The Salish Vocabularies of David Thompson[1]

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1. Introduction. One of the prominent figures in the exploration of the Pacific Northwest, particularly with respect to the surveying and mapping of the territory, is David Thompson. Orphaned while still quite young, David was brought up in the Grey Coat School, at Westminster, near London. At the age of 14, Thompson was apprenticed to the Hudson's Bay Company. He arrived at Fort Churchill on the Hudson's Bay in September of 1784, and he began his duties immediately. He remained in Canada for the rest of his life, serving the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company in Rupert's Land from 1784 to 1812. He moved in 1812 to eastern Canada, and he remained there until his death at Toronto in 1857 at the age of 87.

Like many of the better educated traders who lived in the wilderness, Thompson committed to his journals a number of observations about the terrain, flora, fauna, and native peoples with whom he lived in daily contact. He also included extensive records of celestial and meteorological readings, which he made routinely. His writings on these matters have long been known to, and used by, historians and cartographers, and others,[2] but to the best of my knowledge no one has ever taken a critical look at, or otherwise utilized, the several Indian vocabularies collected by Thompson. Indeed, until I recently obtained copies of the vocabularies from the Archives of Ontario, it was unclear in almost all cases which languages were represented in the journals.

My attention was first called to Thompson's manuscript notes several years ago by a Canadian ethnohistorian, who told me that the notes included a Mandan vocabulary, supposedly collected at the time of Thompson's visit to the Mandan villages on the upper Missouri during the winter of 1797-1798. Since this would be the earliest Mandan vocabulary by quite a few years, I immediately obtained a copy of the vocabulary and found, to my surprise, that the bulk of it was Assiniboine, with a small fragment

which I tentatively identified as Flathead. I did nothing further with the list until this spring, when I had sufficient time to think about it. I sent the fragment to Tony Mattina, who agreed that the language was probably Flathead.[3] An inquiry to the Ontario Archives turned up the much longer, dated Flathead list which is the subject of this paper. Additional search turned up short Blackfoot and Chipewyan lists as well.

The "Saleesh and Kullyspele" word list which David Thompson collected at Saleesh House during the winter of 1809-1810 is certainly the earliest Flathead list recorded; it also comes very close to being the earliest list for any Salish language. The "Friendly Village" and Atna lists of Sir Alexander Mackenzie are less than a decade older. In spite of its early date, Thompson's list played no role in the taxonomic and other philological work of the 19th century, lying virtually unnoticed until the present. I say virtually unnoticed because a somewhat garbled portion of the list was published by Elliott Coues at the end of the 19th century,[4] well beyond the time when it might have been useful to the pioneering work in American linguistics of Gallatin, Powell, and others. At the time of publication the vocabulary was attributed to Alexander Henry the Younger, another trader and prominent explorer of Western Canada. Comparison of the published list with the Thompson lists shows that Henry copied his list virtually in toto from the manuscript list of David Thompson, though this fact is nowhere acknowledged.[5]

The David Thompson Flathead list contains almost 400 entries, which range from single lexical entries to entire sentences. Usually the items refer to matters concerning trade, but other kinds of material, including such things as verb paradigms, were also recorded.

Saleesh House was built during the fall of 1809 near the present site of Thompson Falls, Montana. A so-far unidentified Flathead band spent the winter in the vicinity of the post, and there was considerable contact between the Indians and the personnel of the post. Thompson indicates that the band had two chiefs, one whom his party called "The Orator," the other "Cartier" (because of his resemblance to a Canadian by that name). The informant for the vocabulary was a man (the term given for mother, item number 227 in the 1810 list, is an appellative used only by males), and it appears likely that he was the chief called "Cartier," since there is an entry glossed as 'Cartier's name' (item number 56 in the 1810 list). The Flathead of this entry has unfortunately not yet been identified, so it has not been possible to connect "Cartier" with a historical Flathead person. The list was probably obtained with the aid of Michel Bourdeaux, one of a small party of free French-Canadian trappers who had preceded Thompson west of the Rockies. Bourdeaux was Thompson's principal interpreter, since he was a fluent speaker of an Interior Salish dialect, probably Flathead or Spokane.

Bourdeaux was killed in the summer of 1812 in a battle with the Blackfeet, who had consistently opposed and attempted to thwart efforts to establish trading stations among the Indians west of the mountains.

2. Orthographic interpretations of the lists.[6] It is evident from the grammar, spelling, style, and general content of Thompson's writings that he was an intelligent man who possessed a better than average education for his time. This is also shown by his transcription of Flathead, which follows norms which are almost always internally consistent and which captured enough of the phonetic content of his entries to permit their reelicitation and identification by contemporary speakers of the language. Virtually all of his recordings have been recognized and recovered. Where this has not been possible, there is often the chance that misglossing, or glosses which have been misunderstood or are meaningless today, are responsible at least as much as the recordings themselves. Thompson's recordings which are recoverable yield a goodly amount of information about the earlier state of the language, as will be shown.

Thompson was an experienced and skillful writer of English, so it is not surprising that the English alphabet and its phonetic values are the framework within which he worked. He also appears to have known some French, both spoken and written, and he occasionally uses the acute accent over e in the French manner, particularly when the e is final and would otherwise have to be read as [i] or be silent according to English norms.

In transcribing forms, Thompson sometimes proceeds phonetically (i.e. segment by segment), but whenever a portion of a Flathead utterance sounded like an existing English word, that portion is often spelled like the homophonous English word. Examples are the Flahead sequences [ti] and [yus], which are spelled respectively tea and ewes (items number 144 and 2 in the 1810 list). He often underlined portions of Flathead utterances, but there is no consistent pattern in the underlining, and it is not clear what he intended by it. It does not correspond to stress or to anything else discernible today. (See, for example, items number 8, 12, and 17 in the 1810 list.)

In writing consonants, Thompson is almost always successful in indicating their point of articulation. Manner of articulation was much more difficult for him, but he sometimes found means to deal with this problem as well. As would be expected, he had the greatest difficulty with consonants and articulations which have no analog in English.

In writing the obstruents, Thompson completely merged the velar and post-velar series, and he often failed to write anything at all for the velar and post-velar fricatives. For the stops, see items 22, 29, 35, 48 in the 1810 list; for the fricatives, items 9, 16, 31 in the same list; but compare also items 12, 15, 32, 47 in the short

list, where he heard the fricative and attempted to render it in his spelling. When the velar and post-velar obstruents are rounded, Thompson usually captured the rounding, which he wrote either as a following rounded vowel, as w, or as qu. For examples, see items 4, 15, 34, 42, 49, and 127 in the 1810 list. He tended to miss the rounding of the consonant when a rounded vowel followed, see items 1, 49, and 55 in the short list. Glottalization and glottal stop are nowhere recorded; examples of this omission abound in both lists.

As for the other obstruents, the affricate /c/ is written as ch, tz, or s, see items 5, 18, 20, 40, and 62 in the short list and item number 120 in the 1810 list. /ʎ/ was very hard for Thompson; his usual response was kl (e.g. items 62 and 102 in the 1810 list), unless he simply missed the stop onset and heard only the lateral quality (e.g. items 25, 89, 94, 151, 255 in the 1810 list). In item 19 in the 1810 list he combines the two. Thompson wrote the other laterals quite successfully by combining English sh or th or h with l, in either order, although l is usually written following the graphs for the English fricatives. Examples are items 1, 3, 22, 52, 54, 100, 122, and 180 in the 1810 list. When he erred, it was in missing the fricative quality. In these cases he wrote l alone, see items 36, 57, 120, and 144 in the 1810 list.

Syllabic resonants are usually written with a preceding or following vowel; the vowel chosen seems to depend on the other consonants in the environment. Examples are items number 11, 33, 47, 109, 112, 116, 141, and 256 in the 1810 list. Fricatives which are utterance-initial and followed by other consonants also tend to be written with a support vowel, see items 30, 42, 55, 58, 94, and 104 in the 1810 list.

Thompson's rendering of vowel sounds is less predictable, which follows from the multiplicity of ways that English vowels are spelled in the heavily historical orthography of English. ee and e in open syllables, and ee in closed syllables, normally represent [i], but i is also used in this value, especially in closed syllables. Examples from the short list are numbers 7, 14, 27, 31, 36, 45, 65, 67, and 76. The graph i is also used with the value [ay] (e.g. item number 14 in the 1810 list) or [ə] (items 12, 15, and 39 in the 1810 list).

a in open syllables usually represents [e], as do ai, ay, and é in all positions. Examples are numbers 30, 38, 58, 62, 70, 134, and 152 in the 1810 list. e in closed syllables usually represents [e] also, see numbers 1, 28, 96, 134, and 218 in the 1810 list. ae, a somewhat rare graph, represents [e], [ey], or even [i], see items 24, 75, 102, 128 211, 230, 241, 243, and 259 in the 1810 list. a in a closed syllable, and ar or ah in open syllables, normally represent [a]. Examples from the short list are 6, 17, 19, 36, 39, 40, 45, 67, 77.

oo, ou, or u represent [u], see items 1, 4, 9, 18, 25, 33, 44, 49, and 52 in the short list. Note, however, that u in a closed syllable can also represent [ə], see numbers 6 and 69 in the short list.

