

AN EDITION OF FATHER POST'S KALISPEL GRAMMAR

By

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B.A., University of Montana, 1971

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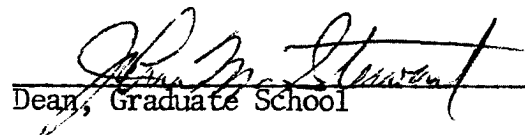
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ABSTRACT

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

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

Director: Anthony Mattina *AM*

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

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

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

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

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

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1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

After spending the years 1891-1895 at Sacred Heart Mission, DeSmet, Idaho, Post labored six years in Alaska at Akulurak, Holy Cross and St. Michael's missions. An Innuait grammar was begun here, but never completed. Returning to St. Ignatius, 1901-1905, Post's ultimate assignment was to work with the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. He remained with them at DeSmet from

1905 until his death thirty-five years later on December 27, 1940 at the age of eighty-four. (Carriker, p. 16)

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

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

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

Salishan languages are, or were, spoken mainly in Washington and southern British Columbia. They belong to one of two large divisions, Coast Salishan, west of the Cascade Mountains, and Interior Salishan from east of the Cascades to the Rocky Mountains of Montana. Languages of the interior group are further classed as northern or southern: the

Thompson, Shuswap and Lillooet languages of southern British Columbia constitute the former sub-group, while Columbian, Okanagan-Colville, Coeur d'Alene, and Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead,¹ the latter, which are spoken from east of the Columbia River in Washington to the east side of the Montana Rockies (Carlson 1972, p. iii).

Prior to Post's grammar, Joseph Giorda published an extensive dictionary of Kalispel in 1877-79 and Mengarini a grammar (in Latin) in 1861.² Post had access to both these documents, and in his own grammar he makes frequent references to these works as "Dict. I and II" and "Mengarini".³ He also refers to a "Giorda Catechism", to a "Bible", and to "Balt.", but unfortunately does not identify these works either in a bibliographic list or in the body of his grammar.⁴ I have not attempted to gain access to any of these documents, limiting myself to retaining Post's notations.

In 1940 Hans Vogt published a Kalispel grammar with texts and dictionary; in 1972 Barry Carlson completed a grammar of Spokane, and shortly afterward, an undated, unpublished dictionary. Vogt was apparently unaware of Post's work, and cites only the Mengarini grammar and the Giorda dictionary as earlier works on the language. Interestingly enough, one of his sets of examples is identical to one of Post's.⁵ Carlson's reference to Post is the brief mention that: "More recently, another missionary, Post (1904), has done a grammatical sketch of Kalispel." Had either of these scholars had a chance to read Post's work, he would have found it an important work; though it lacks discussions of the phonology and morphophonemics, it treats the morphology extensively.

To edit the grammar I first had to retranscribe all the Kalispel data into the standard phonetic practice. I began by searching probable Spokane cognates in Carlson's Spokane dictionary, not a simple task, given not only that the orthographies were very different, but also that I first had to identify correctly the Kalispel grammatical constructions. Typically these include several affixes, which Post did not segment, and may be accompanied by particles which Post inconsistently joined to the words or wrote separately. This task was particularly difficult since I knew very little about the phonology, morphophonemics, and grammar of Salishan languages. I entered each item tentatively identified as a root on a card, listing there other forms also based on that root. I collated all the forms found in Post on about 700 cards. I found cognates for about two-thirds of the roots in Carlson's Spokane dictionary and in Vogt's Kalispel-English dictionary. I discovered cognates for many of the remaining roots by searching through Dr. Mattina's Colville and comparative Salish files (these forms are preceded by an asterik in my edition) and by eliciting them directly from Tony Incashola, a Flathead speaker from St. Ignatius, Montana. At the end of my search I was left with about 100 forms which I was unable to re-attest. These are preceded by two asteriks in my edition.

To exemplify the types of problems of analysis I was faced with, I will refer to two actual cases. In the first Post wrote and glossed chechem 'where'. While this form is almost certainly based on the root čeñ 'interrogative locative', it has an unexplained final m, and an initial element che which could be either a reduplicative prefix č- or a

particle č̣ 'addessive'. I had to conclude that the final m is a possible typographical error (m for n), and that che is most likely the reduplicative prefix. The second form is nkuinagalelsemen 'feel, think the same as'. There are two plausible analyses for this: nḳ^w-i-n-?axl-éls-mn ('one-compound connective-locative-similar-volitive-instrumental') and n-ḳ^wi-n-?axl-éls-mn ('locative-under-locative-similar-volitive-instrumental'). Both analyses are tentative, and while the first would place the n- 'locative' prefix abnormally between the two roots of a compound, nḳ^w 'one' and ?axl 'similar', the second would place the n- 'locative' prefix twice in the same form. In spite of these problems I decided that it was imperative to segment all Kalispel forms in the grammar, including the problematic ones, and to mark stress on all words with two or more vowels.

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

Following a few Preliminary Remarks on the other Salishan languages and his understanding of their relationships to Kalispel, and a very brief and incomplete Key to the Pronunciation (Chapter I, 1 page), Post discusses definite and indefinite Articles (Chapter II, 2 pages); Nouns (Chapter III, 12 pages) divided into Kinds of Nouns and Gender and Number of Nouns; Adjectives (Chapter IV, 2 pages) divided into Kinds of Adjectives and Degrees of Comparison; Numeral Adjectives (Chapter V, 3 pages); Personal Pronouns (Chapter VI, 5 pages); Possessive Pronouns (Chapter VII, 3 pages); Demonstrative, Relative, and Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns (Chapters VIII, IX, X of 1, 2, and 1 pages, respec-

tively). The main body of the grammar is the chapter on Verbs (Chapter XI, 42 pages) in which he discusses First Class of Verbs, Second Class of Verbs, derivations of verbs, and Some Special Verbs. The last four chapters are Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, and Interjections (7, 5, 2, and 1 pages). He also gives five appendices: On the Difference of Some Words (a list of synonyms and other words of related meaning, these paradigms exemplify various derivational processes), Relationship (kinship terms), Some Geographical Names, Names of Indian Tribes, and Proper Names of Persons.

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

I have, therefore, reorganized all of Post's materials.⁶ I adopted the standard Salishan orthography and retranscribed all the data. I

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

I have completely reorganized the morphology sections analyzing Kalispel forms into (uninflected) particles and (inflected) predicative words which are all basically verb-like. This was necessary because Post had endeavored to establish Kalispel word classes based on the word-class distinctions of English and other Indo-European languages, distinguishing "primitive nouns" (e.g. father, horn, stone, wagon) from "derived nouns" even though he had recognized the predicative force of words of all classes.⁸

Thus, I have organized the discussion of Kalispel morphology into 6 chapters (3-8). Chapter 3, Roots, discusses and exemplifies the intransitive nature of all roots, and their propensity for transitivization. In addition I discuss here the personal and possessive pronoun proclitics and affixes, which serve to add personal reference to roots. In chapter 4, Basic Morphological Constructions, I discuss the inflectional categories of roots: "aspect", "plural", and "diminutive": Kalispel diminutives belong to a grammatical category akin to that of plurals and fit naturally in this section. In chapter 5 I present the range of derivational patterns of all Kalispel roots including "nominal", 'have', "directional", "instrumental", "success", "benefactive", "middle", "reflexive", "imperative", "aspectual", and "modal" affixes, and "multiple derivations" ("detransitivized" stems and "transitivized"

stems). In chapter 6 I discuss compounds (forms with two roots) and complex words (words with lexical affixes). In chapter 7 I discuss particles, uninflected forms that add special reference to predicates and show relationships between predicates or clauses, while Post had treated such forms severally as adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, and articles. In the last chapter a number of "restricted words" are introduced, words that do not undergo a wide range of inflection or derivation and which have acquired somewhat restricted functions. Included here are Post's "numeral adjectives", "demonstrative pronouns", "days of the week", and "absolute pronouns".

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

FOOTNOTES

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

²Joseph Giorda, A Dictionary of Kalispel or Flathead Indian Language (St. Ignatius Mission, Montana, 1877-79). Gregorio P. Mengarini, S.J., Grammatica Linguae Selicae (New York: Cramoisey Press, 1861).

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

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

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

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

⁷Post states that "since often the meaning of the word depends on the accent, it is easily seen that the study of the accent is of importance" (p. 2), but he fails to mark it beyond the fourth page. It is not clear whether it was the typist of the original manuscript who

failed to mark it past page 4, or Post himself. (The manuscript lacks page numbers which I have added for reference.)

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

2. PHONOLOGY

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

p	t	z	ch	k
	s	ɬ	sh	g
m	n	l		

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

p: [p]	t: [t]	z: [c]	ch: [č]	ku: [k ^w]	k: [q]	ko: [q ^w]
p: [p̥]	t: [t̥]	z: [c̥]	tɬ: [ɬ̥]	ch: [č̥]	ku: [k̥ ^w]	k: [q̥]
	s: [s]	ɬ: [ɬ]	sh: [š]	gu: [x ^w]	g: [χ]	go: [χ ^w]
m: [m]	n: [n]	l: [l]	i: [y]	u: [w]		
m: [m̥]	n: [n̥]	l: [l̥]	i: [y̥]	u: [w̥]		

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

2.1. Labials and Alveolars

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

chechem	: č-čeñ	'where'
kokomeus	: q̥ ^w -q̥ ^w n-ew's	'horse of one or two years'

-aksem : -aqsn 'species, kind'

Two other examples include m in place of the expected n, reflecting perhaps some assimilation to the following [p]:

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

2.2. Laterals

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

2.2.1. 1 : [ɬ], ɬ : [1]

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

Cases of 1 presumably standing for [ɬ] include:

muslopenchstaskat	: mus-ɬ-ʔupn-čst-ásqt	'Lent'
smeel	: s-meʔɬ	'man's brother's son or daughter'
ietelgoa	: yetɬx ^{wá}	'now'
geil	: ɬiɬ	'scarcely, nearly'
znilz	: cniɬ	'they, theirs, he, his'
pizechl	: picčɬ	'leaf, leaves'
seulku	: sewɬ-k ^w	'liquor'
pelpilkui	: peɬ-pik ^{wí}	'women'
uelkup	: weɬk ^w -p	'descend'
lkotistie	: ɬq ^w -ut-íst-yeʔ (yeʔ ?)	'prostrated'
-elze	: -éičeʔ	'inside of anything, the whole'
-elgu	: -eɬx ^w	'house'
-alka	: -aiq	'smell, grain, fruit'
kael-	: *qeʔɬ-	'offspring'

I have found also three examples in which ɬ presumably stands for

[l], [i].

mei :	máli (stress ?)	'to heal'
iskoika :	?isk ^w l-q (-q ?)	'scatter'
sicheul :	s-lč ³ -e ^w í	'wooden raft'

2.2.2. l : [n]

One form has l for [n], and it may reflect an idiosyncratic replacement not unknown in other Salishan languages:²

telteleuie :	tn [?] -tn [?] wéye?	'bat (mammal)'
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2.2.3. t1 : [ʎ]

The affricated lateral stop [ʎ] is symbolized by Post as t1:

tlaka :	ʎa ^q	'hot, warm'
gatlzín :	xʎ-cin	'horse'
kuitlt :	k ^w iʎt	'several, other'
tlil :	ʎil	'dead'

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

nku ⁱ tellemiis :	nk ^w -i-ʎl-mi-s	'companion in death'
slokum :	s-ʎuk ^w -m	'(wild) carrots'
ptagozch :	pʎ-ax ^w cč	'bare-breasted'

The last two might be typographical errors.

In one word t1 stands for [ʎ]:

goetle :	x ^w ?ie	'without delay'
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2.3. Palatals

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

shemen :	šmeñ	'enemy'
chshit :	čšt	'watch, guard'
chelsh :	čelš	'hand'

-ench : -eňč 'stomach'

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

schecht : s-čěšt 'man's wife's brother or sister's husband'
tshieus : čí?-éws 'forever'

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

s'cheilegu : s-čěy-le³x^w 'shady place'
 es'chemtchinelgu : es-čm-t-čnéix^w (-t- ?) 'standing outside'
 s'hoi : s-hoy 'always'

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

es'shite : es-šít 'tree'
 ie ch'chee : ye č č³-e³ 'a little this way'
 chgut'telsi : č-x^wt-t-éls-i 'angry'
 s'sile : s-síle³ 'woman's grandfather'
 s'sii : *ssi³ 'man's uncle'

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

millegue'lse : *mil-ix^w-éls-i (mil ?) 'rest'
 chita's : čtas 'lean, poor'
 l'es-eimeus : l es-?eym-éws 'cross'

2.4. Velars and Post-velars

2.4.1. Unrounded Post-velar Stops

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

k : [q]

-kein : -qin 'head, hundred'

-aks	: -aqs	'end, nose, road'
-alks	: -alqs	'clothing, shirt'
kĩ-	: qĩ-	'subjunctive'
lak	: iaq	'sit, sg.'
kgamin	: qx-min	'horn'
pik	: piq	'white'

k : [q̣]

tlaka	: laq̣	'hot, warm'
skaspeuĩ	: s-q̣sp-euĩ	'old boat'
nak	: naq̣	'rotten (of animals)'

2.4.2. Rounded (Post)velar Stops

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

ko : [k^w]

skoalshin	: s-k ^w al-šín	'crane (bird)'
skoangan	: s-k ^w an-xn	'slave, captive'
koleuti	: *k ^w l-éwt-i	'They sit/live together.'

ko : [ḳ^w]

koe	: ḳ ^w e?	'bite'
milko	: milḳ ^w	'whole, all'
smekot	: s-meḳ ^w -t	'snow (on the ground)'
iskol	: ?isḳ ^w l	'scatter, throw away'

ko : [k^wu]

koie	: k ^w uy?é	'I'
lkot	: lk ^w -ut	'far'
ko	: k ^w u	'me'
tkooti	: tk ^w ?-út-i	'march'
komi	: k ^w mi?	'would to God'
	(cf. also <u>komi</u> : q̣ ^w umi)	'take away'

ko : [k ^w u]	skoi : s-k ^w uy	'mother'
	skomelt : *s-k ^w um-lt	'virgin'
	kol : k ^w u ^l	'work, make, do'
	nko : nk ^w u?	'one'
ko : [q ^w]	-alko : -alq ^w	'long cylindrical object'
	koel : q ^w e ^l	'ripe, ready to eat'
	zkoakoi : čq ^w -áq ^w -i	'He is crying.'
ko : [q ^w]	koeit : q ^w eit	'carry on the back'
	golko : x ^w olq ^w	'wagon'
	gokolks : *x ^w q ^w -alqs	'snore'
ko : [q ^w u]	tkom : t ^w q ^w u-m	'She sews.'
	lkot : i ^w q ^w -ut	'He was lying there.'
ko : [q ^w u]	komi : q ^w umí	'take away'
	snkotlishin : s-n-q ^w u ^l -šn	'stocking'
ko : [q ^w o]	komkan : q ^w om-qn	'hair'
ku : [k ^w]	uku : ?uk ^w	'carry/bring'
	skukuez : s-k ^w -k ^w ?ec	'night'
ku : [k ^w]	luku : luk ^w	'wood'
	kutkuiteps : k ^w t-k ^w itps	'flea'
	kuinsh : k ^w inš	'how many'
ku : [k ^w u]	kup : k ^w up	'push'
	egukunem : ex ^w -k ^w un-m	'say, speak'

ku : [k^wu]
 skukui : s-k^wuk^wi 'woman's brother's child'

ku : [q^w]
 skuselt : s-q^ws^w-elt 'nephew'
 skuúí : s-q^wu^w?í 'wasp'
 kolkuelti : q^wl-q^wélt-i 'speaking'

Finally, Post writes uk for [k^w] three times, and k for [q^w] once:

ituk : itúk^w 'It's rotten.'
 melluk : melk^w 'being spread'
 slukelgu : s-luk^w-ix^w 'log house'
 olkshis : olq^w-šís 'help'

Two roots are inconsistently written, as follows:

túk^w(ú) 'set down, laid down'
 ntkueusem : n-túk^w-e^ws-m 'I place it in common.'
 tkukuelp : tk^w-k^w-elp 'camp'
 ntkoichen : n-túk^w-ičn 'placed on the back'
 sntkominten : s-n-túk^w-min-tn 'place to lay one in'

nk^wu? 'one'
 snkuskeligu : s-nk^w-sqélix^w 'neighbor'
 nkoeuí : nk^w-e^wí 'one boat'
 nkoalko : nk^w-alq^w 'cross'

2.4.3. (Post)velar Fricatives

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

g : [x]
 gaka : xaq 'pay'
 sgalgalt : s-x^wl-x^wal-t 'day'
 chgeilps : čx^wil-ps 'gray'
 gemt : xem-t 'heavy'
 azga : ?ačx 'watch, look at'

tag	: tax	'bitter'
pagpagt	: pɣ-pax-t	'wise one'
keigtem	: qixt-m	'fond of, wish to have'
go : [x ^w]		
goizits	: x ^w ic-ɪ-t-s	'He cut it off for him.'
sgoelemen	: s-x ^w el-mn	'the devil'
aigo	: ʔayx ^w	'tired'
gopt	: x ^w up-t	'He's lazy.'
pgomilsh	: pɣ ^w m-ilš	'scattered'
gu : [x ^w]		
guigueiúl	: x ^w i-x ^w ey-úɪ	'beast, animal'
sguimteku	: s-x ^w uym-tk ^w	'ice'
zitgu	: citx ^w	'house'
lgup	: lx ^w u-p	'He got hurt.'
sgusigult	: sx ^w -six ^w -lt	'child, children'
go : [x ^w]		
goeit	: x ^w ʔit	'many'
goemi	: x ^w eʔ-m-í	'flying, pl.'
goeus	: x ^w éʔ-us	'I hang it up.'
gomi	: x ^w mi	'please'
igomutie	: *ix ^w -m-útyeʔ	'sewed together'
sogoelgu	: s-ox ^w -eix ^{w3}	'hut'
snɪpogoshin	: s-n-ɪpx ^w -šin	'nail foot-wound'
ngokopusaks	: *n-x ^w uk ^w -poʔs-áqs (poʔs ?)	'forking road'

Occasionally og stands for [x^w] and ug for [x^w]:

ogtelt	: ʔox ^w -élt	'baby'
ntogkein	: n-tɣ ^w -qin	'noon'
togamenzut	: tox ^w -mn-cút	'amend himself'
ntogaks	: n-tɣ ^w -aqs	'straight road'
chelug	: člux ^w	'evening'
tugti	: túx ^w -t-i	'flying'

In one word gu represents [x^wo]:

guagualigu : *x^wó-x^wolx^w 'fox'

2.5. Glottals

2.5.1. ?

Glottal stops are never indicated in Post's transcriptions.

sinze	: s ^h n-ce?	'man's younger brother'
goelechsti	: x ^w e?l-éčst-i	'hasten, work quickly'
uz	: ?uc	'perhaps, question of possibility'
eumin	: e?u-m ^h n	'peeler'
aip	: a?í-p	'to run'
s'cheit	: s-čé?it	'spider'

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

[ʔV]

kuaal	: k ^w ?a1	'to grow'
szeesh	: s-če?éš (stress ?)	'shame'
gees	: *x?es	'content'
leéu	: l?ew	'man's father'
eep	: ?e?p	'wipe'
eem	: ?em	'feed'
smeem	: s-m?em	'woman'
shiit	: š?it	'first'
nziilsh	: n-č?-ilš	'go upstream'
chipoosatiku	: *č-i-p?os-átk ^w	'foam on water'
smoot	: s-m?ot	'smoke'
szooliguelgu	: s-č?ulix ^w -élx ^{w4}	'deer hide'
izuzuups	: i-c-c?-ups	'woman's younger sister'
tlutluus	: ʎu?-ʎ?-ús	'to look for'
tkooti	: tk ^w ?-út-i	'march, walk'
koop	: q ^w ?up	'It is tanned.'
spoons	: s-p?us	'heart'

saames : s-ʔaym-s 'hate'
 lee : *lʔe⁵ 'remain here'

[Vʔ]

geen : ɣeʔn 'forbid'
 uee : weʔ 'to call'
 smeel : s-meʔi 'man's brother's child'
 lee : leʔ 'end up, arrive'
 skussee : s-q^wseʔ 'son'
 sgagee : s-ɣaʔɣeʔ 'woman's husband's father or brother'
 tee : teʔ⁶ 'ʔ'
 shiimil : **šiʔ-mil 'exceedingly'
 tiim : tiʔm 'to melt'
 spiikalk : s-ʔiʔq-áɬq 'fruits'
 kalii : ǰliʔ 'lake'
 chiitestusementgu : *č-šiʔt-s-t-ús-m-n-t-x^w (-s-t ?)
 'You keep your eyes on it.'
 skuúí : s-q^wuʔi 'wasp'
 iuu : iuʔ 'sting, lance'

Unusual here is the double [Vʔ] sequence:

mee : meʔeʔ (stress ?) 'send away'

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

kae : qeʔ 'we, our, us'
 snkaezin : s-n-ǰeʔ-cín 'Holy Communion'
 cholzkae : čólsqeʔ⁷ 'outside'

2.5.2. h

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

hoi : hoy 'end, finally'
 koñinchehepi : k^wi-n-čeh-ép-i 'He opens the door of the lodge.'
 ah : ʔah 'Is it so!'

Where Carlson and Vogt record [ha] for the 'interrogative' particle, Post writes a. In a number of other cases it is Carlson who records h where Post and Vogt do not:

<u>Post and Vogt</u>		<u>Carlson</u>	
an-	:	han-	'your, sg.'
in-	:	hin-	'my'
es-	:	hec-	'continue, actual'
anuí	:	hanwí? (?anwí?)	'you, sg.'

2.6. Glides

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

ioko	:	yoq ^w	'to tell lies'
topie	:	túpye?	'woman's grandparent or child'
meie	:	meyé	'to tell, show, teach'
koai	:	q ^w ay	'black'
uensh	:	wenš	'to dance'
skaleu	:	s-qléw	'beaver'
cheulshi	:	čéw-lš-i	'grow old'

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

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

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

tpieut	:	tpy-éwt	'things are standing'
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sueuɪ	: s- ^w ewɪ	'a fish'
siopieut	: *s-yo-p-yéw-t (yew ?)	'ability'

2.7. Vowels

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

i	u
e	o
a	

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

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

guízits	: x ^w ič-ɪ-t-s	'He gave it to him.'
goízits	: x ^w ic-ɪ-t-s	'He cut it off for him.'
skuuɪ	: s-q ^w uʔɪ	'wasp'
skooɪ	: s-č ^w uɪ	'dust'
chin zgup	: čin cx ^w u-p	'I am growing feeble.'
chin zgop	: čin **cx ^w u-p	'I am growing better.'

On the other hand, allophonic variation accounts for Post's transcription of a few cases of presumed /u/ as o:

tom	: tum̃	'woman's mother'
spoos	: s-pʔus	'heart'
open	: ʔupn	'ten'

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

a : e

itgoas : ʔitx^weʔ-s 'his camas'

e : a

mei : máli (?) 'to heal' (meiengu 'healed breast')

i : e

-isshin : -esšń 'stone' (gasisshin 'beautiful stone')

kuin : k^wen 'take, grab'

siin : syen (siyén) 'to count'

koiz : q^weč 'full' (nkoizelze 'full (person)')

łip : łep 'dwindle' (chines łipsi 'my fire is going out')

skim : s^qe-m 'to split' (sguskim 'wood splitter')

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

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

[VV]

oóst	: oós-t	'lost'
paap	: ɣaáp	'caught fire'
gaa	: xaá	'fan'
chaaz	: č-aác	'cling'

But some presumed long vowels are recorded short:

paulegu : paa-úlex^w 'burnt land'

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

paag : paḡ 'cure'

skool : s-q^wuɪ 'dust'

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

siin : siyén (syen) 'to count'

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

zuut : cut 'behavior'

tellemiis : ʔl-mi-s 'companions in death'

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

čín pu-pus-é··ńč 'I am most sorry.'

k^wtú··n-t lu? i-s-ɣm-éńč 'very great is my love'

2.8. Stress

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

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

2.9. Morphophonemic Alternations

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

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

i-s-k ^w uy	(< in-s-k ^w uy)	'my mother'
a-s-p [?] us	(< an-s-p [?] us)	'your heart'
i čin xes, u ta i či	(< čin) *s-x [?] es	'I am not (?) well, I am not contented.'

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

šmeň	'enemy'	šmey-s	'his enemy'
ťap-mín	'arrow'	ťap-mí-s	'his arrow'
n-čaw-mn	'prayer'	n-čaw-mi-s	'his prayer'

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

tu [?] s-xes-t-s	tu [?] s-tiš-c	(< s-tiš-s)	tu [?] s-p [?] us-c
(< s-p [?] us-s)	tu [?] J.C.		

'How good and sweet is the heart of J.C.' (D II p. 438)

4) ī of qī- 'subjunctive' is lost before s- 'nominal', es- 'actual', eī- 'back' and epī- 'have'.

či q-s-ilmíx ^w	'I want to be chief.'
či q-es-ilmíx ^w	'I want always to be chief.'
(for the deletion of <u>n</u> of <u>čin</u> before <u>qī-</u> , see 6 below)	
i-q-eī-x ^w íc-ī-t-m	'I wish to give it again.'
swet q-ep-sté [?] īi [?] é	'Who may own this?'

5) ī of epī- 'have' is deleted before s.

ep-s-p [?] ús	'He has a heart.'
čin ep-sx ^w -síx ^w -lt	'I have children.'

6) n of in- 'my', an- 'thy', and čin 'I' deletes before qī- 'subjunctive'.

i-qī-nóx^w-no^w 'I want her for my wife.' (D II p. 430)

či qī-ilmíx^w 'I want to be the chief.'

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

y-es-?áčx-m (< in-es-?áčx-m) řu? es-č-ča?l-éls-i

'I visit the sick.'

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

a-s-?áčx-m 'Thou lookest at him.'

9) e of qe? 'we' becomes a before qī- 'subjunctive'.⁸

qa? qī-n-řs-élče?-i 'Let us have clean vessels.' (D I p. 164)

10) Two identical contiguous consonants simplify:⁹

i-s-?em-mín > i-s-?em-ín 'my food'

s-n-mi-p-m-íst-tñ > s-n-mi-p-m-íst-n 'confessional'

11) Metathesis: VC₂ of weak roots followed by unstressed suffixes metathesizes (C₂V):¹⁰

k^wné-m (< k^wen-m) 'He took (something).'

čin es-tk^wú-m-i (es-túk^w-m-i) 'I am lying down.'

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

y-es-řu?-áq-ř-t-m (in-es-řu?-áqs-ř-t-em)

'I sting the nose of his...'

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

(See also 3.2.2.1.)

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

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

k ^w n-ci-t (< k ^w en-n-t-sí-et)	'We took thee.'
wič-n-c-n (< wíč-n-t-si-en)	'I have seen thee.'

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

wič-n-c (< wíč-n-t-si-es)	'He has seen thee.'
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(See also 3.2.2.5.)

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

nk ^w o?-qin (< nk ^w u?-qin)	'hundred'
?amót-qn (< ?emut-qin)	'old Indian god'
-aposqn (< -ep-us-qin)	'mouth, lips, throat'

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

y-es-maq-q-ám (< in-es-maq-q-ém)	'I forbid him to start.'
y-es-psa-p-ám (< in-es-psa-p-ém)	'I surprise him.'
es-psa-p-s-t-án (< es-psa-p-s-t-én)	'I make him wonder.'
y-es-psa-p-mán-m (< in-es-psa-p-mín-m)	'I wonder at him.'
psa-p-má-n (< psa-p-mín-n-t-en)	'I admire him.'
**es-pat-n-t-án (< es-pat-n-t-én)	'I poultice it.' (D I p. 479)
y-es- ² tma- ² i-t-ám (< in-es- ² tam- ² i-t-ém)	'I kiss his...'
² tma-n-t-án (< ² tam-n-t-én)	'I kiss it.' (D I p. 564)
² tma- ² i-t-án (< ² tam- ² i-t-én)	'I kiss his...'
² tma-n-t-ák ^w (< ² tam-n-t-ék ^w)	'Kiss his...'
n- ² tam-cá-n (< n- ² tam-cín-n-t-en) ; y-es-n- ² tam-can-m	
'I kiss his mouth (lips).' (-cin 'mouth')	
n- ² tam-cán-t (< n- ² tam-cín-n-t)	'Kiss his mouth (lips).'

y-es-¹tm-áčs-m (< in-es-¹tam-ečs-m) ; ¹tm-áčs-n (< ¹tam-éčs-n-t-en)

'I kiss his hand.' (-ečs(t) 'hand')

n-¹tm-ačs-n-t (< n-¹tam-éčs-n-t) 'Kiss his hand!'

n-¹cal-átk^w (< n-¹cal-étk^w) 'cold water'

čī-p[?]os-átk^w (< čī-p[?]os-étk^w) 'foam on water'

es-č-s-čl-áws (< es-č-s-čil-éws) 'thing hanging'

es-č-s-čl-ális (< es-č-s-čil-élis) 'things hanging'

čīn es-k^wi-n-čn-m-áp-i (< es-k^wi-n-čan-m-ép-i)

'I lock the door.'

FOOTNOTES

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

²Personal communication with Dr. Mattina.

³Cf. Incashola's scx^w-eix^w.

⁴-elx^w remains unexplained, but cf. Vogt's ču?lix^wélx^w and Carlson's čʔ-ulix^w-élx^w.

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

⁶This must be cognate with Colville itiʔ, ataʔ 'demonstrative'.

⁷z for [s] is unexplained.

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

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

¹⁰A weak root is unstressed in combination with a suffix vowel. For a discussion of stress in Spokane see Carlson (1972) pp. 22-26, and in Colville see Mattina (1973) pp. 25-28.

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

3. ROOTS

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

ʔil	'die'	lič	'bind'
nič	'cut/saw'	**ɬup	'lean/poor'
p̄yaq	'ripe'	lʔew	'father (boy's)'
qecč	'elder brother'	tuṃ	'mother (girl's)'
q̄ett	'skin, hide'	q̄liʔ	'lake'
s̄wew̄ɬ	'fish'	s̄šēṃš	'stone'
qʷest	'deep snow'	čelš	'hand'
x̄ʷolq̄ʷ	'wagon'		

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

qaʔú	'break'	ʔéyeʔ	'evil, bad'
itúkʷ	'rotten (wood)'	m̄estm̄	'father (girl's)'

3.1. Intransitive Constructions

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

č̄in	'I'	qeʔ	'we'
kʷ	'thou'	p	'you'

Third person singular and plural is unmarked.

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

č̄in	ʔil	'I died.'	qeʔ	ʔil	'We died.'
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k ^w ʎil	'Thou died.'	p ʎil	'You died.'
ʎil	'He/they died.'	čin čaʔl	'I was sick.'
čin ʔemút	'I dwell.'	čin ʔenés	'I go on my way.'

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

k ^w u ʔaym-t	'Someone is vexed, angry.'
k ^w u ilmíx ^w -m	'Someone is chief (on est chef).'

3.1.1. Expanded Intransitive Constructions

Normally, roots are accompanied by affixes, the most common of which are es¹ 'actual', -i 'continuative', -m 'middle', -t 'stative', and -p 'non-control'.² All of these affixes except -i 'continuative' also occur in transitive derivations.³

čin es-k ^w úł	'I am made.'
čin es-k ^w úł-i	'I am made; I work.'
čin k ^w úł-m	'I worked.'
čin es-ʔúk ^w	'I am brought/carried.'
čin es-ʔúk ^w -i	'I am brought; I bring/carry.'
čin ʔuk ^w -m	'I bring/carry.'
čin es-čáʔl	'I am continually unwell.'
čaʔl-m-í	'He is sick.'
čin es-čaʔl-m-í	'I am continually unwell.'
p es-č ³ -esél-i	'You are two by two.'
čal-t	'It is cold.'
es-suk ^w ú-t-i	'It is swollen.'
čin es-cúw-t-i	'I say.'
maŵ-p	'It broke accidentally.'
čin sli-p	'I mistook unintentionally.'
es-taal-p-m-í	'It becomes loose.'

3.1.2. Possessive Intransitives

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

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

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

in-1ʔéw	'He is my father.'	qeʔ 1ʔew	'He is our father.'
an-1ʔéw	'He is thy father.'	1ʔew-mp	'He is your father.'
	1ʔew-s		'He is his/their father.'

