

A Note on Aspect in (Nicola Lake) Okanagan¹

Yvonne M. Hébert

University of British Columbia

This note concerns the consonantal opposition between - s - and - n -, usually occurring before ubiquitous - t, an opposition possible on most but not all predicates of Okanagan. Most of the data is from the Nicola Lake dialect of this Interior Salishan language, spoken in British Columbia.

The - s - / - n - opposition occurs most frequently in constructions such as:

- (1) a. ts - čka - s - tsn ʃi ʃi - skləw
actual - count-s-t-Sl the my-money/beaver
trans.

"I count my money."

- b. čka - n - tsn ʃi ʃi - skləw
count-n-t-Sl the my-money/beaver
trans.

"I count my money."

1 This work has been supported by a Killam Predoctoral Fellowship at Univ. of British Columbia, 1977 - present, and in part by a B. C. Provincial Museum contract for a word list, Summer 1978.

Thanks are given to the native speakers who patiently teach me of their language; they are identified in later footnotes. Thanks also to Jessica Roberts (UBC), Sandra Chung (UCSD), and especially to Alan Timberlake (UCLA) who commented on an earlier draft and whose own work on Russian aspect influenced the shape of this note. Unfortunately, the responsibility for this analysis of Okanagan remains my own.

- (2) a. q'wč' - s - tn
fill - s - t - Sl
trans.

"I fill it up."

- b. q'wč' - n - n
fill - n - t - Sl
trans.

"I fill it up."

but not obligatorily in constructions such as the medio-passive, the indirective or the benefactives

Can they occur with these at all?

- (3) kn čkám
Sl count-medio
intr.
"I count."

- (4) a. q'wč' - x - t - n
fill-indirective-t-Sl benefactive (?)
trans.

"I fill it up for/on anybody."

- b. q'wč' - x - t - n
fill-benefactive-t-Sl trans. "I fill it up for him."

Two hypotheses have already been proposed for these morphemes.

The following one has been proposed for the contiguous Interior Salishan language, Thompson, by the linguists L. C. and M. T. Thompson

(197 , section 5.2.3, 5.2):

- s - t as marking a lexical causative, implying that
the action or state results from the activity
of some agent who is not in full control;
- n - t as marking a control transitive, implying
control by the subject.

This is also a possible analysis for (NL) Okanagan and is in fact generally accepted as a possible analysis for most Salishan languages in which these morphemes occur. This will be referred to as the Control Hypothesis.

A somewhat different hypothesis has been proposed for the Colville dialect of Okanagan, as spoken in Washington state. Mattina (1978, pp. 91-93) proposes that both of these are transitive constructions which obligatorily include reference to two and only two persons, an actor and a primary goal, such that the

- s - t predicates always imply either purposeful or
customary involvement on the part of the actor
and are characterized as transitives with
co-terminous actor and secondary goal (p. 93);
- n - t predicates imply reference only to an actor and
a primary goal (p. 91).

This will be referred to as the Customary Involvement Hypothesis.

It is the purpose of this note to propose that this consonantal alternation - s - / - n - reflects an imperfective/perfective

distinction and to outline some support for this identification. This will be referred to as the Aspect Hypothesis.

These three hypotheses are similar in that they seek to explicitly encode semantic features onto morphological categories. Additionally, the Customary Involvement Hypothesis and part of the Control Hypothesis link these semantic features to transitivity, a claim that is not made by the Aspect Hypothesis. The Aspect Hypothesis will be supported by two types of evidence: by native speaker intuitions and by the syntax of aspect, i. e., the distribution of certain prefixes, adverbials, and the interaction with the passive and limited control constructions. However, before proceeding to this evidence, let us explore briefly the two aspectual categories of imperfective and perfective: their frequency of occurrence, their characteristics and their definition.

That Okanagan may encode this distinction is not unusual when considering languages more generally. These two aspect categories, along with a third, were proposed by Friedrich (1974: 536) for the analysis of aspect systems:

- (1) durative, continuative, imperfective, etc.,
- (2) punctual, completive, perfective, etc.,
- (3) stative, perfect, etc.

The morphology of Russian, for example, encodes the two basic aspect categories of imperfective/perfective, each of which includes a number of semantic features not otherwise distinctively marked (cf. Timberlake 1979 for a discussion). Meanwhile, Hopper (1977/78, 1979), who examines

the role of aspect in discourse, notes the universality of this aspectual distinction.