Thompson often indicates a "long" (i.e. tense) vowel quality in a closed final syllable by writing a silent final e, as in the English word stoke. Representative examples are numbers 2, 30, 103, 109, and 180 in the 1810 list.

In spite of the numerous mishearings and the ambiguities of rendering, it is surprising that Thompson did as well as he did, given the complexity of Flathead phonetics and phonology. Other early recorders (e.g. Eliot, John Smith, Edward Umfreville) did worse with languages that are simpler.

The balance of this paper will consist of a transcription of the "Saleesh-Kully-spele" vocabularies of David Thompson, together with as many modern recordings of the same items as could be obtained. The list is followed by comments on the phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic content of the Thompson lists.

3. The Salish word lists of David Thompson. Given below are the two Salish word lists collected by David Thompson. The first list, called here the "short" list, was included without break in a long Assiniboine list identified as Mandan in the original notebook. Numbers in the right-hand margin in the short list are cross references to identical or near identical items in the 1810 list, which follows. References to items in the short list which appear in section 4 of this paper have S following the item number. The second list, found a few pages later in the same notebook, is the labelled and dated list of 1810. This list was filled in on pages which had been prepared in advance for work with informants. For the roughly 1,000 glosses which Thomposn had expected to get he was able to obtain fewer than 400. Glosses for which no Flathead equivalent was obtained have been omitted here.

The modern Flathead forms were obtained with the competent and patient help of Mr. Tony Incashola, Mrs. Dolly Linsbigler, and Mr. Clarence Woodcock. Occasional Spokane references come from the unpublished Spokane Dictionary of Barry F. Carlson. Colville forms are from Mattina's field notes.

SHORT LIST

1.	En Koo	nk̓ʷu	239, 378
2.	Es sane	esél	
3.	Kel the	če?ɬé?	
4.	Moose	[illegible]	
5.	Chiltz	cil	
6.	Tah Kun	t̓áq̓ən	
7.	Sees pil	sísp̓əl	
8.	A a nin	he?é?nəm	
9.	An oot	x̣nut	
10.	O pinks - O pin	úpən	
11. Lake	Kilth Kul é	čɬq̓li	182
12. River	En togh et too goo	nt̓x̣ʷetkʷ	266
13. Wind	Snae oot	snew̓t	359
14. Bad	Ti yae	t̓éye	24
15. Good	Aest Ahest	x̣est	134
16. Chevreuil	Choo ool	c̓u?úlixʷ 'deer', c̓u?ú 'white tail doe'	70
17. Cows	Es Stum malt é	st̓ma	55
18. Bulls	Chooth lim	scúɬəm	54
19. Horse	Chiltz altz Kar Kin	sənc̓ɬc̓a?sqá(x̣e?)	162
20. Red Deer	Tae yetz é	tšec̓	263
21. Doe	Snae chiltz un	snéčɬc̓e (arch), sne	264
22. Woman	Smae em	səm?ém	361
23. Man	SKul ta mu	sqəltmí	196
24. Child	Sloo e noo min tin		195
25. Road	Su Su elth	šu?šw̓eɬ	261
26. Where	A Kane	čen̓	Cf 353
27. Fire	Sol e sheetztin	sol?šítn̓	121

28. Water	Sou olth	sewɬkʷ	351, 82
29. Give	Itz quane	ckʷent 'give it to me'	142, 58
30. Fish	Swou ulth	sw̓ew̓ɬ	122
31. House	Cheet too	citxʷ	166
32. Dog	Ahgk a cheen	x̌ʌ̓cin	94
33. Gun	Soo loo la meen	sululmín	140
34. Knife	In chim in	nínc̓mən	
35. Beads	Ilth quon a kam quam	ɬqʷən̓qʷéyn̓ 'green beads'	30
36. Ball	Tahp a meen	t̓apmín	23, 26
37. Powder	In pook a meen	n̓pq̓ʷmin	141
38. Cloth	Quol quilt		
39. Blanket	Star ke	st̓aqʷéy 'quilt'	38
40. Coat	Snartz Kane	snacqéy	
41. French Men	Sa mer	séme?	203
42. Kootanees	Skultz sou a quoi	sqəl̓sé	200
43. Flat Heads	Sa lees	séliš	197
44. Snake Heads	Snoo eh	snúwe	201
45. Green Indians (illeg.)	Sa ah pe tin né	saaptní	199
46. Beaver	Skul lou	sqlew̓	29
47. Bear	Sim ah i a Kin	səmx̌éyčən 'grizzly hide'	28a
48. Rat	Kil outh	ččlexʷ	230
49. Otter	Il te Koo	l̓tkʷu	
50. Net	Hoy yape		234
51. Great	Koo toont	kʷtunt	138, 34
52. Little	Ilth Kook i you mer	ɬk̓ʷk̓ʷyúme?	188
53. Axe	Shil a meen	šəlmín	20
54. Kettle	Ilth Kape	ɬčep 'bucket'	180
55. Awl	Kilth Ko men	ʌ̓qʷúmən	19

56. What do you want	Sta am	stəm̓	Cf 303
57. Snow	Smae Kun Athk loo Kootanai		
		sməḱʷət	299
58. Cold	Eth Ku moos um	ixʷmúsəm 'very cold'	76
59. Sun	Speh Kun né	spq̓ni?	316
60. Moon	do	spq̓ni?	223
61. Today	Ya tilth wae	yétɬx̣ʷa	
62. Night	Koo Koo aetz	kʷkʷ?ec	235
63. How many	Koo yintz	k̓ʷinš	167
64. Morrow	Ahl leep	x̣lip	104
65. Come here	Choo ee	cxʷuyš	78
66. Go away	Tut a cha iz	c̓ci?š	133
67. You	An noo we	anwí	13
68. Me	Koo e yae	qʷoy?é	231
69. Him	Tu ool um	t̓íxʷləm 'different'	71S
70. Dead	Thail Thla il	ƛ̓lil	89
71. The other	Te ool um	t̓íxʷləm	69S
72. Enough	Hoy	hoy	
73. Smoke	Tah Kaes	n̓t̓qeys 'he fills it'	
74. Pipe	Is men oot in	sənménxʷtn̓	248
75. Stem	Ta pa pik in		249
76. Great Many	OO it	xʷ?it	215
77. No	Ta am	tam, ta	236
78. Yes	Ah ah Ae koot	?e put (?)	366
79. Canoe	Kle a	ƛ̓iyé?	62
80. Trade	Es too maes te	estumísti	28

1810 LIST

1. What do you call it	Stem shloo, tarn oo we	stem̓ ɬu t anwí
2. Ableness	Sisse ewes	sisyús
3. If you are able	Thlanoowe Sisseewes	ɬu ne anwi kʷ sisyús
4. All give	Et che arm Itch quaint	e siyàʔm ckʷent
5. Give me the whole	Et che arm Ootch weet chil to	e siyàʔm kʷu cxʷíc̓ɘɬtxʷ
6. Take the ~~whole~~ half	Num ur Kaw qui oos tum	...x̣ʷew̓s təm
7. Almost	Che chate Oo chins oo e	c̓c̓ʔit u čɘn swiʔ...
8. Always	Ma hope Yoo arks ate	m̓x̣ʷop xʷʔásq̓ɘt
9. always snowing		
10. Not that one only--I must have two	Toham Shlu Koks weet chil Essané kokes weet chil too tam ɬu kʷu ksxʷíc̓ɘɬt, esesèl kʷu ksxʷíc̓ɘɬtxʷ	
11. Another	In Kote	n̓k̓ʷu
12. I am angry	Tin Si eemnt	čɘn esáymti
13. You are "	Annowe Si eemnt	anwi kʷ esáymti
14. He is "	Sha Si eemnt	še? esáymti
15. Give him another	In Kote weet chilt	n̓k̓ʷu xʷíc̓ɘɬt
16. Ask him	Choon te Choo ti	cúnti cúti
17. Assist me	Es waetcht	x̣ʷalčst 'reach out'
18. Associate	Naekschoot Narschoot	...cut ...cut
19. Awl	Kilth ko men	ƛ̓qʷómən
20. Axe	Shil a meen	šɘlmín
21. My axe	Koo ya Shil a meen	qʷoyʔè šəlmín
22. Your axe	Keshloo Shil a meen	qe (ɬu) šɘlmín (qe 'our')