The possessive affixes undergo morphophonemic changes in certain environments. n of in- and an- is deleted before es- 'actual' or s. i is non-syllabic before vowels, thus i-es- → y-es-. e is deleted in the sequence a-es- to yield a-s-. -m 'middle' plus -mp 'second person plural possessive' yields -mp by a rule of cluster simplification. -s 'third person possessive' → -c after s or š. Also, n → i before -s. Examples of these changes, and of possessive intransitives which frequently occur with the 'actual' aspect prefix es- and the 'middle' suffix -m, follow:

citx ^w -s	Pierre		'It is Peter's house.'
xʔ ^l -ci-s	i-s-q ^w séʔ		'It is my son's horse.'
s-k ^w uy-s	k ^w l ^l -n-cut-n		'She is the Mother of God.'
s-p ^ʔ us-c	k ^w l ^l -n-cut-n		'It is the heart of God.'
čeň	ɪuʔ xes-t an-xc-núm-tn		'Where are your nice clothes?'
x ^w l	i-s-k ^w t-s-qéltč	u ʔayx ^w -t	ɪuʔ in-n-č-ʔemt-éws-tn
	'On account of corpulency my horse is tired out.'		

ʔil ʔu? in-ʔʌ-cín nem an-ʔʌ-cín ʔu? kʷen

'My horse died; it is thy horse I will take.'

y-es-kʷúí-m 'It is my doing (I am doing/making it).'

a-s-kʷúí-m 'It is thy doing (thou art doing/making it).'

es-kʷúí-m-s 'It is his/their doing (he/they are doing it).'

qe? es-kʷúí-m 'It is our doing (we are doing/making it).'

es-kʷúí-mp 'It is your doing (you are doing/making it).'

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

kʷu	'I'	qe?	'we'
kʷ	'thou'	p	'you'

Intransitive possessives translate in English as predicate nominatives:

kʷ in-1ʔéw	'Thou art my father.'
kʷu 1ʔew-s	'I am his father.' (D I p. 546)
in-ilmíxʷ-m	'He is my chief.'
a-sín-ce?	'He is thy younger brother.'
kʷu ec-wé?-m-s	'I am his calling (he calls to me).' (Bible p. 3)
kʷ **čltič-s t s-túlixʷ	'You are the Lord of the world.'
in-noxʷ-noxʷ ʔu? Marie	'I have Mary for wife (Mary is my wife).'
an-1ʔéw ʔu? kʷí-n-cut-n	'You have God for father (God is your father).'
kʷu an-ilmíxʷ-m, kʷu an-kʷí-n-cút-n	'I am thy chief, I, thy God.'

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

tions of these forms can be inferred on the model of the following:

k^wu a-s-c-lič³ 'I am thy bound one; I am the one bound by thee.'

TABLE 1
 POSSESSIVE INTRANSITIVE PARADIGM WITH STRESSED ROOT lič 'bind'

Intransitive Person Referent	Possessor	1 sg.	2 sg.	3 General	1 pl.	2 pl.
1 sg.	k ^w i-s-c-lič ³	k ^w u a-s-c-lič ³	k ^w u s-c-lič ³ -s	k ^w u s-c-lič ³ -mp		
2 sg.	k ^w i-s-c-lič ³		k ^w s-c-lič ³ -s	k ^w s-c-lič ³		
3 General	i-s-c-lič ³	a-s-c-lič ³	s-c-lič ³ -s	qe? s-c-lič ³	s-c-lič ³ -mp	
1 pl.		qe? s-c-lič ³ -l-l-t	qe? s-c-lič ³ -l-l-s		qe? s-c-lič ³ -l-l-t	
2 pl.	p i-s-c-lič ³		p s-c-lič ³ -s	p s-c-lič ³		

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

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

k ^w	px ^w -ut	'Thou art our father.'
k ^w	es-ʔáçx-m	'Thou art our looking (we look at thee).'
p	px ^w -ut	'You are our father.'
p	es-ʔáçx-m	'You are our looking (we look at you).'

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

qe?	sx ^w -six ^w -lt-íl-t	'We are your children.'
qe?	px ^w -ut-íl-t	'We are your fathers.'
qe?	es-ʔáçx-íl-t	'We are your looking (you look at us).'
qe?	*es-čšť-íull-t	'We are your guarding (you guard us).'

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

qe?	sx ^w -six ^w -lt-íl-s	'We are his/their children.'
qe?	es-ʔáçx-íl-s	'We are his/their looking (he looks at us).'
qe?	*es-čšť-íull-s	'We are his/their guarding (he guards us).'

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

k^wu es-lčí-m (NOT: k^wu es-lčí-m-s) 'I am being bound by someone.'

k^wu es-ʔáçx-m

'Someone looks at me (I am looked at by someone).'

k^w es-ʔáçx-m

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

es-ʔáçx-m

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

qeʔ es-ʔáçx-łl-t

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

p es-ʔáçx-m

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

ta swet a-q-s-č-čx^w-épleʔ-m łuʔ t anwíʔ a-s-nk^w-elíx^w, u łuʔ
anwíʔ nex^w ta k^w q-s-č-čx^w-épleʔ-m 'Do not judge thy
fellowmen (compatriots) and one will not judge thee.'

(Bible p. 70)

3.2. Transitive Constructions

Kalispel roots participate in transitive constructions marked by a suffix -t 'transitive' preceded by one of four other transitive suffixes: -n 'simple transitive', -s 'causative', -ł 'relational', and -ši 'benefactive'.⁷ Apparently any root can participate in all four transitive derivations:⁸

n-ʔeys-n (< n-ʔeys-n-t-n)	'I pay for it.'
es-n-ʔéy-s-t-n	'I pay for it.'
n-ʔey-ł-t-n	'I pay him his.'
n-ʔey-š-t-n	'I pay for him, help him paying.'

3.2.1. Actor Referents

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

-en	'I'	-et	'we'
-ex ^w	'thou'	-ép	'you'
	-es		'he/they'

The vowel of the suffix is retained with weak roots and deleted with stressed roots or following -ši 'benefactive'.

3.2.2. Goal Referents

Goal referents are marked in various ways:

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

ac-n-t-én	'I tied it.'
ac-n-t-éx ^w	'Thou tied it.'
ac-n-t-és	'He/they tied it.'
qe? ac-n-t-ém	'We tied it.'
ac-n-t-ép	'You tied it.'

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

k ^w ul [?] -n	'I made it.'
es-k ^w ul [?] -s-t-n	'I made it always.'
k ^w ul [?] -i-s	'He made it.'
k ^w ul [?] -s-t-s ⁹	'He made it always.'

Other examples:

?uk ^w -n	'I bring/carry it.'
čew [?] -s-n (< čew [?] -us-n)	'I wash his face.'
ɬu [?] -éčs-n	'I sting his hand.'
ɬu [?] -áqs-n	'I sting his nose.'
ɬu [?] -ús-n	'I sting his face.'
n-qe [?] -cí-n (< n-qe [?] -cín-n-t-en)	'I gave Holy Communion to him.'
ul-n-t-én	'I burn it.'
*čšt [?] -n-t-en	'I guard it.'
ɬl-n-t-én	'I cause him to die.'
ɬu [?] -n-t-čn	'I wound/lance it.'
sq [?] -n-t-en	'I split it.'

ʔl-p-s-t-én	'I cause him to stop.'
n-py-el-s-t-n (< n-py-éls-s-t-en)	'I make him to rejoice.'
ʔu?-éč-í-t-n (< ʔu?-éčs-í-t-en)	'I wound the hand of his...'
ʔu?-áq-í-t-n (< ʔu?-áqs-í-t-en)	'I sting the nose of his...'
ʔuk ^w -í-t-n	'I carry his...'
*čšt-í-t-en	'I guard his...'
ʔu?-í-t-én	'I sting his...'
sq-í-t-en	'I split his...'
čaw-š-t-n	'I pray for him.'
mi-mi-ší-t-n	'I tell him news.'
sq-ši-t-n	'I split for him (help him split).'
ʔu?-ší-t-n	'I lance for him.'

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

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

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

ʔiɪn-t-m (< ʔiɪn-n-t-ém)	'Someone ate it, it is eaten.'
cun-t-m (< cún-n-t-em)	'Someone said it, it is said.'
ʔačx-n-t-m	'Someone looked at them.'
x ^w ič-í-t-m	'Someone gave it to him.'
s-ti-p-éys-n-t-m	'One is rained upon; it rained on them.'

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

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

3.2.2.4. The proclitic k^wu marks first person singular goal. It

accompanies constructions identical to those of third person (unmarked) goal with second person, third person, and indefinite actors.

k ^w u ʔáç̣-i-s	'He looked at me.'
k ^w u čaw-š-t-s	'He prayed for me.'
k ^w u x ^w ič-i-t-s	'He gave it to me.'
k ^w u c-qi?-ší-t-s	'He wrote to me.'
čín nt-els k ^w u x ^w ič-i-t-x ^w	
'I thought thou to have given it to me.'	
k ^w u ʔač̣-n-t-m	'Someone looked at me.'
k ^w u cun-t-m	'Someone told me; I have been told.'
k ^w u xalít-n-t-m	'I have been invited by someone.'
k ^w u n-ʔawq̣n-t-m	'I was admonished by someone.'
k ^w u lč̣-n-t-em	'Someone has bound me; I have been bound.'
k ^w u k ^w n-t-em	'I have been taken by someone.'
k ^w u x ^w ič-i-t-m	'Someone gave it to me; it was given to me.'
k ^w u mx ^w -i-t-em	'My thing has been snowed upon.'
k ^w u es-čaw-š-t-m	'Someone prays for me.'
k ^w u c-qi?-ší-t-m	'Someone has written to me.'
xes-t k ^w u n-lʔo-n-t-ém	'I deserve to be put in jail.'

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

*čšṭ-n-ci-n (< *čšṭ-n-t-sí-en)	'I guarded thee.'
es-mi-i-cí-n (< es-mi-i-t-sí-en)	ɬuʔ q-s-q ^w l-q ^w el-t-m
'I know what you say.'	
ʔač̣-n-c-n (< ʔač̣-n-t-si-en)	'I looked at thee.'
n-x̣l-x̣él-i-c-n ɬuʔ a-s-q ^w séʔ	'I scare your son.'
k ^w ul-i-c-n ɬuʔ a-s-q ^w séʔ	'I sent your son.'

k ^w ul-i-c-n lu? i-s-q ^w sé?	'I sent my son for you.'
	(D I p. 32)
n-ǵe?-cín-i-c-n lu? a-s-q ^w sé?	
'I gave Holy Communion to your son.'	
*čšt ² -n-ci-t (< *čšt ² -n-t-sí-et)	'We guarded thee.'
**čcoq-n-cí-t	'We cured thee.'
?ačx ² -n-c-t (< ?áčx ² -n-t-si-et)	'We looked at thee.'
*čšt ² -n-ci-s (< *čšt ² -n-t-sí-es)	'He guarded thee.'
?ačx ² -n-c (< ?áčx ² -n-t-si-es)	'He looked at thee.'
k ^w en-c (< k ^w én-n-t-si-es) ¹⁰	'He took thee.' (D I p. 330)

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

es-?áčx ² -s-t-m-n	'I looked at thee.'
*es-čšt ² -s-t-úm-n	'I guarded thee.'
čaw-š ² -t-m-n	'I prayed for thee.'
mi-mi-ší ² -t-m-n	'I told news to thee.'
es-?áčx ² -s-t-m-s	'He looked at thee.'
*es-čšt ² -s-t-úm-s	'He guarded thee.'
čaw-š ² -t-m-s	'He prayed for thee.'
mi-mi-ší ² -t-m-s	'He told news to thee.'
es-?áčx ² -s-t-m-t	'We looked at thee.'
*es-čšt ² -s-t-úm-t	'We guard thee.'
čaw-š ² -t-m-t	'We prayed for thee.'
mi-mi-ší ² -t-m-t	'We told news to thee.'
n-ɣl-ɣel-š ² -t-m-n lu? a-s-q ^w sé?	'I scare your son for you.'
es-ɣm-énč-s-t-x ^w lu? t šey ² u es-?áym-s-t-m-s	
'Love those who hate thee.'	

Informants often translate forms with second person singular

goals and first person plural actors as impersonal (subjectless)

expressions:

- ?ačḫ-n-c-t 'Someone looked at thee (we looked at thee).'
- mḫ^w-n-ci-t 'Thou hast been snowed (we have snowed thee).'
- čaw-š-t-m-t 'Someone prays for thee (we pray for thee).'
- t Raguel cúw-i-s: ne čin řil m sic esiyá? m x^wič-i-c-t
 'Rachel said to him: "When I die all will be given to thee."
 (Bible p. 34)
- řu? a-s-c-k^wén řéye? ře ei-q^wl-q^wil-i-cí-t
 'Your sins are already forgiven you.' (Bible p. 60)
- řu? k^w es-n-q^wń-m-řtúmš-i (-m-?) nem ei-c-n-q^wń-m-n-cí-t
 'If thou art merciful to people, people will also be merciful to
 thee.' (Bible p. 66)
- ta a-q-ei-k^wi-n-čs-tín, ři tlci? m čs-t-ři-t-m-t
 'Sin no more, lest worse should befall thee.' (Bible p. 63)
- řu? l řey? m řaxí-s-t-x^w řu? a-s-nk^w-sqélix^w, řu? t řey? nem
 ei-t-řaxí-s-t-m-t 'As you do to your neighbor, so he will do
 to you.' (Bible p. 70)

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

- qe? *čřt-řul-l-t 'You (sg. or pl.) guarded us.'
- qe? *čřt-řul-l-s 'He/they guarded us.'
- qe ?ačḫ-ř-l-t 'You (sg. or pl.) looked at us.'
- qe ?ačḫ-ř-l-s 'He/they looked at us.'
- qe? **čltič-ř-l-s t ř^wolq^w
 'He gave us a wagon (made us the owners).' (D I p. 50)

In the benefactive transitive constructions with first person

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

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

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

qe? ?ačx-i-l-t	'Someone looked at us (you looked at us).'
qe? es-čaw-š-i-l-t	'Someone prays for us (you pray for us).'
qe? es-x ^w ič-i-l-t	'Someone gave it to us (you gave it to us).'
qe? mx ^w -iul-l-t	'We got snowed (you snowed us).'
k ^w swet iu? ne qa? q-ei-cún-m iu? t šey ^y u qe? c-k ^w ul-i-l-t	'Who art thou that we may tell it to those who sent us hither.'
(Bible p. 50)	

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

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

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

čaw-š-i-m-n	'I prayed for you.'
čaw-š-i-m-t	'We prayed for you.'

čaw-š-ī-m-s	'He/they prayed for you.'
mi-mi-šī-ī-m-n	'I told news to you.'
mi-mi-šī-ī-m-t	'We told news to you.'
mi-mi-šī-ī-m-s	'He/they told news to you.'

Informants often translate these forms with -īul-m-t and -ī-m-t as impersonals. (See also 3.2.2.3. - 3.2.2.6.)¹²

ʔačx-ī-m-t	'Someone looked at you (we looked at you).'
čaw-š-ī-m-t	'Someone prays for you (we pray for you).'
x ^w ič-ī-m-t	'Someone gave it to you (we gave it to you).'

3.2.3. Transitive Imperatives

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

ʔuk ^w -n-t	'Bring/carry it!'
čew ^w -s-n-t (< čew ^w -us-n-t)	'Wash his face!'
n-ʔeys-n-t	'Pay for it!'
ulí-n-t	'Burn it!'
*čš ^w ti-n-t	'Guard it!'
sqe-n-t	'Split it!'
č-ṭm-alq ^w -n-t	'Kiss the cross!'
n-ṭm-ačs-n-t (< n-ṭam-éčs-n-t [see 2.9.])	'Kiss his hand!'
n-ṭm-ca-n-t (< n-ṭam-cin-n-t [see 2.9.])	'Kiss his mouth!'
ṣaq-n-t ɪu [?] tɪ [?] ʔeč-éwt u č [?] ec-š [?] it	'Pay them from the last to the first!'
n-ʔey-ī-t	'Pay him his...!'
ʔuk ^w -ī-t	'Carry his...!'
*čš ^w ti-ī-t	'Guard his...!'
sqe-ī-t	'Split his...!'
ɪu [?] -ī-t	'Sting his...!'
mi x ^w ič-ī-t	'Please give it to him.'
k ^w u mi-cí-ī-t ɪu [?] i-s-q ^w l-q ^w él	'Interpret my words.'
mi-mi-šī-t	'Tell him news!'

čaw-š-t	'Pray for him!'
n-ʔey-š-t	'Pay for him!'
ɬuʔ-ší-t	'Lance for him!'
sá-ši-t	'Split for him (help him split)!'

-i is suffixed to these forms for plural reference:

kʷúí-n-t-i	'Make ye it!'
ací-n-t-i	'Tie ye it!'

Causative transitives suffix -ek^w in imperative form. With a stressed root, -s-t-ek^w reduces to -s-k^w.¹³ -i marks plural reference:

es-n-ʔéy-s-k ^w	'Pay for it!'
es-kʷúí-s-k ^w	'Make it!'
es-kʷúí-s-k ^w -i	'Make ye it!'
es-ac-s-t-ék ^w	'Tie it!'
es-ac-s-t-ék ^w -i	'Tie ye it!'

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

ɬuʔ-n-t-ék ^w	'Lance it!'
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FOOTNOTES

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

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

ǰaǰú-p	'It was broken by accident.'
(es-ǰaǰú	'It is broken.')
hemí-p	'It is getting cloudy.'
miy-p	'It becomes evident.'
ǰaá-p	'It caught fire accidentally.'
ǰamí-p	'It is dry.'
mǰ ^w u-p	'It snows.'
čín es-wéik ^w -p-i	'I descend (from heaven, mountain...).'
es-mǰ ^w -p-m-í	'It snows.'
ǰ [?] u-p-éple [?]	'The handle broke.'
ǰi-p-éys	'It rains.'
čǰ-mǰ [?] -p-éne [?]	'flooded all over'
ǰm-p-ule [?] x ^w	'a place dry accidentally'
sli-p	'He made a mistake.'

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

I have borrowed Carlson's terminology for these affixes. He describes the function of Spokane -iy and hec- thus: "The variable-stress suffix // -iy// 'continuative' most often occurs after endingless bases and middle forms." "Actual aspect //hec-// refers to an action or state which is or was actually going on. It is similar to imperfectives in Indoeuropean languages, but here it is a strongly marked category" (Carlson 1972, p. 121-122). He explains that in -m 'middle' forms "the

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

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

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

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

⁵For Spokane Carlson gives -hull-t (-il-t unstressed) only for second person singular while he reports that second person plural suffixes -mp, the second person plural possessor (1972, p. 127, 129).

Vogt's Kalispel forms parallel Post's (p. 33).

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

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

es-ac-s-t-én	'I tied it constantly.'
naq ^w -m-i-t-én	'I stole this from Peter.'

naq^w-š-t-én 'I stole for Peter, helped him stealing.'

⁸Carlson and Vogt both state that certain verbs occur in the simple transitive constructions and others in the causative ones. Post, however, gives examples of the same root in both constructions albeit in different aspects. (See Carlson pp. 78-79 and Vogt p. 37 n. 94)

⁹Carlson shows affrication of -ts to -c in similar forms in Spokane.

¹⁰Note that Post shows k^wen as a strong root in this form and as a weak root in k^wn-ci-t above.

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

¹²The "indefinite dependent" [transitive] verb constructions given by Vogt are identical to Post's given in sections 3.2.2.3. - 3.2.2.7. (Vogt p. 39).

¹³Carlson states that -k^w replaces -t 'control' ['transitive'] for the imperative of causative stems in Spokane (1972, p. 91). Vogt lists two sequences of suffixes in Kalispel -s-k^w and -s-t-ek^w, but does not elaborate on their distribution (p. 40 n. 105).

4. BASIC MORPHOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter discusses the most common inflectional expansions of roots: aspect, plural, and diminutives. Kalispel diminutives belong to a grammatical category akin to that of plurals and fit naturally in this section.

4.1. Aspect

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

4.1.1. es- 'actual'

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

čín es-wíl	'I am burned.'
čín es-čéw-s	'My face is washed.'
čín es-wíč	'I am seen.'
čín es-n-ʔéys	'I am paid for; I am bought.'
čín es-x ^w úy	'I go.'
čín es-itúk ^w	'I rot.'
es-salúseʔ	'It hails.'
es-q ^w ʔúp	'It is tanned.'
es-k ^w én	'It is taken.'
es-láq	'It is buried.'
es-č-túx ^w	'It is added.'
es-íóc	'It is smashed.'

es-níč ³	'It is cut.'
es-nimáp	'It is frozen (water).'
es-pút ² e	'He is respected.'
es-ǰéy ³	'It is written.'
es-mílk ^w	'It is whole, all (quantity).'
es-xíw ³	'It is unripe, raw.'
čin es-q ^w ác-qn	'I wear a hat.'
čin es-ǰl-éps ²	'I wear a necktie.' (D II p. 436)

4.1.2. -i 'continuative'

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

čin es-yúl-i	'I dance (women only).'
čin es-wěňš-i	'I dance (men only).'
čin es-ǰéy-cn-i	'I take revenge by my words.'
čin es-ǰéy-čst-i	'I take revenge by my actions.'
čin es-ǰímš-i	'I start, change place.'
čin es-k ^w né-y	'I take, hold on.'
čin es-čx ^w ú-y	'I dry clothes.'
čin es-ǰáw-i	'I recite.'
čin es-ǰáčx-i	'I look on.'
čin es-wám-i	'I hasten.'
čin es-síx ^w -i ; čin es-síx ^w	'I am poured out.'
čin es-ǰísk ^w l-i ; čin es-ǰísk ^w l	'I am thrown away.'
čin es-níč ³ -i ; čin es-níč ³	'I am cut, sawed.'
čin es-ǰéyl-i	'I solicit, invite (to do right or wrong).'
čin es-íép-s-i	'My fire is going out.' (D II p. 146)
čin **es-móyx-i	'I practice Indian jugglery to find out enemies.'

4.1.3. -t 'stative'

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

k ^w tun-t	'It is big, great, high, tall.'
q ^w ec ² -t	'It is full.'
xem-t	'It is heavy.'
λic-t	'It is hard by nature.'
λax-t	'It is lively, quick (inanimate).'
pīi-t	'It is thick (cloth or the like).'
**yul-t	'It is thick (tree or the like).'
čin ʔaym-t	'I was angry.'
čin es-ʔáym-t-i	'I am mad.'
k ^w u es-ʔáym-t-i	'One is vexed, angry (on se fache).'
čin xs-t-i	'I become good.'

4.1.4. qī- 'subjunctive'

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

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

4.1.4.1. qī- 'wishing; obligation; future'

či q-s-x̄s-t-i	'I want to be good.'
či q-es-x̄s-t-í	'I want always to be good.'
q-s-k ^w ul ¹ -n	'I want to do it.'
q-es-k ^w ul ¹ -s-t-n	'I wanted always to do it.'
i-qī-nóx ^w -nox ^w	'I want her for my wife.' (D II p. 430)
či q-s-q ^w l-q ^w élt-i	'I have the wish to talk.'
či q-es-ilmix ^w	'I want always to be a chief.'
ɦu? x̄ ^w l t i-q-s-ʔimš u es-čq ^w -áq ^w -i	'On account of my wishing to start, he is crying.'
a-q-s-x ^w íc ² -i-t-m	'Thou must give it to him.'

k^wu a-q-s-x^wíč-i-t-m s-?iñ 'You must give me some food.'
 ta q-s-?iñ-n-t-x^w iu? es-xíw 'Don't eat those not ripe.'
 k^wu a-q-s-k^wúl-i-t-m qí-qix^w-mn 'Make me a whip.'
 k^w q-s-ič-i-m 'You deserve to be flogged.'
 k^wne u k^w q-s-ič-i-m 'You should be flogged.'
 k^wu q-s-?aym-t 'One must have been angry.'
 k^wu q-s-?áym-t-i 'One must be angry.'
 k^wu cúw-i-s či q-s-k^wúl-i 'He told me to work.'
 iu? i-q-s-k^wúl-i-m 'my having to make it'
 iu? i-q-s-k^wúl 'what I have to make'
 iu? i-q-s-c-k^wúl 'what I had to make'
 qa? qí-n-ḡs-éiče?

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

iu? q-s-k^wúl-n-t-x^w te? s-teñ, k^w q-s-čaw-i

'When you wish to do some work, you should pray.'

k^wen-t a-qí-ac-sqáxe?-tn

'Take your rope to tie your horse.'

ta a-q-ei-k^wí-n-čs-tín, xi tlcí? m čs-t-ši-t-m-t

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

iu? ne k^w q-s-n-mi-p-m-íst-i m k^w čaw-m

'Before confessing you must pray.'

iu? q-s-ál-m-i, šey čaw-m 'Before dying, he prayed.'

k^wu q-s-ilmix^w-m 'One may be chief.'

i-qí-citx^w 'The house is for me (my house-to-be).'

a-qí-sič-m 'The blanket is for thee (thy future blanket).'

qí-q^wác-qi-s 'The hat is for him (his hat-to-be).'

a-qí-n-ḡs-tín 'It is for thy good (thy future good).'

qí-ḡc-númt-s iu? i-s-q^wsé?

'It is a coat for my boy (my boy's future coat).'

k^wcn-t ye s-č?ulix^w-élx^w, an-l?ew qí-qe?-ší-s

'Take this deer skin for a pair of shoes for your father.'

k^w swet iu? ne qa? q-ei-cún-m iu? t šey u qe?

c-k^wul-i-l-t 'Who art thou that we may tell it to those who sent us hither.' (Bible p. 50)

ne q-s-mós-qt-ilš	'when the fourth day will have come'
q-s-nk ^w u [?] -i	'one by one (things)'
q-s-č-nq-naqs-i	'one by one (persons)'
q-s- [?] esél-i	'two by two (things)'
q-s-č-esél-i	'two by two (persons)'

4.1.4.2. qī- 'dative of advantage'

qī-swet u k ^w es-k ^w úl-i	'For whom are you working?'
i-qī-k ^w uy [?] é	'For me.'
qī-cniic	'For him.'
ha qī-k ^w uy [?] é	'Is it for me?'
a-qī-anwí [?]	'It is for thee.'
ha qa [?] qī-qe [?] nplé [?]	'Is it for us?'

4.2. Plural

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

4.2.1. Reduplicative Plural Affixation

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

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

s-čom̄	'bone'	s-čm̄-čom̄	'bones'
s-k ^w l st -elt	'angel'	s-k ^w l-k ^w l st -elt	'angels'
**s-plim̄n-cn ⁵	'mouth, lip'	**s-pl-plim̄n-cn	'mouths, lips'
s-qapúsí	'wing'	s-qp-qapúsí	'wings'
s-k ^w λ-us	'face'	s-k ^w t-k ^w λ-us	'faces'
q ^w léwi	'onion'	q ^w l-q ^w léwi	'onions'
í-mq ^w -ewt	'hillock'	í-mq ^w -moq ^w -t-úle [?] x ^w (-t-?)	'hillocks'

es-moq ^w	'mountain'	es-mq ^w -moq ^w	'mountains'
x ^w olq ^w	'wagon'	x ^w l-x ^w olq ^w	'wagons'
s-xélwi?	'husbands'	s-xl-xélwi?	'husbands'
s-k ^w uy	'mother'	s-k ^w i-k ^w úy	'mothers'
qx-min	'horn'	qx-qx-min	'horns'
s-qltmix ^w	'man'	s-ql-qltmix ^w	'men'
s-ču?-šín	'foot, leg'	s-ču?-ču?-šín	'feet'
s-čéy-le?x ^w	'shady place'	s-čéy-čéy-le?x ^w	'shady places'
nič ^č -mn	'saw'	nič ^č -nič ^č -mn	'saws'
s-laqs	'mosquito'	s-laq-láqs	'mosquitoes'
s-néč-lče?	'elk'	s-neč-néč-lče?	'elk, pl.'
s-qléw	'beaver'	s-ql-qléw	'beaver, pl.'
?olí-n	'belly'	?ol-?olí-n	'bellies'
xes-t	'good one'	x ^s -xes-t	'good ones'
k ^w tun-t	'big one'	k ^w t-k ^w tun-t	'big ones'
**yul-t	'bulky one'	**il-yul-t	'bulky ones'
č-naqs	'one'	č-nq-naqs	'one by one'
ec-?axíl	'one like to'	ec-?x-?axíl	'those like to'
es-k ^w i-k ^w ú <i>l</i> -i			'They work here and there, not together; each one is working.'
?oc-?ócqe?			'They left one by one; each one went out.'
?en-?enés			'They go one by one.'
x ^w i-x ^w úy			'They went one by one.'
qe? es-x ^w i-x ^w úy			'We go together.'
čín es-xl-xalt-itúmš-i			'I often gather people.'
es-č-če?-če?íés-i			'They are three by three.'
nem qe? č-nq-naqs-m-í-l-s m qe? č-čx ^w -éple?-í-l-s			'He will judge us one by one.'

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

s-čé?it	'spider'	s-č-čé?it	'spiders'
s-čt-m-sqélix ^{w6}	'half-breed'	s-č-čt-m-sqélix ^w	'half-breeds'
s-k ^w al-šín	'crane (bird)'	s-k ^w -k ^w al-šín	'cranes (bird)'
s-q ^w se?	'son'	s-q ^w -q ^w se?	'sons'
s-čw-axn	'arm'	s-č-čw-axn	'arms'

s-mul-mn	'lance'	s-mu-múl-mn	'lances'
s-múmt-šn	'mare'	s-mú-múmt-šn	'mares'

c) a reduplicative prefix VC- (or VC₁C₂- if the root is bi-consonantal):

s-ox ^w -éix ^w	'hut'	s-ox ^w -ox ^w -éix ^w	'huts'
s-ups	'tail'	s-ups-ups	'tails'
čín es-ac-ac-m-í			'I break some (as horses).'
čín es-č-oý-oý-itúš			'I mock people often.'
(Cf.: čín es-č-oý-m-í			'I mock someone.')

4.2.2. uĭ- 'plural'

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

sín-ce?	'younger brother'	uĭ-sín-ce?	'younger brothers'
naq ^w -émn	'thief'	uĭ-naq ^w -émn	'thieves'
q ^w n-q ^w in ^w -t	'poor one'	uĭ-q ^w n-q ^w in ^w -t	'poor ones'
yo-yó-t	'strong one'	uĭ-yo-yó-t	'strong ones'
p ^w x-pax ^w -t	'wise one'	uĭ-p ^w x-pax ^w -t	'wise ones'
nóx ^w -nox ^w	'wife'	uĭ-nóx ^w -nox ^w	'wives'

4.2.3. -?- 'plural' Infix

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

es-k ^w ú ^w í-i	'They work (collectively).'
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4.2.4. Suppletive Plurals

Some plural roots replace their singular counterparts:⁸

s-k ^w -k ^w im-ít	'little one'	s-c-cm ^w -élt	'little ones'
k ^w -k ^w yúm-c ^w ⁹	'small one'	s-c-cm ^w -c ^w lt	'small ones'
?eč-s-wíš	'erect one'	tpý ^w -éwt	'standing ones'
es-šít	'tree'	s-čl-čil	'trees'

s-mʔem	'woman'	peɪ-pikʷi	'women'
s-tq-lscut	'goods'	s-qamn-lscút	'goods, pl.'
čín es-ʔemút			'I dwell.'
qeʔ es-ʔay-éwt-i			'We dwell.' (D I p. 115)
čín es-qéc-ilš			'I am jumping.'
qeʔ es-ǵúʷleʔš-i			'We are jumping.'
čín es-oý-n-cút-i			'I laugh.'
qeʔ es-xʷa-xʷeʔs-m-i			'We laugh.'
čín es-ʔeč-s-wiš-i			'I am standing.'
čín es-téš-ilš-i			'I am standing.'
qeʔ es-tpí-p-m-i			'We are standing.'
čín es-túxʷt-i			'I am flying.'
qeʔ es-xʷeʔ-m-í			'We are flying.'
čín es-kʷné-y ; čín kʷne-m			'I take one object.'
čín es-ǵʷumí ; čín ǵʷum-m			'I take several.'
y-es-č-xʷt-p-mín-m			'I attack him.'
qeʔ es-č-xʷkʷ-éls-m			'We attack him.'
čín es-tkʷú-m-i			'I am lying down; I lay something down.'
čín es-qamín-i			'I lay down several things.'
qeʔ es-qamín-i			'We are lying down.'

Some suppletive plural forms exist alongside regular plurals:

čín es-qʷl-qʷélt-i		'I talk.'
qeʔ es-qʷl-qʷélt-i ; qeʔ es-ǵam-ǵam-ílš-i		'We talk.'
čín es-ǵl-m-í		'I die.'
qeʔ es-ǵl-m-í ; qeʔ es-ǵʷmíʔ-p-m-i		'We die.'
čín es-n-ʔúixʷ-i		'I enter.'
qeʔ es-n-ʔúixʷ-i ; qeʔ es-n-pílš-i		'We enter.'