According to Comrie (1976), the concept of imperfectivity may be characterized as expressing a continuous or durative situation as well as a habitual or customary situation, occurring over an extended period of time, while perfectivity may be characterized as indicating completed action, as being a resultative, i.e., indicating the successful completion of a situation. However perfectivity includes but is not limited to punctual or momentaneous situations, to situations of short vs long duration, or even to the termination or beginning of a situation since the perfective denotes a complete situation, with beginning, middle and end.

Comrie gives definitions of these concepts, as well as the characteristics listed above:

perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation. (p. 16)

Both the lists of characteristic semantic features of these two aspectual categories and their definitions with reference to an external view of a situation for perfectivity vs an internal view for imperfectivity will be relevant to the discussion of the three hypotheses for - s - / - n - in Okanagan.

Let us now proceed to the support available for the Aspect Hypothesis, and then to the discussion of the three hypotheses. Two types of evidence for aspect are available in the data collected to date for this dialect:

- (a) evidence from native speaker intuitions and
- (b) evidence from the syntax of aspect, more specifically here,
 - i) the distribution of the two prefixes
 - ks- 'unrealized action'
 - ts- 'actually occurring action'

with respect to the two aspectual categories in question;

- ii) the distribution of the adverbial pʃutʃ? 'still';
- iii) the verbal morphology of the limited control and the passive constructions, with reference to the universal tendency of languages to associate the passive with perfectivity.

In the data that follows, I will identify the subject pronoun sets as 'transitive' and 'intransitive', according to the assignment and practice of Mattina, although this terminology may in future work be shown to be somewhat inexact. The third subject pronoun set will be identified as subordinate/genitive.

Support is available from the intuitions of several native speakers who, on separate, unrelated occasions, identified the distinction as follows:

1. Of these two sentences, the latter was said to be completed,

over with:²

- (1) a. ts - čka - s - tšn ʃi ʃi-skláw
actual-count- s - t-Sl the my-money/beaver
trans
"I'm counting my money." / "I count my money."
b. čka - n - tšn ʃi ʃi-skláw
count- n - t-Sl the my-money/beaver
trans
"I count my money."

2. Similarly, the same verbal morphology was identified as completed, as just finished:³

- (5) n - čfš - n - n ʃi ʃəʔʃəʔ
contained-fry-n-t-Sl the eggs
trans
"I fry/fried the eggs."
(6) ʃacə - n - tšn ʃi spíčʃn
tie- n - t -Sl the rope
trans
"I tie a knot on a rope."
(7) qce - n - tšn ʃi spíčʃn
braid-n-t-Sl the rope
trans
"I braided the rope." (completed, finished braiding the rope)

² As volunteered by Sharon Lindley (Nicola Lake dialect), at Quilchena, B.C., August 24, 1978.

³ Example (5), with several other sentences about frying eggs, over breakfast, by Joe A. Michel (Nicola Lake dialect), also of Quilchena, the main language consultant, on Oct. 5, 1978, in Vancouver. Example (6) Oct. 18, 1979. Example (7), July 9, 1978 in Quilchena.

3. The - s - t was identified, in a comparison with a medio-passive construction with the same prefix ts-;⁴

- (8) a. ts - xʷXʃ - s - tšn
actual-whittle- s - t - Sl
trans
"I'm actually whittling."
b. kn ts - xʷXʃám
Sl actual-whittle-medio
intr.
"I'm actually whittling."

as referring to whittling which has been going on for some time, for a long time.

4. Confirmation from other dialect areas is also available:⁵

- (9) a. wík - n - n ʃi ʃn - cftxʷ
see - n - t -Sl the my-house
trans
"I saw my house."
b. wík - n - n ʃi cftxʷ - tət
see-n - t - Sl the house-our
trans
"I saw our house."

⁴ As specified by Joe Pete Saddleman of Quilchena (NL dialect), Okanagan language instructor, in a workshop at UBC, March 25, 1979.

⁵ As insisted upon by Bernice Baptiste (Penticton dialect) and agreed upon by Joe Pete Saddleman (NL), Herman Edwards (Keremeos dialect), Tillie George (Colville dialect), all language instructors-in-training, Univ. of Victoria, Nov. 28, 1978. Importantly, these speakers represent the geographical spread of the language, from the northwestern-most area (Quilchena) to the southeastern-most (Colville).

These were again identified as completed action, as done already, in spite of the fact that the - s - t marking is not possible:

- c. * wíkstn
- d. * ts- wíkstn

Let us now proceed to the distributional evidence which supports the Aspect Hypothesis. The distribution of the two prefixes ke- 'unrealized action' and ts- 'actually occurring action' with respect to - n - and - s - will be presented first, followed by the distribution of the adverbial pʔutʔ 'still'.

