9, 56.

(190) See notes 54, 119, 129.

(191) *s-hin-* > *sin-*; *s-* nom. See notes 17, 49.

(192) See note 15; *trähim*, give war cry.

(193) See notes 15, 17. *k<sup>wi</sup>n*, sing (always with prefix *hm-*).

(194) See notes 15, 124. *q<sup>w</sup>aj*, bounce.

(195) See notes 3, 54, 119, 4; *ats-* vowel stem initial > *a<sup>t</sup>ts-*.

(196) See notes 49, 51. The construction with this order of syntactic elements preceding indicates a past fut.

(197) See notes 1, 82, 75, 11, 3.

(198) See notes 92, 48. *ni'<sup>t</sup>*, among, used for superlative, in this case, "their onliest". Accent moves forward one syllable with *-ilc*.

(199) See notes 44, 96. *-itcñ*, back.

<i>tcätsä'gwät</i> (200)?	<i>fi'</i>	<i>äätsä'näl</i> (161)	<i>pu'lustus</i> (162).	<i>hwi</i>
who would it be?	surely	he is the one	he killed her	then
<i>ultci'fi'tct</i> (56)		<i>ultci'fitct</i> (56).	<i>ultci'tsa'qaq</i> (58).	
back hither they paddled		back hither they paddled	again they came ashore	
<i>kum</i>	<i>xwi'ł</i> (32)	<i>itsq'wä'ymentsut</i> (201).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>ulmła'xpEm</i> (202)
then	here	she was mocking	then	again into the hole (she went)
<i>xwä</i>	<i>tätc</i>	<i>syElxwi'lups.</i> (203)	<i>xwi'ł</i> (32)	<i>tcutsäxi'stus</i> (204)
the	toward	hide spread under his bed	there	hither she did thus
<i>äluxwi' . . .</i> (205)	<i>hwi</i>	<i>nulxw</i> (123)	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcitcili'xw</i> (1).
into the hole	then	he went in	the	little muskrat
<i>hwi</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcitcä'yä'äs</i> (2)	<i>yElxwu'lumxwunts</i> (206).
and	then	the	his grandmother	pulled blanket over it
<i>xwi'ł</i> (32)	<i>ul'axi'stus</i> (207).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>nulxw</i> (123)
thus	she did it again	and	then	he went in
<i>lä</i>	<i>lutku'</i> (83)	<i>tču' . . .</i> (29).	<i>im</i>	<i>yä'äxu'sEmis</i> (208)
the	otter	no one	in vain	he searched it
<i>tču'</i>	<i>ul'a'tsqä'ä</i> (188)	<i>tcicä'ltc</i> (209)	<i>tču' . . .</i>	<i>hwi</i>
no one	again he came out	hither he went around	no one	then
<i>ultci'nu'lxw</i> (169)	<i>hwi</i>	<i>xwi'ł</i> (32)	<i>tcutsäxi'stus</i> (204)	<i>tcic</i>
again hither he went in	then	thus	he did hither	there
<i>'äluxwluxwi' . . .</i> (210).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>xwi'ł</i> (32)	<i>a'xal</i> (211)	<i>fi'</i>
were just holes	then	thus he	did	surely
<i>hınlErwi'tctments</i> (212).	<i>xwi'ł</i> (32)	<i>axi'stus</i> (207).	<i>hwi</i>	
he reached down in it	thus	he did it	then	
<i>tätc</i>	<i>si'kwä'ä</i> (99)	<i>hındi'k'w</i> (213)	<i>tätc</i>	<i>łuwä</i> (6)
toward	the water	he crossed	to	the

(200) See notes 9, 181.

(201) See notes 15, 124, 194.

(202) See notes 9, 17; *łaxp*, rush; *-Em*, cont. intr.(203) *s-*, nom.; *yälxw*, cover with blanket; *-ilup*, floor, foundation. See note 2.

(204) See notes 117, 134, 4.

(205) See notes 44, 95, 91.

(206) See notes 203, 38, 74, 35.

(207) See notes 9, 134, 4.

(208) *s-* vowel > *y*; *axus*, look for; redupl. again and again.(209) *tcits-c-* before accented syllable > *tcic-*; *cältc*, go in circle.

(210) See notes 44, 95, 91; redupl. pl.

(211) *xwi'łt a'xal*, idiom, "it was thus". These words (see notes 32 and 132) are so closely related in this sense that in one case they are even incorporated together as one word between the syntactic elements of a verb complex.(212) See notes 98, 42, 35. *łarw*, plunge headfirst; *-itct*, hand, fingers; *-Em*, caus.(213) See notes 17, 127. In this case *di'k'w* lacks *-s* which it has when a "person crosses".

<i>nlä<sup>ä</sup>ni' tk<sup>w</sup>ä<sup>ä</sup></i> (214)	<i>w<sup>u</sup>lux<sup>wi'</sup> . . .</i> (215)	<i>stum</i>	<i>ya'qut</i> (216)	<i>hwi</i>	
other side of the water	just holes	?	?	then	
<i>x<sup>wi'</sup>l</i> (32)	<i>a' xal</i> (211)	<i>uttanler<sup>wi'</sup>tctments</i> (217).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>im</i>	
thus he	did	again he reached into it	then	in vain	
<i>hwi</i>	<i>tEdmi'nts</i> (218)	<i>hwi</i>	<i>l</i> (111)	<i>idEdü'ldil</i>	<i>tsi'<sup>'</sup></i> (34)
then	he failed at it	then	where	there were bushes	there
<i>tsä<sup>ä</sup>n<sup>'</sup>u' tx<sup>w</sup></i> (219).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>hinxux<sup>w</sup>a' tpałqs</i> (220).			
they went in under	then	the end of the road.			

(214) See note 98; *tä<sup>ä</sup>n*, demon. verb related to forms of notes 22, 102, 157 (see §§ 699-708).

(215) See notes 95, 91. *u-äts-l* > *w<sup>u</sup>l*-; *u*-, just; *äts*-, made so.

(216) Untranslatable.

(217) See notes 9, 51, 212.

(218) *tEdmin*, fail at, probably a compound; see note 35.

(219) *tsän-n* before accented syllable > *tsä<sup>ä</sup>n*-. See notes 51, 123.

(220) Formal ending of story. See note 17. *x<sup>w</sup>at*, come to end; *-alqs*, road. This analysis is only a guess for this is an old phrase used only in this sense.