4.2.5. Special Forms

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

4.2.5.1. A number of roots are reduplicated in the singular:

ṗx ^w -ṗx ^w -ut	'old'	q ^w n-q ^w iñ-t	'poor'
šl-šal-t	'steep'	sn ^w -sañ-t	'mild'
x ^w l-x ^w ilt	'debt, alive'	x ^w s-x ^w ist-n	'stilts'
im ^w -imáye?	'frog'	k ^w li-k ^w alí	'corn, maize'
**n-pi-pi-aqs	'hog, pig'	s-xl-xal-t	'day'
s-qp-qp-éne?	'sand'	sl-sil-t	'difficult'
**xt-xítne?	'daggar'	**x ^w l-x ^w al	'sheep'
k ^w l-k ^w il-t	'purple'	k ^w t-k ^w itps	'flea'
ul-ulí-m	'iron, metal, coin'	tn ^w ?-tn ^w wéye?	'bat (bird)'
lič ^w -lič ^w -t	'valiant'	*x ^w -x ^w at	'strenuous'
ṗ-ṗx ^w -ut	'old person'	k ^w -k ^w usm	'star'
s-č-wáw-p-us	'tear'	s-x ^w ú-x ^w ye?	'ant'
x ^w ó-x ^w olx ^w	'fox'	ya-yá?t	'rare'
**x ^w a-x ^w á?t	'brave, strong in war'	iu ^w ?-iu ^w ?-élče?	'thorn'

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

t-t ^w it	'boy'	t-i-t ^w it	'boys'
s-q ^w -q ^w se?	'boy'	s-q ^w -i-q ^w sé?	'boys'
q ^w -q ^w n-éws	'horse of one or two years'		
q ^w -i-q ^w n-éws	'horses of one or two years'		

4.2.5.2. A few forms have unmarked number:

ʔek ^w n	'fisheggs'	picčī	'leaf, leaves'
x ^w ?-úle?x ^w	'rattlesnake(s)'	s-pentč	'year(s)'
x ^w λ-cin	'horse(s)'	n-q ^w -q ^w sm-íčn-šn	'dog(s)'
s-wéwī	'fish'	q ^w i?-mín-tn	'book(s)'
s-pum	'hair(s)'	q ^w om-qn	'hair(s)'
s-šeňš	'stone(s)'	q ^w táx ^w e?	'louse, lice'
s-tx-enč	'bowels'	n-čaw-mn	'prayer(s)'
ʔu-ʔúse?	'egg(s)'		

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

s-n-t ^w ps-éws	'jointed, joint'
---------------------------	------------------

s-n- ³ tps-é ³ lis	'joints'
sin-ce?-é ³ ws	'They are brothers.'
qe? sin-ce?-é ³ lis	'We are all brothers.'
ec-?x-?axl-é ³ lis	'They all look the same.'
y-es-nox ^w -nox ^w -é ³ ws-m	'I join the two in matrimony.'
y-es-nox ^w -nox ^w -é ³ lis-m	'I join several couples in matrimony.'
čin es-lič-é ³ ws-i	'I tie two.'
čin es-lič-é ³ lis-i	'I tie a number of them, two by two.'
**es-čqat-é ³ ws	'piled up'
**es-čqat-é ³ lis ¹⁰	'things piled up'

Note the different meanings of the following pairs:

s-n-x ³ p-é ³ ws	'soul'	s-n-x ³ p-é ³ lis	'souls of one'
		s-n-x-x ³ p-é ³ ws	'souls of many'
n-xl-é ³ ws	'bridge'	n-xl-é ³ lis	'bridges'
		n-xl-xl-é ³ ws	'bridges'

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

ǎe x ^w ?it u n-?awqn-c-n ǎu? k ^w i-s-nk ^w -sx ^w -sǎx ^w , u ta k ^w u	
es-séw-ne?-m-s-t-x ^w	'Already often have I warned you, my brothers, and never have you listened to me.'
1 anwǎ? u čin es-q ^w l-q ^w élt-i 1 k ^w s-wi?-wi?-númt	
	'It is to you, young people, that I am speaking.'

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

qe? es-tk ^w ?-út-i OR čin es-tk ^w ?-út-i	'We march off.'
čin es-tk ^w -tk ^w ?-út-i	'We go several in several bands.'
qe? es-n-?es-sél OR čin es-n-?es-sél	
	'We both ride on the same horse.'
in-n-č-?ay-ut-é ³ ws-tn	'Our riding horses, our riding outfit.'
(Cf.: in-n-č-?emt-é ³ ws-tn	'My riding horse.')

4.3. Diminutives

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

s-ti-p-éys	'rain'	**s-iw-éys	'little rain'
n-q̣ ^w -q̣ ^w sm-ičn-šn	'dog'	s-ti [?] -ti [?] čime	'little dog'
im-imáye [?]	'frog'	**qal-qal-áqs	'small frog'

Often, however, Kalispel diminutives are formed by affixation.

4.3.1. Diminutive Reduplicative Prefix

A reduplicative prefix, C₁V̄- of the root, indicates a diminutive:

čin es-k ^w úl-i	'I work.'
čin es-k ^w ú-k ^w í-i	'I work a little.'
nič ³ -mn	'saw'
ni-hč ³ -m ¹¹	'little saw, knife'

4.3.2. i- 'diminutive'

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

ul-ulí-m	'money'	i-ul ¹ -ulí-m	'little money'
s-x ^w tip	'rib'	s-i-x ^w tip	'little rib'
es-móq ^w	'mountain'	es-i-mó-mq ^{w12}	'little mountain'
x ^w olq ^w	'wagon'	i-x ^w o-x ^w lq ^w	'little wagon'
sípi	'rope'	i-sí-spi	'little rope'
čspin	'neck'	i-č ³ -čspiñ	'small neck'
*i-k ^w -k ^w im-ál-a-q̣ ^{w13}			'small person'
i-x ^w i-x ^w éc-t ¹⁴			'short (thing)'
čin es-oý-n-cút-i			'I laugh.'
čin es-i-oý-n-cút-i			'I laugh a little.'
čin es-?íin			'I eat.'
čin es-i-?íin-i			'I eat a little.'
čin es-č-x ^w t-t-éls-i			'I am angry.'
čin es-č-i-x ^w t-t-éls-i			'I was a little angry.'

čín	es-ǰsp-m-í	'I stay long.'
čín	es-ǰ-ǰ-ǰsp-m-í	'I stay a little long.'
čín	es-n-súx ^w -ne?-i	'I understand.'
čín	es-n-ǰ-sú-sx ^w -ne?-i	'I understand a little.'

FOOTNOTES

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

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

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

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

Cf. also the following reduplicative patterns:

s-mi?tú?	'fort'	s-mi?t-mi?tú?	'forts'
q ^w eyi-q ^w it	'lively in running'		
q ^w eym-q ^w mt	'lively in working'		

⁵Cf. Carlson's s-plí-m-cn.

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

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

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

čín	es-čéw-lš-i	'I grow old.'
qe?	**es-čw-éw-lš-i	'We grow old.'

čín	es-č ³ iw-ulš	'I climb up a ladder.'
qe?	**es-č ³ w-éw-ulš	'We climb up a ladder.'
čín	es-íáq-šlš-i (-šlš ?)	'I sit down.'
qe?	es-íáq-q-wi	'We sit down.'

This reduplicative suffix is also seen in:

e-č ³ iw-t (e- ?)	'the last one'	e-č ³ w-éw-t	'the last ones'
čaq ^w	'cry'	čq ^w -aq ^w	'crying'
k ^w il	'red'	k ^w -k ^w l-il	'warm (heat from sun)'

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

iláwye?	'man's great-grandfather'
í-č ³ ičše?	'older sister'
či-čyé?	'sister's daughter's son'
čéwe?	'woman's brother-in-law'
íqaqce?	'woman's older brother'
qéne?	'woman's sibling's son's son, grandmother'
qaxé?	'man's mother's sister'
s-q ^w se?	'son'
xa?xé?	'woman's husband's father or brother'
síle?	'woman's grandfather or sister's daughter's son'
tupye?	'woman's grandparent or grandchild'
xépe?	'man's grandfather'
q ^w táx ^w e?	'louse, lice'
s-x ^w ú-x ^w ye?	'ant'
?u-?úse?	'egg(s)'
?ítx ^w e?	'camas'

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

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

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

¹²Vogt has es³³ə³⁴m³⁵oq³⁶.

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

¹⁴e in this form is unexplained.

5. DERIVATION

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

5.1. Derivational Prefixes

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

5.1.1. s- 'nominal'

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

s- \dot{x} es-t	'goodness'	s- \dot{x} es	'the being well'
s-k ² wu ¹	'the work'	*s-x ² es	'the being contented'
s-k ^w tun-t	'greatness'	s-x ^w up-t	'laziness, weakness'
s-t ² eye ²	'badness'	s- \dot{c} e ² éš (stress ?)	'shame'
s-lk ^w -ut	'distance'	s-x ^w em	'the painting red'
s- \dot{q} asíp	'old thing'	i-s-c-k ² wu ¹	'what I made'
s-c- \dot{c} - \dot{c} ox ^w	'wilfully'		

hoy-s-t-s iu² s-c-q^{w1}-q^welt-s 'He stopped to talk.'

i-s-c-xáá u xáá-p

'I fanned it (my fanning) and it did not (?) cool off.'²

i čin \dot{x} es, u ta i či³ *s-x²es

'I am not (?) well, I am not contented.' (D I p. 162)

u pentč u či s-²eč-s-wíš iu² l **s-n-lcu-ti-s qe²

k²l²-n-cut-n 'And I was always standing in the house of our Lord.'

5.1.2. epi- 'have'

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

before s.

čín ep-sx ^w -síx ^w -lt	'I have children.'
čín epí-ul-ulí-m	'I have some money.'
k ^w uy ^ʔ é u čín epí-ul-ulí-m	'It is my money.'
k ^w uy ^ʔ é u čín ep-sx ^w -síx ^w -lt	'He is my child.'
swet q-ep-sté ^ʔ íi- ^ʔ é	'Who may own this?'
swet ep-sté ^ʔ íi-cí ^ʔ	'Who owns that?'
anwí ^ʔ k ^w ep-sté ^ʔ ; anwí ^ʔ k ^w q-ep-sté ^ʔ	
'It is yours; it must belong to you.'	
swet q-ep-síč-m íi- ^ʔ é	qe ^ʔ nplé ^ʔ
'Who may own this blanket. We do.'	
šey ^ʔ íu ^ʔ q-ep-sté ^ʔ íu ^ʔ k ^w í-n-cut-n	
'It belongs to God.'	
ep-s-p ^ʔ ús	'He has a heart.'
čín ep-s- ^ʔ áym-t	'I had some anger.'
ta y-epí-ec- ^ʔ axíl	'I have none of the kind.'
ta y-ep-síč-m	'I have no blanket.'
čín ep-s-c-k ^w úl	'I have made some.' [I have-what-I-made]
anwí ^ʔ u k ^w ep-s-c-k ^w úl	'It is you that made it.'
k ^w uy ^ʔ é u čín ep-s-c-k ^w úl	'I have made it.'
nem čín ep-s-c-níc	'I shall have some sawed.'
swet u ep-s-c-šíl ye luk ^w	'Who chopped this wood.'
čín epí-x ^ʔ á-cín	'I have a horse.' ⁴

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

íu ^ʔ t ^ʔ es-č-ča ^ʔ l-éls-i, epí-pax u epí-es-míx ^w t-i	
'Some of the sick are getting better, some are dying.'	
epí-xés-t, u epí-téye ^ʔ	'There are some good, there are some bad. OR He has some good ones and some bad ones.'
ep-sqélix ^w íu ^ʔ ta es-wíč-s-t-n	'There are people I never saw.'

ep-s-pi?q-álq lu? tam in-xm-énč	'There are fruits I don't like.'
epi-n-q ^w -q ^w sm-íčn-šn	'There is a dog there.'
le epi-n-?ay-éwt l s-n-čaw-mn	
	'There are already people in church.'
epi-es-maw	'It is a fraction.'
ta epi-c-x ^w uy	'None came.'
ta epi-čuw	'None are missing.'

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

epi-k ^w ul-n	'There are some I have made.'
epi-wék ^w -n-t-x ^w	'There is something that you concealed.'
epi-k ^w ul-i-t-n	'There are some I have made for him.'
epi-x ^w ic-i-c-n	'There are some I gave to you.'
epi-wék ^w -i-c-n	'There are some I concealed from you.'
ta epi-wék ^w -n	'I did not hide any.'
ta q-epi-wék ^w -i-t-m lu? q ^w ay-alqs	
	'There must not be anything concealed from the priest.'

5.1.3. Directionals

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

<u>ei-</u> 'again, once more, back'	
ei-x ^w uy	'He went back.'
čin ei-x ^w uy	'I return; I go again.'
čin ei-es-?imš-i ; čin ei-?imš	'I am starting again.'
y-ei-es-x ^w ic-i-t-n ; ei-x ^w ic-i-t-n	'I give it again.'
i-q-ei-x ^w ic-i-t-m	'I wish to give it again.'
y-ei-es-k ^w ul-m	'I do it again.'
ei-nk ^w u?	'one again, one more'
ei-těš-ilš lu? s-pqni?	'new moon'

y-eĭ-es-wič-m 'I see it again (find a lost object).'
 ne qepc m qe? eĭ-wič-t-wé?x^w-i

'Next spring we shall see each other again.'

eĭ-ḡs-t-mí-n lu? i-s-ḡélwi?

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

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

eĭ-miĭ-č-pt-ptk^w-min-álq^w-mi-n-t-m (-č- ?, -min- ?) l es-?eym-éws,
 eĭ-łil laq²-n-t-m

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

l *s-č-ac-éws qe? *es-miĭ-ix^w-éls-i, neĭi l šey² s-ḡl-ḡal-t u
 *eĭ-miĭ-ix^w-éls-m lu? k^wl²-n-cut-n 'We rest on Sundays
 because on that day God indeed rested.' (D I p. 359)

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

eĭ-t-olq^w-ší-t-n 'I helped him in return.'

k^wu t-me?e?-mí-s u eĭ-t-me?e?-mí-n

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

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

t- 'before, ahead, in advance'

čin t-x^wuy ; čin es-t-x^wuy 'I go ahead.'

es-t-mi-s-t-én 'I knew it before.'

y-es-t-?áčx-m 'I look at it before.'

n- 'inside, in, after, locative'

čin n-x^wuy ; čin n-x^wuy-m 'I go after someone.'

es-n-túk^w 'It lays in.'

n-k^wuĭ-ĭ 'He is born in, conceived.'

y-es-n-?áčx-m 'I look inside.'

čin es-n-w?éw-p 'I go back, pull back (as horses).'

n-q^west 'deep water'

i n-ḡal 'clear water'

i n-łaq² 'warm water'

i n-čim̃	'dark room'
es-n-mí-p	'accused'
n-wis-t	'high'

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

čín n-ʔax ^w t	'I go down the river by land.'
n-x ^w y-íst-i	'He travels by the side of the water.'
n-čʔ-ílš-i	'He comes up the river by land.'

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

y-es-č-ʔač ^x -éws-m	'I look <u>upwards</u> .'
čín es-č-luk ^w	'I am <u>going after</u> wood.'
es-č-ul-ulí-m-i	'He is <u>after</u> money.'
k ^w č-s-tem̃	'What did you want?'
ʔaym-t-m-n	'I was mad at him.'
č-ʔaym-t-m-n	'I was mad <u>on his account</u> .'
ʔayx ^w -t-m-n	'I was tired of him.'
č-ʔayx ^w -t-m-n	'I was tired <u>on his account</u> .'
ha č-pu-pus-éñč-m-n-t-x ^{w5} ɬuʔ téyeʔ a-s-c-k ^w én	

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

č-xes-t u čín q^{w1}-q^welt

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

k^w q^{w1}-q^welt č-téyeʔ

'You spoke with a bad intention.'

ilmíx^w-m ɬuʔ č-šeyʔ u k^w q^{w1}-q^welt

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

y-es-č-k^wti-s-cút-m ɬuʔ i-s-n-ac-łqít

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

es-č-lcíʔ-s-t-m

 'I remain continually near him.' |

y-es-č-ʔemút-m

 'I stay with (near) him.' |

č-ʔemút-m-n ɬuʔ ilmíx^w

 'I stay with (near) the chief.' |

y-es-č-x^wuy-m ; č-x^wuy-n-t-én ; č-x^wuy-m-n⁶

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

t swet u es-č-lcí?-m-s řu? J.C. l s-n-ře?-cín
 'Who remains with (near) J.C. in the Holy Communion?'
 č-mlk^w-m-asqt. '(until) the whole day'

(See also 5.2.1. and 6.2.)

c- 'hither, from there'
 čin es-c-x^wuy ; čin c-x^wuy 'I come (hither, from there).'
 y-es-c-?áčx-m 'I look at it from there.'
či- 'upon, above'
 či-túk^w 'It is placed upon.'
 es-či-túk^w 'It is on top.'
 y-es-či-řéy-m 'I write over it.' (D I p. 254)
k^wi- 'under' (when the object is immediately under so that the

above rests on the lower)

l ře? k^wi-iš-út 'under us'
 k^wi-tk^wu-n-t řu? l a-s-ču?-šin 'Place it under thy foot.'
 es-k^wi-túk^w 'It is under.'

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

y-es-čs-cún-m 'I speak about it.'
 swet řu? es-čs-cún-m-s 'Of whom is he speaking?'
 y-es-ře?ní-m 'I forbid him.'
 y-es-čs-ře?ní-m 'I forbid it.'
 čs-ře?i-s-t-én řu? sewl-k^w 'I forbid the whiskey.'
 čs-n-?awqn-m řu? s-n-mi-p-m-íst 'I exhort him to confession.'
 y-es-čs-q^wl-q^wélt-m 'I speak of him/it, about it.'
 y-es-čs-méye-i-t-m (stress ?) 'I teach him that.'
 l s-čs-ařm 'there about, near by'

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

es-k^wi-n-čán-m-p (-m- ?) 'It is shut.'

es-k ^w i-n-čeh-p	'It is open.'
čin ei-c-x ^w úy	'I come back, come again.'
čin ei-c-?i ^m š	'I return from finished trip.'
t-k ^w i-páx-iš	'Think before [think ahead]!'

5.2. Derivational Suffixes

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

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

ac-mín	'(It's a) trap.'
ac-mín-tn	'(It's a) trap.'
in-e [?] u-mín	'(It's) what I use to peel.'
e [?] u-mín-tn	'(They're) the peelings.'
šl-min	'axe'
s-šl-min-tn	'axe-handle' (D I p. 575)
te [?] -mín	'hammer (person's)'
in-?ax-mín	'my stretcher (what I use)'
in-?ax-mín-tn	'what is used to stretch me'
	(D I p. 6)
q [?] u-p-tín , q [?] u-p-mín-tn	'fracture'
i-s-?em-ín (< in-s-?em-mín)	'my food'
i-s-?em-ín-tn	'my food to feed others'
qix ^w -mín , qix ^w -mín-tn	'whip'
x ^w á-min	'shavings'
x ^w á-min-tn	'jack plane' ⁸
*č-tč-min	'instrument to brand'
*č-tč-min-tn	'what is to be branded'
č-tx ^w -min	'material (salt) to be added'
č-tx ^w -min-tn	'what the material is added to'

n-čaw-mn	'prayer'
q̄x-min	'horn'
k̄ ^w i-o ^x -mín , k̄ ^w i-o ^x -mín-tn	'fence'
y-es-k̄ ^w u ¹ -mn-m	'I work with it, use it in my work.'
y-es-ac-mín-m	'I use it to catch or tie.'
čín es-ac-mín-i ; čín ac-mín-m	'I use traps.'
y-es- ¹ u [?] -mín-m	'I use that to lance.'
y-es- ^x s-t-mín-m	'I find it good.'
q̄i-ac-mí-s (< q̄i-ac-mín-s) Louis	'Let it be Louis' trap.'
s-q̄l ^w ac-mín-ti-s (< ac-mín-tin-s)	'a beaver's trap'
čyu es- ¹ q̄i [?] -mín-m ye ¹ q̄i [?] -mín	
'This pen has not been used as yet.'	

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

y-es- ^x s-t-mín-m ¹ u [?] n-čaw-mn	
'I am well affected by the prayer (the prayer affects me well).'	
y-es-c-q ^w -q ^w u-mín-m ¹ u [?] sewi-k ^w	
'The liquor affects me.' (D II p. 7)	
*y-es-yaa-mín (stress ?)	
'I fear him, am in reserve, not free with him.'	

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

čip-tin	'anything used for hunting'
n- ^x s-tin	'that makes good'
n-čs-tin	'that makes bad (sins)'
n-q ^w l-q ^w el-tn	'word'
n-py-els-tn	'cause of happiness'
oós-ti-s	'cause of ruin'
pu-pus- ^é ňč-tn	'cause of sorrow'
č-x ^w uy-tn	'the reason why he goes'

5.2.2. -nú 'transitive success'

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

k ^w n-nú-n (< k ^w en-nú-n-t-en)	'I succeed in taking it.'
nič ^č -nú-n (< nič ^č -nú-n-t-en)	'I succeed in cutting it.'
fu ^ʔ -nú-n (< fu ^ʔ -nú-n-t-en)	'I succeed in lancing it.'
fu ^ʔ -nú-n-t	'Success in lancing!'
k ^w l ^l -nú-n (< k ^w ul ^l -nú-n-t-en)	'I succeed in making it.'
sq ^q -q ^q -nú-n (< saq ^q -q ^q -nú-n-t-en)	'I succeed in splitting it.'
sq ^q -q ^q -nú-n-t	'Succeed in splitting it!'
mi-p-nú-n (< miy-p-nú-n-t-en)	'I succeed in knowing it; I got news of it, heard of it, am informed of it.'

5.2.3. -númt 'intransitive success'

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

čin wič-númt	'Finally I perceived it.'
čin x ^w t ^t -p-numt	'I succeeded in running away.'
u ta ep ⁱ -k ^w i-mi-p-númt ye we *čšt ^š -n-cút-i-s, u esiyá ^á es-q ^w éw-i	'And there were none of those would be guardians who perceived it; all were drunk.' (Bible p. 36)

5.2.4. -šiš 'indefinite benefactive'

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

čin es-k ^w ul ^l -š-i	'I work for others.'
čin k ^w ul ^l -š-m	'I work for others.'

y-es-k ^w ú ^l -š-m	'I do it for others.'
y-es-n-ʔéys-š-m	'I buy it for others.'
y-es-ɬuʔ-šíš-m	'I lance it for others.'
y-es-sq̣-šíš-m	'I split it for others.'

5.2.5. -m 'middle'

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

čin es-čéw ^l -s-m	'I wash my face.'
čin es-wíč-m	'I see (something).'
čin es-n-ʔéys-m	'I pay for (something).'
y-es-x ^w l-x ^w ílt-m	'I cause/make him to live.'
y-es-c-x ^w úy-m	'I cause him to come.'
y-es-n-py-éls-m	'I make him to rejoice.'
qeʔ sín-ceʔ-m-ɬl-s	'He made us his brothers.'

with the corresponding continuative intransitives:

čin es-čéw ^l -s-i	'My face is washed; I wash my face.'
čin es-wíč-i	'I am seen; I see (something).'
čin es-n-ʔéys-i	'I am bought; I buy (something).'
čin es-x ^w l-x ^w ílt-i	'I live.'
čin es-c-x ^w úy	'I come.'
čin es-n-py-éls-i	'I rejoice.'
qeʔ sín-ceʔ-ɬl-s	'We are his brothers.'

Other examples of -m 'middle' stems:

čin es-ɬk ^w ú-m-i ;	čin es-túk ^w	'I am lying down.'
čin es-lič ^l -m-í ;	čin es-lič ^l	'I am being bound.'
čin es-qaʔu-m-í ;	čin es-qaʔú	'I am being broken.'
čin es-šʔít-m-i ;	čin es-šʔít	'I go ahead.'

čín ec-ʔex ^w -k ^w ún-m ; čín ec-ʔex ^w -k ^w ún-i	'I speak so.' (D I p. 108)
čín es-ulí-m	'I burn (something).'
čín es-ul-m-í	'I burn (something); I am burned.'
čín ací-m	'I tied.'
čín **es-čyá-m-i	'I solicit, coax (to evil).'
čín es-aʔí-p-m-i (stress ?)	'I run.'
čín es-číp-m-í	'I hunt.'
čín es-ǎl-m-í	'I die.'
y-es-ǎlí-m	'I cause him to die.'
čín es-ǎl-p-m-í	'I stop.'
y-es-ǎlí-p-m	'I cause him to stop.'
y-es-citx ^w -m	'I am using that house.'
y-es-sič-m	'I use that blanket.'
y-es-xǎ-cín-m	'I use that horse.'
čín es-ǎeʔ-šín-m-i	'I use a shoe.'
čín es-ǎúʔ-m	'I wound/lance it.'
y-es-ulí-m	'I burn it.'
y-es-sǎé-m	'I split it.'
y-es-ʔúk ^w -m	'I bring/carry it.'
y-es-čéw-s	'I wash his face.'
y-es-wíč-m	'I see it.'
y-es-n-ʔéys-m	'I pay for it.'
y-es-n-xél-m	'I fear him, am afraid of him.'
y-es-yálk ^w -m	'I bend it (making a circle).'
*y-es-čští-m	'I guard it.'
y-es-xáq-m	'I pay him (for work or services).'

5.2.6. -ist 'reflexive'

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

čín es-n-mi-p-m-íst-i	'I accuse myself, confess.'
čín k ^w úl-ist	'I make myself.'
čín k ^w úl-ist čín sqélix ^w	'I become man (J.C.).'
čín *es-čští-m-íst-i	'I take care of myself.'

čin es-ʔep̣-íst-i	'I wipe myself.'
čin es-ʔep̣-m-íst-i	'I myself wipe something belonging to me.'
čin es-wám-ist-i	'I walk quickly, hasten.'
čin es-q ^w iř-m-íst-i	'I strive, busy myself.'
čin es-tu-m-íst-i	'I buy/sell/trade.' (D I p. 595)
téyeʔ řuʔ s-yóq ^w -ist	'It is bad to tell lies.'
řq ^w -t-íst-yeʔ (-yeʔ ?)	'prostrated' (Bible p. 64)
čin *es-čs-t-m-íst-i	'I force myself, do violence to myself.'
k ^w q-s-n-mi-p-m-íst-i, peň ta a-q-s-n-mi-p-ítúmš	
'Accuse yourself, but don't accuse other people.'	

(See also 5.3.1.2.)

5.2.7. Intransitive Imperatives

-š or -yš¹¹ 'imperative singular' and -wi 'imperative plural'

are added to roots, statives, and intransitive reflexives:

k ^w úl-iš	'Work!'	k ^w úl-wi	'Work ye!'
ilmíx ^w -iš	'Be ye chief!'	ilmíx ^w -wi	'Be ye chiefs!'
xés-t-iš	'Be good!'	xés-t-wi	'Be ye good!'
ʔaym-t-š	'Be angry!'	ʔaym-t-wi	'Be ye angry!'
řil-š	'Die!'	řil-wi	'Die ye.'
ací-yš	'Tie!'	ací-wi	'Tie ye!'
*plčmí-yš	'Turn over!'	*plčmí-wi	'Turn ye over!'
n-mi-p-m-íst-iš	'Confess!'	n-mi-p-m-íst-wi	'Confess ye!'
xés-t-iš ilmíx ^w -š			'Be a good chief!'
xés-t-wi ilmíx ^w -wi			'Be ye good chiefs!'
ʔuk ^w -š			'Bring/carry (something)!'
n-ʔéys-iš			'Buy/pay for (something)!'
wič-iš			'See (something)!'
ulí-yš			'Burn (something)!'
čáw-s-iš ¹²			'Wash your face!'

5.2.8. Aspectual Suffixes

Aspectual suffixes may be attached to intransitive and middle

stems to add a number of aspectual notions.

5.2.8.1. -lwís 'iterative' (always stressed)

čin	es-ḡéy̌-m	'I write/wrote.'
čin	es-ḡiʔ-m-lwís-i	'I write often.'
čin	es-kʷúľ-m	'I made.'
čin	es-kʷľ-m-lwís-i	'I make/made often.'
čin	es-xʷíst	'I walk(ed) off.'
čin	es-xʷst-lwís-i	'I often walk.'
čin	es-čéw̌-m	'I washed.'
čin	es-čéw̌-m-lwís-i	'I often wash.'

5.2.8.2. -(w)ilš 'developmental' expresses growing, becoming:¹³

čin	es-téš-ilš-i	'I rise from sitting position.'
čin	es-xʷť-ílš	'I rise from reclining position.'
čin	es-ḡs-ḡs-m-ílš-i	'I am growing good, perfect.'
čin	es-yo-yo-t-ílš-i	'I am growing strong.'
y-es-yo-yo-t-ílš-m		'I make him grow strong.'
čin	es-ḡs-t-ílš-i OR	čin es-ḡs-t-wílš-i
	'I am becoming good, getting better.'	
čin	es-kʷtn-t-ílš-i OR	čin kʷtn-t-wílš-i
	'I am growing big.'	
čin	es-ḡeʔkʷ-ilš-cút-i	
	'I practice sorcery (Indian superstitious medicine).'	

5.2.8.3. Reduplicative suffixation $-(V)C_2$ of root, 'inchoative'

(D II p. 163):

i	čin sil	'I am wrong.'
i	čin sl-il	'I become wrong, am getting into wrong.'
	es-níč̌	'It is sawed.'
	es-níč̌-č̌	'It is getting sawed.'
	es-šíl	'It is chopped.'
	es-šl-íl	'It is getting chopped.'
	šl-il	'It got chopped.'
	es-síxʷ	'It is poured out.'

six ^w -x ^w	'It got poured out.'
es-n-six ^w	'It is filled (with liquid).'
n-six ^w -x ^w	'It got filled.'
es-íóc	'It is smashed.'
íoc-c	'It got smashed.'
es-x ^w áq ^w	'It is ground.'
x ^w áq ^w -q ^w	'It got ground.'
sli-p	'He made a mistake.'
sli-p-p ¹⁴	'He got into a mistake.'
es-líč	'It is bound.'
lič-č	'It got bound.'
k ^w cič	'It is falling.'
k ^w cič-č	'It is going to fall.'
es-k ^w úp	'It is pushed, stirred.'
k ^w up-p	'It got stirred.'
es-sáx ^w	'It is being split.'
sax ^w -x ^w	'It got split.'
melk ^w	'It is being spread.'
melk ^w -k ^w	'It got spread, spread itself.'
i-s-x ^w íc-š	'It is my gift (given by me).'
i-s-x ^w íc-č-š	'It is my gift (given to me).'
čín es-táq-q-m-i (stress ?)	'I am deceived, cheated.'
čín es-wíč-č(-i)	'I let myself be seen, can be seen.'
ɪu? ck ^w -ečst-n k ^w ul-í t s-čewile?	
'The rod became a snake.'	
ɪu? mal-t k ^w ul-í t sl-aqs	
'The dust became mosquitoes.'	

5.2.8.4. -émn 'habitual' (D II p. 6)

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

q^wl-lumt-ém̃ (-lumt ?) 'story-teller'

See also the further s- 'nominal' derivation of naq^w-ém̃ 'thief' in:

ɬu? s-naq^w-ém̃ šey̌ ɬu? č-x^wuy-tn l esulíp
'The thieving is the cause of going to hell.'

5.2.9. Modal Suffixes

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

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

čín es-n-qi?-m-éls-i (-m- ?) 'I wish to write.'
 čín es-n-?iɬn-éls-i 'I have appetite, wish to eat.'
 čín es-n-sust-éls-i 'I wish to drink.'
 čín es-n-x^wuy-éls-i 'I wish to go.'
 čín *es-ši?-éls-i 'I consent, give permission.'
 čín *es-n-ši?-éls-i 'I consent to marriage.'
 čín es-n-sl-p-éls-i 'I am deceived, mistaken in my judgement.'
 y-es-?áčx-m ɬu? es-č-ča?l-éls-i
 'I visit the sick (those who are sick).'
 čín es-n-x^wuy-éls-i, u ta i-q-s-x^wúy
 'I wish to go, but I will not go.'
 ta y-es-n-x^wuy-éls u peñ či q-s-x^wuy
 'I have not the wish to go, but I will go.'
 k^w n-k^wi-n-?axl-éls-m ɬu? J.C.
 'J.C. must have the same feelings as yours.'