23. Arrow	Tarp e meen	ˈtapmín	36S, 26
24. Bad	Ti yae (Ti yee ?)	ˈtéye?	14S
25. Bag	Thlar a nar	ˈɬáqne?	
26. Ball (for musket)	Tarp e meen	ˈtapmín	36S, 23
27. Bark - Birch	Kg Quol ehné	čqʷˈɬna?	36
28. Barter	Es too mas te	estuwmísti	80S
29. Beaver	Skul ow Skul oo	sqɬewˈ	46S
30. Beads	Ilth quon a quane	ɬqʷəˈnqʷéyˈn	
31. Bell, Horse			
32. " Hawk	Etz loo le wiltch	cm luwlíwlx 'bell'	
33. Belt	In pool chalk es tin	n̓ˈpulčá(qstn̓)	
34. Big	Koo too oont	kʷtunt	138
35. Berries in general	Slar erk	sɬaq	57
36. Birch Tree	Kg Quol ehné	qʷˈɬna?	27
37. Black	K Quie	q̓ˈʷay	
38. Blanket	Stork or Starké	sˈtaqʷéy	39S
39. Blood	Zina ool	sənxʷúl	
40. Boiled Blood	Met a cheep	cm mətkáya? 'blood'	
41. Boss of a Buffalo	Cho lapes um		
42. Bow	Itch quint	čkʷinč	
43. Break it	In Kow oops	(n̓)q̓əwúps 'he breaks it'	Cf 46
44. Broken	Kow es tum	q̓əwstém	
45. Bridle	Natch skar Kaw	(n̓)acsqáx̌e?	
46. Broken	Kow es tum	(see 44)	
47. Brook	Ne she ate	n̓ši?étkʷ	266
48. Brother elder	An ner Kaest et	anqécč	
49. Your Brother in general	Ar sin Koo sa	asənkʷsíxʷ	

50. " younger	E seen sir	isínce?	
51.	She tis	ši?ítis 'his first born'	
52. Buttons	Ihlu a aler Ihle le ari	iiiiyá?	
53. Buffalo			
54. " Bull	Chooth lim	scúɬəm	18S
55. " Cow	Es tum al té	sɬma?	17S
56. Cartier's Name	Chin a la ma lé		
57. Berries	Slar erk	sɬaq	35
58. Bring it	Itch quaint	ckʷent	142
59. Camp here	Et chee shlees tookelth	esccíɬši, tkʷkʷe	
60. Where do you camp	Kin shlaer Too Kelth	čeṅ ... tkʷkʷe	
61. Calm	Ilth ar skum		
62. Canoe of Pine	Kle a	ƛiyé?	79S
63. Carp	Es koot chin		
64. Cedar Tree white	Ahs to quor	astkʷ	
65. Red Cedar	Poon shlip	punɬp	
66. Cendre	Qua to Kin (?)	qʷélcən	
67. Charcoal	Char cha out	caxʷcəxʷt	
68. Charitable	Kool a quon	nqʷəṅqʷnéls	
69. Do me Charity	Kin quon a meen	kʷu nqʷəṅmínt	
70. Chevreuil	Choo oolé	cu?úlixʷ 'deer'	16S
71. Take care of it	Art tin te sha		
72. Chieftain	Il me oom Ile me oom	ilmíxʷəm	
73. You do not take care - Is it that you do not see it			
	Tar mar wee chil shez too	... wičɬtxʷ	
74. Child Boy	Su ooltz		
75. " Girl	A taelt	oxtélt 'baby'	
76. Cold	Eth Kee moos um	ixʷmúsəm	58S

Redup.? -k^{w} 'water'

77. I am cold	Chil Cheit-koo eya-Char chawlt	čən (?) c'aɬt	
78. Come here	Choo e	cx^{w}uyš	
79. Cord	Seep e	sípi?	
80. Crane	Skul sheen	sk^{w}alšín	
81. Cunning	Par part	pəxpáxt	
82. Current	Sesse ewes Sou oolth	sisyùs séwɬk^{w}	Cf 351
83. Cut	Akin is - Etch Kow is	níčis - q'aw (?)	
84. Cream Colour	Pa erk ar lips	píq	
85. Dags hand (?)[8]	In chim in In kim in	l̓čmin l̓kmin	
86. Eyed	Skit á moøsi - Chit á moøsi		181
87. Eyed	I pum een		
88. Day[9]	Kil ooq	č̓lux^{w} 'evening'	
89. Dead	Thla il	λ̓lil	
90. Distress	Kul a quaint	q^{w}ən̓q^{w}én̓t (?)	
91. I am in distress	Kooe ya Kul a quaint	q^{w}oy?e " (?)	
92. You are "	Shlan oo we Kul a quaint	ɬ anwí ...	
93. You are not "	Shlan oo we tarché Kul a qaint	ɬ anwí tam ...	
94. Dog - Male	Aghk il chin	x̓λ̓cin	32S
95. Door			
96. shut it	El quoth lin quome	eɬk^{w}ɬənšn̓ép 'shut it again'	
97. open it	Too quain choot		
98. Done	**Keessee**	k^{w} wi?s...	
99. It is well done	Kee seep shlees ai hest Skoolmin	q̓sip ... x̓est ck̓^{w}ul...	
100. Have you done it	Shlanoowe eskool me	ɬ anwi esk̓^{w}úlmi	

101. Drink	Shoostin	sustn̓	
102. Duck	Saes Kloo	sesƛ̓x^{w}úm	
103. Eagle white headed	Kul Kane	pqəlqéy	
104. Early in the Morning	Ah leep	x̌lip	
105. Earth	E Stoo loo	st̓úlix^{w}	
106. Eat	Eeth lint	ʔíɬənt	
107. Will you Eat	Seeth lint er		
108. Enough	Hoy - Hoystum	hoy, hóystəm 'he quit'	
109. Far	Le Kote	l̓k^{w}ut	
110. Fat	Koocht	q̓^{w}oct	137
111. Father	Lar hower	l̓ʔew	
112. Fear	In ah lim	n̓x̌éləm	
113. I am afraid	Koo e ya ar (?) lim	q^{w}oyʔe n̓x̌éləm	
114. I am not "	Koo e ya tarch in ar lim	q^{w}oyʔe ta čən n̓x̌éləm	
115. Feather	Skoo poor ilks	sqpú(lqs)	
116. File	Tar koost in	x̌^{w}aq̓^{w}stn̓	
117. Make a Fire	Es Kum een wil		
118. Fir Red	Sa art tar quol ip	sʔatq^{w}ɬp	
119. Bring wood	Eth Koom im Look	čqmìnəm t lúk̓^{w}	
120. Fir White	Ska lip	cq̓eɬp	
121. Fire Tub	Sol e sheetz tin	solʔšítn̓	27S
122. Fish	Sew oulth	suẃéẃɬ	
123. Fisher	Cheeps	čišps	
124. Flint	Zintz a la lé	... ololé	
125. Fool	Quar ha koot	q^{w}áwq^{w}ət	
126. Fox Red	Ar lim Naw Kim ar los		
127. Black or silvered	Wah wah	x̌^{w}ax̌^{w}aá	

128. Gallop	Iskaels el shé	esqécəlši	
129. Girl	Pulth Koom		
130. Glad looking	Aetz un		
131. Go on	E oo	ix^{w}úy (arch)	
132. Go	Oo é	x^{w}uy	
133. Get you gone	Tut a cha iz	čci?š	66S
134. Good	Ai hest	e x̣est	
135. When are you going	Kin Shlach e ewes	čeɬ ɬa? cx^{w}ist	
136. Dwarf Goose	Ilth kar kgan		
137. Grease	Es ko or Es chit a mool	esq'^{w}óct sčɬmul	Cf 110
138. Great	Koo too oont	k^{w}tunt	34
139. Grey	Spoo Espoom	esp'úm	
140. Gun	Soo loo lar min - Shoo loo	la min	
		sululmín	
141. Gunpowder	In pook a meen	ŋpq'^{w}min	37S
142. Give me	Itz quane	ck^{w}ent	58
143. He gives me	O o weetz	k^{w}u x^{w}íc'əɬts	
144. Give him	Wee chilt tea	x^{w}íc'əɬti (pl)	
145. He gives you	Wee chilt	x^{w}íc'əɬts	
146. Give it to him	Wee chilt shá or Annowe wee chilt		
		x^{w}ìc'əɬt šé	
147. Hair	Quos quite al Engun		
148. Hang it up	Etch il a quo ser (?)	čq'əlx̣^{w}éw'sənt (?)	
149. Haste make	We ate lalesh	x̣^{w}e?ɬéš	
150. Hate	Ki ahs poose si eem tis	...aspu?ús saymtís (?)	
151. Hat	Spilth Kane	sp'x̌qey (?) ? cm	
152. Hear	Sa win	séwne?	