For the verbal roots which accept either - s - t or - n - t marking, the prefix ts- 'actually occurring action' may co-occur with the - s - t:

- (10) a. ts- xʷχʔ - s - tʃn
actual-whittle - s - t - Sl
trans
"I'm actually whittling."
- b. ts - n - číx - s - t - n ʃi ʔaʔúsa?
actual-contained-fry-s-t-Sl the eggs
trans
"I'm frying the eggs right now."
- c. ts - čka - s - tʃn ʃi ʃi - skláw (s la)
actual-count-s-t-Sl the my-money
trans
"I'm counting my money."

but is ungrammatical with the - n - t markings:

- (11) a. * ts - xʷ - n - tʃn
actual-whittle- n - t - Sl
trans
* I'm actually whittled.
- b. * ts - n - číx - n - n ʃi ʔaʔúsa?
actual-contained-fry-n-t-Sl the eggs
trans
* I'm actually fried the eggs.
- c. * ts - čka - n - tʃn ʃi ʃi - skláw
actual-count-n - t - Sl the my-money
trans
* I'm actually counted my money.

The prefix ks - 'unrealized action' may not co-occur on predicates which accept either the - s - t or - n - t markings:

- (12) a. * ks - xʷχʔstʃn *I'm gonna whittling.
- b. * ks - n-číxstn ʃi ʔaʔúsa? *I'm gonna frying the eggs.
- c. * ks - čkastʃn ʃi ʃiskláw *I'm gonna counting my money.
- (13) a. * ks - xʷχʔntʃn *I'm gonna whittled.
- b. * ks - nčíxn-n ʃi ʔaʔúsa? *I'm gonna fried the eggs.
- c. * ks - čkantʃn ʃi ʃiskláw *I'm gonna counted my money.

This ks- prefix⁶ may however occur with these roots, in another construction, the medio-passives:

⁶ This prefix is probably an upper predicate since it occurs with the set of pronouns used to mark possession or subordinate subjects:

- *kn ks-xʷχʔám "I'm gonna whittle."
- *kn ks - n - číx - m "I'm gonna fry."

- (14) a. η i - ks - x^wχ'ŋəm
 Sl -unrealized-whittle-medio
 sub
 "I'm gonna whittle."
 b. η i - ks - n - čfχ - m { η i } { η a ?ŋəə? }
 t
 Sl -unrealized-contained-fry-medio { the }
 sub some eggs
 "I'm gonna fry the/some eggs."

Similarly, the ts- prefix, 'actually occurring action,' may occur on these roots in a medio-passive constructions

- (15) a. kn ts - x^wχ'ŋəm
 Sl actual-whittle-medio
 intr
 "I actually whittling."
 b. kn ts - čkəm η əpənə?
 Sl actual-count-medio now/today
 intr
 "I'm counting now."

Let us now examine the occurrence of the adverbial pŋutŋ?
 'still' which is attested with imperfective aspect or with the
 medio-passive constructions

- (16) a. pŋutŋ? ts - x^wχ'ŋ - s - tŋ
 still actual-whittle- s - t - Sl
 tr.
 "I'm still whittling." (and have been doing so for a long time.)

- b. pŋutŋ? kn ts - x^wχ'ŋəm
 still Sl actual-whittle-medio
 intr
 "I'm actually still whittling."
 c. pŋutŋ? kn x^wχ'ŋəm
 still Sl whittle-medio
 intr
 "I still whittle."

but not with perfective aspects

- d. *pŋutŋ? x^wχ'ŋ - n - tŋ
 still whittle- n - t - Sl
 tr
 I still whittled.

The above comparisons suggest a continuative/completive semantic distinction for these morphemes - s - t and - n - t respectively.

There are however some important limitations on the appearance of perfective - n -(t) and imperfective - s -(t). Not all verbal roots may take either of these markings, as Mattina has noted (1978,

p. 102, fn.2). Some roots may take only one of these and are ungrammatical with the other. Examples show that punctual or momentaneous action, i.e., action that does or may not continue, takes only the - n - (t) markings

- (17) a. k^wŋint ! "Take it!"
 take-n - t - Ø
 tr imperative
 b. *k^wŋet !