5.2.9.2. -úɬ, suffixed to a reduplicated root, 'given to...'
(always stressed)

čaw-čaw-m-úɬ 'given to praying'
 k^wl-k^wl-m-úɬ 'given to working'
 q^wl-q^wlt-úɬ 'given to talking'
 čl-člp-úɬ 'given to hunting'

ǫiʔ-ǫiʔ-m-úʔ	'given to writing'
mi-mi-m-úʔ	'given to tale-bearing'

5.2.9.3. (-m)-ut¹⁵ 'capability' expresses aptitude, power, or ability to do something.

y-es-kʷi-m-út-m	'I can make that.'
y-es-ac-m-út-m	'I can catch it.'
y-es-xʷaǫʷ-m-út-m	'I can grind it.'
xʷy-ut-m	'It can go.'
ta s-xʷy-ut-m	'It can't go.'
kʷi-i-ut-m	'It can be made.'
ta s-kʷi-i-ut-m	'It can't be done.'
uč-č-út-m (< wič-č-út-m)	'It is visible.'
lč-č-ut-m	'It can be bound.'
mus-ls-út-m	'He can be trusted.'
ta s-syen-út-m	'It can't be counted.'

But, cf. also:

lkʷ-ut	'far'
tkʷʔ-út-i	'march, walk'
iǫʷ-ut	'He was lying there.'
iš-út	'under'
pʰxʷ-ut	'old'

5.3. Multiple Derivations

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

5.3.1. Detransitivized Stems

Personal reference to all the detransitivized stems discussed here is added with intransitive pronouns.

5.3.1.1. -wé?x^w is the reciprocal affix attached to a transitive stem.

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

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

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

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

	-n-t-cút		-n-cút
	-s-t-cút		-s-cút
	-š-i-t-cút		-š-cút
	-i-t-cút		*-i-cút
čin	es-pl-s-cút-i		'I kill myself.'
čin	*es-čšť-š-cút-i		'I take care for myself.'
čin	*es-čšť-n-cút-i		'I take care of something.'
čin	es-?ep ^w -n-cút-i		'I wipe something by myself.'
čin	es-ti-p-n-cút-i		'I descend, let myself down (from horseback).'
s-meň	s-cút		'He likes to play.'

-n suffixed to the "detransitivized reflexive stem" expresses

'one who...' or 'he that...':

ʔačḡ-n-cút-n	'looker on (one who looks)'
kʷí-n-cut-n	'God, maker by himself'
ḡm-enč-n-cút-n	'lover'
ʔepʔ-n-cút-n	'cleanser'
*čštʔ-n-cut-n	'guardian'
**qap-n-cút-n	'friend to death'
in-ǵʷeít-n-cút-n	'He that carries me.' ¹⁶
n-qʷn-m-n-cut-n	'who has pity'
n-kʷn-cin-cút-i-s t kʷí-n-cut-n	

'He that sings the praises of God.'

kʷu n-kʷn-cin-cút-i-s t Marie

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

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

*-n-t-(é)m

*-s-t-(é)m

-š(í)-t-m

-i-t-(é)m

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

y-es-n-ʔéy-i-t-m	'I pay him his...'
y-es-kʷúl-i-t-m	'I make his...(something belonging to him).'
y-es-ʔúkʷ-i-t-m	'I carry his...'
*y-es-čštʔ-i-t-ém	'I guard his...'
y-es-sq-i-t-ém	'I split his...'
y-es-íuʔ-i-t-ém	'I sting his...'
y-es-íuʔ-áq-i-t-m	'I sting the nose of his...'
y-es-íuʔ-eč-i-t-m	'I wound the hand of his...'
y-es-kʷúl-š-t-m	'I do it for him, help him doing it.'
y-es-čaw-š-t-m	'I pray for him in his stead.'
y-es-ál-ší-t-m	'I die for him in his stead.'

y-es-n-ʔéy-š-t-m	'I pay for him, help him paying.'
y-es-mi-mi-ší-t-m	'I tell him news.'
y-es-sq-ší-t-m	'I split for him (help him splitting).'
y-es-iuʔ-ší-t-m	'I lance for him.'

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

-nú-n-t-em	-nú-n-m
y-es-k ^w n-nú-n-m	'I succeed in taking it.'
y-es-mi-p-nú-n-m	'I succeed in knowing it.'
y-es-iuʔ-nú-n-m	'I succeed in lancing it.'
y-es-sq-š-nú-n-m	'I succeed in splitting it.'
y-es-k ^w l-nú-n-m	'I succeed in making it.'

5.3.2. Transitive Stems

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

n-ʔeys-m-n	'I use it to pay, to buy.'
n-ʔeys-m-n-t	'Use it to pay, to buy.'
n-ʔeʔ-cín-m-n	'I receive it in Holy Communion.'
naq ^w -m-n Pierre	'I stole Peter; I stole from Peter.'
iuʔ-éčs-m-n	'I wound my hand with it.'
citx ^w -m-n ci citx ^w	'I used that house.'
sič ² -m-n ci sič ² -m	'I used that blanket.'
x ^w olq ^w -m-n ci x ^w olq ^w	'I use that wagon.'
iuʔ qepc u č-x ^w uy-m-n-cí-n	'in spring when I paid you a visit'

n-ǰe?-cín-m-n-t-x ^w ǰu?	s-qeltč-s	'You receive the body of J.C.'
ǰe?-šín-m-n ǰu?	s-ías	'I have leather shoes.'
sič-m-n ǰu?	k ^w íl-če?	'I have the red blanket on.'
ǰǰ-cin-m-n ǰu?	i čǰil-ps	'I have the gray horse.'
*č-ši?ǰ-s-t-ús-m-n-t-x ^w (-s-t ?) ǰu?	a-síc-m ǰi naǰ ^w	
		'Keep your eyes on your blanket lest it be stolen.'
čen ǰu?	i-s-ménx ^w naǰ ^w -m-n-t-ém t ttwit	
		'Where is my tobacco? It has been stolen by a boy.'
ǰey-čst-m-s-t-m-n		'I avenged you.' (D I p. 111)
n-ǰe?-cín-m-ǰ-t-n		'I receive his...in Holy Communion.'
č-ǰs-t-m-ǰ-ci-n ǰu?	an-cút	'I feel good for your conduct.'
ǰe?-šín-m-ǰ-c-n ǰu?	an-ǰe?-šín	'I have on your shoes.'
nóǰ ^w -noǰ ^w -m-ǰ-t-s	sín-ce?	'He had his brother's wife.'

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

n-ǰey-š-m-n (-intran. benefactive-middle-transitive first p. sg.)	
	'I buy it for others.'
n-ǰey-š-m-n-t	'Buy it for others.'
naǰ ^w -š-m-n Pierre	'I stole Peter from others (from his masters).'
k ^w ul-š-m-n	'I do it for others.'
sǰ-šiš-m-n	'I split it for others.'
ǰu?-šiš-m-n	'I lance it for others.'
k ^w u n-k ^w ǰi-n-ǰaǰl-éls-m-n-t-x ^w (-volitive-middle-tran-tran-you)	
	'I think the same as you do.'
n-k ^w ǰi-n-ǰaǰl-éls-m-n-c-n	'You think as I do.'
k ^w ǰi-m-út-m-s-t-n (-capable-middle-causative-tran-first p. sg.)	
	'I can make that.'
ac-m-út-m-s-t-n	'I can catch it.'
ǰ ^w aǰ ^w -m-út-m-s-t-n	'I can grind it.'

Instrumental intransitive stems are frequently transitivized:

k ^w ul-m-n (< k ^w ul-min-n-t-en)	'I did use it.'
ac-mí-n (< ac-mín-n-t-en)	'I use it to tie.'

ɣs-t-mi-n (< ɣes-t-mín-n-t-en)	'I find it good.'
n-ʔeys-m-n (< n-ʔéys-min-n-t-en)	'I use it to pay, to buy.'
n-ʔeys-m-n-t	'Use it to pay, to buy.'
k ^w u meʔeʔ-mí-n-t-m	'Someone has refused me.'
ɬuʔ-mí-n (< ɬuʔ-mín-n-t-en)	'I use that to lance.'

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

ɣs-t-mín-m-n	'I find it good.'
ǰiʔ-mín-m-n ci ǰiʔ-mín	'I use that pen, paper.'
ac-mín-m-n	'I use it to tie.'
ɬuʔ-mín-m-n	'I use that to lance.'
ɬuʔ-mín-m-i-t-n	'I use his...to lance.'

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

Other "transitivized" intransitive stems are:

yo-yo-t-ílš-t-n (< yo-yo-t-ílš-s-t-n)	'I make him grow strong.'
n-py-el-s-t-n (< n-py-éls-s-t-en)	'I make him to rejoice.'

(See also 5.1.2. epɬ-.)

FOOTNOTES

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

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

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

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

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

⁵-enč ? Related to -enč ?

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹Carlson analyzes Spokane -yš as -m 'middle' plus -š 'imperative'

1972, p. 93).

¹²Why did e (čew-s) → a in this form?

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

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

¹⁵The function and distribution of -m is not understood. The word-final m of the examples is presumed to be 'middle'. Two examples which Post included with other nouns, do not have a final -m:

čín	es-k ^w í-paḡ-m-út-i	'I can think, am capable of reflection.'
ta	s-k ^w í-paḡ-m-út	'He can not think, has not the use of reason.'

(D I p. 451)

¹⁶Post also gives inkoeltenzuten (**in-k^welt-n-cút-n) 'he that loads me'.

6. COMPOUNDS AND COMPLEX FORMS

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

6.1. Compounds

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

čín es-pʔaw-s-ʔitš-i (pʔaw 'enough' - ʔitš 'sleep')

'I don't care to sleep.'

čín es-pʔaw-s-ʔiĭn-i (pʔaw 'enough' - ʔiĭn 'eat')

'I don't care to eat.'

x^wi-cú-n-t (x^wuy 'go' - cu(n) 'say')

'Go and tell him!'

ǎeʔ-cú-n-t (ǎeʔ 'look for' - cu(n) 'say')

'Look for him and tell him!'

čín tix^w-i-nóx^w-no^w (tix^w 'get' - nóx^w-no^w 'wife')

'I got a wife.'

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

k^wul 'work, do, make'

čín es-k^wl-i-ilmix^w (ilmix^w 'chief') 'I am acting as chief.'

y-es-k^wl-i-ilmix^w-m OR k^wl-i-ilmix^w-m-n 'I treat him as chief.'

čín es-k^wl-i-px^w-út-i (px^w-ut 'old, parent') 'I act as a parent.'

y-es-k^wl-i-px^w-út-m OR k^wl-px^w-ut-m-n 'I treat him as a parent.'

čín es-k'wí-sx^w-s'ix^w-lt-i (sx^w-six^w-lt 'child, children)

'I got a child.'

y-es-k'wí-sx^w-s'ix^w-lt-m 'I treat him as a child.'

čín es-k'wí-í-q^wn-q^wiⁿ-t-i (q^wiⁿ 'poor') 'I act the poor.'

y-es-k'wí-í-q^wn-q^wiⁿ-t-m OR k'wí-í-q^wn-q^wiⁿ-t-m-n

'I treat him as poor.'

čín es-k'wí-í-?eč-éwt-i (?eč 'last') 'I act as the last.'

y-es-k'wí-í-?eč-éwt-m 'I treat him as the last.'

čín es-k'wí-í-k'wí-n-cút-n (k'wí-n-cut-n 'God')

'I act as God.'

y-es-k'wí-í-k'wí-n-cút-n-m OR k'wí-í-k'wí-n-cut-n-m-n

'I treat him as God.'

Cf. also: čs-í-n-k'wú^l-mi-s (-n- ?) (čs 'bad') 'his bad ways'¹
nk^wu? 'one'

y-es-nk^w-í-?emút-m [?emút 'sit'] íu? i-s-ḡélwi?

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

t swet u es-nk^w-í-lcí?-m-s [lci? 'remain, stay'] íu? J.C.

íu? 1 s-n-ḡe?-cín

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

t 1[?]ew-s u t S. s-pḡ-paḡ-t u es-nk^w-í-lcí?-m-s

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

y-es-nk^w-í-x^wuy-m OR nk^w-í-x^wuy-m-n [x^wuy 'go']

'I have him coming with me.'

i 1 nk^w-s-ḡl-ḡal-t [ḡal 'light', ḡl-ḡal 'day'] u ḡ^wmi?-p

Pierre u íu? Paul 'Peter and Paul died together.'

nk^w-í-ḡl-mí-s [ḡil 'die'] t Pierre íu? Paul

'Peter had Paul for his companion in death.'

s-nk^w-sqélix^w (sqélix^w 'man') 'neighbor'

s-nk^w-í-ilmix^w-m (ilmix^w 'chief') 'fellow-chief'

s-nk^w-í-tt^wit (tt^wit 'boy') 'fellow-boy'

s-nk^w-í-šé-šut^m (šé-šut^m 'girl') 'fellow-girl'

s-nk^w-í-k'wú^l-í (k'wú^l 'make, do') 'wife/husband'

k^wtun 'big, great' (Note that unstressed u is deleted, and that

n → i before -s- or -i-.)

k ^w ti-s-m [?] ót	(m [?] ot 'smoke')	'big smoke'
k ^w ti-s-p [?] ús	(p [?] us 'heart')	'big heart'
k ^w ti-s-qéltč	(qeltč 'body')	'big body'
k ^w ti-s-k ^w ís-k ^w s	(k ^w is 'hen')	'turkey'
k ^w ti-s-psay-é [?] 2	(psay-é [?] 'fool')	'a great fool'
k ^w ti-i-qp-éice [?]	(qp-éice [?] 'plate')	'big plate'
k ^w ti-i-š [?] ít	(š [?] it 'first')	'by far the first'
k ^w ti-i-p ^x -pá ^x -t	(pá ^x 'wise')	'by far the wisest'
k ^w ti-i- ^x és-t	(^x es 'good')	'by far the best'

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

*s-mi-i-l [?] éw	(l [?] ew 'father')	'worthy father'
*s-mi-i-p ^x ^w -út	(p ^x ^w -ut 'old')	'worthy parent'
*s-mi-s-k ^w úy	(k ^w uy 'mother')	'worthy mother'
*s-mi-s-k ^w í-n-cút-n	(k ^w í-n-cut-n 'God')	'true God'
*s-mi-s-p ^x -pá ^x -t	(pá ^x 'wise')	'true sage'
*s-mi-i- ^x á-cín	(^x á-cin 'horse')	'excellent horse'

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

sqm-sqélix ^w	(sqélix ^w 'man')	'worthless man'
sqm-i-č-naqs	(č-naqs 'one person')	'worthless fellow'
sqm-s-m [?] em	(m [?] em 'woman')	'false woman'
sqm-i- ^x á-cin	(^x á-cin 'horse')	'worthless horse'
sqm-i-mi-n-cút-n	(mi-n-cút-n 'one who knows')	'false teacher'

**š[?]i[?]s 'instead of'

i^u? č[?]i **q-s-š[?]i[?]s-čáw-i [čáw 'pray'], čn [?]itš

'Instead of praying, I slept.'

i^u? ne **q-s-š[?]i[?]s-^x?en-t-é^x^w [^x?en 'forbid'] k^wem^t t[?]í ci[?] u

n-[?]awqn-t-x^w 'Instead of checking him, you encourage him.'

i^u? qa[?] **q-s-š[?]i[?]s-[?]áym-t-m-n-t-m [[?]áym 'mad, angry'], m qe[?]

čáw-š-t-m

'Instead of getting mad at him, we should pray for him.'

J.C. iu? **q-s-ši?s-l?é-1-s (-1 ?) [l?e 'stay, remain'], t
 cniic u q'áy-alqs tk'w-n-t-és **qí-n-i-qlčlp-n-cút-i-s
 'Instead of remaining here himself, J.C. left the priests to hold
 his place.'

š?it 'first'³

š?it-ma?-sqélix^{w4} (sqélix^w 'man, men') 'first people'
 *š?it-miš-élt (stress ?) (*miš '?', -elt 'child')
 'first-born child'

6.2. Complex Forms

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

6.2.1. Lexical Suffixes

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

-alqs 'clothing, shirt, dress'

sic-álqs	'new dress'	q'áy-alqs	'black gown, priest'
piq-álqs	'white gown'	čĭ-qltč-alqs	'overcoats'
k'í-iš-t-álqs ⁶	'underwear'	s-ǫsp-alqs	'old clothes'
soť-lqs	'knitted shirt'	x ^{w?} -alqs	'plenty of clothing'
čm-p-alqs	'hem of a garment'	xs-alqs	'good dress'
čin es-tw-álqs-i			'I buy a shirt.'
čin s-qltmix ^w -alqs			'I dress as (like) a man.'
čin m?em-álqs			'I dress as a woman.'
čin suyap-álqs			'I dress as an American.'

- á|q^w 'cylindrical object'
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ǰic-á q ^w | 'hard wood' | x ^w m-á q ^w | 'wood painted red' |
| ɣam-á q ^w | 'dry wood' | q l-á q ^w | 'green wood' |
| **essalq-á q ^w | 'crooked wood' | k ^w tn-á q ^w | 'tall (tree, person)' |
| y-es-č-ǰm-á q ^w -m | | | 'I kiss the cross (the wood).' |
- a|q 'smell, grain, fruit, spouse'
- | | | | |
|------------------------|--|--------|-------------|
| ɣs-a q | 'good smell' | čs-a q | 'bad smell' |
| x ^w l-a q | 'who is divorced' (D I p. 176) | | |
| k ^w ǰ-ǰ-a q | 'His seed is coming out.' (D I p. 176) | | |
- aqs 'road; nose; food; point'
- | | | | |
|--|------------------|--|---------------------|
| n ^k ^w -aqs | 'one road' | ɣs-aqs | 'good food/taste' |
| lk ^w -ut-áqs | 'distant road' | s-čut-áqs | 'part of the food' |
| n-sul-áqs | 'frozen road' | s-q ^w a [?] m-áqs | 'habitual food' |
| n-tɣ ^w -áqs | 'straight road' | č-ma ^w -áqs | 'remnant of food' |
| n- [?] asl-áqs | 'two roads' | č-x ^w [?] -aqs | 'He ate much.' |
| n-k ^w tn-aqs | 'large road' | č-x ^w [?] -etk ^w -áqs | 'He drank much.' |
| n-čm-aqs | 'point of knife' | **c-k ^w -k ^w mn-aqs | 'hungry one' |
| sk ^w -aqs | 'swollen nose' | x ^w um-m-áqs | 'desirable food' |
| y-es-ǰu [?] -áqs-m | | | 'I sting his nose.' |
| n-x ^w k ^w -po [?] s-áqs (po [?] s ?) | | | 'forking road' |
| **čn-qaw-áqs | | | 'some, several' (?) |
- aqsm⁷ 'species, kind'
- | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| es-n-iyá [?] -qsm | 'all kinds' | n-k ^w tn-aqsm | 'dear (expensive)' |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
- aqsus⁸ 'band, family'
- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|
| če [?] i-aqsús | 'three families' | mus-aqsús | 'four families' |
| n ^k ^w -aqsús | 'one family' | ǰupn-aqsús | 'ten families' |
- ásq[?]t 'day; sky, weather' (D I pp. 21, 34)
- | | | | |
|--|--------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| ɣs-asq [?] t | 'good day/weather' | čs-asq [?] t | 'bad day/weather' |
| č-ɣs-asq [?] t | 'clear sky' | s-č-čm-asq [?] t | 'sky, heaven' |
| č- [?] aɣl-ásq [?] t | 'sky-like' | **čhans-p-ásq [?] t | 'cloudy sky' |

- axn 'arm'
- q̣w-axn 'broken arm' wis-šn-áxn 'long arm'
- sk^w-axn 'swollen arm' ča?l-áxn 'sore arm'
- čm-axn 'last (in the row)'
- iu? l s-čm-axn 'at the last end, in the extreme'
- ax^wcč 'chest, breast'
- č-ča?l-áx^wcč 'sore breast' p̣l-ax^wcč 'bare-breasted'
- cin 'mouth, word, food'
- n-q^wn-q^wn-cin 'poor speaker' s-n-qe?-cín 'Holy Communion'
- s-up-cín 'beard' **n-pe?x^w-cín 'fair face'
- s-hoy-cín 'end of speech' nk^w-cin 'one word'
- čsi-p-cín 'one out of provisions' (D I p. 648)
- y-es-n-qe?-cín-m 'I give Holy Com. to him. OR I receive H. C.'
- y-es-p̣?aw-cín-m OR p̣?aw-cín-m-n 'I speak disrespectfully to him.'
- ečs(t) 'hand, action, finger; branch of tree' (-ečs before m)
- s-čh-ečst 'right hand' s-tu^m-čst 'thumb'
- iyús-čst 'dirty hand' q̣n-ečst 'contracted hand'
- q̣x^w-qin-čst 'finger-nails' n-ck^w-ečst 'walking cane'
- s-č-čl-čl-ečst 'branches' č-q̣w-ečst 'broken branches'
- s-iox^w-čn-éčst 'wound in hand'
- s-k^wi-yalk^w-cn-éčst 'bracelets'
- mus-čst 'who hopes to succeed (does his best)'
- y-es-iú?-ečs-m 'I sting his hand; I wound my hand with it.'
- y-es-tm-áčs-m 'I kiss his hand.'
- čin es-x^we?l-éčst-i 'I work quickly, hasten.'
- éiče? 'the whole; inside of anything'
- n-xš-éiče? 'all good inside' n-iš-ut-éiče? 'down inside'
- n-q^wéc-éiče? 'full person' n-k^wtn-éiče? 'big gun, cannon'
- n-x^wk^wú-iče? 'clean inside, clean vessel'
- čin n-mál-če? (?) 'I am all dirty inside.'

- élix^w 'tribe, people'
- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| nk ^w -élix ^w | 'one tribe' | tix ^w l-élix ^w | 'of another tribe' |
| esiyá [?] -lix ^w | 'all nations' | s-tem [?] -élix ^w | 'of what tribe?' |
| s-nk ^w -élix ^w | 'compatriot (of the same tribe)' | | |
- elp 'floor'
- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| *s-čs-le [?] x ^w -élp-tn | 'a broom (to sweep inside the house)' |
| tk ^w -k ^w -elp (< tk ^w -k ^w -elp) ⁹ | 'camp' |
- elps 'neck, back part of the neck' (D II p. 252)
- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| **č-yul-élp | 'thick-necked' |
| s-čxil-ps (< s-čxil-elps) | 'gray (necked) horse' |
| Cf. also: s-ql-eps | 'neck-kerchief' ? |
- els 'front'; *miš- -éls 'the presence, front part of a person'
- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------|
| i-s-miš-čm-éls | 'my presence' |
| s-miš-čm-éls-c | 'his presence' |
| tu [?] l s-miš-čm-éls | 'before someone' |
- elt 'child, young one'
- | | | | |
|---|---|--|-------------------|
| ?ox ^w t-élt | 'baby' | s-q ^w s [?] -elt | 'nephew' |
| *s-k ^w um-élt | 'pure virgin' | s-šw-elt | 'orphan' |
| sic-lt | 'new-born child' | s-tmč [?] -élt | 'daughter' |
| šutn [?] -elt | 'little daughter' | s-k ^w -k ^w im-łt | 'baby, boy, girl' |
| č-šaq ^w -cé [?] -lt | (stress ?) 'chicks coming out of the shell' | | |
| | (D I p. 352) | | |
- ei 'luck'
- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| čin šx ^w p-ei | 'I had the luck to escape.' | (D II p. 232) |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
- eix^w 'house, skin, cloth, cover'
- | | | | |
|---|-------------------|---|----------------------|
| s-lk ^w -eix ^w | 'log house' | če [?] i-éix ^w | 'three houses/rooms' |
| k ^w tn-eix ^w | 'big house' | čs-eix ^w | 'bad house' |
| s-pum-éix ^w | 'hairy skin' | q ^w ay-ix ^w | 'black cloth' |
| **x ^w l-x ^w al-éix ^w | 'sheep's skin' | s-néč-šce [?] -ix ^w | 'elk's skin' |
| čin x ^w č-eix ^w | 'I give a house.' | čm-p-eix ^w | 'rear of the house' |

- nk^w-eix^w 'one (another) house (room)'
 -emx^w 'breast'
 ča?l-émx^w 'a sore breast' tk^w-emx^w 'put on the breast'
 mal-émx^w 'healed breast'
 s-q^we?-q^w?-émx^w 'cow-milked, milk' (D I p. 282)
 -énc 'insides, stomach'
 qx^w-p-énc 'costive' č-ča?l-énc 'belly-ache'
 -éne? 'ear; food' (čī- -éne? 'all over')
 s-ččik^w-éne? 'left ear'
 č-x^wt-éne? 'cropped ear'
 es-tq-éne? 'deaf in one ear'
 n-x^ws-éne? 'willing to hear'
 nunx^w-éne? 'believes what he hears'
 x^wum-m-éne? 'desirable food'
 i-s-x^wč-č-n-éne? (-n- ?) 'food given to me'
 i^wq-éne? 'He hides provisions.'
 čs-p-éne? 'one out of provisions' (D I p. 640)
 čin x^wč-n-éne? (-n- ?) 'I give provisions.'
 čin es-tq-éne?-i 'I hold by laying hands on.'
 čī-av-p-éne? 'wet all over'
 čī-ilx^w-éne? 'covered all over'
 čī-xali-p-éne? 'I am fallen upon by the morning light. The morning light falls upon me.' (D II p. 135)
 -ep 'hair; foot (tree, door), helm of boat' (n- -ep 'food; back of a person) (k^wi-n- -ep 'door')
 nk^w-ep 'one hair' ?esl-ép 'two hairs'
 *čt-ep 'cut logs' s-čm-ep 'foot of a tree'
 n-twin-ép 'lacking food' **n-aīq-ép 'plenty of food'
 č-n-?ačx-ép 'looked at from behind'
 sx^w-tx^w-m-ep (-m- ?) 'helms-man, pilot'
 ?emt-ép 'Indian goddess, dwelling at the foot' (D II p. 116)
 k^wi-n-x^wc-ep 'passing by the door'

**č-?č-s-wiš-ép	'standing by the door'
čin es-k ^w i-n-k ^w i-ép-i	'I shut the door of the lodge (tent).'
čin es-k ^w i-n-šn-ép-i	'I shut the wooden door.'
čin es-k ^w i-n-čn-m-áp-i	'I lock the door.'
čin es-k ^w i-n-čeh-ép-i	'I open the door of the lodge.'
čin es-k ^w i-n-čehk ^w -ép-i	'I unlock and open the door.'
čin es-k ^w i-n-máw-p-i	'I break a door open (breaking the hinges).'
**-épest 'chin'	
iu?-épest	'stung on the chin'
-éple? 'handle' (č- -éple? 'authority, boss') (D II p. 201)	
q [?] u-p-éple?	'the handle broke'
**qs-éple?	'the broken handle'
č-?esl-éple?	'He has two masters.'
č-?ačx-éple?	'He is looked for by superiors.'
č-k ^w ulst-éple?	'He is sent by a superior.'
č-ɣe?n-éple?	'forbidden by boss'
č-tm [?] -éple?	'orphan (without boss)'
-epi 'lower part of the back, buttocks'	
s [?] p-epi-m	'whipped on the back' (D II p. 22)
iu?-épi-m	'wounded on the back'
-esš 'stone, grain, kernel'	
nk ^w -esš	'one stone/grain'
ks-esš	'beautiful stone'
k ^w tn-esš	'big stone'
x ^w y-esš	'sharp-pointed stone'
-éstye? 'grass'	
s-ɣs-éstye?	'good grass (hay)'
s-čs-éstye?	'poor grass' (D II p. 170)
-etk ^w (-k ^w) 'water'	
s-ɣs-etk ^w	'broth'
n-siš-k ^w	'pure water'
s-x ^w uym-tk ^w	'ice'
n-čal-átk ^w	'cold water'
n-mal-k ^w	'troubled water'
či-p [?] os-átk ^w	'foam'

i q ^w oy-k ^{w10}	'calm water'	n-k ^w il-k ^w	'red water (wine)'
n-xal-k ^w	'clear water'	?ocq?-étk ^w	'spring of water'
**s-č-tč-etk ^w	'a skin raft'		
s-íq ^w -etk ^w	'broad water (Flathead Lake)'		
s-łx ^w -etk ^w	'fast water (Spokane Falls)'		
-ewi (-ui)	'boat'		
nk ^w -ewi	'one boat'	če?i-éwi	'three boats'
s-qsp-ewi	'old boat'	čs-ewi	'bad boat'
síc-ui	'new boat'	s-lč ^w -ewi	'wooden raft'
č-s-tem-éwi ¹¹	'without boat'		
-éws	'back; fellow, partner'	(n- -éws	'between, among, in common')
es-ča?l-éws	'sore back'	č-k ^w tn-éws	'big belly'
č-sk ^w -éws	'swollen belly'	es-ac-éws	'tied together'
n-čs-éws			'bad among the good'
n-x ^w st-éws			'walks among others'
y-es-čic-éws-m			'I bore it through.' (D II p. 398)
y-es-n-šist-éws-m			'I pass through a city.'
y-es-n-tk ^w -éws-m			'I place it in common.'
n-tk ^w -éws-n fu? x ^w olq ^w			'I gave the wagons in common.'
qe? es-xm-enč-éws-i			'We love one another.'
-éwt	'together' (also <u>-ewt</u> ?)		
?aý-éwt			'live together'
qe? ?aý-éwt-i			'We live together.'
tpý-éwt			'stand together'
qe? tpý-éwt			'We stand together.'
qamn-éwt			'lay down together'
qe? qamn-éwt			'We lay down together.'
?eč-ewt			'last one'
ł-mq ^w -ewt			'hillock' (a hillock in a group ?)
*-éyey [?]	'feign, simulate'		
čin es-ča?-ča?l-éyey [?]			'I play sick.'
čin es-čq ^w -q ^w -aq ^w -éyey [?]			'I feign to weep.'

- čín es-ʔit-ʔitš-éyey 'I feign to sleep.' (D I p. 244)
- éys 'rain, snow' (n- -éys 'tooth')
- | | | | |
|------------------------|----------------|--|----------------|
| s-ɪw-éys | 'little rain' | k ^w t-k ^w tn-éys | 'large flakes' |
| s-ʔi-p-éys | 'rain' | es-ʔi-p-éys-i | 'It rains.' |
| n-ɣs-éys | 'good tooth' | n-čs-éys | 'bad tooth' |
| n-čaʔl-éys | 'tooth-ache' | n-ǰʔu-p-éys | 'broken tooth' |
| n-ɪx ^w -éys | 'hollow tooth' | | |
- íceʔ 'cover, blanket' (č- -íceʔ 'all around')
- | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--|-------------------|
| s-ǰsp-íceʔ | 'old blanket' | s-k ^w il-íceʔ | 'red blanket' |
| k ^w tn-íceʔ | 'large robe' | čs-íceʔ | 'bad cot/blanket' |
| č-aw-p-íceʔ | 'wet all around' | č-q ^w n-q ^w n-íceʔ | 'poorly clad' |
| č-px ^w -íceʔ | 'shining all around' | | |
- ičn 'back' (n- -ičn 'back of animal' (?))
- | | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|------------|-------------------|
| es-n-mǰ ^w -ičn | 'hump-backed' | n-ʔemt-ičn | 'sit on the back' |
| n-ʔk ^w -ičn | 'placed on the back' | | |
- il (-el, -al) 'arrow, weapon' (D I p. 17)
- čín es-íl-m-i¹² (stress ?) 'I throw arrows by the hand.'
- lscut 'goods'
- | | | | |
|------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|
| ɣs-lscut | 'good goods' | os-lscút | 'lost goods' |
| s-ʔq-lscut | 'goods' | s-qamn-lscút | 'goods, pl.' |
| s-tm-lscut | 'what kind of goods' | | |
- ɪniwt 'side (person, road)'
- | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| s-ɪox ^w -ɪniwt | 'side-wound' | s-n-čm-ɪniwt | 'loins, sides' |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
- iǰít (-iǰiýt) 'shoulder; covering'
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|--------------|
| s-n-čm-iǰít | 'shoulder blade' | n-ɪq ^w -ɪq ^w -iǰít | 'suspenders' |
| s-n-ac-iǰít | 'clothes, coat' | n-qǰot-iǰít | 'shovel' |
| *s-n-čm-i-iǰít (-i- ?) | 'top of shoulder' | | |
| čín es-n-čč-iǰít-i | 'I carry a piece of wood on the shoulder.' | | |
| čín es-n-ʔk ^w -iǰiýt-i | 'I carry something on the shoulder.' | | |

-itumš 'people'

sx^w-k^w-itumš (< sx^w-k^wul-itumš) 'messenger (sent)'
 sx^w-su-itumš (< sx^w-sew-itumš) 'messenger (asking)'
 s-x^wl-x^wilt-itumš 'saving of people'
 čin es-xalt-itumš-i 'I ask for people.'
 čin es-n-q^wn-itumš-i 'I pity people.'