sp'x̌ɬq̓ín 'woman's cornhusk hat'

153. I hear	Sa win Koo eya	sèwne? qʷoy?é	
154. You heard	Ihest or Sa win	xest kʷ séwne?	
155. You have no ears	Tarks Sa win	ta kʷ essèwne? 'You don't listen'	
156. Herring	Chil la nou	čléne? 'sucker'	
157. Hawk	Skuk Ka		
158. Good Horse	Skael quaelt		
159. A Cut Horse	Sin quo quor ape	sənqʷa?qʷ?épəls	
160. Swift Horse	Is tah est		
161. Stone Horse			
	Tah chin Sin quo quor ape	a esənqʷa?qʷ?épəls	
162. Horse male	Chiltz altz Kar	sənčɬca?sqáxe?	19S
163. Mare	Smo mee chin	smu?	
164. Here	Kaech Shlarkil		
165. Hold (illegible)	Itz quosk	eskʷéstxʷ 'you hold'	
166. House	Cheetoo	citxʷ	321, 31S
167. How many	Koo eenths Queench	kʷinš	
168. I am hungry	Tin Kumma	... qme?	
169. He is "	Es kumma tea	esčsqmélti (?)	
170. I shall be hungry	Wartin skumma		
171. You will be "	Wart Skumma Annowe		
172. Will you " "	Ie eethlint ar	...?íɬɔntxʷ ha	
173. Is Are you hungry	Tarmar skumma a	tam kʷ (?) esčsqmé?	
174. Eat	Eeth lint	?íɬɔnt	
175. Go a Hunting	Eooks Kil pim mé	qsčɬpmi?	384
176. It is mine	Tin Kooeya	... qʷoyé?e	222
177. It is yours	Tarn oowee	... anwí	
178. It is his	Sneeltz	cniɬc	

179. Illness-Are you ill	Chaeltz see Annowe	čc̓a?lès anwí	
180. Kettle	Ilth Kape	ɬčep	54S
181. Knife	Chit a moos - Skit a moos	čqtmus 'eye wound'	· Cf 86
182. Lake	Ilth Kart e Koo	ɬq̓etkʷ	
183. Lazy	Tar am Sisseewes-In am oo	tam sisyús, tənmú? (?)	
184. You lie	Se awk ist	syóqʷist 'a lie'	
185. he lies	Se awk ist tea sha	syòqʷist ... šé	
186. Leggins	Slak te	sxe*íšən (?)	
187. Linen	A a pis tin	ép̓stən 'wipe with'	
188. Little	Koo Koo you mer	k̓ʷək̓ʷyúme?	
189. I have lost it	Too na host	... oóst	
190. He has lost it	Host sha	oòst šé	
191. You have "	Tarn oo we host sha	t anwì oós(ənxʷ)	
192. Have you lost it	Host a	... ha	
193. Love	Ah man tine-**Skar Kark**	xmén̓čən ...	
194. Man old	Par par oot	pəxʷpxʷót 'old'	362
195. Young	Swoo oo noon tin	swinúmtən	24S
196. Man	Skul ta mu	sqəltmí	23S
197. Men - Flat Heads	Sa leesh	séliš	43S
198. Ear Pendants	Kully spel	qlispé	
199. Greenwood	Sa arp a tin é	saáptni	45S
200. Kootanai	Skultz sore a quoi	sqəlsé	42S
201. Snake Indian	Snoo eh	snúwe	44S
202. Crow Mountain	Stem ché	stemčí	
203. Frenchmen	Sa mer	séme?	41S
204.	Chit a nack sta		
205.	Sin a Ka ous á	čqəq̓yús 'Sioux'	

n̓qa?dws — Wouldn't this refer to the "Middle Columbia"?

207.	Lower	Sin Kart quart oo qua		
208.		Oo che nar Kane	učnaqéy 'Okanagan'	
209.	Colum	Sees pil is	Cf Cv sənspílx	
210.		Smil Kum is	sməlqmís	
211.	bia	See waes pist	sixʷépi 'Shuswap'	
212.		Sim pil	Cf Cv sənpʔʷilx	
213.	Can you make it	See oos tea ar		
214.	Make it	Es kool mé	√kʷuł	
215.	Many	Oo ate	xʷʔit	76S
216.	March	Koo too yé	tkʷʔúti	
217.	Magpie	Il lo quol ur ko kane-In or Ko ar nin	Cf anʔ	
218.	Meat fresh	Kul lel ché	qlelč	
219.	dried	Etz tars (?)		
220.	Mend it	Es Kool mé	√kʷuł	
221.	Mine	Koo é ya	qʷoyʔé	
222.	It is mine	Tin Koo eya		176
223.	Moon	Speh kun né	spqni?	316, 225
224.	More	Staeth lim as in Opin Staethlim Moose		
			... as in ʔupneɬmús '14'	
225.	Morning	Eth che shlees Speh Kun né	... spqni?	223, 316
226.	Morrow	Ah leep	xlip	
227.	Mother	Skoo é	skʷuy	
228.	Mountain	Es maw Koo -E choot	esmóqʷ	
230.	Musk Rat	Kill aefth	ččlexʷ	48S
231.	Myself	Koo e ya	qʷoyʔé	221, 222, 176

232. Mullet	Qui aetcht		
233. Small Fry	Ilth Kane		
234. Net	Hoy yape		50S
235. Night	Koe Koo aetz	kʷkʷʔec	
236. No	tah am	ta	77S
237. Onion Roots	Eet too woy	ʔíṯxʷeʔ	
238. Open	Mis Koo tarl é	miʔk̓ʷəɬtalé 'unwrapped'	
239. Other	In Kote	n̓k̓ʷu	Cf 1S, 378
240. The other	Kglo Ki youte		
241. Partridge	Squaes Koos	skʷískʷəs	
242. Path	Su su elth	šuʔšw̓éɬ	338
243. People	Skael loo	sqélixʷ	
244. My Parents	Stem aelt		
245. Your "	Ars tem aelt		
246. His "	Sha stem aelt		
247. Piece	Quael oo		
248. Pipe	Sin a mane	sənm̓é(nxʷtn̓)	
249. Pipe Stem			
250. Pipe empty	seep	c̓sip 'all gone'	
251. Pitiful	Kul a quaint or Kil Kul a quaint		
		qʷən̓qʷén̓t	Cf 68, 69
252. Poplar	Mool é	mulš	
253. Presently	Quon ar	k̓ʷen̓é 'after a while'	312
254. Rain	**Stra pez**	st̓ipéys	
255. Rapid	Sla art e Koo	sx̌ẋetkʷ	352
256. Raven	Me lar Kul uks	m̓la	
257. Red	Quol é	kʷil	

258.	Return	Kee chint	čícənt 'meet someone'	
259.	Rings	Chin puk aetz	čənpqey	
260.	Rise up	Qouw a sta shel shé	... šəlši	
261.	Road	Su su elth	šu?šwéɬ	338, 242
262.	Roan Colour	Qua a Kin	Cm. ǰʷáyqən 'roan'	
263.	Red Deer Male	Ta yetz a	tšeč 'bull elk'	20S
264.	Doe	Sna chiltz er	snéčɬče 'cow elk	21S
265.	Rock	Sha entz	šenš	309
266.	River	Noo wart e Koo - Ne shee ate		
			...nṯxʷetkʷ, nṯši?étkʷ	47
267.	Saddle	Chil skin skar	...sqá(xe?)	
268.	" Stuff	Sin Keep skin Kar Kin		
269.	Salmon	Simil Shleek	səmɬí(čən)	
270.	" Spokane	In tinte	Cf Cv nṯityíx	
271.	" Kootanai Salmon	Skil oo is		
272.	Same	Ethz aelth	icxéɬ	
273.	When will you return	Koon et arskit et choo e	kʷənxàsqət eɬcxʷúy	
274.	In one night	En koo met ars ket	nkʷumtásqət	
275.	In two nights	Essané lasket	aslásqət	
276.	In three nights	Kil shleen lars Kate	ča?ɬlásqət	
277.	In four nights	Moose lars Kate	muslásqət	
278.	Ice	Weetchilt	<cf.	
279.	I see it	Kussu wertchit sa		
280.	I do not see it	Tars weet chilt in	ta wičɬtən ... 'I didn't see his ...'	
281.	He sees it	Weet chilt tea	wičɬts ...	
282.	I have seen it or found it			
		Tun é weetchil tin	... wíčɬtən	