- (18) a. tke - n - t - fn ʃi stʃup
- n - t - Sl the stove
trans
downward, motion of hand and lower arm, from elbow-
"I put my hand on the stove." (to see if it's warm)
- b. * (ts) - tkastfn
- (19) a. xalft - n - t Dion ! / ʃə ʃə-salɛxt ! / ʃə ʃə-sntxʷúe !
call - n - t - ʃ D. / the your-brother/the your-sister
tr imp
"Call Dion! / your brother! / your sister!"
- b. * xalftat ...
- (20) a. mʃɛʔ - n - n ʃi lpʃút
break-n - t - Sl the cup
tr
"I break a cup." (on purpose or accidentally)
- b. * mʃɛʔatn ...
- (21) a. kʷu ʃi m - ʃs - n - wɪʔxʷ
Pl kiss-nose-n-reciprocal
intr
"We kiss each other."
- b. * kʷu ʃi m - ʃs - s - wɪʔxʷ
- and we repeat here for convenience:
- (9) b. wɪk - n - n ʃi cftxʷ - tət
see - n - t - Sl the house-our
tr
"I saw our house."

- c. * wɪkstn
d. * ts - wɪkstn

Yet other roots do not accept the - n - (t) markings:

- (22) a. tʃúm' √smile; a male's name
- b. tʃúms happy and smiling all the time; smiling. -s 'face'
- c. tʃúmtʃms smile (on both sides), (with diminutive)
- d. kn ts - tʃúmtʃms "I'm smiling."
Sl_{intr} actual-dim-smile-redup-s
- e. kn ts - tʃúmtʃms naʔp "I'm smiling all the time."
Sl_{intr} actual-dim-smile-redup-s all the time
- f. Danny tʃúmtʃmsm "Danny smile."
- s - medio
- g. tʃúmtʃm - s - x - t ʃi ʃ'x - x - ʃ'xáp !
smile-s-benefactive-t-Ø tr imp the er-pl-grown.up
"Smile for the elders!"
- h. * tʃúmtʃm - n - (x) - t
- i. Danny kʷu tʃúmtʃm - s - x - t - s
me smile-s-benefactive-t-S3_{tr}
"Danny smile/smiling at me (continuous-like)."

- (23) a. Danny k^wu n - ʃáy' - us - x - t - s
 me cont-laugh-face-bene-t - S3_{tr}
 "Danny smiled at me (a 'flash' of a smile).
 b. kn ʃáy' - n - cút "I laughed."
 Sl_{intr} laugh - n - reflexive

Thus to take, to touch-test, to call, to break, to kiss exemplify actions which are classified by this language as non-continuous/punctual/non-durative, while to smile is considered as a continuous-type of action. Not only are these aspectual markings limited by the type of verbal root with which they may occur, they are also limited by sentence type. These aspectual markings are not obligatory in certain syntactic constructions. Unless the action is one that is classified by the language as continuative only (cf. (22f,i)), these aspectual markings do not ordinarily occur in a benefactive construction (cf.(4b)) or in a medio-passive construction (cf. (3), (8b), (14a), (15a,b), (16b,c)).

The tendency for the passive construction to carry intrinsic perfective meaning has been discussed, for example, by Delancey (1979). As part of a broader discussion of viewpoint manifested in aspectual and voice distinctions, he points out that, in the passive which specifies the patient from an agent → patient viewpoint, one is necessarily looking at the termination viewpoint of a situation, hence perfective aspect. In a speaker-oriented, encoding model, Timberlake (1979) examines a number of semantic

features for aspect in Russian. Of importance to Okanagan, Timberlake breaks down the definition of the perfective as 'a view of the event as a whole' into a number of oppositions, of which the first of each pair: completed vs attempted, active vs stative, momentaneous vs durative, unique vs multiple, is mapped onto perfective aspect. Thus the passive construction which focuses upon the patient and which views the termination point of an event will show perfective morphology in Russian:⁷

- (24) Ètot zavod byl postroen inostrannymi rabočimi
 this factory was pft-built foreign workers
 Instr
 "This factory was built by foreign workers."

⁸
 as it does in (NL) Okanagan:

- (25) a. ʃi ʔ'x - ʔ'xəp kə - ʔəʔcf - s ʃi pptwinax"
 the er-grown.up dir-choke-n-t-s the old lady
 S3_{tr}
 "The old man choked the old lady."
 b. ʃi pptwinax" kə - ʔəʔcf - n - tam ʃi t ʔ'x ʔ'xəp
 the old lady dir-choke-pft-pass def. indef. old man
 chômeur marking
 "The old lady was choked by the old man."

⁷ From class notes, D. M. Perlmutter, Romance Linguistics, Spr. 1979, UCSD.