-nux^w 'weather'

k^wl-k^wl-nux^w 'sunny weather' x^s-nux^w 'good weather'
 **čmp-nux^w 'cloudy weather' ča[?]l-tm-nux^w (-tm ?) 'cold weather'
 či[?]-nux^w (< čen-nux^w) 'what kind of weather'

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

nk[?]o[?]-qín¹³ 'one hundred' x^wam-qn 'red-painted head'
 s-čoiñ-qín 'brain' č-yal-qn 'crown'
 q^wac-qn 'hat, cap' k^wton-qn 'big head'
 n-tx^w-qin 'mid-day' milk^w-qn 'round head'
 č-ǰax^w-qn 'shining head' *n-čs-tn-qin (-tn ?) 'bad seed'
 es-čnm-p-qín 'got blind' n-k^wton-qn 'big-voiced'
 ?amót-qn (< ?emut-qin) 'old Indian god (dwelling at the top)'
 (D I p. 116)
 y-es-ǰop-qn-m 'I bend it over (as the head of a tree).'
 č-k^wton-qn 'big mountain'
 č-?amót-qn 'dweller on the mountain'

-scut 'feign, simulate'

čín es-x^s-t-scút-i¹⁴ (-t- ?) 'I feign good manners.'
 čín es-yo-yo-scút-i 'I try, endeavor (fortitude to do).'
 čín es-yo-yo-t-scút-i (-t- ?) 'I play the strong.'
 es-ilmix^w-scút-i 'He affects the chieftainship (aspires after).'

**sčint¹⁵ 'person, people'

**syaw-sčint 'patient people'
 yo-yo-sčint 'powerful men'
 s-x^wye[?]-sčint 'ant-people (Blackfeet)'

- s-íq̣-etsk^w-m-sčint (-m- ?) 'people from the foot of Flathead Lake'
- *-snux^w 'worthy of'
- lm-lem-snx^w 'worthy of being liked'
- *čm̄-čm̄-snux^w 'worthy of hatred'
- ?am-?am-snúx^w (?aym-?aym-snúx^w)¹⁶ 'worthy of anger'
- n-ḡl-ḡl-snux^w 'inspiring fear'
- s-ḡm-ḡm-énč-snx^w 'lovely, that desires to be loved'
- sqáxe? 'cattle, beast, horse'
- k^wt-sqáxe? 'big horse'
- p̄x^w-t-sqáxe? (p̄x^w-ut-sqáxe?) 'old horse'
- n-t̄k^w-či?-sqáxe?-tn 'saddle'
- s-n-tp̄y-ewt-sqáxe?-tn 'stable'
- čin **es-k^w-sqáxe? 'I go to buy a horse.'
- čin x^wč-sqáxe? 'I give a horse.'
- šin 'foot, leg, root'
- q^wl-šin 'ripe roots' s-n-q̄^wu^l-šn 'stockings'
- í?ummél-šn 'wild goat' q̄?u-šin 'broken leg'
- s-t̄x^w-šin 'foot-wound' wis-šn 'long'
- s-n-íp̄x^w-šin 'nail foot-wound'
- s-q̄sp-í-q̄e?-šin 'old shoe'
- úle?x^w 'land, place; times'
- ḡám-le?x^w 'dry place' ḡíc-le?x^w 'hard place'
- čs-úle?x^w 'bad country' q^wín-le?x^w 'green fields'
- tí?m-le?x^w 'moist soil' n-hóy-le?x^w 'deserted place'
- ḡ?-úle?x^w 'rattlesnake' če?í-úle?x^w 'three times'
- mús-le?x^w 'four times' čl-čst-úle?x^w 'five times'
- s-čs-úle?x^w-tn 'a broom (to sweep outside the house)'
- us 'face, eye, neck; fire; family; times'
- čs-us 'ugly face' x^wem-ús 'red-painted face'
- s-č-k^wtn-us 'big fire' s-n-čic-n-ús (-n ?) 'beginning'
- n-ča?l-ús 'sore neck' č-ča?-ča?l-ús 'sore eyes'

nk ^w -us	'one band, family'	cil-čst-ús	'five times'
če [?] -če [?] i-ús	'three times'	čī-k ^w -k ^w im-ús	'small star'
si-sy-ús	'small star'	n-ǰlx ^w -us	'hooked in one eye'
čin *čam-ús			'I am consumed by fire.'
y-es-n-x ^w č-š-ús-m (-š- ?)			'I pay it for debts by giving the equivalent.'
čin es-plč ³ -ús-i			'I return, go back before reaching.'
y-es-ǰu [?] -ús-m			'I sting his face.'
čin es-ta [?] x ^w -l-ús(-i) (-l- ?)			'I advance, proceed.'
y-es-x ^w y-ús-m ǰu [?] i-s-q ^w sé [?]			'I came with my son.'
y-es-x ^w t [?] -p-ús-m			'I run away with her.'
n- [?] uǰx ^w -ús-n			'I went in with him; I brought him in.'
-útya [?] , -útye [?]	'?'		
**s-q ^w m-útya [?]			'coin'
qi [?] -m-útya [?] (-m- ?)			'paper money' (D II p. 245, I p. 254)
*ix ^w -m-útye [?] (-m- ?)			'sewed together (a sack)' (D I p. 369)
ǰup-m-útye [?] (-m- ?)			'corded ropes' (D I p. 597)

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

-áposqn (< -ép-us-qin)	'mouth, lips, throat'
ī-k ^w -k ^w ǰu [?] m-áposqn	'small-mouthed'
sk ^w -áposqn	'swelled mouth, lips'
xam-áposqn	'dry throat' (D I p. 143)
ǰu [?] -áposqn	'stung in the lips'
táx-posqn	'bitter mouth'
-cnetk ^w (< -cin-étk ^w)	'shore'
ǰaq-lš-cnétk ^w	'sitting on the shore'

-čneix ^w (< -ičn-eix ^w)	'front of the house'
es-čm-t-čnélix ^w (-t- ?)	'standing outside'
čm-čneix ^w	'yard in front of the house'
tpý-čvt-čnélix ^w	'those standing outside'
x ^w st-čneix ^w	'passing before the house'
-qnel (< -qin-él)	'shot, bite'
n ^k ^w -qnel	'one shot'
n-ʔasl-qnel	'two shots'
n-x̣s-qnel	'good bite'
-usqn (< -ús-qin)	'top of head' ¹⁸
piq-úsqn	'white on top of head'
**es-n-ayl-úsqn	'his head-top is shaved' (D I p. 15)

6.2.2. Lexical Prefixes

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

*qeʔi-	'offspring, child'		
qeʔi-David	'son of David'		
**qeʔi-x̣ ^w l-x̣ ^w ál	'lamb'		
qeʔi-ḳ ^w ḷ-n-cút-n	'son of God'		
puʔ-	'spouse'		
puʔ-sqélix ^w	'wife/husband of an Indian'		
puʔ-suyápi	'wife/husband of a whiteman'		
puʔ-Paul	'Paul's wife'		
puʔ-Marie	'Mary's husband'		
k ^w puʔ-č ³ -sél	'You have two wives.'		
sx ^w -	'charged to, appointed to do, fellow, partner, companion'		
(D I p. 503, D II pp. 15, 142)			
sx ^w -ʔačx̣-m	'spectator'	sx ^w -ḳ ^w uḷ-m	'workman'
sx ^w -k ^w ne-m	'policeman'	sx ^w -px̣ ^w om-m	'distributor'

sx ^w -lič ³ -m	'sheriff'	sx ^w -čaw ³ -m	'prayer leader'
*sx ^w -čx ³ ?lem	'charged to watch'	sx ^w -tu-m-íst	'trader'
sx ^w -tq ^w u-m	'tailor'	sx ^w -xaq	'paymaster'
i-sx ^w -čtíp			'my folks out hunting'
sx ^w -sqe-m , sx ^w -sax ^w -m			'wood-splitter'
i-sx ^w -naq ^w			'my companion in stealing'
i-sx ^w -łil			'my dead companion'
sx ^w -six ^w -lt			'my born fellow, my child'
i-sx ^w -čuw			'my absent partner'
i-sx ^w -s-m [?] em (s- ?)			'my sister'

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

FOOTNOTES

¹Post lists the following forms amongst his examples:

čs-i-in-k^wúl-mn ('bad-comp. con.-my-make-instr.') 'my bad ways'

čs-i-an-k^wúl-mn ('bad-comp. con.-your-make-instr.') 'thy bad ways'

The placement of the possessive prefixes is certainly unexpected.

²For -e? see footnote 9, chapter 4.

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

⁴Cf. Colville xətmaʔsqíl^w.

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

⁶Comparative evidence (see Colville) suggests that išut is segmentable (< yVš-ut), and if it is, then -ut is likely to be a lexical suffix, here occurring in combination with another lexical suffix. (See -ut 'capable' in 5.2.9.3. and lk^w-ut-aqs, px^w-t-sqáxe? below.)

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

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

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

¹⁰Cf. also n-q^woy-k^w (Tony Incashola).

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

¹²-il appears to be a root here.

¹³See 2.9. n. 15 for vowel lowering.

¹⁴Perhaps this should be analyzed as -s 'causative trans.' plus -cut 'reflexive' in which case -t could be 'stative'.

¹⁵If -sčint (s-čint ?) is a root, then these are compounds.

¹⁶The Colville cognate šim suggests that a is the vocalization of š; the ? remains unexplained.

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

¹⁷This form seems to indicate that šaqłš sometimes acts as a (non-segmentable) root.

¹⁸Cf. Vogt's -apqen 'top of head'.

¹⁹Post actually lists twelve forms. Of these, only two are lexical prefixes, the others roots. Six are cognate with other Salish roots: čem 'last, extremity', čes 'bad', xes 'good', k^wtun 'big, great', šʔit 'first', and nk^wu? 'one'. ****aiq** 'plenty of' must also be the root of the following words (which would otherwise lack a root):

**aiq-álqs	'who has plenty of cloth'
**aiq-éix ^w	'who has plenty of lumber'
**n-aiq-ép	'who has plenty of food'

Three others participate in compounds: sqm 'worthless', *mi 'excellent, worthy' and ****šʔi-mił** 'exceedingly' (see 6.1.).

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

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

7. PARTICLES

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

citx ^w	'It's a house.'
x ^w uy	'He/she/it goes.'
ac-mín	'It is a trap.'
y-es-n-ǵe?-cín-m-i-t-m	'I receive his...in Holy Com.'
s-čs-úle?x ^w -tn	'It's a broom to sweep outside.'

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

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

7.1. Clause Particles

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

7.1.1. Interrogative ha, uc

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

ha ncm k ^w x ^w uy	'Will you go?'
---	----------------

ha ta k ^w čaw-m	'Did you not pray?'
ha x ^w a m k ^w x ^w uy	'Shall you perhaps go?'
ha q-s-qix ^w -i-c-n	'Should I drive him for you?'
ha ta k ^w x ^w uy	'And did you not go?'
k ^w u es-xalít-m-s t q ^w áy-alqs	ha t Joseph
'The father calls for me.	Is it Joseph?'

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

ʔuc m čin ʔil	'Is it that I should die?'
ʔuc m čin x ^w l-x ^w ilt	'Who knows if I will be alive?'
ha nem k ^w x ^w uy ʔuc	'Will you go? Who knows.'
ʔačx-s-t-s ne ʔuc ʔax-s-t-és	
'They looked at him, whether he would cure him.' (D I p. 616)	
čin c-x ^w uy ʔuc čin epi-qi?-mín-tn	
'I came to see whether there is any letter for me.'	

7.1.2. Future nem

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

nem čin ʔimš	'I will start for my trip.'
nem k ^w u ilmíx ^w -m	'One will be chief.'
nem k ^w u ʔaym-t	'One will be angry.'
x ^w a nem č-šn-ci-n	'Perhaps I will follow thee.'
nem t k ^w uyʔé m n-q ^w h-mín-c-n	'I shall have pity on thee.'
pi-s-teṁ m k ^w člip	'When will you go hunting?'
l číčéʔt nem qeʔ tk ^w -k ^w -elp	'On some near place we will camp.'
nem či?-čws m qeʔ s-n-py-els l s-č-čm-asqt	
'Forever we shall rejoice in heaven.'	

7.1.3. Desiderative k^wmiʔ

k^wmiʔ 'would that' marks the clause it introduces as desiderative.

k^wmi? čin tx^w-mn-cut 'Would to God that I would amend myself.'
 k^wmi? wič-n-t-x^w iu? a-q-s-n-q^wn-ín iu? tí an-k^wí-n-cút-n
 ['Would-that you-see-it sub. your-pity(favor) sub. from
 your-God'] 'Would that you obtain your favor from God.'

7.1.4. Apodotic k^wne

k^wne marks the clause it introduces as apodotic, usually following a protatic clause.¹

k^w iu? ta k^w čaw-m, k^wne u k^w oós-t
 'If you had not prayed, you would have been lost.'
 k^w iu? č-x^wuy-m-n, k^wne u wič-t-n
 'If I had paid him a visit, I would have seen him.'

A special apodotic interrogative clause is introduced by the sequence k^wn a (< k^wne ha):

k^wn a u čin x^wuy 'Should I go?'
 k^w ta maly-ém-n-c-n (-ém ?) k^wn a u k^w x^wl-x^wilt
 'If I had not given thee that medicine, should you be alive?'

7.1.5. we 'to no avail'

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

?em we čin q^wií-m-íst, u ta s-lk^w-n-t-én
 'Though I did my best, I could not succeed.'
 č-šn-t-ex^w ?em we x^wl s-tem iu? t k^wiłt 'Thou didst
 follow him, while the others deserted him.' (D II p. 440)
 we y-es-k^wuí-m 'Though I made it; I made it indeed.'
 we k^wuí-n 'Though I had made it.'
 iu? we qí-č-šn-cút-i-s J.C. 'Those would be followers of J.C.'
 we xes-t u ta s-xš-t-mi-n 'He is good, but I don't like him.'
 we čin q^wl-q^welt, ta s-séw-ne?
 'Though I spoke, he did not mind.'

u šey u c-n-těš-ilš k^wtun-t s-wewt we q-s-k^we?-lwis-m-s iu?
ttwit 'And there a big fish came towards the shore, as if he
wished to bite the young man.' (Bible p. 32)

č-x^wc-n-t-es iu? t s-x^w?it-s iu? téye? i-s-c-k^wén iu? we
s-x^w?it iu? in-q^wóm-qn 'The multitude of my sins surpasses
even the number of my hair.'

we ma^w-t iu? in-ck^w-iňč *peň t šey u pul-s-t-n iu?
x^wi-x^wey-úť 'Though my bow was broken, still it was with it
that I killed those animals.'

we k^w xes-t u yetix^wá **q^w-q^wt-ílš
'Though you were good, now you are becoming wayward.'

we čin es-čaw-i u k^wu xalít-i-s in-qécč
'Though I am praying, my older brother called me.'

7.1.6. Conjoining u

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

iu? sqélix^w u iu? x^wi-x^wey-úť k^wí-n-cut-n ep-s-c-k^wuí
'Men and beasts are the work of God.'

u x^wi s-tem u k^wu čs-cin-m-n-t-x^w
'And why then did you insult me by your words?'

u k^wu an-šmėň ha 'And then am I your enemy?'

u iu? k^wuy?é ha k^wu an-šmėň 'And I, am I then your enemy?'

t k^wuy?é u pul-s-t-én 'It is I who killed him.'

u naq^w-émn iu? Barrabas 'Now Barrabas was a thief.' (D II p. 257)
y-es-x^wm-qín u tap-n-t-ém

'He thought himself quite safe, when he was shot.'

ha n-x^wc-x^wc-m-els iu? S. Marie u tk^w-élt-m-i-s iu? J.C.

'Did Mary suffer when she brought forth Jesus?' (Q. 392, Giorda
Catechism)

k^wemt iu? anwí? ?eč-éwt-s-t-x^w iu? n-x^ws-etk^w u yetix^wá

'But you have kept the best wine until now.' (Bible p. 52)

**1cyestó es-č-x^wé?-us u člux^w

'He left them hanging until evening.'

tí s-k^we-k^ws-t u člux^w u čin člip

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

lu? tí šey u čin ča?l, ta y-es-χs-t-ílš u yetix^wá

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

ta i-s-?ítš u χalí-p 'I did not sleep until daylight.'

ta s-q^wl-q^welt u řil 'He did not speak up to his death.'

i tñmus u k^w es-?áym-t-i 'Why did you get angry for no reason.'

qe? es-mi-s-t-ém u téye? ye s-qltmix^w

'We know that this man is bad.'

x^wl i-s-c-pu-pus-éňč u čin čq^w-aq^w

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

n^kwu? u n^kwu? 'one by one (things)'

?esél u ?esél 'two by two (things)'

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

7.1.7. Other Clause Particles

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

tew 'while'

tew l ci? lu? l es-?ey-m-éws **es-člcín-m-s-t-x^w

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

cyu 'before, not yet'

cyu ci? čin ?iin 'I did not eat as yet.'

cyu ci? řil u čin k^wi-čic 'I arrived before he died.'

cyu čin čaw-m 'I did not pray yet.'

néi 'evidential'

néi čin nunnx^w-éne?, néi k^w q^wl-q^welt

OR néi k^w q^wl-q^welt, x^wl šey čin nunnx^w-éne?

'I believe because you spoke.'

ta k^w q-s-n-xél-i néi k^w y-es-č-lci?-m

'Fear not because I am with you.'

ta q-s-x^wíč-i-c-n iu? s-?iin, néi téye? iu? an-cút

'I don't give you to eat, because you behaved badly.'

xi 'lest'

ta a-q-cl-k^wi-n-čs-tín xi tlcí? m čs-t-ši-t-m-t

'Sin no more lest worse should befall thee.'

**cušé 'finally' (Bible p. 40)

nex^w 'and, also, besides'²

nex^w ta 'nor'

7.2. Predicate Particles

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

7.2.1. k^w 'evidently'

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

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

k^w cu-t-í : "ta i-q-s-x^wúy"

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

k^wemt mi-p-nú-ys k^w ?eč-unex^w-íst iu? Ange

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

u mi-p-nú-ys k^w n-k^wil-k^w

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

šey k^w es-mi-s-t-éx^w, k^w s-m?em, iu? a-s-n-q^wń-ín tı

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

7.2.2. i 'specially noted'³

i c-čim 'dark (cloudy)' i n-čim 'dark room'

i xal	'clear'	i čel	'cold (cool)'
i naq̣	'rotten (meat)'	i č-tm-eix ^w	'naked'
i xam	'dry'	i tax	'bitter'
i čtas	'lean, poor'	i nas	'wet, moist'
i suý (i sul)			'uncomfortably cold'
i łaq̣			'warm (heat from fire)'
i tas			'hard accidentally'
i q ^w ew			'wicked altogether, drunk'
i x ^w uk ^w			'well, clean, all clean'
i nk ^w u?			'only one'
i qe [?] np ^l é?			'truly us, only ourselves'
i k ^w čtas			'Thou art always thin.'
i čin q ^w ñ-q ^w in̄-t			'I am going on to be poor.'
i či si-sy-ús			'I am brave.'
i k ^w čaw-m			'You always pray.'
i čin s-qltmix ^w			'I am truly a man.'
i čin q ^w ay			'I am all black.'
i k ^w tiš			'You are all sweet.'
i k ^w ?aym-t			'You are indeed mad.'
i k ^w s-m [?] em			'You are indeed a woman, a coward.'
i wič-t-n u ei-sux ^w -n			
	'As soon as ⁴ I saw him, I recognized him.'		(D I p. 217)

7.2.3. te? 'indefinite'

te? nk ^w u?	'some one'	te? swet	'someone'
te? ?esél	'some two'	te? s-tem̄	'something'
te? k ^w inš	'some, not many'	te? l čen̄	'somewhere'
te? nk ^w u?	'sometime'	te? pi-s-tem̄	'some time ago'
te? k ^w inš-ásqt			'some days ago'
te? ; te? nk ^w u? **noq ; te? k ^w inš			'not often, now and then'
te? m čin x ^w uy			'I will go sometime.'

7.2.4. še 'past'⁵

še šeý	'That is enough, that will do.'
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x^wuy-š, k^wi-múl-iš ěe

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

iu? s-x^wel-mn s-?aym-s iu? ěe s-nk^w-i-anx-s

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

7.2.5. ne 'future'

(Cf. nem 'future' in 7.1.2.)

iu? ne ta k^w es-k^wúl-m nem k^w **čs-ǫm-elt-n

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

ne k^w q-s-x[?]it, m qe? č-če?-če?ěs, m k^w c-x^wuy

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

ne xalí-p x^wa ne ci? nk^w-asqt m čin čip '(It will be) tomorrow, or (it will be) the day after, I will go hunting.'

ne čin es-wí-s-?iñ, m č-x^wuy-m-n-cí-n '(I will finish eating and) after my meal I will pay thee a visit.'

nem n-mi-p-n-cí-n iu? ne k^wu **č-yan-t-x^w

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

7.2.6. x^wa 'perhaps'

y-es-čint-m x^wa es-č-ča?l-éls-i 'I am afraid he may be sick.'

ěe x^wa wi-s-t-és 'He may have finished it already.'

x^wa nem qe? k^wi-čic 'Perhaps we will reach (arrive).'

x^wa ěe ?iñš 'Perhaps he started already.'

x^wa ta qa? q-ep-s-?iñ 'Perhaps we shall have nothing to eat.'

7.3. Complement Particles

Complement particles have as their immediate constituent partner a complement, that is an adjunct to the predicate that adds information to it. The question of whether two words, neither preceded by a particle, constitute a sequence of two predicates or a predicate followed by

an unmarked complement, is moot since by definition each word is a predicate, which in turn, can be modified by particles:

luk ^w y-es- [?] lu- [?] l [?] -ús-m	'I am looking for wood.'
[It-is-wood I-look-for-it]	
s- [?] pe [?] l [?] -m es- [?] íi [?] i-s-t-n	'I have eaten bitterroot.'
[It-is-bitterroot I-have-eaten-it]	
q ^w n [?] -q ^w n [?] -t sqélix ^w	'They are poor people.'
[They-are-poor they-are-people]	
si-sy-ús s-qltmix ^w	'He is a smart man.'
[He-is-smart he-is-man]	
k ^w xes-t k ^w s-m [?] em	'Thou art a good woman.'
[Thou art-good thou art-woman]	

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

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

naq ^w -m-n-t-ém t tt ^w it	'A boy stole it (it was stolen by a boy).'
t k ^w l [?] -n-cut-n u k ^w u k ^w úl [?] -i-s	'God made me.'
es-sux ^w -s-t-én lu [?] t šey [?] u k ^w u č-o [?] y [?] -n-cút-m-i-s	'I know him who insulted me.'
es-mi-s-t-én lu [?] Pierre u pl-s-t-en lu [?] in-l [?] éw	'I know that Peter is the one who killed my father.'
es-sux ^w -s-t-én lu [?] t šey [?] u k ^w u sp [?] -n-t-ém	'I know the one who struck me.'
lu [?] t šey [?] u k ^w x ^m -enč-m-s, t šey [?] u k ^w u x ^m -énč-i-s	'He that loves thee, loves me.'
k ^w u k ^w e [?] -k ^w é [?] -n-t-s t n- [?] q ^w - [?] q ^w sm [?] -ičn-šn	čeň
	ha t šey [?]
'A dog bit me.	Which one? Is it that one?'
k ^w u pul-s-t-s t s-šeňš	
'He struck me with a stone.'	

t s-teŋ u pulst-n-c⁶ t s-šeňš t luk^w t ul-ulí-m
 'With what did he strike you? With a stone? A piece of wood?
 Metal?'

pl-s-t-ém t luk^w 'One killed him with a club.'
 k^wu x^{wi}č-š-t t a-s-n-q^{wi}-pú (-pu ?) 'Give me some of your bread.'
 k^{wi}-éys-i-s t s-n-q^{wi}-pu (-pu ?) 'He changed it into bread.'

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

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

k^wu s-k^wuy-s t k^{wi}-n-cut-n OR k^wu s-k^wuy-s k^{wi}-n-cut-n
 'I am the mother of God.'
 qe? sx^w-six^w-lt-í-l-s t Eve OR qe? sx^w-six^w-lt-í-l-s Eve
 'We are the children of Eve.'
 k^w l[?]ew-s t Paul 'You are the father of Paul.'
 k^wu ilmíx^w-m-s t qalispél-m 'I am the chief of the Kalispels.'
 s-k^wánx-i-s lu? t s-x^wel-mn 'He is the slave of the devil.'
 k^w **qí-čltič-s t s-túlix^w 'You are the lord of the world.'
 qe? **čltič-í-l-s t qe? s-p[?]us
 'We are the masters of our hearts.'

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

k^{wi}-iš t šye? 'Make a boat (canoe).'
 k^{wi}-ist t sqélix^w, t s-k^w-k^wim-lt, t q^wñ-q^wiñ-t
 'He made himself a man, a child, a poor.'
 čin es-tíx^w-i t luk^w AS WELL AS luk^w y-es-tíx^w-m
 'I got wood.'
 čin es-tu-m-íst t s-meňx^w OR tu-m-íst-m-n s-meňx^w
 'I bought tobacco.'
 čin es-ḡalít-š-i t s-n-q^{wi}-pu FOR y-es-ḡalít-m s-n-q^{wi}-pu
 'I ask for bread.'
 k^wne-yš t ul-ulí-m 'Take a dollar.'
 q^wmí-š t ul-ulí-m 'Take some dollars.'

čín wič-m t sqélix ^w	'I saw some Indians.'
es-čén-iš t s-šuk ^w -m	'Gather some carrots.'
t sípi šu? i-sp-éčst	'My gloves are of skin.'

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

t i-qi-maly-ém-is-tn (-em-is ?)	'...I want medicine.'
t i-qi-ňi-ňč-ňň	'...I want a knife.'
t i-qi-s-meňx ^{w7}	'...I want tobacco.'
t s-meňx ^w	'...some tobacco'
t ňi-ňč-ňň	'...a knife'

t marks a 'time complement' accompanying a future predicate:

t mos-qt m č-ac-éws	'There were yet four days before Sunday.'
če t mos-qt m č-ac-éws	'There are yet four days before Sunday.'
če t k ^w inš-asqt m šap-sqélix ^w	če t ?asl-á
	'How many days before Christmas [New Year's]? Yet two days.'
t ci?	'in that time'

7.3.2. l 'locative'

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

es-č-šuk ^w šu? l qi?-mín	'It lays on the book.'
l qe? s-č-n-wis-t l ci? šu? s-č-čm-asqt	'Above us there is heaven.' [loc. we towards-high loc. there sub. heaven]
l qe? k ^w i-iš-út u l ci? šu? s-x ^w el-mn	'Below us there is hell.' [loc. we under-below and loc. there sub. devil] (D II p. 414)

and in the following sentence fragments:

l šey?	'in there, then'	l šéy-le?x ^w	'in that place'
l s-qepc	'in spring'	l nk ^w -úle?x ^w	'in another place'
l **k ^w um	'in the wilderness'	l s-túlix ^w	'on earth'
l n-wis-t	'above, on high'	l čólsqe?	'outside'

1 s-ččik ^{wé}	'at the left'	1 es-čch-ěčst	'at the right'
put u 1 šey			'precisely there'
1 c-n-tl ^é -le (-le ?)			'on this side of the river'
1 čw-ewt ; 1 ču-čw-úle ^{xw}			'in the desert'
1 nisq ^{wú}			'on the other side of the river'
1 es-milk ^w			'everywhere, all over'
1 es-milk ^w -m-úle ^{xw} (-m- ?)			'all over the world'

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

či q-s-q ^{w1} -q ^{wélt} -i 1 anwí?	'I will speak with you.'	⁸
čin x ^{wuy} 1 ...	'I go with...'	
čin es-?emt-í řu? 1 i-s-řélwi?	'I live with my husband.'	
ilmix ^w -m řu? 1 šey u k ^w es-q ^{w1} -q ^{wélt} -i	'It is the chief to whom you speak.'	
1 swet u x ^{wič} -ř-t-x ^w řu? a-síč-m 1 i-sín-ce?	'To whom did you give your blanket? To my younger brother.'	
1 swet řu? in-q ^{wác} -qn	'Who has my hat (with whom is my hat)?'	
1 k ^{wuy} ?é u ?eč-s-wíš řu? an-řá-cín	'I have your horse (your horse is with me).'	

7.3.3. č 'adessive-inessive'

x ^{wuy} č citx ^w	'He went to his house.'
č čeň	'Whither?'
řu? č šey m čin x ^{wuy} , ta q-s-lk ^w -n-t-ex ^w k ^w q-s-x ^{wuy}	'Whither I am going, thou canst not go.'
te? č čeň	'to some place, somewhere'
ci? č ci?	'still further'
řu? č řu?	'thither, yonder'

7.3.4. tł 'egressive' (figuratively 'from the time')

c-x ^{wuy} tł n-iš-út	'He came from below.'
s-n-q ^{wń} -in tł k ^{w1} -n-cut-n	'It is the mercy of (from) God.'
řu? tł qe?npłé? u q ^{wy} -úle ^{xw}	'He is richer than we are.'
řu? tł nisq ^{wút} ⁹	'from beyond the river'

tí s-k ^w e-k ^w s-t u člux ^w	'from morning till evening'
tí šey	'thence, thenceforth, from there'
tí l čiče [?] t	'from near'
ɪu [?] tí Adam x ^w uy u Noe	'from the time of Adam down to Noah'
tí ci [?] tí	'than' (?)
ɪu [?] tí ɪu [?]	'thence, from yonder'
k ^w -k ^w yum-e [?] tí	'less than'

7.3.5. x^wl 'causative',¹⁰

čín ?aym-t x ^w l anwí [?]	'I am mad for you (on your account).'
šil x ^w l qe [?] q-s-x ^w l-x ^w ilt	'He died that we might be saved.'
x ^w l anwí [?] u čín pu-pus-ěňč	'I am sorry about thee.' (D II p. 2)
čín pu-pus-ěňč ɪu [?] x ^w l i-s-c-k ^w én tēye [?]	
'I am sorry for my sins.'	

7.3.6. ɪu[?] 'subordinate'

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

ɤes-t sqélix ^w	'They are good Indians.'
ɤes-t ɪu [?] sqélix ^w	'The Indians are good.'
ɪu [?] ɤes-t sqélix ^w	'the good Indians'
sqélix ^w ɪu [?] ɤes-t	'They are the Indians who are good.'
Marie ɪu [?] s-tičm-íš (-íš ?)	'the virgin is Mary'
s-tičm-íš ɪu [?] Marie	'Mary is a virgin.'
ɤes-t ɪu [?] k ^w l-n-cut-n	'God is good.'
k ^w tun-t ɪu [?] in-cítx ^w	'My house is big.'
in-x ^l -cín ɪu [?] šax-t	'My horse is the swift one.'
čěň ɪu [?] ɤem-t, ye tí ?esél	ye ɪu [?] ɤem-t
'Which of the two is the heavier one? This is the heavy one.'	
čěň ɪu [?] i-s-ul-m-ínč (-m- ?)	'Where is my gun?'
ɪu [?] sqélix ^w u ɪu [?] x ^w i-x ^w ey-úf k ^w l-n-cut-n ep-s-c-k ^w úl	
'Men and beasts are the work of God.'	

ɪu? ɣes-t nem lem-t

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

ɪu? es-x^wl-x^wílt u ɪu? es-áíl nem č-mi-p-éls-i-s t
k^wl-n-cut-n 'God will judge the living and the dead.'
s-meŋx^w ɪu? i-s-c-tu-m-íst

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

y-es-?áčx-m ɪu? s-c-čm-elt ɪu? es-mem-s-cút-i

'I look at the boys playing.'

wič-t-n Paul ɪu? es-čip-m-í 'I saw Paul hunting.'
s-q^wse?-s Pierre ɪu? es-áil-m-í 'It is Peter whose son died.'
in-ɣm-nč-cút-n ɪu? an-ɣm-nč-cút-n 'He that loves thee, loves me.'
ne čip ɪu? Pierre, **itmí m pul-s-t-ém

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

s-peá-m ɪu? ?ii-n 'It was bitterroot that I was eating.'
in-ɣm-énč ɪu? es-i-tn-téne? 'I like those who obey.'
y-es-n-q^wń-mín-m ɪu? n-q^wń-mn-cút-i-s ɪu? sqélix^w

'I pity him who pities his fellow men.'

n-q^wń-min-t ɪu? an-č-yoq^w-n-cút-n

'Be merciful to those who slander you.'