283. Did he see it	Weet cht ar		
284. Has he seen or found it			
	Weet chil tin tea	wíčɬtən ...	
285. Did you see it	Weet chil tin ar	"	
286. I have not found or seen it			
	Tarch weet chil tin	ta "	
287. I shall not see him	Tarks weet chilt		
288. Shall I see him	Annowee ars poos see we weet chil tin ar		
Think you		anwi aspuʔùs wi (?) wíčɬtən ha	
289. Shall you see him	Koon ta arks weet chilt ar		
290. Shoes	ka shin	q̓eʔšín	
291. Sinew	Taen ne	tinš	335
292. Your sister in general	She tis Arsoo Smaem	šʔìti asm̓ʔém 'your first sister'	
293. Sister elder	Alth che chee	ɬčíčše?	
294. younger	Ilth cher oops	ɬcəcʔúps	
295. Singing	Iz qua a min choote	cq̓ʷəymə́ncút 'dance'	
296. Sleep	Seet é	sʔitš	
297. Smoke	Main	men̓xʷ	
298. Will you not smoke	Tarmer Koks main	tam kʷ qsmen̓xʷ	
299. Snow	Smae koot	smék̓ʷət	
300. Snow melted	Te mool é	tiʔmúlexʷ	
	Is in a mool é		
302. Sorrel	Spaet lee - loo		
303. What do you say	Stem soon An noo we	stem̓ cuntxʷ anwí	56S
304. What is said	Echeent	ec̓ínt	
305. Spoon	Thloo min	ɬûʔmən	
306. Star	Koo Koo sim	kʷkʷúsəm̓	

307. Steel fire	In cheek a tin	ṇciqtṇ 'digger'	
308. Stealing	Koo quar oo	ʼqʷoqʷéwlš	
309. Stone	Shar en	šenš	.265
310. Stretch the Beaver	Kool em tea Skul oo	kʷùlləm t sqlew	
311. Strong	sisse ewes	sisyús	
312. Stay a little	Quonar	kʷené	253
313. Strouds blue	Quol quill	qʷeyn	
315. Sturgeon	Sim e toose	smetúse?	
316. Sun	Speh kun né	spqni?	223
317. Swan	Spuk a mé	spqmi	
318. Talk	Quol a qual tem or Kul a qual tem		
		qʷəlqʷéltəm	
319. Take it	Itz quost	eskʷést 'hold this'	
320.	El chil ter Kote		
321. Tents	Cheet too	citxʷ	31S, 166
322. That	Che Shloo quaint	šey ɬu kʷent 'take that'	
323. That same	Wooth le a	uɬi hé? 'what about this?'	
324. That	Shá	šey	
325. I am thirsty	Ka soost	qe sust 'we drink'	
326. Give me to drink	Sin mool é	scənmúle?	
327. I think	Koon ta	kʷ ənté 'you think'	
328. This	Ilth quelt		
329. Thou	An oo wé	anwí	
330. Thine	Ke shloo	qe ɬu 'our'	
331.	In chee shloo ate		
332. Long Time	Kguk seep	qsip	

333. Trout large	A aetz kis ar		
334. Salmon Small	Pee stel	pisɬ 'trout'	
335. Thread	Taen ne	tinš	.291
336. Tobacco	Is maen ar	smenxʷ	
337. Tongue	Te oochk	tixʷtč	
338. Track	Su su elth	šusẃéɬ	242, 261
339. Does he wish to Trade	Es tum maeste ar	estumísti ha?	80S, 28
340. I speak Truth	Oo na uf	unéxʷ	
341. He " "	OO na Kul a quaint sha oo na	unèxʷ qʷəlqʷèlt šeẏ unéxʷ	
342. You " "	Oo na Kul a quaint	unèxʷ kʷ qʷəlqʷélt	
343. Trot on a Horse	Is stil shish shé	escílšəlši	
344. Vermillion	Yout chum	yúc̓mən 'red clay'	
345. Wet it	Sa oulth Koo et toon	Cf 351	
346. It is wet	E nars	inás	
347. It is dry	Cheer tars	č̓eʔiẗás 'hard'	
348. Where are you going	El chane oo e Annoowe	l̓č̓eń xʷuy anwí (?)	
349. Where is he going	La che chane oo e	l̓ č̓č̓eń xʷuy (?)	
350. When will you return	Queench se e tish etz oo	... šeẏ eɬcxʷúy	
351. Water	Soo alth	sewɬkʷ	28S, 82, 345
352. Waterfall	Sla art e Koo	sɬ̓x̓etkʷ	255
353. Where	La shane	l̓č̓eń	
354. Where is it	Le chane es too koo	l̓č̓eń estúkʷ	
355. Whip	Kaethoont	qéyxʷənt	
356. White	Pa uk - Pa erk	paq, piq	
357. Which	Letz chane	l̓č̓č̓eń 'which is next'	
358. Which of them	Ets chane shlarks Koo nem	l̓č̓č̓eń ɬu aqskʷném 'which are you going to take next'	

359. Wind	Snae oot	snew̓t	
360. Wolf large	In che chin	n̓c̓icən	
361. Woman	Smae em	səm?ém	·22S
362. old	" " Par par out	pəx̣ʷpx̣ʷót 'old'	194
363. Wood	Look oo or A look	luk̓ʷ	
364. Wood of Birch	Kquol hane	qʷɬn̓a	
365. Cedar	Ahs to quor	s?astkʷ	
366. Yes	Ah ah	?e	
367. Where is my Horse	Oo tes quites weet chile too na arl cheen		
		uc kʷ eswic̀ɬtxʷ inx̣ʌ̓cín 'have you seen my horse?'	
368. My horse	Koo e ya shloo chin Aghk il cheen		
		qʷoy?e ɬu čən epɬx̣ʌ̓cín 'I have a h'	
369. Your horse	Annoowe Skloo kip il aghk il cheen		
		anwi ɬu kʷ epɬx̣ʌ̓cín 'you have a h'	
370. His horse	Seet a see you weet cheen		
371. Ill Put it	Ar sil ar	esəl?é 'it's staying here'	
372. Where is my Horse	Chane sin chitz atz kar	čen̓ sənčɬc̓a?sqá(x̣e?)	
373. Where did you see him	La shane weet chil too	l̓čen̓ wičɬtxʷ 'where did you see his ...	
374. Where is your horse	Shane nan - nark il cheen	čen̓ anx̣ʌ̓cín	
375. Where is his horse	Shane tea ark il cheen	čen̓ ... x̣ʌ̓cín	
376. Where is my Knife	La shane nin chim in	l̓čen̓ nín̓c̓mən	
377. Thy Horse	An ar kil cheen	anx̣ʌ̓cín	
378. Not that one - The other			
	Tar am sha - in Kote	tam šey̓ n̓k̓ʷú?	
379. Will you go with me	Sale ootz, tin sale oo - Annowe - Koo e ya		
380. Will he go with me	Tar am arch e ma tin tea etz oo e		
		... cxʷuy	

do you know if he will go with me

382. Are there any Beaver	We tar skul ow	xʷʔit sqlew̓ (?)'many beaver'	
383. When do you depart	La chane - koo oo é	l̓čeń kʷ xʷuy	
384. Go a hunting	E ooks Kill pim me	u kʷ qsčłpmi	175
385. How many nights	Queench Ka Koo Koo aetz	k̓ʷinš n̓kʷkʷʔec	
386. Have a little food	Shart es Senn		
387.	Oo Annowe Ihest arts poost u anwi x̣est aspuʔús 'if you want to'		

Addenda:

28b **Bear, black** **Sim a i a Kin**

163b. Colt Ilth ka ki eetch

cw. q̓q̓aʔɬk

4. Analysis of the lists.

4.1. Velar-palatal shifts. The most dramatic bits of evidence that mark the lists as Pre-Flathead,

consist of Thompson's orthographic k in several items which, in the modern language, have [č]. The orthographic k is presumed to represent [k], and at this stage of development the language has [k] and [č], the palatalization having affected a large part of the lexicon, but not all. While some examples are more convincing than others, they leave little doubt that the *k > Fl č shift had not been completed at the time of the recording. There is neither obvious phonetic conditioning (e. g. several items show k before a high or mid vowel), nor any apparent systemic pressure that would delay the shift in classes of items. They are simply undergoing the shift later than other vocabulary items. These items are:

3S	kel ther	čeʔɬéʔ	'three'
11S	kilth kal é	čɬq̓li	'lake'
47S	sim ah i a kin	səmx̣éyčən	'grizzly hide'
48S	kil outh	ččlexʷ	'rat'
230	kill aefth	"	"
54S, 180	Ilth kape	ɬčep	
27	kg Quol ehné	čqʷɬn̓aʔ	'birch' Cf. also 36
60, 135	kin ...	čen̓	'where' Compare these with 348, 372, 374 and 26S
88	kil ooq	c̓luxʷ	'evening'[9]
175, 384	kil ...	čɬ ...	
258	kee ...	či ...	
269	...eek	...ič(ən)	other difficulties with this form
267	kil shleen 1 ...	čaʔɬl ...	vowels present difficulties
337	ch k	tč	

In addition to the cases where an item found at different points in the lists shows alternately k or ch, Thompson himself shows an alternation in at least two other items, pointing to competing pronunciations:

85 In chim in ~ In kim in (identified as l̓c̓min 'mean'--whatever the intended form/gloss, the alternation k ~ č / k̓ ~ c̓ is valid)

181, 86 Skit a moosi - Chit a moosi

Of related importance is the fact that the shift *x > Fl š must likewise not be complete at the time of recording. This is more difficult to prove for the simple reason that Thompson did not have a readily available orthographic symbol for [x], a non-English sound. Nevertheless we can be fairly certain of the inference because on the one hand Thompson wrote sh for [š], and on the other he wrote nothing in a significant number of other cases where we would expect [š] (or [x], which is to the point). Such cases include 65S, 78, 291-355, 296, 326.

Other bits of evidence clinch the point: In 265 Thompson writes sha entz for šeńš 'rock', where tz, which usually stands for [c] or [s], stands for [š]. The same word is written as 309 shar en. [x] is less audible that [š] to an English speaker's ear. Another case: in 167 Thompson gives the competing forms koo eenths and Queench, where ths is the closest equivalent Thompson could find to capture the presumably non-strident [x], as opposed to [š]. Two other cases are not clear, and they involve Thompson's use of é in place of the expected [š], 252 and 296. z stands for [š] in 66S, 133.

I should mention another matter, still related to the shift of the obstruents from the velar to the palatal position. The competing pronunciations hint that the velar obstruents must have been pronounced fairly forward in the mouth, while at the same time the alveolars and the developing palatals must also have been articulated within a very small region. As the modern developments of the language show, the Flatheads obviously never had problems distinguishing the alveolars from the palatal/velars. But Thompson did. With both the stops and the fricatives he often mistook the alveolars for the palatals. In addition to the cases where Thompson writes alternate pronunciations for one item (e. g. 140), or different symbols at different recordings of the same item (e. g. tz or ch for [č] in 143 ff.), there are several instances of orthographic ch (presumed to stand for [č]) where the language has [c], alongside the cases of orthographic tz standing for [c] (e. g. 380). These cases include

5S	18S	32S, 94
65S	78	4
5	16	18 (possibly, if choot is [cut])
45	58	110
166, 321	273	294
295	307	374, 375, 377
360	66S	

There are also a few cases of orthographic ch where the language has [č]

16S, 70	5	15
77	144, 145, 146	304
360	344 (in this item t ch is [č]	

And there are even two cases of orthographic ch that stand for [s], 4 and 5.

The opposite case, where Thompson mistook a palatal for an alveolar is, as one expects, much rarer, but it occurs at least twice with the stops (357 and 358), and at least three times with the fricatives (63S, 265, 167). (In item 167 Thompson gives the competing pronunciations already discussed, while 265 should be looked at side by side with 309 where Thompson has nothing symbolizing [š]. Contrarywise, in one case, possibly two, Thompson mistakes an alveolar for a palatal: 101 and 43S.)

The Thompson lists contain several items in which orthographic t seems to represent [č]. If I have identified the morphemes correctly, then this choice of t might reflect the British pronunciation practice that palatalizes t before a high segment (e. g. 'tune' [tʸun]). The evidence is far from clear, and an attempt to analyze may be little more than an excercise in frustration.

These cases include:

66S, 133	tut a cha iz	čci?š
193	ah man tine	xménčən
168	tin kumma	čən čsqme?
12	tin Si eemnt	čən esáymti
170	war tin skumma	(cf 168)
176, 222	tin kooeya	čən qʷoy?é
282	tun é eetchi tin	? čən ...
20S	tae yetz é	tšec

On the one hand it seems that in 12 and 168, 170, tin stands for čən 'I'. Cf. 171 wart Skumma Annowe 'You will be hungry' (also 173); on the other,one could suspect this is t plus in, where in- 'my', and t is the ubiquitous particle of a thousand labels.[10] And then again there is item 282. Here tun é looks like it stands for čən, but it can't, because wíčɬtən 'I see his ...' is a ditransitive that cannot take čən, an intransitive pronoun proclitic! Item 193 boosts the ti = č hypothesis, and items 379, 380 cannot help until we can identify what they stand for. Item 20S is likewise inconclusive evidence. There is one bit of evidence that confirms the identification of tin as čən. Gladys Reichard, in her 1927 edition of Father Post's Kalispel Grammar[11] reports: "When in about 1840, the first missionaries arrived in the midst of the Western Indian tribes, they found the Kalispel, a large and influential tribe, and they therefore, proposed to themselves to study the language of these people, although it was not among them, but among their neighbors, the Selish or Flathead Indians, that they established the first Mission. There is at any rate very little difference between these two languages. The Kalispel has a verbal form chin for which the Selish says tin..." (p. 1). Finally, I have to note the odd fact that, aside from those

forms given here, all examples translated in the 1st sg are for one reason or another aberrant. Some are actually 2nd sg or 1st pl (e. g. 327, 325) forms, and all the others have the independent pronoun q^{w}oy?é with them, probably a function of over-careful citation, or possibly a function of Thompson's insistence.

4.2. Vowel shifts. The most intriguing puzzles about the vowels revolve around the status of [e], [ey], and [i]. The three contrast in the modern language. There is no corresponding contrast in Colville, nor, to my knowledge, in Columbian. Since Proto Interior Salish is reconstructed as having *i *a *u *ə, without mid vowels, one drools at the prospect that Thompson's two main conventions to represent [e], namely a and ae, correspond to a phonetic reality that points to the different historical sources of [e]. No such luck. Most of the Fl forms that Thompson writes with e correspond to *a; but so do those he writes with ae. But Thompson's orthographic conventions do tell us a few things about these Fl vowels: the shift that split [æ/ɛ] from *a has been completed. However the language still has a high front vowel whose range is [i] to [e]. This we know from the considerable number of entries with orthographic i that occur alongside ee and e, as well as a few forms with variant spellings ee ~ i (e.g. mɪn and meen to represent -min, one directly above the other, in Nos 140 and 141). It is also true that Thompson writes stem̓ once as stem and once as sta am, but there is no further evidence (as in the case of [i] [e]) that [ɛ] and [a] presented for Thompson problems of recognition.

Three final comments conclude my remarks on Thompson's vowel orthographies.

(1) Mod Fl sqlew̓ 'beaver' is written

46S	skul lou
29, 382	skul ow

Similarly, Mod Fl l̓?ew 'man's father' is written

111	Lar hower

Does Thompson's ou/ow represent something closer to [ew] than to [aw]?

(2) Three examples have o where [e] is expected:

253, 312	Quon ar, Quonar	for	k̓^{w}en̓é
319	Itz quost	"	esk^{w}ês̓t

(3) Item 124 a la lé stands for Mod Fl ololé. If this form derives from *ululá, Thompson's a must represent rounded vowels.[12]

4.3. Sporadic Replacements and Unexplained Cases

The Thompson lists show the not surprising substitution of expected n with l. The phenomenon of the sporadic replacement of [n] with [l] had been observed by Boas and continues to be observed, at least in the Interior. Items that show this are: 2S-275, 90, 91, 92, 93, 68, 251, 315. There are two cases of n replacing l, and this is rather uncommon, seeitems 341 and 342.

The final remarks of this section are of a negative nature as they indicate what we were not able to decipher and identify. The following is a list of such unresolved puzzles with a few comments whenever appropriate.

(1) Thompson did not mark anything that points to the rounding expected in these items:

39S	Star ke	for	stˀaqʷéy
38	Stork or Starké	"	"
185	Se awk ist	"	syóqʷist
369	... loo kip il ...		... łu kʷ epł...