⁸ Predictable alveolar CC-simplification - n - t - s → s ;
 similar to - n - t - n (pft - t - Sl) → nn → n of previous
 tr
 examples.

- (26) a. kɪʃlus-s ʃi sqɪlxʷ ʃi spɪcʃn
coil - S3 the man the rope
tr
"The man coil the rope."
b. kɪʃlus - n - təm ʃi spɪcʃn ʃi t sqɪlxʷ
coil-pft-pass the rope def. indef. man
chô

"The rope was coiled by the man."

- (27) wɪk - n - təm ʃi skəmɪxɪst
see - pft - pass the blackbear
"We seen a blackbear. / A blackbear wa/anybody seen./
A blackbear was seen."

and in these passive constructions with unspecified final subjects:

- (28) a. kʷu kʷənú - s ʃi ~~ʃuxʷ-ʃi~~ suxʷw ʃi qám
you catch-S3 the policeman
obj tr subj
"You were caught by the policeman."
(lit.: The policeman caught you.)
b. ʃi t, ^wʃuxʷ ʃi qám kʷənú - n - təm
chô
"The policeman catch (you)."
(lit.: Δ caught by the policeman.)

- (29) ʃi t səlɛxt - s ɬəc - n - təm
chô friend-his bruise-pft-pass
"His friend bruised him up." (on purpose)
(lit.: Δ bruised up by his friend.)

As has already been pointed out, perfective aspect includes a termination viewpoint of an event and of an agent-patient situation, and thus tends to mark passive constructions in human languages. Similarly, a construction marking the limited control of an agent-subject also necessarily emphasizes the termination viewpoint of a situation. This offers a plausible explanation of why the limited-control morpheme - nũ - occurs with the - n - t perfective marking rather than with the - s - t imperfective marking. (When - nũ - 'limited-control' co-occurs with second consonant reduplication, for accidental action with no intention or agency on the part of the subject, an unintentional reading results.)

- (30) ʃqʷ - qʷ - nũ - n - t - s - n
slap-accid-ltdC.-pft-t-S2 -S1
obj tr
"I slap you unintentionally." (didn't mean to do it)
(already done)
(32) ʃʃuc mi - nũ - n - t - xʷ ?
yes/no Q feel-ltdC.-pft-t-S2
know tr
"Do you feel it?" (thunder hits and ground shakes)
(31) a. ʃeʔ - n - t - in ʃiqəmtɪnek
hit-pft - t - S1 female's name
tr
"I hit ʃiqəmtɪnek."

b. $\dot{c}e?$ - $n\dot{u}$ - n - n

hit - ltdC.- pft-t-S1
tr

"I hit (it)." (I reached for something and hit the clock
with my elbow.)

(32) $ni\dot{k}$ - \dot{k} - $n\dot{u}$ - n - t - x^w $\dot{c}a$ $\dot{c}an$ - $ti\dot{x}^w\dot{c}k$
cut-accid-ltdC.-pft-t-S2 the your-tongue.
tr

"You cut accidental your tongue."

(33) k - $\dot{c}x^w$ - x^w - $ne?$ - $n\dot{u}$ - n - t - s - n t $\dot{c}a$ $lit\dot{c}$
distributive-
-pour-accid-loc-ltdC.-pft-t-S2 -S1 indef. def. tea
obj tr instrumental marking

"I spill the tea on you." (I spill on you with the tea.)

Thus the analysis of $-n-(t)$ as perfective aspect permits stating a
similarity between the passive construction and the limited control
construction in (NL) Okenagan.

Reviewing the evidence from native speakers' intuitions,
from the distribution of certain prefixes and adverbials, and from
the verbal morphology of passive and of limited-control constructions,
the Aspect Hypothesis appears plausible. The terminology imperfective/
perfective for $-s$ - and $-n$ - respectively is suggested since these
terms encode the semantic distinctions of durative, continuative,
habitual as opposed to non-continuing, punctual, completed which
apply to describe the data cited above.

Let us now examine each of the other two hypotheses in turn,
the Control Hypothesis and the Customary Involvement Hypothesis,
beginning with the latter. The Customary Involvement Hypothesis,
with respect to the $-s-t$ marking, states that the primary reference
is to an actor who is customarily or purposefully involved. It can
be seen that this notion of customary involvement is indeed compatible
with an Aspect analysis since imperfective aspect may and does include
reference to a customary, habitual situation or event. Also by
shifting the analysis to event or action rather than to an actor,
an undefined term, avoids including in the grammar explanations
referring to secondary vs primary goal in constructions which have
previously been stated to be only two-place transitives. That $-n-t$
does not have reference to a customarily or habitually involved actor
follows from the statement for $-s-t$ and is equally compatible
with the Aspect Hypothesis.