čaw-š-t-s ɪu? pls-cút-i-s

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

es-sux^w-s-t-én ɪu? a-s-púlst-m OR es-sux^w-s-t-én ɪu?

a-s-c-púls 'I know him whom you killed.'

ilmix^w-m ɪu? a-s-q^wl-q^wélt-m

'He to whom you speak is the president.'

ilmix^w ɪu? a-s-c-q^wl-q^wélt-m

'It is the president of whom you speak.'

nem ɣaq-n-t-ém ɪu? es-n-súx^w-ne?

'Those who obey shall be rewarded.'

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

ɪu? x^wl t i-q-s-?imš-i u es-čq^w-áq^w-i

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

ɪu? q-s-k^wul^w-n-t-x^w te? s-teŋ, k^w q-s-čaw-i

'When you wish to do some work, you should pray.'

ɪu? k^wu wič-i-s, k^wu es-č-oý-n-cút-m-i-s

'When he sees me, he laughs at me.'

c-x^wúy-i ɪu? p i-s-nk^w-sx^w-sík^w 'Come ye, my brothers.'

ɪu? naq^w-émn s-c-čm-elt, nem **q^waw-q^w (-q^w ?) t sqélix^w

'Thievish children will become bad men.'

ne čin weik^w-p ɪu? tí es-móq^w

'When I will come down from the mountain...'

k^w ta a-s-?ócqe? ɪu? tí an-cítx^w

'If you had not left your house.'

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

ɪu? Marie	'Mary'	Marie	'She is Mary.'
ɪu? k ^w í-n-cut-n	'God'	k ^w í-n-cut-n	'He is God.'
ɪu? xes-t	'the good'	xes-t	'He/she/it is good.'
ɪu? anwí?		'thou'	
ɪu? qasíp		'long ago'	
ɪu? psáy-e?		'the foolish'	
ɪu? es-łíl		'the dead'	
ɪu? s-pi?-s-čé?		'yesterday'	
ɪu? k ^w uí-n		'my having made it'	
ɪu? y-es-k ^w uí-m		'my making it'	
ɪu? l [?] ew Paul		'the father of Paul'	
ɪu? s-k ^w ánx-i-s	ɪu? s-x ^w el-mn	'the slave of the devil'	

7.4. Other Particles

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

7.4.1. Unclear Particles

če 'there remains, yet, in addition'

če i čuw

'He is still absent.'

če ta i-s-náq^w

'I steal no more.'

- ě ta i-s-yoq^w-íst 'I don't tell lies any more.'
 ě ʔupn ɪu? i čuw 'There were still ten absent.'
 ě ta i-s-ʔíin 'I eat no more; I am not well; I don't eat yet.'
 čnx^wu-n-t-m ɪu? t ě nk^w-alq^w
 'They touched her with the one remaining cross.'
 ɪu? ě an-x^wl-x^wilt 'the remainder of your debt' (D II p. 310)
 **uífěi 'again, another time'¹¹
 *uífěi čin ʔaym-t 'I got mad again.'
 *uífěi u ilmíx^w-m 'He is chief again.'
 yetix^wá 'now'
 pot u yetix^wá 'just now'
 ne yetix^wá m k^wu c-q^wl-q^wel-s-t-x^w ɪu? t i-qí-cút, m l šey
 m ec-ʔaxíl ɪu? i-qí-cut 'If now from there you will tell me
 here how I should act, I will take your advice.'
 tma 'rhetorical interrogative' (with an expected affirmative answer)
 tma k^w čaw-m 'Did you not pray?'
 tma yóq^w-ist-mn ɪu? s-x^wel-mn 'And is not the devil a liar?' OR
 'Certainly the devil is a liar.'
 k^wu a-q-s-qíx^w-i-t-m ɪu? in-n-č-ʔemt-éws-tn tma qix^w-i-c-n
 'Drive in my riding horse. And did I not drive it in already?'
 tma ɪu? k^wtun-t ɪu? qe? šmeň ɪu? s-x^wel-mn
 'And is not the devil our great enemy? (Surely he is.)'
 tše?né 'a while ago'
 i tše?né 'just a while ago'
 ne i tše?né 'after a while'
 ɪu? tše?né ilmíx^w-m 'the late president' (D II p. 218)
 **lišé? 'a while'
 nc lišé? 'soon'
 x^wʔe 'without delay'

k^we^{nt}12 'then'

iu? ne šey̆ u q-ec-?axil k^we^{nt} ta k^wu q-s-nox^w-nox^w-éws-i
'If it be so, then one does better not to get married.'

k^we^{nt} hoy 'Then it will be all over.' (D II p. 395)

nk^wu? čilwice? es-k^wa1 k^we^{nt} šey̆ nk^wo?-qin čilwice?

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

nk^wu? čilwice? iu ?isk^wl-qa (-qa ?) k^we^{nt} ?upn čilwice?

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

l šey̆ k^we^{nt} 'and still it is so'

7.4.2. Interjections

x^wmi (mi) 'please'

x^wmi, qe? n-q^wn²-n²-ús-m-i-l-t iu? k^w čaw-š-cút-m

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

*peñ 'but, however'

k^w *peñ 'nevertheless'

k^w *peñ xes-t čin řil

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

*peñ k^w y-es-cún-m, a-qř-xm-énč iu? an-šmėn

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

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

**pum čin x^wuy 'Pshaw, do you think that I will go!'

**pum čin ep-s-nk^w-ř-k^wul-ř 'Pshaw, you think I am married?'

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

**pum čin ep-s-xélwi? 'I have no husband!'

**pum či q-ep-s-xélwi? 'I will have no husband!'

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

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

?a 'of approbation [yes]'

ʔah ; **ha	'Is it so (of surprise)!'
**enú ; **ehí ; he-hé	'of pain'
**hayš	'Hurrah!'
ma	'Look here, behold!'
**nih	'disapproval'
**uč	'do not, what do you do'
x ^w u	'Well, courage, go, done, agreed!'
yátx ^w e?	'What a pity!'
yo	'How, oh (of joy)!'
yom	'of suffering'
k ^w eñé	'Wait! Wait a while!'
ne k ^w eñé	'Wait a while!'

FOOTNOTES

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

²Cf. Colville nix^w 'also'.

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

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

⁵Cf. also three unexplained forms: ʔe-m, n-ʔe, and ʔamé?i all meaning 'no more, enough'.

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

⁷i of qi- is retained unexpectedly.

⁸Cf. also **lqe? as in:

či q-s-q^wl-q^wélt-i **lqe? anwí? 'I will speak with you.'

⁹Is this further segmentable?

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

anwí? u k^w y-es-č-ʔáym-t-m 'I am mad for you (on your account).'
y-es-č-pu-pus-éñč-m ɬu? téyc? i-s-c-k^wén 'I am sorry for my sins.'
anwí? ɬu? k^w y-es-č-pu-pus-éñč-m

'I am sorry about thee.' (D II p. 2)

¹¹Cf. Carlson's ʔeí-uí- 'again' (p. 122)?

¹²Cf. Carlson's k^went (pp. 60-61).

8. RESTRICTED WORDS

This chapter treats words based on roots that do not undergo the full range of inflection and derivation typical of most roots.

8.1. Independent Pronouns

These function as predicates, but do not normally undergo derivation. The set comprises:

k ^w uyʔé	'I (It is I.)'	qeʔnpléʔ	'we (It is we.)'
anwíʔ	'thou (It is thou.)'	npléʔ	'you (It is you.)'
cniic	'he (It is he.)'	cniʔic	'they (It is they.)'

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

ta i-q-s-q ^w l-q ^w élt	ɬuʔ	k ^w uyʔé	'I, indeed, don't wish to talk.'							
ɣes-t	k ^w u	wiç-t-x ^w	t anwíʔ	'Indeed, well didst thou see me.'						
t	k ^w uyʔé	u	x ^w l-x ^w il-s-t-m-n	'It was I who delivered thee.'						
ɬuʔ	ne	k ^w	anwíʔ	'If thou be thouself.'						
swet	ɬuʔ	ep-s-ul-ul-m-íñč	ii-ʔé	k ^w uyʔé	'Who owns this gun? 'I do (it is mine).'					
čeň	ɬuʔ	qeʔ	ʔap-mín	ye	ɬuʔ	k ^w uyʔé	ciʔ	ɬuʔ	anwíʔ	'Where are our arrows? This is mine, that is thine.'
swet	ɬuʔ	s-ʔq-lscut	ii-cíʔ	k ^w uyʔé	i-s-tem	'Whose goods are those? They are my property.'				

There is another set of independent pronouns which are possessives:

**čenéʔ	'mine'	**člipóst	'ours'
**k ^w eʔ	'thine'	**k ^w plipóst	'yours'
	**cenél	'his/theirs'	

8.2. Numbers

The cardinal numbers, other than nk^wu? 'one', do not participate in a wide range of inflections and derivations. Numerals with the prefix č- refer to persons:

	<u>Things</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>In Composition</u>
1	nk ^w u?	č-naqs ¹	nk ^w -
2	?esél	č-esél (< č-?esél)	?esl-, ?asl-
3	če?íés	č-če?-če?íés	če?í-, ča?í-
4	mus	č-mus-ms	mus-, mos-
5	cil	č-cil-cl	cl-č(st)-
6	taq̣n	č-taq̣n	ṭq̣n-č(st)-
7	sisp̣ḷ	č-sisp̣ḷ	sp̣ḷ-č(st)-
8	h?eńm	č-h?eńm	he?ńm-, ha?ńm-
9	ɣɣańút (ɣańút)	č-ɣɣańút (č-ɣańút)	ɣɣańt-, ɣańt-
10	?upn	č-?upn	?upn-č(st)-

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

11	?upn ei-nk ^w ú?	(ten again-one)
12	?upn ei-?esél	(ten again-two)

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

20	?esl-?úp̣n	21	?esl-?úp̣n ei-nk ^w ú?
30	če?í-?úp̣n		
40	ms-í-?úp̣n		
50	cl-č-í-?úp̣n		
60	ṭq̣n-č-í-?úp̣n		
70	sp̣ḷ-č-í-?úp̣n		
80	he?ńm-í-?úp̣n		
90	ɣɣańt-í-?úp̣n		

-qín is the lexical suffix for hundred, thus:

100	nk ^w o?-qín
-----	------------------------

200	ʔesi-nkʷoʔ-qín	OR	**ʔasl-qn
300	čeʔi-nkʷoʔ-qín	OR	**čaʔíál-qn
400	mus-i-nkʷoʔ-qín	OR	**mo-ms-qn
500	cil-č-i-nkʷoʔ-qín	OR	**cil-čst-qn
600	tqan-č-i-nkʷoʔ-qín	OR	**tqan-čst-qn
700	spí-č-i-nkʷoʔ-qín	OR	**sispí-čst-qn
800	heʔm-i-nkʷoʔ-qín	OR	**hʔam-qn
900	xʔant-i-nkʷoʔ-qín	OR	**xʔant-qn
1,000	ʔupn-čst-qn		
2,000	ʔesl-ʔupn-čst		
10,000	ʔupn-ʔupn-čst-qn		

Forms preceded by ʔuʔ q-s- (< qí-s- 'subjunctive-nominal') correspond to English ordinals (except 'first' which is šʔit, a root with full inflectional and derivational range).

2nd	ʔuʔ q-s-ʔcsél (things)	ʔuʔ q-s-č-csél (persons)
3rd	ʔuʔ q-s-čeʔiés (things)	ʔuʔ q-s-č-čeʔ-čeʔiés (persons)

8.3. Days of the Week

Monday through Friday are named 'day one', 'day two', etc.;

Saturday and Sunday have special names.

Monday	nkʷ-asqt	OR	č-pʔ-éws(-m)	OR	**čxʷect
Tuesday	ʔasl-ásqt				
Wednesday	čaʔi-ásqt				
Thursday	mos-qt				
Friday	cl-čst-asqt				
Saturday	s-č-iʔé				
Sunday/week	s-č-ac-éws ²				

8.4. Demonstratives

Six morphemes and combinations thereof comprise the demonstrative set:

ye	'this, these, here' ³	ci?	'that, there, beyond'
ye-ʔé	'this one, this here'	ci-ʔé	'there, not here' ⁴
ii-ʔé	'this very one'	ii-cí?	'that very one' ⁵
še?	'this (indefinite), these'		

These enter into a variety of constructions:

mi, k^wu x^wič-1-t ci? š1-min 'Please give me that axe!'

k^wen-t (<k^wen-n-t) ye luk^w 'Take this wood!'

ye iu? in-ɣm-énc ii-cí? iu? i-s-c-čím

'This I like, that I hate.'

yo ɣes-t ii-ʔé 'Oh, how beautiful is this!'

ta q-s-k^wen-t-x^w ii-cí? 'Don't take that one.'

1 qe? s-č-n-wis-t 1 ci? iu? s-č-čm-asqt

'Above us there is heaven.'

t ci? 'in that time'

1 ci? 'there'

i t ci? 'in whatever place'

ci? č̣ ci? 'still further'

ye 1-ʔe⁶ 'here, in this place'

ye t-ʔe 'by here'

ye č̣-ʔe 'towards this place'

ye t1-ʔe 'from this place (or time)'

ye 1-ʔe u 1-ʔe 'He remains here.'

ye t-ʔe u šyust 'He passes here.'

ye t1-ʔe u ?imš 'He started from here.'

ye č̣ č̣-ʔe 'a little this way'

c-x^wuy-š ye č̣-ʔe 'Come here!'

c-wám-iš ye č̣-ʔe 'Come here quick!'

ye 1-ʔe čin x^wm-qn-cut, 1 ci? nem čin čn-čint

'Here I am safe, there I will be in danger.' (D II p. 395)

ye t1-ʔe⁷ m es-ta?x^w-1-ús (-1- ?)

'what will follow hereafter, from this moment, from this place'

še? s-ʔesél s-ʔqni? u čin es-č-ča?1-éls

'These two months I have been sick.'

čín x ^w uy, še čín naq ^w še čín sust še k ^w pulst-m	
	'I went, well I stole, well I drank, well I was beaten.'
še s-ʔasl-ásqt	'It is now two days; two days ago.'
še s-k ^w inš-ásqt	'How many days ago?'
**še-n-ép	'Look here, here it is.'
**še-hé?	'Look there, it is there.'
ha šey̑ (< šeʔ-i 'these-continuative') ɬuʔ a-s-oos-lscút	
	'Is that the thing you lost?'
in-xm-énč ɬuʔ šey̑	'I do like that.'
ɬuʔ šey̑ u čín n-ʔaxl-éls	'I think the same.'
ɬuʔ šey̑ u čín ʔex ^w -k ^w ún-m	'I say the same.'
ɬuʔ šey̑ u čín ʔaxíl-m	'I do the same.'
ɬe šey̑	'That will do!'
šey̑ nk ^w uʔ i xes-t k ^w eñt še es-č-čaʔl-éls : šey̑ nk ^w uʔ	
n-py-els, nk ^w uʔ n-x ^w p-els	
	'He is now well, now sick, now glad, now sad.'
šey̑ ɬu-ɬʔ-ús-i-s ɬuʔ we nk ^w uʔ es-oós-t, m šey̑ eɬ-t-wič-i-s	
	'He looks for the lost one, though it be only one, until he finds it again.'
šey̑ ɬuʔ a-s-k ^w úy	'Behold your mother!' (D I p. 503)
ɬuʔ x ^w l šey̑	'Why!'
ɬuʔ šey̑ s-xl-xal-t	'in that day'

FOOTNOTES

¹Some examples in context of the use of the word č-naqs:

č-naqs s-qltmix^w u ?esél iu? sx^w-six^w-lt

'A man had two children.'

č-naqs s-m?em es-č-ča?l-éls-i

'A woman is sick.'

t č-naqs ttwit pul-s-t-s iu? i-s-tná?

'A boy killed my cow.'

qe? č-náqs-i

'We are one by one.'

č-naqs 'someone, somebody'

ta č-naqs

'nobody'

i č-naqs 'only one'

i **čt-i-náqs

'all alone'

²Note that ne plus the day translates 'next...day' and iu? s- plus the day 'last ...day':

ne č-ac-éws 'next Sunday'

iu? s-ča?i-ásqt 'last Wednesday'

iu? s-č-i?e 'last Saturday'

Note also the following developmental derivations:

iu? mos-qt-ílš (<mus-asqt-ílš) 'the fourth day having come'

ne q-s-mos-qt-ílš (stress ?) 'when the fourth day comes'

Cf. also s-pí-č-asqt ('nominal-turn-day') 'week' as in:

tlci? s-pí-č-asqt u nex^w k^wl-čic iu? nóx^w-nox^w

'After one week his wife came too.' (Bible p. 34)

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

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

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

⁵Vogt analyzes ii?é as iu? plus ye (p. 69 n. 201); Carlson analyzes i-i-?é (i-i-ci?) as 'secondary-special-this (that near you)' (p. 58).

⁶Cf. l?e 'remain'.

⁷The interest of this and the preceding twelve examples lies in the root-like forms lʔe, tʔe, čʔe, and tɪʔe. There are obvious connections between these and the particles l, t, č, and tɪ (see 7.3.1.-7.3.4.).

APPENDIX A: KINSHIP TERMS

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses below:

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

A man speaks:

l [?] ew	'father'
s-k ^w uy	'mother'
qecč	'elder brother'
sín-ce?	'younger brother'
sx ^w -s-m [?] em	'sister'
s-nk ^w -six ^w	'sister'
ī-čičše?	'elder sister'
c [?] -ups	'younger sister'
s-češt	'w's br or sis's hus'
s-me? [?] ī	'br's child'
s-ṣepe?	'sib's son's child'
s-síle?	'sib's dt's child'
tunš	'sister's child'
s-īw-elt	'late br's daughter'
s-ṣepe?	'grandfather'
túpye?	'gr-son's child or gr-fa's parent'
s-iláwye?	'great-grandfather'
qéne?	'father's mother'
či-čyé?	'mother's mother'
ssi?	'uncle (mo's br)'
s-k ^w úk ^w i	'father's sister'
qáṣe?	'mother's sister'
túpye?	'granddaughter'

A woman speaks:

ṁestñ	'father'
tuñ	'mother'
īqáqce?	'elder brother'
sí-sn-ce?	'younger brother'
s-nk ^w -six ^w	'brother'
ī-čičše?	'elder sister'
ī-c-c [?] -ups	'younger sister'
ī-s-čew (i- ?)	'br's wife'
s-k ^w úk ^w i	'br's child'
qéne?	'sib's son's son'
či-čyé?	'sib's dt's son'
s-q ^w s [?] -elt	'sister's son'
s-tñč [?] -elt	'sister's daughter'
s-īw-elt	'late br's son'
s-síle?	'gr-fa, dt's son'
túpye?	'grand-parent or grandson'
s-ṣepe?	'fa's fa, son's son'
s-me? [?] ī	'fa's br or son'

icecč	'wife's mo or sister'	s-ḡa?xé?	'hus's fa or br'
**čy-elt	'wife's fa's mo'	**čy-elt	'hus's fa's fa or late br's son's son'
iw-estn	'stepmother'	iw-estn	'stepfather'
**sestm	'w's sis, br's wife'	**sestm	'sister's husband'
s-č ² elp	'son's widow'	č ² ewe?	'brother-in-law'
qe?-éws	'middle child'	s-neč-ix ^w	'daughter's hus'

APPENDIX B: NAMES OF INDIAN TRIBES

Parentthesized forms are in Post's orthography.

*ox ^w íce?	(ogoize)	Banak Indians
s-č-ǵ ^w i-šn-í	(s-chkoeshini)	Blackfeet
**s-n-x ^w l-sčint	(sngulschint)	Blood Indians
s-č ³ wíle?	(s'cheuile)	Chewelah Indians
s-číc-wi	(s-chizui)	Coeur d'Alenes
n-x ^w tu	(nguto)	Cree and Sioux Indians
**oq ^w ist-émn	(okoistemen)	Crees of the North
stémči	(stemchi)	Crow Indians
**s-n-qyos-ǵé?-sčint	(snkaioskaes'chint)	Gros Ventres
**čil-éne?	(chilene)	Indians on the Columbia
**s-n-póy-lš-i	(snpoielsi)	Indians around a tributary of the Columbia
**s-náy-čst-i	(snaichsti)	Lake Indians (Colville)
ǵ-c-cm ³ -íce?	(ǵzimize)	Little Robes
**s-x ^w y-élp-i	(sgoielpi)	Kettle Indians
**silk ^w lá?	(silkola)	Kootenais (Idaho)
s-ǵlse?	(skalise);	
s-ǵlse?	**ulk ^w (skalise ulku)	Kootenais (Montana)
sa ³ aptni	(saapten)	Nez Perces
**oqináqsín	(okinaksin)	Okinagan
**s-iaǵ-étk ^w -m-sčint	(słaketikums'chint)	Upper Pend d'Oreilles
qalispél-m-s	(kalispelems)	Lower Pend d'Oreilles
s-čs-íce?	(s'chesize)	Piegans, a Blackfoot tribe
**snó ³ e	(snoe)	Snake Indians
s-n-x ^w m-én ³ e	(sngumene)	Spokanes
s-n-tu ³ -t ³ ú	(sntoto)	A tribe of the Spokanes

APPENDIX C: GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Forms with ** are unattested reconstructions of Post's orthography inferred from the practices discussed in chapter 2. Reconstructions marked with * are based on available cognates. Forms in () are Post's originals.

sél-iš s-túlix ^w (selish stoligu)	Bitterroot
**n-pa-paá (npapaa)	Place on the Bitterroot
**s-n-ayc-čst-m (snaizchstem)	Bonner (Blackfoot)
**qalní? (kalnii),	
**qalní?-tx ^w á (kalniitgoa)	Camas Prairie
*qíí-e? (kalie),	
**qíí-épip (kaliepip)	Place in Camas Prairie
**s-n-í-čoy (sinlchoi)	Little Camas Prairie between Agency and O'Keefe's Place
**némia (nemia),	
**epi-némia (epi nemia)	Crow Creek
s-iaq-étk ^w (siaketiku)	Flathead Lake
**s-n-íapa (sniapa)	Head of the Lake
*čm-qn-ek ^w (chemkanetiku)	Mud Creek, Foot of Flathead Lake
*mal-t-éix ^w [-t- ?] (maltegu)	Fort Benton or Fort Owen
**q ^w el (koel)	Frenchtown
**čl ^w melšs (chilmelshs),	Helena
néfi x ^w ?it iu? múl-iš (nefi goeit iu mulish)	
*s-x ^w tip-qín (sgutipkein)	Hellgate (near Missoula)
**niíq (niika)	Jocko Agency
*s-čl ^w ip (s'chilip)	Junction of Pend d'Oreille and Jocko
*s-n-íay (sniiai),	
**s-n-íayc-čst-m (sniiaizchstem)	Missoula
*s-n-í ^w l ^w -m-qn-ek ^w (snpetlemkanetiku)	Morrigeau's Place (Jocko)

**l ^í ntswe (lintsue)	Prairie below mouth of Jocko
**n-cí-cik ^w i (nzezekui)	Plains (Horse Plains)
**suména (sumena)	Place between Plains and Kalnii
*k ^í n-čan-ép (kořinzanep)	Post Creek (McDonald's)
**k ^í ncéme (kolinzeme)	Post Creek
s-n-ycl ^í -mn	St. Ignatius Mission

APPENDIX D: KALISPEL BORROWINGS OF FRENCH PROPER NAMES

atól	Adolphe	swasá	Joachim
amcló	Ambroise	cosép	Joseph
antelé	Andre	cwapí	Josephine
asclíq	Angelique	susét	Josette
qyustá	Augustin	súl	Jules
pasíl	Basile	solí	Julie
penwél	Benoit	yustá	Justin
pisamá	Benjamin	lolá	Laurent
salót	Charlotte	lasá	Lazare
tolotí	Dorothea	lowisó	Louise
etwál	Edouard	masalá	Marcellin
woní	Eugenie	maltá	Martin
palčín	Ferdinand	molís	Maurice
pláís	Florence	pelasí	Pelagie
silisiq	Frederic	pnitás	Prudence
cosép	George	alimó	Raymond
pelik ^{wé}	Gregoire	apél	Raphael
uyám	Guillaume	lamín	Remi
alí	Henri	alqapé	Rigobert
alyét	Henriette	usalí	Rosalie
myas, nyas	Ignace	supí	Sophie
upél	Hubert	usúl	Ursule
isáq	Jacques	pinás	Venantius
čon	Jean	mitwál	Victor
čilóm	Jerome	mitwál	Victoire
san patí	J. Baptiste	pasá	Vincent
san pyel	J. Pierre	patalís	Vitalis
saná malí	Jeanne Marie	saqalí	Zacharie

APPENDIX E: OTHER DATA

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

ta 'negative'

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

ta ep-c-x ^w úy	'None came.'
ta y-ep-s-c-wék ^w -m	'I concealed none.'
ta-m čin es-?áym-t-i	'I am not getting mad.'
čin es-tam-ł-cítx ^w	'I have no house.'
čin es-tam-sqáxe?	'I have no horse.'
ta-m k ^w y-es-?áčx-m	'I don't look at thee (now and then).'
ta k ^w y-es-?áčx-m	'I habitually/never look at thee.'
ta-m čin ?aym-t OR ta i-s-?áym-t	'I was not angry.'
ta-m aym-t OR ta s-?aym-t	'He was not angry.'
ta i-s-q ^w l-q ^w élt	'He did not speak.'
ta i-q-es-?áym-t-i	'I will never get mad.'
ta a-q-es-náq ^w	'You must never steal.'
ta q-es-č-ǫ?-éls-m-ist řu? t i-s-řw-élt	'The son of my late brother never cared for me (never minded me).'
ta **x ^w uy m q-eř-wíč-t-x ^w	'You will never see me again.'
we ne ři-p-éys, ne ta s-ři-p-éys m čin ?imš	'Whether it rains or not, I will go.'
ne eř-c-x ^w úy, ne ta q-eř-c-x ^w úy, ta q-es-?áčx-s-t-m-n	'If he came back or not, I will not look at thee anymore.'
k ^w y-es-cuw-n-m ta	'I tell you "no".'

ta q-s-n-py-éls-i lu? **q ^w aw-q ^w -t	'The wicked shall not rejoice.'
ta k ^w u q ^w l-q ^w elt-s u k ^w u x ^w el-s-t-s	'Without speaking to me, he left me.'
ta k ^w q-s-č-x ^w t-t-éls-i, m k ^w **x ^w l-x ^w al-m-íst	'You should rebuke without getting mad.'
č ³ e ta	'Not yet.'
ta pi-s-tém	'Never.'
ta **x ^w uy	'Never (fut.).'
k ^w ta ; u ta	'without'
ta q-s-ta-m	'necessarily'
ta-m k ^w -k ^w y ^w u ^w -e?	'not at all'
ta nk ^w u?	'not once'
Cf. also **ta-wi 'I know not' (?):	
**ta-wi x ^w a č-č ³ ěň	
'I don't know whither he went.' (Bible p. 92)	

č ³ ěň 'which, where, what'	
č ³ ěň lu? t ¹ ?esél	'Which of the two?'
č ³ ěň ye t ¹ ?esél	'Which of these two?'
č ³ ěň ci? t ¹ ?esél	'Which of those two?'
ec-s-č ³ ěň	'What is the matter?'
ec-s-č ³ ěň-i	'How is that?'
čin ec-s-č ³ ěň	'What do I?'
k ^w ec-s-č ³ ěň-i	'How may that be? (What do you say?)'
q-ec-s-č ³ ěň m ta	'And why not? (Surely!)'
ec-s-č ³ ěň lu? a-s-č ³ á?l	'How is your infirmity?'
y-ec-s-č ³ ěň-m ; es-č ³ é?-s-t-n	'What do I do to him?'
es-č ³ é?-s-t-m-n	'What did I do to thee?'
es-č ³ é?-s-t-m	'What has been done to him?'
es-č ³ é?-l-m-n ²	'What did I do to you?'
ec-s-č ³ ěň lu? s-pum-s	'What color is it?'
k ^w ec-s-č ³ ěň-álqs	'What color is your shirt?'
k ^w ec-s-č ³ ěň-íce?	'What color is your blanket?'
l č ³ ěň u ec-?axíl lu? s-pum-s	'What color is it?'

u ec-s-čěň u k^w es-pu-pus-ěňč

'And how is it that you are sorry?'

u ec-s-čěň (u x^wl s-tem) u ta k^wu cun-t-x^w

'And why did you not tell me?'

q-ec-s-čěň-i u čin q^wl-q^welt

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

tem 'what, something'

y-es-tém-m ; tem-n (< tém-n-t-en)

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

i-qi-n-tém-tn

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

y-es-k^wi-s-tém-m ; k^wi-s-tem-m-n

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

tem-tn

'What is it good for?'

s-tem tu? s-pum-s

'What color is it?'

s-tem

'What is it; what do you want?'

k^w s-tem-élix^w

'Of what tribe are you?'

k^w s-tem-úle?x^w

'Of what country are you?'

s-tem-íce?

'What kind of blanket is it?'

k^w es-č-s-tem

'What art thou after?'

t s-tem

'Whereby?'

x^wl s-tem

'Why? Wherefore?'

te? s-tem

'something'

ta te? s-tem ; ta s-tem

'nothing'

pi-s-tém ; še pi-s-tém

'when'

ne pi-s-tém

'how long ago, when'

tí pi-s-tém

'since when'

ne x^wa pi-s-tém ; ne te? pi-s-tém 'some future day'

ta pi-s-tém

'never'

swet 'who, whose, whoever'

swet u lail

'Who died?'

k^w swet

'Who art thou?'

x^wa swet

'Who may it be?'

qi-swet

'Whose is it to be?'

t swet u k ^w ul ³ -n-c	'Who made thee?'
swet ɬu? a-s-k ^w ést	'What is thy name?'
ɬu? swet u x ^w uy č-šey ³	'Whoever went there.'
swet ɬu? a-s-xalít-m	'Whom did you call?'
swet ɬu? a-s-cún-m	'Of whom did you speak?'
l swet u x ^w ič-i-t-x ^w	'To whom did you give it?'
swet u epí-x ³ á-cín a-s-naq ^w OR swet u naq ^w -m-i-t-x ^w ɬu?	
x ³ á-cin	'Whose horse did you steal?'
k ^w qe?i-swét OR t swet u k ^w s-q ^w se?-s	
'Whose son art thou?'	
ɬu? ne te? swet u n-?uix ^w m pulst-m	
'Whoever goes in is killed.'	
te? swet	'someone'
ta swet	'noone'
čín(t) 'say what?'	
čín es-?e-čín-t-i (?e ?)	'What do I say?'
k ^w ?e-čín (?e ?)	'What did you say?' (D I p. 129)
put 'enough, just what is needed'	
ha ne-m put	'Will it be enough?'
put u	'already, exactly'
put u i-s-wi-s-méix ^w	'I have just now smoked.'
put u q-s-álí-m-i	'He is about dying.'
put u ec-?axíl	'just alike'
put u ?aníq	'exactly in summer'
pút-i	'yet, still'
pút-i s-čuw	'He is still absent.'
pút-i k ^w es-q ^w -q ^w čw	
'Thou art still (up to this time) a fool.'	
pút-i es-ti-p-éys-i ec-?axíl t s-pi?-s-cé?	
'It is still raining like yesterday.'	
tlci? 'more'	
tlci? tlci?	'more and more'
p ³ x ^w -p ³ x ^w -ut ɬu? in-l ³ éw, u ɬu? an-l ³ éw tlci? p ³ x ^w -p ³ x ^w -ut	
'My father is old, but yours is older.'	

Judas Iscariot tlci? téye? řu? tĭ Pilate

'Judas Iscariot was worse than Pilate.'

ře x^w?it u x^wič-i-c-n u tlci? x^w?it k^w q-s-x^wič-i-t-m

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

tlci? tĭ qe?nplé? u q^wy-úle?x^w

'He is richer than we are.'

milk^w, melk^w 'whole, all'

es-milk^w 'all, all over'

es-č-milk^w-íče? 'all around'

es-č-milk^w-éne? 'all over'

čin es-mélk^w-m-i ; čin melk^w 'I am spreading all over.'

y-es-milk^w-mi-m (-mi ?) OR milk^w-m-s-t-n

'I do nothing but that.'

milk^w-m-s-t-x^w řu? téye? 'You do nothing but sin.'

milk^w-m-s-t-s n-py-els 'They do nothing but rejoice.'

milk^w-m-s-t-n s-řem-s-cút-n 'I do nothing but play.'

milk^w-m-s-t-s s-n-x^wc-x^wc-m-els 'They do nothing but suffer.'

milk^w-m-s-t-s řu? téye? 'They do nothing but mischief.'

mlk^w-nu-n-t-x^w řu? qix^w-mn 'You deserve the whip.'

milk^w-m-s-t-s řu? q-s-n-py-els

'He gained an immensity of endless joy.'

milk^w-m-s-t-x^w řu? a-q-s-n-x^wc-x^wc-éls

'You treasure up torments.'

k^wu č-s-milk^w-m-i-t-x^w řu? i-q-s-q^wn-q^win-t

'You do nothing but misery to me.'

t Adam u qe? melk^w-ř-i-l-s řu? téye?; t J.C. u qe?

melk^w-ř-i-l-s řu? t řes-t

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

esiyá? 'all'

n-wis-t tĭ esiyá? 'He is the highest of all.'

esiyá? řu? t řey u k^wu q-s-spi-m-s ne-m sp-n-t-en

'I will whip whoever whips me.'