(2) The distance between Thompson's orthography and our guesses of what the actual utterance was is in many cases too great not to raise the question of accuracy or meaningfulness. We list these cases because they might trigger other suggestions. Our guesses range from the plausible to the almost certainly wrong, but they single out all the cases that remain to be correctly identified:

8S.	n	for [m]#	14S.	ti	for [tˀe]
20S.	tae yetz	[tšecˀ]	24S.	mint	[mt]
263	ta yetz	"	35S.	kam quam	[qʷeynˀ]
12.	si eemnt	[esáymti] (also 13, 14)			
17.	es waetcht	[xʷalčst]	52.	l	Ø
59.	et chee shlees tookelth	for [esccíłši tkʷkʷe]			
60.	kin shlaer Too kelth	" [čenˀ u kʷ tkʷkʷe]			
66.	to kin	[lčeńˀ]	77.	Char chawlt	[cˀałt]
83.	akin is	[níčˀis]	83.	Etch kow is	...[qˀaw]... (?)
93.	tarché	[tam]... (?)	98.	Keessee	[kʷ wi?s...
113.	ar lim	[nxélem] (Cf 114. in ar lim)			
119.	ØO	...[nəm t]...	121.	tz tin	[tn]
149.	ate lalesh	[eˀłéš]	205.	n	[qˀ]; Ø for [y]
216.	koo too yé	[tkʷˀúti]	152.	sa win	séwne?](also 153, 154, 15
19S-162.	Øch	[sənčˀ] (Cf. 372)	19S.	tz kar kin	[cˀa?sqá(xe?)]
161.	ch	[s]	162.	tz kar	"
161.	ape	[épəls]	179.	chaeltz see	[čcˀa?lés]

238. Ø	[s]	238. Ø	[ɨ]
255. arte	[x̣et] (352)	257. Quol é	[kʷil]
283. t <u>cht</u>	[čɨt]	323. a	[he?]
368. Ø	[epɨ]	387. arts	[as]

(3) We were unable to identify the following items (or some part of them as indicated): 38S,50S, 75S, 32, 40, 41, 56, 61, 63, 71, 74, 87, 97, 117, 127, 129, 130, 136, 147, 148, 151, 156, 157, 158, 160, 164, 165, 186, 206, 207, 209, 211, 213, 217, 219, 229, 232, 233, 234, 244, 245, 246, 247, 262, 268, 270, 271, 278, 301, 302, 320, 328, 331, 333, 370, 386; and

69 (kin)	124 (z̨intz)	168 thru 173 (all but the root)
183 (In am oo)	193 (skar kark	214 (all but /k̓ʷul̓)
260 (Qouw a sta)	267 (Chil skin)	279 (all but /wič)
282 (Tun é)	284 (n <u>tea</u>)	285 (in ≠ 'you')
287 (Ø ≠ 'I')	288 (we)	289 (all but wičɨt)
292 (Arsoo)	310 (<u>tea</u>) (Cf. 284, 185, 281)	
330 (ke ≠ 'thine')	345 (all but sewɨkʷ)	345 (Ø ≠ 'you')
350 (e tish)	374 (n(an))	379 (Sale ootz, tin sale oo)
380 (all but xʷuy)	382 (ar)	384 (E oo)
385 (ka)		

4.4. Morphology. The evidence that the language underwent morphological changes in the 200 years since the lists were compiled is unequivocal. The language has tended to elide the post-tonic word-final consonant (clusters) of lexical suffixes.[13] The same tendency does not apply to inflectional suffixes, but a few forms show that some grammatical elements have been lost recently. But before I discuss the details of the elisions I should make two pertinent observations: (1) on the one hand we can be sure that the elision has actually occurred because any problem of recognition Thompson might have had would have caused him to hear less, not more than the actual form; and (2) on the other hand the suspicion that the list was provided by one who knew Colville returns, because unlike Fl, Cv has retained full allomorphs of the lexical suffixes, and has not elided them as Fl has. The following cases exemplify the phenomenon:

5S	Chiltz	for cil	Cf Cv	cil-kst
17S	Es Stum malt é	sʼtma		sʼtm-ʔalt
55	Es tum al té	"		"
20S	Tae yetz á	tšecʼ		-icʼaʔ (?)
263	Ta yetz a	"		"
21S	Sna chiltz un	sne (snéčɬcʼe--arch)		-íɬcʼaʔ
42S, 200	Skultz sore a quoi	sqɔlsé		(?)
33	In pool chalk est tin	n̓puɬcʼá (...áqstn̓--arch)		-alqs(tn̓)
84	Pa erk ar lips	piq		piq-ɔlps
115	Skoo poor ilks	sqpu, sqpulqs		-ɔlqs
163	Smo mee chin	sʼmuʔ		sʼmúʼmc-xɔn
198	Kully spel	qlispé		
205	Sin a ka ousá	čqɔqʼʼyús		
	(probably incorrectly identified. Cf Sinkaiuse)			
211	See waes pist	sixʷépi		
256	Melar kul uks	m̓la		-ɔlqs
259	Chin puk aetz	čɔnʼpqey		-icʼaʔ (?)

In addition to these cases, others deserve individual comments.

(1) Item 10S, O pinks - Opin shows either two competing pronunciations, the first of which was eventually rejected by the informant, or, again, the knowledge of a related language (such as Cv--in which the form is ʔúpənkst; incidentally, this would be one of the items unaffected by the velar-palatal shift).

(2) Item 96, El quoth lin quome eɨkʼʷɨənšép, like the one just discussed, points either to an irregular change that affected this lexical item subsequent to the recording of the list, or to a Cv connection. The Cv equivalent is kɨənkʼmíp, and the Thompson recording shows a form more likely to be directly cognate with it rather

than with the Mod Fl:

Thompson quome Mod Fl šn̓ep Cv k̓nip

(3) Item 23S-196 Skultamu sqoltmí. We believe we have properly deciphered Thompson's handwriting and the final grapheme is u and not ee. If we are right then this u stands for [ix^{w}] and the form has subsequently undergone the loss of the final x^{w}. Alternately, the form could be Cv. Cf Skael loo sqélix^{w} in which oo stands for ix^{w} (Cv sqilx^{w}).

(4) Item 3S kel thes če?ɨé? (Cv ka?ɨís) Similar to those already discussed, this form has either lost the final s after 1810, or is Cv. Note again k in the orthography.

(5) Thompson gives the following related forms:

1S	En koo	one
11S	In Kote	... another
239	In Kote	other
378	in Kote	... the other

The Mod Fl form has no t, and neither does the Cv cognate (which is not a free morpheme).

(6) The initial A of item 26S A kane čeń remains unidentified. In the modern language čeń--or at least the Cv cognate--occurs in a variety of constructions with various prefixes/proclitics. It is hard to say what grammatical forms Thompson collected.

(7) Thompson gives at least two spellings of -sqáx̣e?, namely 45 skar kaw and 19S zkar kin. I take the latter to be a mishearing.

(8) Note that if 40 kane = Fl -qey = Kalispel -qin (as reported by Vogt 1941) = Sp -qin (Carlson 1972), then a very recent change has taken place in Fl. The same morpheme kane is probably in 73S, and certainly in 208 Oo che nar kane učnaqéy 'Okanagan'. This time Thompson's ch suggests that the informant is not Colville, or he wouldn't have replaced [k] with [č].

(9) Finally, we give a list of unidentified grammatical morphemes or other errors/puzzles:

107	(#S and er#)	225	(Eth che shlees)
220	(es, mé)	251	(ki)

4.5. Syntax

The evidence of syntactic change derives from the Mod Fl speakers' rejection of several utterances of the lists as awkward or otherwise unacceptable. All items the phonetics of which we have identified correctly that remain unrecognized by the Mod Fl speakers point unequivocally to syntactic change. All the other divergences from the Mod Fl detectable in the remaining items of the lists are attributable to stylistic changes. All such cases are discussed individually.

(1) The lists show that the F1 independent intransitive pronouns, once used freely juxtaposed with other predicates, have now ceased to behave so. Thus the F1 independent pronouns of 80, 102, 143, etc., are at least redundant and awkward, and possibly ungrammatical in the modern language. Note that the Cv dependent intransitive proclitics derive from suffixes. The personal pronoun suffix was added to the predicate, including the independent pronoun stem. In turn the independent pronoun, consisting of a pronoun stem and a pronoun suffix, preceded a predicate which also had a personal pronoun suffix. This suffix was eventually lost and its function taken over by the suffix attached to the preceding independent pronoun stem.[14] This suffix came then to be reinterpreted as a proclitic to the (following verb) stem. Item 1 has the independent pronoun as a complement ('by you'); item 3 has the independent pronoun followed by the pronoun proclitic-predicate ('you you-able'); item 12 has the pronoun proclitic plus predicate, and no independent pronoun. These are the three basic uses of these forms. However, the construction exemplified by 91, 92, 93; 113, 114, 153 are regarded as not standard, essentially with a redundant independent pronoun form. This could be a function of citation form, expanded for the benefit of the elicitor.