řu? ilmíx^w-m sqélix^w sěy řu? **es-n-ři?-cín tĭ esiyá? řu?

sqélix^w u řu? k^wl-n-cut-n řu? **es-n-ři?-cín tĭ esiyá?

ɬu? il-ilmix^w-m 'The Indian chief is over all the people,
and God is over all the chiefs.'

sic 'new, recent, just now, finally'

i sic k^w es-t-k^wúl-i 'It is finally you begin to work.'

čeň ɬu? i sic in-qa?-qe?-šín 'Where are my new shoes?'

ha s-qašíp u liw-m-s-t-ém ta, ye i sic

'Did the bell ring long ago? No, just now.'

ɬu? k^wu čs-cín-m-i-s sic čin č-x^wt-t-els

'When he insulted me, then finally I was angry.'

ne qe? wy-éčst m sic m qe? ?iin 'When we shall have
finished our work, then finally we will eat.'

i t sic 'only of late'

?ex^w-k^wún 'speak, say'

čín ec-?ex^w-k^wún-m t čín ?aym-t

'I spoke as if I were angry.' (D I p. 108)

čín es-?ex^w-k^wún-i 'I speak so.'

čín ?ex^w-k^wún-m t Pierre 'I say the same as Peter.'

n^wte 'to think'

čín n^wte x^wa nem k^wu wíč-i 'I think he will perhaps see me.'

čín nt-éls-i k^wu q-s-wíč-m-s 'I desire him to see me.'

čín es-nt-éls-i x^wa k^wu a-s-ťaq-q-nú-n-m

'I think you are perhaps cheating me.'

čín es-nt-éls-i k^wu a-q-s-ťaq-q-nú-n-m

'I am thinking that you are cheating me.'

nem k^w q-čnye? čín es-nt-éls-i

'Will you go fishing with the hook? I intend.'

x^wič 'to give to'

y-es-x^wič-í-t-m ; x^wič-í-t-n 'I give it to him.'

čín x^wč-s-meňx^w 'I give tobacco.'

čín x^wč-eix^w 'I give a house.'

k^wu x^wč-í-šl-mi-s 'He gave me an axe.'

k^wu x^wč-í-ňí-ňč-mi-s 'He gave me a knife.' (D I p. 201)

**paq 'to pay for'

čin **paq-q

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

k^w sp¹-n-t-es t s-q^w-q^wse?; k^w **q-s-páq-q-i 'The little
boy whipped me; you deserve it, you must pay for it.'

nem **paq-q i-i-cí? iq^w-ist-émn

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

wiy 'after, done, finished'

ɪu? čin wi-s-k^wúl¹-m

'After I had worked.'

ne čin wi-s-k^wúl¹-m

'After I shall have worked.'

ne put wi-s-čáw-m

'right after prayer' (D I p. 608)

ɔx^w 'win'

čin es-ɔx^w-p-sqáxe?

'I lose a horse.'

y-es-ɔx^w-p-sqáxe?

'I win his horse.' (D I p. 586)

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

čin es-n-čic-n-ús

'I am at the beginning.'

qe? n-čic-n-ús-n-t-m ɪu? mus-i-ʔupn-čst-ásqt

'We are at the beginning of Lent.'

yetix^wá l s-xl-xal-t n-čic-n-ús ɪu? s-páni?-s Marie

'Today is the beginning of the month of May.'

qixt 'wish for, fond of' for objects belonging to one already:

y-es-qixt-m ; qixt-m-n

'I am fond of it, I wish for it.'

qixt-m-n-t-x^w ɪu? an-ul-ulí-m 'You are fond of your money.'

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

y-es-qx^w-mín-m ; qx^w-mi-n

'I wish for it, like to have it.'

qx^w-mín-t-x^w ɪu? ul-ulí-m

'You are greedy after money.'

wič 'see' and ʔem 'feed' occur with -t 'transitive' not preceded by -n 'simple transitive' or -s 'causative':

wič-n-c-n

'I see thee.'

wič-t-m-n

'I see thee.' (D I p. 608)

wič-s-t-n

'I see it.'

wič-t-n	'I see it.'
Ľe ʔem-t-m-n	'I fed thee already.' (D I p. 105)
**wičéʔ	'harm'
**y-es-wičéʔ-m ; **wičéʔ-n	'I bring him harm.'
**wičéʔ-n-t	'Harm him!'
yo	'strong'
čin yo-yo-cút	'I make efforts to do.'
čin yo-mn-cút	'I make efforts to overcome, to suffer.'
č-yo-yo-s-cút-m-n-t ĩuʔ s-x ^w el-mn OR k ^w q-s-yo-yo-s-cút-i ĩuʔ l s-x ^w el-mn	'Be thou strong against the devil.'
lem	'contented, not displeased'
es-lém-t-i ĩuʔ J.C. ĩuʔ es-č-pt-ptk ^w -mn-álq ^w -i	'J.C. crucified was content, happy, was not displeased.'
py-els	'rejoicing' (D II p. 177)
es-n-py-éls-i ĩuʔ J.C. ĩuʔ eĩ-łl-sqélix ^w -i	'J.C. rising from the dead was rejoicing.'
ieʔ	'?'
čin n-ieʔ-p-ús l s-mek ^w -t	'At the end I found myself in the snow.'
hoy	'end, finally'
hoy k ^w i-q-s-méye-i-t-m ĩuʔ i-s-c-k ^w úl	'Finally I must tell you what I did.'
hoy eĩ-wič-t-m-n čin nt-els k ^w Ľil	'Finally I see you again; I thought you had died.'
šeʔ hoy	'enough'
su (< sux ^w 'know')	'yes, I know it, I will it'
unéx ^w , uné	'true, yes, it is so'
čut	'half'
s-čut	'one half, one part'
čmiš	'only, alone'
i s-čmiš ; i miš	'alone, only'

če i s-čmiš lu? i-s-k'wuy	'I have only the mother anymore.'
i čin čmiš	'I am the only one.'
qasíp 'long ago'	
lu? t s-qasíp	'in olden times'
ne q-s-qasíp	'at the longest'
ne qasíp	'after a long time'
iš-út 'bottom, below'	
n-iš-út	'inside'
l n-iš-út	'below, down inside'
l iš-út	'below, at the bottom'
l k'w-iš-út	'under, below'
k'winš 'how many (things)'	
č-k'w-n-k'winš	'how many (persons)'
x'wa k'winš	'perhaps many, several'
te? n-k'winš-áqsm	'some kinds, some sorts'
k'winš k'w c-s-peñ-tč	'What is your age?'
k'winš-wilš lu? in-x'á-cín	'How many did my horses become?'
šey' s-k'winš-ásqt	'How many days ago?'
čin k'winš-ásqt	'I remained some days.'
x'w?i(t) 'much, many (things), often'	
č-x'w?i-x'w?ít	'many (persons)'
ta s-x'w?it	'not often'
lúwet 'few (things), few times'	
č-lúwet	'few (persons)'
miš 'too, too much, greatly' (Cf. also *mi in 6.1.)	
miš-xés-t	'the best'
**šiw-mil 'beyond measure'	
čeñ lu? **šiw-mil xes-t	'Which is the best?'
**ši?-cín 'first rate' (See also esiyá?)	
**es-n-ši?-cín n-wis-t	'most high'

č ³ em	'body'	
1 s-n-č ³ m-i-č ³ em-p	(-i- ?)	'at your back'
1 s-miř-č ³ m-éls		'in my presence before me'
**č ³ itlcí?	'behind, against, opposite'	
**s-č ³ itlcí?	(OR **s-č ³ i?-tí-cí? ?)	
	'against, face to face, opposite'	
1 **s-č ³ itlcí?-s		'behind'

FOOTNOTES

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

²Why no ň of čěň ?

APPENDIX F: INFLECTIONAL AND DERIVATIONAL RANGE OF ROOTS

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

Derivation and inflection of the root k^wul 'do, make, work':

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

13. čin es-k'wí-š-cút-i 'I work for myself.'
14. čin es-k'wí-n-cút-i 'I make by myself; I have myself baptized.'
15. čin es-k'wí-s-cút-i 'I make, doctor myself.'
16. y-es-k'wúl-m ; k'wúl-m-n 'I use it to make something.'
k'wúl-m-n-t 'Use it to make something!'
17. y-es-k'wúl-m-í-t-m 'I use his (it that belongs to him).'
18. k'wúl-mn 'instrument or the materials to work on'
19. y-es-k'wí-nú-n-m ; k'wí-nu-n 'I succeed in making it.'
k'wí-nu-n-t 'Succeed in making it!'
20. y-es-k'wí-nú-í-t-m 'I succeed in doing his...'
21. k'wí-í-ut-m 'that can be made, possible to be made'
22. y-es-k'wí-m-út-m ; k'wí-m-ut-m-s-t-n 'I can make that.'
23. čin es-í-k'w-k'wúl-i 'I work little, do little work.'
24. čin eš-es-k'wúl-i 'I work again.'
25. čin es-k'wí-m-lwís-i 'I am working often, now and then.'
26. y-es-k'wí-m-lwís-m ; k'wí-m-lwis-n 'I do it often.'
27. y-es-k'wí-m-lwí-í-t-m 'I do often his (it belonging to another).'
28. čin es-k'wí-túmš-i (< -ítumš) 'I work for people.'
29. čin es-n-k'wí-k'wí-t-éls-i 'I wish to work, to be busy.'
30. čin es-n-k'wí-m-éls-i 'I wish to do something.'
31. y-es-n-k'wí-m-éls-m ; n-k'wí-m-els-m-n 'I wish to do it.'
32. y-es-k'wí-éws-m ; k'wí-cws-n 'I make them both together, splice
them, marry them.'
k'wí-cws-n-t 'Make them both together, splice them, marry them!'
33. qe? es-k'wí-éws 'We are made together, are married.'
34. y-es-č-k'wúl-m 'I work on it, adorn it, embroider it.'
35. y-es-č-k'wúl-mn 'the time to, reason why to work, my time to work'
36. y-es-č-k'wúl-í-t-m 'I work on his, embroider his...'
37. čin es-n-k'wúl-i 'I am born in, am made in, work in...'
38. čin es-n-k'wúl-m 'I work in...'
39. y-es-n-k'wúl-m ; n-k'wúl-m-n 'I work in that place.'
40. n-k'wúl-mn 'the way of doing, behavior'
41. čs-í-in-k'wúl-mn 'my bad behavior'
42. y-es-t-k'wúl-m ; t-k'wúl-n 'I do it before, prepare it.'

43. čin t-k'wuí-í 'I was born before.'
44. y-es-t-k'wuí-í-m 'I bring him forth before.'
45. s-k'wuí
s-c-k'wuí 'the doing, the working'
'what is done, made'
46. čin ep-s-c-k'wuí 'I have some made.'
k'wuy?č čin ep-s-c-k'wuí 'I myself have done it.'
47. k'wí-n-cut-n 'the Maker, God'
48. s-k'wí-n-cut-n 'the Divinity, the makership'
49. k'wí-n-cut 'God, the one that makes by himself'
50. y-es-k'wí-k'wí-n-cút-n-m ; k'wí-k'wí-n-cut-n-m-n 'I treat him as God.'
51. sx^w-k'wuí-m 'charged to work, workman'
52. k'wí-m-enn 'a busy-body'
53. k'wí-k'wí-m-uš 'habitual worker, he that likes to work'
54. k'wí-š-cut-n 'that helps working'
in-k'wí-š-cút-n 'my helper in work'
55. i-s-nk^w-í-k'wuí 'made, baptized, married or or-
dained with me; husband or wife'
56. i-s-nk^w-í-k'wuí-í 'husband/wife'
57. y-es-nk^w-í-k'wuí-m ; nk^w-í-k'wuí-m-n 'I am made, married with him.'
nk^w-í-k'wuí-m-i-s Joseph 'She was married with Joseph.'
58. y-es-nk^w-í-k'wuí-í-m ; nk^w-í-k'wuí-í-m-n 'I am born, got married
with him.'
59. čin es-k'wí-éix^w(-i) 'I have a house built; they are building it.'
k'wí-éix^w-s-t 'Have a house built!'
60. čin es-k'wí-éix^w-i ; čin k'wí-eix^w-m 'I am building a house.'
k'wí-éix^w-iš 'Build a house.'
61. y-es-k'wí-éix^w-m ; k'wí-eix^w-n 'I am building that house.'
k'wí-eix^w-n-t 'Build that house!'
k^wu es-k'wí-éix^w-m-s 'He is building my house.'
62. y-es-k'wí-éix^w-í-t-m ; k'wí-eix^w-í-t-n 'I build the house of his...'
k^wu es-k'wí-eix^w-í-t-m-s iu? i-s-q^wsé?
'He builds my son's house.'
63. y-es-k'wí-éix^w-š-t-m ; k'wí-cix^w-š-t-n
'I help him building a house.'

64. čin es-n-k'wí-éix^w-éls-i 'I wish to build a house.'
65. i-sx^w-k'wí-éix^w-m 'my house builder'
66. čin es-k'wí-ilmíx^w-i 'I am acting chief.'
67. y-es-k'wí-i-ilmíx^w-m ; k'wí-i-ilmíx^w-m-n 'I treat him as a chief.'
68. čin es-k'wí-s-ḡélwi? 'I got a husband.'
69. y-es-k'wí-s-ḡélwi?-m ; k'wí-ḡélwi?-m-n 'I take him for husband.'
70. čin es-k'wí-i-px^w-út-i 'I act as father/mother, as god father.'
71. y-es-k'wí-i-px^w-út-m ; k'wí-i-px^w-út-m-n
'I take/treat him as my parent.'
72. čin es-k'wí-sín-ce?-i 'I act as a brother, altar boy.'
73. y-es-k'wí-sín-ce?-m ; k'wí-sín-ce?-m-n 'I take him for my brother.'
- qe? k'wí-sín-ce?-m-i-l-s t k'wí-n-cut-n
'God took us for his brothers.'
74. čin es-k'wí-sx^w-six^w-lt-i 'I get children.'
75. čin es-k'wí-s-k^wtún-t-m ; k'wí-s-k^wtun-t-m-n
'I treat him as a big fellow.'
76. čin es-k'wí-s-k^wtún-t-i 'I act as a big fellow.'
77. čin es-k'wí-s-ḡs-t-i 'I act the good.'
78. y-es-k'wí-s-ḡs-t-m ; k'wí-s-ḡs-t-m-n 'I treat/make him good.'
79. čin es-k'wí-s-k'wíy 'I act the mother.'
80. y-es-k'wí-s-k'wíy-m ; k'wí-s-k'wíy-m-n 'I take her as my mother.'
81. čin es-k'wí-s-m?ém 'I play the woman, the coward.'
82. čin es-k'wí-i-?eč-éwt-i 'I act as the last.'
83. y-es-k'wí-i-?eč-éwt-m ; k'wí-i-?eč-éwt-m-n
'I treat him as the last, despise him.'
84. čin es-k'wí-i-psáy-e?-i 'I act the fool.'
85. y-es-k'wí-i-psáy-m ; k'wí-i-psay-m-n 'I treat him as a fool.'
86. y-es-k'wí-s-m?ém-m ; k'wí-s-m?em-n 'I treat him like a coward.'
87. čin es-k'wí-i-ḡúp-t-i 'I act the lazy.'
88. y-es-k'wí-i-ḡúp-t-m ; k'wí-i-ḡúp-t-m-n 'I think him lazy.'
89. čin es-k'wí-s-túlix^w 'I settle down, take a homestead.'
90. y-es-k'wí-s-túlix^w-m ; k'wí-s-túlix^w-m-n 'I settle on that spot.'
91. čin es-k'wí-íl-i ; čin k'wí-il-m 'I make arrows, arm-balls.'
- k'wí-íl-iš 'Make arrows!'

92. y-es-k'wúl-í-m ; k'wúl-í-n 'I produce it.'
 k'wúl-í-n-t 'Produce it!'
93. i-s-k'wúl-í 'my being born'
 i-s-c-k'wúl-í 'my having been born'
94. in-k'wúl-í-tn 'what makes me to be born'
95. čin es-n-k'wúl-í-i ; čin n-k'wúl-í-m ; 'I conceive/born inside.'
 čin n-k'wúl-í-če?-i ; čin n-k'wúl-í-če?-m-n
96. y-es-n-k'wúl-í-m ; n-k'wúl-í-n ;
 y-es-n-k'wúl-í-če?-m ; n-k'wúl-í-če?-m-n 'I conceive him or it.'
97. čin es-č-k'wúl-í-i ; čin es-č-k'wúl-í-če?-i
 'I am coming to light, being born.'
98. i-s-n-k'wúl-í ; i-s-n-k'wúl-í-če? 'My being conceived, my conception.'
99. ɬu? i-s-č-k'wúl-í ; i-s-č-k'wúl-í-če? 'my birth'
100. ɬu? in-č-k'wúl-í-tn ; in-č-k'wúl-í-če?-tn 'my generation'
101. ɬu? i-s-n-č-k'wúl-í-tn 'my birthplace'

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

1. ec-ʔaxíl 'like to, in like manner'
2. čin ec-ʔaxíl t anwí? 'I am like you.'
3. qe? ec-ʔaxíl t k'wí-n-cut-n 'We are like to God.'
4. l swet u k^w ec-ʔaxíl 'Whom are you like to?'
5. l šey̆ u čin ec-ʔaxíl 'I am like that.'
6. ɬi-cí? u čin ec-ʔaxl-cút 'My behavior is like his.'
7. i l ci? u ec-ʔaxíl 'It is exactly as that, not changed.'
8. i t ci? u ec-ʔaxíl 'He acts as before, no change in him.'
9. čin ʔaxíl-m t Pierre 'I do the same as Peter.' (D II p. 326)
10. i p ec-ʔaxl-ús 'You both look exactly the same.'
11. ec-ʔaxl-ús t l^{ew}-s 'He looks like his father.'
12. ɬu? i-s-nk^w-í-c-ʔaxíl (c ?) 'my fellow, the one like me'
13. q-s-ec-ʔaxl-s-n-x^wc-x^wc-m-éls-t-x^w ɬu? t naq^w-émn
 'You made me suffer like a thief.'
14. y-ec-ʔaxíl-m ; ec-ʔaxí-s-t-n
 'I made him like, treat him like.'

15. qe? q-s-k^wul[?]-m ɬu? sqélix^w q-ec-?axíl-i t qe?nplé?
'Let us make man like to us.' (Bible p. 1)
16. k^w ɬaq-šlš ec-?axíl t k^w sqélix^w
'You sit there like an Indian (as if you were an Indian).'
17. qe? n-q^win[?]-m-i-l-t ec-?axíl t qe? es-n-q^wn[?]-mn-wé?x^w
'I have mercy on us, as we have mercy on each other.'
18. l čeň m ec-?axl-s-ǵasíp m es-n-x^wc-x^wc-éls ɬu? l esulíp
'How long will they suffer in hell?'
19. m cc-?axl-s-ǵasíp ɬu? t q-s-n-py-els ɬu? ɣs-ɣes-t ɬu? l
s-č-čm-asqt 'As long as the good ones shall rejoice in heaven.'
20. k^wmi? čin ec-?axl-s-x^wúk^w-i t Marie
'Would that I were as pure as the B.V. Mary!'
21. ɬu? t ec-?axíl x^w?it k^w sust, t šey[?] u ec-?axíl k^wtun-t
u k^w n-xm-p-cin
'The more you drink, the more you thirst.' (D II p. 394)
22. sél-iš ?ítx^we? ta ec-?axl-s-tíš t s-číc-wi 'The camas of
the Salish is less sweet than that of the Coeur d'Alene.'
23. čin ec-?axl-s-k^wtún-t t anwí? 'I am as big as you.'
24. k^w ec-?axl-s-ɣés-t t Louis 'You are as good as Louis.'
25. ta y-ec-?axl-s-yo-p-yéw-t (yew ?) 'I am not so strong.'
26. l šey[?] u ec-?axíl-s-lk^w-ut 'that far'
27. k^wmi ec-?axíl 'may it be so'
28. č-s-n-?axíl 'in like manner' (Bible p. 109)
29. l čeň u ec-?axíl ; l čeň m ec-?axíl 'How?'
- ?axíl with n- 'locative' and -éls 'volitive' means 'to think the same as':
30. l anwí? u čin es-n-?axl-éls-i 'I think the same as you do.'
31. n-k^wi-n-?axl-éls-m-n-c-n 'I think the same as you do.'
32. čin n-?axl-éls t Pierre 'I think the same as Peter.'
33. y-es-n-?axl-éls-mn ; n-?axl-éls-n 'I think so of him.'
34. k^wu n i-n-?axl-éls-m-n-t-x^w ;
l k^wuy?é u k^w es-n-?axl-éls-i 'You think the same as I do.'
35. y-es-n-k^wi-n-?axl-éls-m ; n-k^wi-n-?axl-éls-m-n
'He has the same opinion with me.'

36. a-q-s-n-k^wt-n-?axl-éls-m řu? J.C.
 k^w q-s-n-k^wt-n-?axl-éls-m-s t J.C.
 'You and J.C. must be of the same opinion.' (D I p. 8)
37. řin n-?axl-éls-m-ist řu? l k^wl-n-cut-n 'I think of myself
 like God; I think of myself as God thinks of me.'
38. n-?axl-éls-m-n-c-n t cniřc 'I think you are like him.'
39. ?axl-člúx^w 'every evening'
40. ?axl-s-k^w-k^w?éc 'every night'
41. ?axl-á ; ?axl-ásqt 'daily'

Cf. also řiř (related to řaxíl ?)

1. řiř k^wtun-t 'pretty big'
2. řiř řin ?itř l s-k^w-k^w?ec 'I slept enough during the night.'
3. řiř t i-s-?iřn 'I ate scarcely anything.'
4. ř-n-řiř u k^wé-i-s řu? s-n-sus-tn
 'In like manner he took the chalice.'
5. řiř x^w?it 'a good many'
6. řiř-řé (-řé ?) 'near, nearly, almost'
7. řiř-řé u řil 'He almost died.'

APPENDIX G: SUMMARY OF AFFIX ORDERING

Prefixes:

1	2	3	4
in- 'my'	qĩ- 'subjunctive'	eĩ- 'back'	es- 'actual'
an- 'thy'		epĩ- 'have'	
5	6	7	8
č- 'towards'	s- 'nominal'	t- 'before'	čs- 'about'
			čĩ- 'upon'
			k ^w ĩ- 'under'
9	10	11	12
c- 'hither'	n- 'locative'	ĩ- 'diminutive'	Lexical
		uĩ- 'plural'	Prefixes

Suffixes:

1	2	3
-p 'non-control'	Lexical Suffixes	-t 'stative'
4	5	6
-min 'instrumental'	-ut 'capability'	-m 'middle'
-šiš 'benefactive'		
-els 'volitive'		
7	8	9
-ist 'intr. reflexive'	-n 'simple tran.'	-t 'tran.'
-numt 'intr. success'	-s 'causative'	
-lwis 'iterative'	-ī 'relative'	
-(w)ilš 'developmental'	-ši 'tran. benefactive'	
-uī 'given to...'	-īul 'suppletive plural'	
-nu 'tran. success'		
10	11	
-we [?] x ^w 'reciprocal'	-iš 'intr. imperative, sg.'	
-cūt 'tran. reflexive'	-wi 'intr. imperative, pl.'	
-emn 'habitual'	-i 'continuative'	
-ek ^w 'tran. imperative'	-tn 'instrumental'	
Transitive Goal Suffixes	-mp 'your'	
	-s 'his/their'	
	Transitive Actor Suffixes	

APPENDIX H: GLOSSARY OF ROOTS

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

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

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

The alphabetical order of the glossary is: a, e, i, o, u, c, č, č̣, h, k^w, ḳ^w, l, ḷ, ḷ̣, m, ṃ, n, p, p̣, q, q̣, q^w, q̣^w, s, š, t, ṭ, w, ẉ, x^w, x̣, x̣^w, y, ỵ, ?.

aáč <ʃac, ac(í) [aaz, az(i)] 'tie, catch' (C)

**aíq [aík] 'plenty'

anwí? [anui] 'thou' (V)

aw(ú) [au] 'drip' (cf. also waw) (C)

a?i [ai] 'run' (stress ?) (V)

esulíp [esolip] 'hell' (I)

**essálq [essalk] 'crooked'

esiyá? [esia] 'all (in number)' (cf. iyá?) (V)

- e[?]u [eu] 'peel' (V)
- iláwye[?] [ilauie] 'man's great-grandfather' (I)
- ilmíx^w [ilimigu] 'chief' (V)
- itúk^w [ituk] 'rot (of wood)' (C)
- iyá[?] [ia] 'all' (cf. esiyá[?]) (V)
- iyús [iius] 'dirty (bruised)' (I)
- olq^w [olk] 'help' (V)
- oós < ʃos, os [oos, os] 'lost' (C)
- ox^w [ogo] 'fence' (V)
- oý AS IN oý-n-cút [oincut] 'laugh, sg.' (V)
- unéx^w, uné [onegu, une] 'yes, true' (V)
- cuk^w [zku] 'pull' (C)
- cuk^w AS IN: ck^w-ečst-n [zkuechst] 'rod, walking cane' (V)
- cil [zil] 'five' (V)
- čm AS IN s-c-čm-élt [szizimélt] 'children'; ɪ-c-čm-íce[?]
[ɪzimize] 'Little Robes' (C)
- cu(n) [zu(n)] 'say' (cf. cuw) (C)
- **cenel [zenel] 'his/theirs'
- cnič [znilz] 'he/they' (C)
- cut [zuut] 'advice, behavior' (C)
- citx^w [zítgu] 'house' (C)
- cuw [zu] 'say' (cf. cu(n)) (C)
- *cx^wu [zgu] 'growing feeble' (Cv. ca[?]x^w 'tired')
- **cx^wu [zgo] 'growing better'
- c[?] AS IN ɪ-c-c[?]-ups [ɪzuzuups] 'woman's younger sister' (C),
c[?]-ups [zuups] 'man's younger sister', c[?]-up-éws [zupeeus]
'sister'
- ce[?] AS IN s-pi[?]-s-cé[?] [spizelt] 'yesterday' (C), sín-ce[?]
[sinze] 'man's younger brother' (C)
- ci[?] [zii] 'that, there' (C)
- čal, čel [zal, zel] 'cold' (C)
- čil [zil] 'stand, stick out, pl.' (C)

- čom̂ [zom] 'bone' (C)
 čan [zan] 'tight' (C)
 *čín(t) [zin(t)] 'say what' (Cv)
 čaq^w AS IN čq^w-áq^w-i [zkoákoi] 'crying' (V)
 čsi [zesi] 'consumed, gone' (C)
 češt [zecht] 'man's brother-in-law' (C)
 čcŵ [zeu] 'wash' (C)
 čx̄il [zgeil] 'like to, same as' (cf. ?ax̄íl) (C)
 čox^w [zogo] 'intend, mean to' (C)
 č? AS IN n-č?-ilš [nziilsh] 'go upstream by land' (C)
 č?ulix^w AS IN č?ulix^w-élx^w [zooliguelgu] 'deer skin' (C)
 ča?l [zaal, zal, zael] 'sore, ache' (V)
 če?eš [zeesh] 'shame, bashful' (V)
- čic [chiz] 'arrive' (C)
 čche [chezehe] 'right (hand)' (V)
 **čcoq [chzok] 'cure'
 ččik^wé [chizikue] 'left (hand)' (V)
 čičše? AS IN ɪ-čičše? [lchit'she] 'man or woman's older sister' (C)
 **čhans AS IN čhans-p-ásqt [chehanspaskat] 'cloudy sky'
 čl AS IN čl-aŵs [chilaus] 'thing hanging' (C)
 **člcin AS IN člcin-m-s-t-x^w [chlzinmstgu] 'thou stoodest by him'
 **člipost [chilipost] 'ours'
 čelš [chelsh] 'hand' (C)
 **čltič [cheltich] 'lord'
 čilwíce? [chiluize] 'bushel (barrel)' (I)
 člip [chiip] 'hunt' (C)
 **čemp AS IN čmp-nux^w [chempnug] 'cloudy weather'
 čmiš [chemish] 'only, alone' (Cf. miš) (C)
 *čaṁ [cham] 'consumed by fire' (Cv. kṁ 'take away')
 *čiṁ [chim] 'hate' (Cv. kiṁ 'hate')
 čen [chen] 'gather' (V)
 čnm AS IN es-čnm-p-qín [es chinempkein] 'got blind' (C)
 čnaqs [chináks] 'one (person)' (C)
 čnx^wu [chengu] 'hold on to, touch' (C)

- **čene? [chene] 'mine'
 čeň [chen] 'what, where' (C)
 **čqat AS IN čqat-éws [chkateus] 'piled up'
 *čšit [chshit, chit] 'watch, guard' (V)
 **čet AS IN či-čet-k^w [chičchetiku] 'skin raft'
 čtas [chita's] 'lean, poor' (V)
 čew [cheu] 'woman's brother's wife' (C)
 čxil AS IN čxil-ps [chgeilps] 'gray, gray-necked horse' (C)
 čx?lem [chałem ?] 'watch, look after' (I)
 **čx^wect [chgoezt] 'Monday'
 čy AS IN **čy-elt [chielt] 'woman's late brother's son's son'
 **čya [chia] 'solicit, coax (to evil)'
 čye? AS IN či-čyé? [chichie] 'sister's daughter's son' (C)
 či? AS IN či?-éws [tshieus] 'forever' (I); n-tk^w-či?-sqáxe?-tn
 [ntkochiskagaeten] 'saddle' (C)
 če?lés, če?i- [chełés, chei-] 'three' (V)
- čič(í) [chize] 'a long object lays' (C)
 čiče?t [chichet] 'near, close' (V)
 čeh(k^w) [chch(ku)] 'open' (C)
 čolsqe? [cholzkae] 'outside' (C)
 člux^w [chelug] 'evening' (C)
 čem [chem] 'extremity, last' (also a root in many words with
 lexical suffixes, particularly body parts) (C)
 čim(í) [chim] 'dark' (C)
 čint [chint] 'be afraid for someone' (V)
 čes [ches] 'bad' (C)
 čspin [chespin] 'neck' (C)
 čut [chut] 'half' (C)
 **čitlcí? [chitelzii] 'opposite, against, behind'
 *čit [chit] 'cut' (Cv. kət, Cr. čet 'cut off completely')
 čaw [chau] 'pray' (V)
 čiw AS IN čiw-ulš [chiulsh] 'climb a ladder, sg.' (V)
 čuw(ú) [cho] 'absent, empty' (C)
 čewíle? [chauple ?] 'snake' (I)

- čéwe? [chaue] 'woman's brother-in-law' (I)
 čew AS IN čew-lš-i [cheulshi] 'old, aged' (C)
 čex^w(ú) [chegu] 'dry (clothes)' (C)
 čey [chei] 'shade' (C)
 č?elp [cheelp] 'widow of man's son' (I)
 čé?it [cheit] 'spider' (V)
- h?eřm [hehenem] 'eight' (V)
 hemí [hemi] 'getting cloudy, fog' (C)
 hoy [hoi] 'end' (C)
- **k^wi [kui, koi, ku] 'go' (Post says this is the form x^wuy 'go'
 takes in compound or complex forms.)
- k^wcič [kozich] 'falling' (I)
 *k^wl AS IN k^wl-ewt [koleut] 'dwell together' (Cv. k^wil)
 k^wal 'yellow' AS IN s-k^wal-šín [skoalshin] 'cranes (bird)' (V),
 k^wli-k^walí (i ?) [kulikuali] 'Indian corn, maize'
 k^wil [kuil] 'red' (C)
 k^wul(st) [kul(st)] 'send' (C)
 **k^welt AS IN in-k^welt-n-cút-n [inkoelrenzuten] 'he that loads me'
 k^wł AS IN s-k^wł-us [skutlus] 'face' (C)
 **k^wum [kum] 'wilderness'
 **k^wmn AS IN c-k^w-k^wmn-aqs [zkukumenaks] 'hungry one'
 **k^wemtn [kuenten] 'forever, constantly'
 k^wn AS IN n-k^wn-cn-cut [nkunzinzut] 'sing praises' (C)
 k^wan AS IN s-k^wan-ɣn [skoangan] 'slave, captive' (Cf. k^wen) (C)
 k^wen(é) [kuin, kune, kuen, kon] 'take, grab, catch' (C)
 k^wun AS IN ?ex^w-k^wun [egukune] 'say, speak' (cf. ?ex^w) (C)
 k^wup [kup] 'push' (C)
 **k^wplipost [kupelipost] 'yours, pl.'
 k^wes AS IN s-k^we-k^ws-t [skuekust] 'morning, breakfast' (C)
 k^wis AS IN s-k^wis-k^ws [skuiskus] 'chicken' (I)
 k^wusř AS IN k^w-k^wusř [kukusem] 'chicken' (I)
 k^west [kuest] 'name' (C)
 k^wtun, k^wti [kutun, kuti] 'big, great' (C)

- k^wuy[?]é [koie] 'I' (C)
 **k^we[?] [kue] 'thine'
 k^w?ec AS IN s-k^w-k^w?ec [skukuez] 'night' (C)
- k^wúk^wi [kukui, kokoi] 'man's father's sister, woman's brother's
 child, woman's aunt' (C)
- k^wuí [kol] 'work, make, do' (C)
 k^wiít [kuitlt, kuitít] 'other, several' (V)
 *k^wum AS IN s-k^wum-élt [skomelt] 'virgin' (Cv. sk^wumalt)
 k^winš [kuinsh] 'several, how much' (C)
 k^witps AS IN k^wt-k^witps [kutkuiteps] 'flea' (C)
 k^wuy [koi] 'man's mother' (C)
 k^wuyúm, k^w-k^wyúm [kuium, kukuium] 'small, young' (C)
 k^we[?](é) [koe] 'bite' (C)
 k^w?al [kuaal] 'grow' (V)
 k^we[?]nms [koenems] 'try' (I)
- **lcu AS IN s-n-lcu-tn [snlzuten] 'room'
 **lcyestó [lziesto] 'left' (?)
- lci[?] AS IN č-lci[?]-m-s-t-n [chlziimsten] 'I remain near him.' (I)
 lič[?](í) [lich] 'to tie, bind' (C)
 léči 'he's mad' IN lč[?]-lič[?]-t [lichlichet] (?) 'violent person,
 valiant' (I)
- lk^w [lko] 'far' (C)
 luk^w [luku] 'wood' (C)
 lem [lem] 'contented, happy' (C)
 laq̄ [laka] 'bury' (C)
 leš[?] [leshin] 'hear (from afar)' (V)
 *liw [liu] 'ring bell' (Cv., Cm. liw)
 lx^wu [lgu] 'hurt, ache, feel pain' (C)
 l[?]e [lee] 'stay here, remain' (V)
 l[?]o AS IN n-l[?]o-n-t-ém [nelantem] 'someone was put in jail' (I)
 l[?]ew [léú] 'man's father' (C)
- lax [laga] 'friend' (C)

- ȳoc [ȳoz] 'smashed' (I)
 ȳecč [ȳezch] 'man's wife's mother or sister' (C)
 ȳič [ȳizi] 'flog' (V)
 **ȳič AS IN s-č-ȳč-etk^w [s'chičchetiku] 'skin raft'
 ȳamáye? AS IN ȳm-ȳmáye? [ȳamȳamaie] 'frog(s)' (V)
 ȳep [ȳip] 'go out, dwindle' (V)
 ȳop AS IN ȳop-qn-m [ȳopkanem] 'bend it over (as head of a tree)'
 (I)
 **ȳup [ȳup] 'lean, poor'
 ȳpx^w AS IN s-n-ȳpx^w-šin [snȳpogoshin] 'nail foot-wound' (I)
 ȳaq [ȳak] 'sit' (C)
 ȳáqce? [ȳakaze] 'woman's older brother' (C)
 ȳáq [ȳaka] 'wide' (C)
 ȳq^w AS IN ȳq^w-éne? [ȳkuene] 'he hides provisions' (I)
 ȳq^w AS IN ȳq^w-t-íst-ye? (-ye? ?) [lkotistie] 'prostrated',
 n-ȳq^w-ȳq^w-ȳqíyt-n [nȳkoȳkoȳkeiten] 'suspenders' (C)
 ȳáq^w [ȳako] 'come in sight, be seen' (C)
 ȳw AS IN s-ȳw-elt [sȳuelt] 'orphan', ȳw-estn [luesten] 'man's
 step-mother, woman's step-father' (C)
 ȳúwet [ȳuet] 'few, few times' (C)
 *ȳax^w [legu] 'rest' (Cv. ȳax^w)
 *ȳux^w [igo] 'sew' (Cv. ȳux^w 'loop, stitch', Sh. lex^w-m 'patch
 up')
 ȳox^w [ȳogo] 'hole' (V)
 ȳx^wup [ȳop] 'to run away, escape' (V)
 ȳay [ȳai] 'Dolly Varden trout' (C)
 ȳe AS IN s-č-ȳe [s'chȳee] 'Saturday' (C)
 ȳu?(ú) [ȳuu] 'sting, lance' (C)
 ȳumncel [ȳomcnel] 'wild goat' (I)
- ȳic [tliz] 'hard' (C)
 ȳuk^w AS IN s-ȳuk^w-m [slokum] '(wild) carrots' (C)
 ȳil(í) [tlil, tell] 'die, stop' (C)
 ȳáq [tlaka] 'hot, warm' (C)
 ȳx^w [tlegu] 'win' (C)

- ʎax [tʎag] 'fast, swift' (C)
 ʎyeʔ [tʎieé] 'boat, canoe' (C)
 ʎeʔ [tʎee] 'look for' (cf. ʎuʔ) (C)
 ʎuʔ [tʎuu] 'look for' (cf. ʎeʔ) (C)
 ʎeʔkʷ AS IN ʎeʔkʷ-ilš-cút-i [tʎekuilshzuti] 'practice sorcery' (C)
- mekʷ [meko] 'snow' (C)
 mal [mal] 'dirt' (C)
 máli (stress ?) [meɫ, mali] 'heal' (C)
 mul [mul] 'fetch water' (V)
 milkʷ, melkʷ [milko, melko, melluk] 'whole, all; round' (C)
 mli [meli] 'flood' (C)
 muɫ AS IN s-muɫ-mn [smulemen] 'lance, spear' (V)
 miɫ [miɫ] 'too, very much, greatly' (V)
 meɲxʷ [menigu] 'smoke' (C)
 maq AS IN y-es-maq-q-m [ies makkam] 'I forbid him to start' (Cv.
 maq 'to stop someone from', C. maq 'to convince')
 moqʷ [moko, mke] 'mountain' (C)
 mus, mos [mus, moš] 'four' (C)
 mus AS IN mus-ls [musels] 'trusted' (I)
 miš [miš] 'only, alone' (cf. čmiš) (C)
 *miš AS IN šʔit-miš-élt [shiitemishelt] 'first-born child' (Cv.
 mix '?')
 maʷ [mau] 'broken' (C)
 mɣʷu [mogo] 'to snow' (C)
 miɣʷt [migot] 'sick, dying' (I)
 meye [meie] 'tell, show, teach' (C)
 miy [mi] 'know' (C)
 *miy [mi] 'brave, excellent, true, worthy' (Cv. mi 'important',
 Cm. miy 'be dignified')
 **moyɣi [moigai] 'practice Indian jugglery to find out enemies'
 meɣí [meie, mie] 'tell, show, teach' (cf. meye) (C)
 meʔeʔ (stress ?) [mee] 'refuse, send away' (V)
 meʔi [meel] 'man's brother's son or daughter' (C)
 mʔen [neem] 'woman' (V)

- mʔot [moot] 'smoke' (V)
 miʔtúʔ [mito] 'fort' (I)
- měm̄ [mcm] 'play' (C)
 m̄um̄t AS IN s-m̄um̄t-šn [smomshin] 'mare' (C)
 m̄estm̄ [mestóm] 'woman's father' (Why does Post record ó?) (C)
- neč AS IN s-néč-ičeʔ [snechelze] 'elk' (C)
 neč̣ AS IN s-neč̣-ixʷ [snechelgu] 'woman's daughter's husband' (C)
 nič̣ [nich] 'cut, saw' (C)
 nḳʷuʔ, nḳʷoʔ [nku, nko] 'one' (C)
 nimáp [nimap] 'frozen (water)' (I)
 nun(n)xʷ [noningu] 'believe' (V)
 npleʔ [empile] 'you, pl.' (C)
 naq̣ [naka] 'rotten (meat)' (V)
 naq̣ʷ [nako] 'steal' (C)
 nas [nas] 'wet, moist' (C)
 nisq̣ʷú [nisko] 'the opposite side of the river' (C)
 nte [nte] 'think' (C)
 neẉ [neu] 'blow' (C)
 naxʷ [nago] 'to go downstream' (C)
 noxʷ AS IN nóxʷ-noxʷ [nogonogo] 'wife' (C), nxʷ-nxʷ-cʷs-m
 [nogonogoeusem] 'join two in matrimony' (V)
- *paa < paʃ [paa] 'grey, burnt' (Cv. paʃ 'grey', Sh. peʃ 'faded, empty')
- pi AS IN pi-s-tem̄ [pistem] 'when'; s-pi-s-céʔ [spiszé],
 s-pi-s-céʔ-lt [spiszelt] 'yesterday' (C)
- picč̣i [pizechl] 'leaf, leaves' (C)
- **pliṃn AS IN s-pliṃn-cn [spelimenzin] 'mouth, lip' (Cf. C's
 s-pli-m-cn)
- pul(st) [pol(st)] 'kill' (C)
- pilš [pilsh] 'enter' (V)
- **peṭ AS IN n-pṭ-pṭ-aqs [npeṭeṭaks] 'hog, pig'
- p̄ti [p̄ti] 'thick' (C)

- peik^w(í) AS IN pei-pik^wí [peipeikui] 'women' (V)
 pum [pum] 'hair, fur' (C)
 pentč [pentich] 'always, year' (C)
 **paq AS IN paq-q [pakaka] 'pay for'
 piq [pik] 'white' (C)
 psa(y) AS IN psa-p [psap] 'surprise, wonder at, admire' (C. psa
 'to be scared', Cv. ps^ɤay 'no sense')
 pus AS IN pu-pus-éňč [pupusench] 'grief, sorry' (Cf. p^ʔus) (C)
 **patn [patn] 'poultice'
 put [put, pot] 'enough, exact, yet, still' (Cf. púte^ʔ) (C)
 ptk^wu [ptko] 'pierce, poke, jab' (C)
 ptax^w [ptago] 'spit' (C)
 púte^ʔ [pute] 'respected' (Cf. put) (C)
 pa^x [pag] 'smart, wise' (C)
 p^x^wum [pgom] 'distribute, scatter' (V)
 piy [pi] 'happy' (C)
 pi^ʔ AS IN s-pi^ʔ-s-cé^ʔ [spiszé] 'yesterday' (C)
 p^ʔos [poos] 'foam' (I)
 p^ʔus [poos] 'heart' (Cf. pus) (C)
 **pe^ʔx^w [peegu] 'fair (face)'

 p^lč(mi) [pelch(mi)] 'turn' (V)
 p^l AS IN č-p^l-e^ws(-m) [chptleus(em)] 'Monday' (C)
 p^a AS IN [pta] 'bare, exposed' (C)
 p^e AS IN [ptle] 'bitterroot' (C)
 p^aap [paap] 'catch fire' (V)
 p^qni^ʔ [pakani] 'month, moon' (V)
 p^oq^w [poko] 'spilled' (C)
 p^ex^w, p^ax^w [pegu, pagu] 'shining' (C)
 p^ax [paag] 'cure' (C)
 p^x^w [pogo] 'old' (C)
 p^yaq [piak] 'ripe' (C)
 p^ʔaw [pau] 'don't care to' (V)

 qcc [kez] 'jumb, run, sg.' (V)

- qecč [kezch] 'elder brother' (C)
 ql AS IN ql-alq^w [kalalko] 'green wood (not dry)' (I)
 **qal AS IN ql-qál-aqs [kalkalaks] 'little frog'
 **qil [keil] 'seduce'
 **qlčlp AS IN n-i-qlčlp-n-cút-i-s [nikalchelpenzutis] 'He left
 them to hold his place.' (segments ?)
 qalispél [kalispel] 'Kalispel' (V)
 qeltč [keltich] 'meat, body, flesh' (C)
 qltmix^w [kaltemigu] 'man, Indian' (C)
 qléw [kaléu] 'beaver' (C)
 qłot AS IN n-qłot-ıđıt [nkalotıkeit] 'shovel' (C)
 qii [keii] 'awake' (V)
 qam(ín) [kam(in)] 'lay, put (several objects)' (V)
 qamn AS IN s-qamn-lscút [skannelszut] 'goods, pl.'
 qéne? [kéne] 'woman's sibling's son's son, grandmother' (C)
 qp AS IN qp-éıće? [kapelze] 'plate' (C)
 **qap AS IN qap-n-cút-n [kapenzuten] 'friend to death'
 qepc [kepç] 'spring' (C)
 qapúsı [kapusel] 'wing (angel's)' (V)
 **qas [kas] 'break'
 qix^w [keigu] 'drive' (C)
 qx AS IN qx-min [kgamín] 'horn' (C)
 qáxe? [kage] 'man's mother's sister' (C)
 qeyl [keil] 'solicit, invite (bribe)' (I)
 qe?nplé? [kaempile] 'we' (C)
- qł AS IN qł-eps [kaleps] 'necklace, necktie' (C)
 qłx^w AS IN n-qłx^w-us [nkaligus] 'hooked in one eye' (I)
 qłi? [kalíi] 'lake' (C)
 qm AS IN qm-elt-n [kamelten] 'starve', qm-qm-els [kamkamels]
 'mcekness' (C)
 qam [kam] 'talk' (V)
 qmıye? AS IN q-qmıye? [kakameie] 'fishing with the hook' (C)
 qn [kan] 'contracted (as with arthritis)' (I)
 qep AS IN s-qp-qp-éne? [skepkepene] 'sand' (C)

- ǫasíp [kasíp] 'old, long ago' (V)
 ǫett [kétite] 'skin, hide' (C)
 ǫaǵ [kao] 'broken' (cf. ǫaǵu) (C)
 ǫx^w AS IN ǫx^w-p-enč [kagupench] 'costive' (I)
 ǫex^wu AS IN ǫx^w-mi-n [kagumin] 'I wish for it, like to have it.'
 (C. ǫex^w(u) 'to flirt', Cv. ǫax^w 'to flirt')
 ǫixt [keigt] 'fond of, wish to have' (V)
 ǫx^w AS IN ǫx^w-qin-čst [kogkeinchst] 'finger-nail' (C)
 ǫeyǵ, ǫaǵ [kai] 'write' (cf. ǫi?) (C)
 ǫaǵú [kao] 'broken' (cf. ǫaǵ) (V)
 ǫe?(é) [kae] 'pinched, squeezed; put, stick' (C, V)
 ǫi? [ki] 'write' (cf. ǫeyǵ) (C)
- q^wac AS IN q^wac-qn [koazkan] 'cap, hat' (C)
 q^wil 'cheat' AS IN q^wl-q^wil [kolkoel] 'forgive' (C)
 q^wel(t) [kuel(t), kol] 'talk' (C)
 q^wléwi [koleuie] 'onion' (C)
 q^wí [koel] 'cook, ripe, ready to eat' (V)
 **q^wum AS IN s-q^wm-útya? [skomatie] 'coin'
 q^win [koin] 'green' (V)
 q^wiń [koin] 'ugly, poor, mean; pity' (V)
 q^west [koest] 'deep snow' (I), n-q^west [nkoest] 'deep water' (V)
 q^wse? AS IN s-q^wse? [skussee] 'son', s-q^ws?-elt [skuselt]
 'nephew' (C)
 **q^wt AS IN q^w-q^wt-ilš [kokotilsh] 'becoming wayward'
 q^wtáx^we? [kottagoe] 'louse, lice' (C)
 q^wew, q^waw [koeu, koau] 'drunk, wicked' (C)
 **q^waw AS IN q^waw-q^w-t (-q^w?) [koaukot] 'wicked altogether'
 q^wey [koi] 'to have plenty' (V)
 q^weym AS IN q^weym-q^wm-m-t [kaimkomt] 'lively in working' (I)
 q^wu?ı [kuúı] 'wasp' (C)
 q^wa?m AS IN s-q^wa?m-áqs [skoamaks] 'habitual food' (I)
 q^wǵup [koop] 'tanned, made soft' (V)
- ǫ^wic AS IN n-ǫ^wic-tn [koizten] 'woman's late husband's brother' (C)

- q̣^weč [koez] 'full' (C)
 q̣^wiš [koiš] 'strive, busy oneself' (V)
 q̣^wuš [kooš] 'dust' (C)
 q̣^wciš [kociš] 'carry on the back' (V)
 q̣^woiq(s) [koik(s)] 'to plant' (I)
 q̣^wuš AS IN s-n-q̣^wuš-šn [snkotlishin] 'stockings' (C)
 q̣^wušešiši [kotlshi] 'race, jump, pl.' (V)
 q̣^wom AS IN q̣^wom-qn [komkan] 'hair' (C)
 q̣^wum(i) [kom(i)] 'take (several)' (C)
 q̣^wmiš AS IN q̣^wmíš-p [komip] 'died' (C)
 q̣^wn AS IN q̣^w-q̣^wn-ešs [koikomeus] 'horse of one or two years' (C)
 q̣^wusš AS IN n-q̣^w-q̣^wšš-ičn-šn [nkokosmechinshin] 'dog' (C)
 q̣^way [koai] 'black' (C)
 q̣^woy [koi] 'calm' (I)
 q̣^weyiš AS IN q̣^weyiš-q̣^wiš [koiškolt] 'lively in running' (I)
 q̣^weš [koa] 'milk' (C)
- sic [siz] 'new, after, recently, just now' (C)
 sič [siz] 'blanket' (C)
 suk^wú [suku] 'swollen' (C)
 sl AS IN sl-aqs [slaks] 'mosquito' (C)
 sil [sil] 'wrong' (C)
 sul [sul] 'cold' (C)
 salúšeš [salusse] 'hail' (V)
 séliš [selish] 'Indians from Bitterroot' (C)
 síleš [sile] 'woman's grandfather or sister's daughter's son' (C)
 sin AS IN sín-ceš [sinze] 'man's younger brother' (C)
 saš [san] 'tame, gentle, mild' (C)
 špi [spi] 'strike, whip' (C)
 šipi [sipi] 'rope, skin' (C)
 sqélix^w [skeligu] 'Indian, people, man' (C)
 sqm [skam] 'worthless' (I)
 saq, sqe [ski, ske] 'split, crack' (V, C)
 sus(t) [sus(t)] 'drink' (C)
 *ssiš [s'sii] 'man's uncle' (Cv)

- sis^ǰ [sispel] 'seven' (V)
 siš [sish] 'pure' (I)
 ste? [ste] '?' AS IN swet ep-sté? ʔi-cí? 'Who owns that?' (I)
 so^ǰ AS IN so^ǰ-lqs [sotalks] 'knitted shirt' (I)
 sew [seu] 'ask, listen' (V)
 sew^ǰ AS IN sew^ǰ-k^w [seulku] 'liquor' (V)
 swet [suet] 'who, what' (C)
 six^w [sigu] 'pour, spill liquids' (C)
 sux^w [sugu] 'know, recognize, understand' (C)
 sax [saga] 'near, accompany' (C)
 sax^w [sago] 'split' (C)
 sy AS IN si-sy-ús [sisius] 'brave, smart, bright, strong; much' (C)
 syen, siyén [siin] 'to count' (C, V)
 suyápi [suiapi] 'whiteman' (C)
 **syaw [siau] 'uncomfortably cold' (I)
 se^ǰstem^ǰ [sestem] 'man's wife's sister or brother's wife, woman's
 sister's husband' (C)
- še AS IN še-šut^ǰ [sheshutem] 'girl' (C)
 šal [shal] 'steep' (V)
 šli [shili] 'chop' (C)
 šme^ǰ [shemen] 'enemy' (C)
 šn [shen] 'shut' (V)
 šin [shin] 'follow, accompany' (V)
 še^ǰ(š) [shen(sh)] 'stone' (C)
 šut^ǰ [shutem] 'girl' (V)
 šet^ǰ [shite] 'tree, standing' (C)
 **šiw AS IN šiw-mil [shiumil] 'beyond measure'
 šyust [shiust] 'pass' (C)
 še^ǰ AS IN ši^ǰ-še^ǰ [shishei] 'go together, keep company' (C)
 še? [shee] 'this, these' (C)
 *ši^ǰ [shi] 'consent' (Cv. xə?)
 **ši^ǰ AS IN **ši^ǰ-míl [shiiimil] 'exceedingly', **ši^ǰ-cín
 [shiizin] 'first rate' (cf. šiw)
 **ši^ǰs [shiis] 'instead of'

- šʔit [shiit] 'first, ahead' (C)
 *šʔiʔt̚ [chiit] 'keep your eyes on, guard' (usually with č- :
 č-šʔiʔt̚) (cf. čšit) (Cv. xaʔt̚ 'watch for')
- ta [ta] 'not, no' (V)
 tkʷuʔ [tkoo] 'march, walk, pl.' (C)
 taál [tal] 'loose' (V)
 tlciʔ [telzǐ] 'more' (I)
 tlʔe AS IN c-n-tlʔe-le (-le ?) [znteleele] 'on this side of the
 river' (I)
 tam [tam] 'not' (Cf. ta-m) (V)
 tum, tuṁ [tom] 'woman's mother' (C)
 teṁ [tem] 'what, thing' (C)
 tṁčʔ AS IN s-tṁčʔ-elt [stomchelt] 'daughter' (cf. šuṁ) (C)
 tṁnus [tenemus] 'nothing' (C)
 tunš [tonsh] 'man's nephew or niece' (C)
 taq [tak] 'touch, hold down with hands' (V)
 teš AS IN téš-ilš [teshilsh] 'stand up' (C)
 ttʷit [tituit] 'boy, young person' (C)
 tew [teu] 'buy, sell' (V)
 twin [tuin] 'short, lack' (I)
 tixʷ [tigu] 'get' (V)
 tuxʷ(ú) [tgu] 'add' (C)
 tuxʷt [tugt] 'flying, pl.' (V)
 tṡ AS IN s-tṡ-enč [stgench] 'bowels' (V)
 taṡ [tag] 'bitter' (C)
 toṡʷ [tog] 'straight' (cf. taʔṡʷ) (C)
 teʔé [tee] 'pound' (C)
 tʔe [tee] 'passing by here' (V)
 tiʔm [tiim] 'melt (snow)' (V)
 taʔṡʷ [tag] 'straight' (cf. toṡʷ) (C)
- *tč [tech] 'brand' (Cv. tək)
 tičm AS IN s-tičm-íš (-íš ?) [stiichmish] 'virgin' (C)
 tūkʷ(ú) [toko, tku] 'set down, lay down, place' (C)

- ʔúlix^w [toligu] 'world, country' (V)
 ʔam [tem, tam] 'kiss, suck' (V)
 ʔma[?] [toma] 'cow' (C)
 ʔéne[?] [tene] 'ear' (V)
 ʔn[?]wéye[?] AS IN ʔn[?]-ʔn[?]wéye[?] [telteleuie] 'bat (mammal)' (C)
 ʔap [tap] 'shot' (C)
 ʔpi [tpi] 'upright, standing up' (C)
 ʔup [top] 'twist into thread, rope' (V)
 ʔps AS IN s-n-ʔps-e^ws [sntepseus] 'joint, jointed' (C)
 ʔupye[?] [topie] 'woman's grandparent or grandchild' (C)
 ʔpy[?] AS IN ʔpy[?]-e^wt [tpieut] 'things standing up' (cf. ʔpi) (C)
 ʔq AS IN s-ʔq-lscut [staeklscut] 'goods' (C)
 ʔaq AS IN ʔaq-q-nú-n [takakanun] 'I cheat him.' (C)
 ʔa^qn [takan] 'six' (V)
 ʔoq^w(ú) [tko] 'to sew' (C)
 ʔas [tas] 'leather' (I)
 ʔas [tas] 'hard' (C)
 ʔiš [tish] 'sweet' (C)
 ʔix^w1 [tigul] 'different, strange' (V)
 ʔyi [ti] 'fall, descend' (C)
 ʔéye[?] [téie] 'evil, bad' (C)
 ʔi[?]čime AS IN s-ʔi[?]-ʔi[?]čime [stitichime] 'pup, little dog' (V)
- wič [uích] 'see' (C)
 wek^w [ueku] 'hide' (C)
 wli [uli] 'burn' (C)
 weik^w [uelku] 'descend' (C)
 wam [uam] 'hurry, hasten' (I)
 wenš [uensh] 'dance (men only)' (C)
 wp [up] 'hair' (Cf. wps) (C)
 wps [ups] 'tail' (Cf. wp) (C)
 wis [uis] 'long' (C)
 wiš [uish] 'stand up' (C)
 waw AS IN s-č-waw-p-us [s'chauaupus] 'tear' (cf. aw) (C)
 wiy [ui] 'finish' (C)

- we? [uee] 'call' (C)
 wi? AS IN s-wi?-númt [suiuinumt] 'young people, good looking' (V)
 w?ew [ueu] 'go back, pull back (as horses)' (V, Cv. wiw 'back up')
 wewí [uéuɪ] 'fish' (C)
- x^wc AS IN n-x^wc-x^wc-m-els [nguzguzmels] 'suffer, torments' (I)
 x^wič [guiz] 'give' (C)
 **x^wk^w AS IN č-x^wk^w-els-m [chgukuelsem] 'we attack him'
 x^wuk^w(ú) [guku] 'clean' (C)
 x^wuk^w [goko] 'divided, forked' (C)
 x^wil(t) [guil(t)] 'live; debt' (C)
 x^włi [guitle] 'whittle' (C)
 x^wem, x^wam [guem, guam] 'paint (red)' (V)
 x^wum [gum] 'like, desire' (I)
 **x^wumin [gumin] 'forbid'
- x^wp AS IN n-x^wp-els [nigupols] 'sad' (I)
 **x^ws [gus] 'fierce-looking'
 *x^wus [gus] 'pass before' (Cv. x^wus 'go, hurry')
 x^wist [guist] 'walk, sg.' (V)
 *x^wat AS IN x^w-x^wat [guguat] 'strenuous' (Cv. x^wt 'deprive')
 x^wet [gut] 'hate' (C)
 x^wtip [gutip] 'rib' (I)
 x^wti [guti] 'run, arise' (V)
 x^wey AS IN x^wi-x^wey-úɪ [guiguiúɪ] 'beast, animal' (C)
 x^wuy [gui] 'go' (C)
 x^wuym AS IN s-x^wuym-tk^w [sguimteku] 'ice' (I)
 x^wúye? AS IN s-x^wú-x^wye? [sguguie] 'ant' (C)
 x^we? 'raise, lift' AS IN č-x^wé?-us [chgoeus] 'hang', x^we?-m-í
 [goeami] 'fly, pl.' (V)
 x^w?i(t) [goe(t)] 'many, much' (C)
 **x^w?at AS IN x^wa-x^wá?t [quaquaat] 'brave, strong in war'
- xaá < xʔa [gaa] 'fan' (C)
 ɣc AS IN ɣc-núm-tn [gaznumten] 'clothes' (C)

- x̣l AS IN n-x̣l-ews [ngaleus] 'bridge' (C)
 x̣al(i) [gal(i)] 'tomorrow, daylight, clear' (C)
 **x̣al AS IN x̣l-x̣al-m-íst [galgalemist] 'rebuke'
 x̣el [gel] 'afraid' (C)
 x̣alít [galit] 'ask, invite' (V)
 x̣élwi? [gelui] 'husband' (C)
 x̣ii [geil] 'just a little' (cf. ?ax̣íl, ǎxil) (V)
 x̣ǎ AS IN x̣ǎ-cin [gatlzín] 'horse' (C)
 x̣m AS IN x̣m-enč [gamench] 'like, love' (C)
 x̣am(í) [gam] 'dry' (C)
 x̣em [gem] 'heavy' (C)
 x̣n AS IN x̣n-nu-n-m [gannunem] 'accidentally' (C)
 x̣épe? [gepe] 'man's grandfather' (C)
 x̣p̣ AS IN s-n-x̣p̣-ews [sngapeus] 'soul' (C)
 x̣aq [gaka] 'pay' (C)
 x̣es [ges] 'good' (C)
 **x̣itne? AS IN x̣t-x̣itne? 'daggar'
 x̣x̣ańút [gaganut] 'nine' (V)
 x̣iŵ [geu] 'raw' (C)
 x̣? AS IN x̣?-úle?x̣^w [geulegu] 'rattle-snake' (C)
 x̣a?x̣é? [gagee] 'woman's husband's father or brother' (C)
 x̣e?n(í) [geen(i)] 'forbid' (V)
 *x̣?es [gees] 'content' (cf. x̣es 'good')
- x̣^wec [goz] 'pass by' (V)
 x̣^wic [goíz] 'cut off' (V)
 **x̣^wal AS IN x̣^wl-x̣^wal [golgoal] 'sheep'
 x̣^wel [goel] 'deserted, leave, abandon' (V)
 x̣^wolq̣^w [gólko] 'wagon' (C)
 x̣^wolx̣^w AS IN x̣^wó-x̣^wlx̣^w [guagualigu] 'fox' (C. s-x̣^wóx̣^wo, Cv.
 x̣^wílx̣^w)
 x̣^wuṃ [gum] 'feel safe' (I)
 x̣^wup [gop] 'lazy' (C)
 x̣^waq̣^w [goako] 'grind' (C)
 *x̣^wq̣^w AS IN x̣^wq̣^w-alqs [gokolks] 'snore' (Cv. x̣^waq̣^w)

- x^wt AS IN č-x^wt-éne? [chgotene] 'cropped ear' (C)
 x^wiy [goi] 'sharp' (V)
 x^we?l AS IN x^we?l-ečst-i [goelechsti] 'hasten, work quickly' (C)
 x^we?(s) AS IN x^wa-x^wé?s-m-i (stress ?) [goagesimi] 'laugh, pl.'
 (V)

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

 ?ócqe? [ozkae, azkae] 'go out' (C)
 ?eč [ez] 'last' (C)
 ?ačx [azga] 'watch, look at' (C)
 ?oč AS IN ?oč-s-wiš [echsuish] 'erect, standing' (C)
 ?uk^w [uku] 'carry, bring' (C)
 ?ek^wn [ekun] 'fisheggs' (I)
 ?olí [oli] 'belly' (C)
 ?iŋ [íŋen] 'eat' (C)
 ?uix^w [uigu] 'go' (C)
 ?em [eem] 'feed' (C)
 ?emút [emut] 'sit, sg.' (C)
 ?imš [imsh] 'move, start' (C)
 ?anŋ [anika] 'summer' (C)
 ?enés [enes] 'on my way going' (V)
 ?upn, ?opn [open] 'ten' (C)

- ?eþ [eep] 'wipe, wipe off' (C)
 ?úse? AS IN ?u-?úse? [uusse] 'egg(s)' (C)
 ?isk^wl [iskol, iskoł] 'scatter, throw away' (C)
 ?esél, ?asl [esel, asl] 'two' (C)
 ?itš [itsh] 'sleep' (C)
 ?ítx^we? [itgoa] 'camas' (C)
 ?aw [au] 'recite' (C)
 ?awqn [aukan] 'order, warn, admonish' (I)
 ?ex^w AS IN ?ex^w-k^wun [egukune] 'say, speak' (C)
 ?ax [aga] 'stretch' (C)
 ?axíl [ageil] 'do the same, like' (Cf. xii, čxil) (C)
 ?ax^wt AS IN n-?ax^wt [nagot] 'go down the river by land' (C)
 ?ox^wt AS IN ?ox^wt-élt [ogtelt] 'baby' (C)
 ?ey [ei] 'take revenge' (I)
 **?ayl [ail] 'shaved'
 ?aym [aim] 'angry, mad' (C)
 ?eym AS IN ?eym-éws [eimus] 'crossways, cross' (C)
 ?ey(s) [eei(s)] 'pay for, buy, exchange' (Cv. ?eys 'exchange, change')
 ?ayx^w [aigo] 'tired' (C)
 ?ay AS IN ?ay-ewt [aieut] 'dwell, stay home, sit, pl.' (C)

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