(2) Item 21 is ungrammatical. šəlmín 'axe' should either have the prefix epɨ- 'have' and the appropriate personal pronoun proclitic, or the prefix in- 'my'. Item 22 is translated (not surprisingly) incorrectly.

(3) The interrogative particle ha is sentence final in 288, 289, 339. It is sentence-initial in the modern language. It is either (or both) in Colville.

(4) If we have identified 224 correctly, then the F1 compound connecting morpheme has undergone substantial simplification. Alternately, the form might reflect the presence of the lexical suffix -čst / -kst in the construction.

(5) The grammar of √ta 'negative' must have changed. Mod F1 speakers cannot identify the various forms it occurs in:

77S	ta am
73	tar mar
236	ta ha
280	Tars
378	tar mar

(6) The morpheme represented by (t)ea, as well as its function, remains unidentified in the following occurrences:

185	syòqʷist ___šé	he lies
281	wičɨts ___	he sees his ...
284	wičɨtn̩ ___	has he seen his ... (-n 'I')

310 k̓ʷù l̓om t (?) ___ sqlé̓w stretch the beaver (he ...-s ?)

375 čeń ___ x̣̓cin where is his horse

(7) If we have identified 99 kee seep correctly as q̓sip, then its function is not understood.

(8) Finally, while the following elements remain unidentified,

150	(ki)	135	(shla)
179	(tz see)	189	(Too na)
280	(s)	363	(A)

these are incorrectly glossed:

191 (sha ≠ you)

192 (Host ≠ you lost)

367 (na ≠ my)

4.6. Lexicon and Semantics

All the items in the lists that we were not able to identify raise important questions about the possible loss of these from the lexicon. In view of the fact that some of these items are core vocabulary (kin terms, some animal terms, etc), it becomes very important to explore further what the forms might be. Aside from all cases of possible obsolescence, several items deserve specific comments.

(1) Item 52 is recognized by contemporary Fl speakers as obsolete, and replaced in the Mod language by xpoʔ.

(2) Thompson's transcriptions of two items, 16S and 70, choo ool and choo oolé respectively, may or may not reflect the contrast present in the Mod language between č̓uʔúlixʷ 'deer' and č̓uʔú 'white tail doe'.

(3) An apparent semantic shift has taken place with 35, glossed 'berries in general', as the modern meaning of the form is 'service berry'.

(4) Finally, one item, 212 Sim poil was crossed out by Thompson, but is recognizable as cognate with Cv sənpʕ̓ʷilx 'San Poil'. It raises again (along with 205, 209 and the other cases discussed) the question of the Colville connection--how much Colville did Thompson's informant know?

5. Conclusion. Notwithstanding all the unanswered questions, the lists document what would otherwise be unattested recent changes in Flathead and linguistic change in progress at the beginning of the 19th century. The best example of the first-mentioned are the lexical suffixes missing today but not yet elided at the time the vocabularies

were recorded. The best example of the second is the shift of /k/ to /č/, now complete, but still in progress at the time Thompson made his notes.

Other, broader conclusions are suggested by the list, however.

One of the more puzzling aspects of the vocabularies is their apparent mixture of traits from several contemporary Interior Salish dialects now regarded as distinct. A possible explanation for this mixed character is that an earlier dialect continuum has now been segmented and compartmentalized, with a levelling out of competing variants on each reservation. If this is the case, then it is possible that the reservation system has contributed both to the establishment of distinct "languages," as formerly nomadic bands were settled and their speech subjected to powerful local selectional forces, and to their demise, as the speakers were eventually assimilated into the larger society surrounding the reservations.

It should also be noted that the vocabularies bear witness to the universal validity of the philological method. While one does not usually associate philology with the analysis of North American Indian languages, the decipherment of these lists differs neither in method nor in the kinds of results obtained from the use of philological techniques on far older documents. In Thompson's Salish vocabularies we have a document recorded by a linguistically naive transcriber, trapped by the often contradictory orthographic conventions of his own language. All the strategies that pay off with a Gothic (or Hittite, or Chaldean, etc.) document work here too: every duplicate entry, every marginal note, every bit of historical information about the recorder and his informants, every detail about the circumstances of the recording, all give clues to the analysis of the document, which, thanks to these methods, can be compelled to yield information of value to historical and descriptive linguistics.

The Thompson lists also offer abundant testimony to the need for comparative data if interpretation of old lists is to be successful. Without the modern Flathead equivalents, virtually all of Thompson's recordings would be ambiguous at best and almost worthless at worst. This suggests that there is little hope that we will ever learn much from single recordings of now extinct, evidently isolated American Indian languages and dialects such as Adai, which survives in a short, single document from a single recorder.

FOOTNOTES

[1]We are very grateful to the Archives of Ontario for their kind help in locating and obtaining copies of David Thompson's Indian vocabularies. Mr. William Cooper, Archivist of the Private Manuscript Section, was especially helpful and we thank him very sincerely.

The division of labor between the authors has been as follows: orthographic interpretation and transcription of the Thompson manuscript lists, and the introduction, were written by Taylor. Reelicitation of the list, and structural analysis, were done by Mattina. The conclusion was written by both authors. Each of us, however, has critically read and commented on the work of the other, so the paper is in every sense a joint effort. This note disambiguates the use of first person singular pronouns in the various sections of the paper.

[2]For example, Thompson's map of western Canada, drawn for the Northwest Company in 1813-1814, was the best map available for portions of western Canada throughout the 19th century. A contemporary American anthropologist (Allan H. Smith) has used Thompson's recordings of longitude and latitude to locate actual campsites in the lower Pend Oreille Valley occupied by Thompson at the time of the readings. Thompson's description of the Mandans makes far more interesting reading than Catlin's, and I recommend it to all readers interested in ethnography and rhapsodic prose.

[3]Mattina's first impression was that the list was elicited from one who knew more than one southern interior language, but tried to respond in Fl, and occasionally produced a contaminated (incorrectly doctored/guessed) form. Later he had to conclude that the lists represent a pre-Fl dialect in which some phonological shifts and other linguistic changes had not yet taken place.

[4]Coues, Elliott, Ed. New Light on the Early History of the Great Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799-1814. New York, 1897. The Flathead vocabulary is found in volume 2, pp. 714-718.

[5]Such reciprocal use of manuscript notes was apparently not uncommon in the fur companies. A parallel example is the first vocabularies of Atsina and Sarcee, published by Edward Umfreville, but perhaps collected by Andrew Graham. It is also possible that Graham copied Umfreville's notes.

[6]For a detailed discussion that concentrates on orthography-related problems of North American Indian languages, cf. Mary Haas' "Problems of American Indian Philology" in Language, Culture and History, Stanford, 1978, pp. 176-193. For an eloquent general discussion of the philological method applied to North American Indian languages, cf. Ives Goddard's "Philological approaches to the study of North American Indian languages: documents and documentation" in Thomas A. Sebeok, ed. Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol. 10, Mouton, pp. 727-745.

[7]For boss read 'hump'.

[8]For the moment I can trace this no further back than Eric Partridge's 7th Edition of A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English, Macmillan, 1970, where dag is defined as "A 'hard case'; a wag; a 'character'." Be a dag at means "to be extremely good at." These forms, however, are traced back to Australia, mid 1890's.

[9]The discrepancy between Thompson's gloss 'day', and the present day meaning 'evening' is problematic.

[10]Especially considering contiguous cases, e.g. 176, 177 Tin kooeya, Tarn oowee.

[11]I was not aware of this manuscript edition (American Philosophical Society Library) until July 1980. My student Brenda Speck has prepared an excellent edition of Post's Kalispel grammar, now published as Vol. 1 of the University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics. The fact that Reichard had also done an edition of that work (though arriving nowhere near the modern reworking of Speck), attests to the importance of Post's little known work. Incidentally, Reichard's comments confirm that the lists include Flathead forms.

[12]The u's are probably further reconstructible as *w(ə). The stressed vowel is problematic in that other interior languages have forms with i (<*i). Cf. Kinkade and Sloat's reconstructions in their "Proto-Eastern interior Salish vowels." IJAL 38, pp. 26-48.

[13]Carlson reports that (nowadays) "the Spokans refer to Flathead speakers as 'those people that cut off their words'," referring to "the shortening of many forms by deletion of material beyond the accented vowel, a tendency [also] observable in Kalispel, but not as widespread." (Carlson, Barry F. A Grammar of Spokan: A Salish Language of Eastern Washington. UHWPIL 4, 4, 1972.) p. v.

[14]For a discussion of this topic and further references, cf. Laurence C. Thompson's "Salishan and the Northwest" in Campbell, Lyle, and Marianne Mithun, The Languages of Native America, Texas, 1979, pp. 692-765, esp. pp. 726-7.