Additionally, the Customary Involvement Hypothesis claims that
the markings in question $-s-t$ and $-n-t$ occur only with
transitive constructions, i.e., only with two-place predicates.
I take this to mean that these predicates occur only with two nominals,
one of which is a subject and the other a direct object. These
aspectual markings do indeed occur most frequently in such constructions.
It follows from this claim that the $-s-t$ marking is not expected
to co-occur with a subject pronoun which has been identified as
intransitive. Similarly, the $-n-t$ marking is not expected to
co-occur with this same 'intransitive' subject pronoun set in reciprocal

constructions which Mattina has also identified as intransitive constructions. The following examples are pertinent to this issue of transitivity:

- (34) a. kn q^wəlt
 S1 warm-t "I'm warm./I warm."
 intr
- b. kn q^wəⁱ - s - t
 S1 warm-impft-t
 intr
 "I warm myself/keep warm/warming."
- c. x^wuwiy - x q^wəⁱ - s - t - x
 go - imp. sg. warm-impft-t-imp.sg.
 intr intr
 "Go warm yourself! "
- d. q^wəⁱ - n - t - x^w
 warm-pft-t-S2
 trans
 "You keep it warm (like the soup)."
 "You warmed it (all night) (like covered with blankets). "
- e. q^wəⁱ - n - n ʃi ək^wuk^wʃiməlt
 warm-pft-t-S1 the baby
 trans
 "I warm up the baby." (I brought it close to the fire.)
- f. s - n - q^wəⁱ - s - tn
 s - contained-warm-impft-instrument
 "(s) heater"

- g. k^wu q^wəⁱ - n - wix^w
 P1 warm-pft-reciprocal
 intr
 "We keep/kept each other warm."
- h. q^wəⁱ - n - wix^w lx
 warm-pft-reciprocal P3
 intr
 "They keep/kept each other warm."
- (35) kn s - ts - čka - s - qⁱt - x
 S1 s-actual-count-impft-days-progressive
 intr
 "I'm counting the days."
- (36) k - čq^wəq^w - m - s ʃi xⁱʃi
 distributive-weep-m-impft the dead
 cry
 "cry for the dead"

Thus, accepting Mattina's (1973) identification of transitivity/intransitivity as distinguishing the matrix subject pronoun sets, one can conclude from (34) a,b,c,f,g,h and (35) that the aspectual morphemes - s - and - n - are not restricted to transitive constructions, although these are encoded most frequently with the 'transitive' set of subject pronouns. Moreover, examples (34) f,g,h, (21) a, and (22) b,c,d,e,f show that these aspectual morphemes are not dependent on the following - t, identified as 'stative' *different t's* (Mattina, 1973). Furthermore, examples (22) g,i show that the

the imperfective - s - may co-occur with the benefactive - x - (t). However, the Customary Involvement Hypothesis limits - s -(t) and - n -(t) to transitive two-place constructions only and further states that these do not co-occur with the benefactive. The following examples may be compared: (22)g,i vs (37) s

(22) g. $\text{t}^{\text{t}}\text{t}^{\text{t}}\text{u}^{\text{t}}\text{m} - s - x - t$ $\text{q}^{\text{t}}\text{i}$ $\text{x}^{\text{t}}\text{x}^{\text{t}} - \text{x}^{\text{t}} - \text{x}^{\text{t}}\text{x}^{\text{t}}\text{p}$
 dim-smile-redup-impft-bene-t the er-pl-grown.up
 "Smile for the elders!" (T-shirt motto, Su 1978)

i. Danny $\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{u}$ $\text{t}^{\text{t}}\text{t}^{\text{t}}\text{u}^{\text{t}}\text{m} - s - x - t - s$
 me smile -impft-bene-t-S3 01?
 "Danny smile/smiling at/for me."

(37) $\text{q}^{\text{t}}\text{i}$ $\text{x}^{\text{t}}\text{x}^{\text{t}}\text{x}^{\text{t}}\text{p}$ $\text{n}^{\text{a}}\text{q}^{\text{t}} - x - t - s$ t $\text{s}^{\text{n}}\text{k}^{\text{t}}\text{c}^{\text{t}}\text{s}^{\text{a}}\text{q}^{\text{a}}\text{x}^{\text{a}}?$ $\text{q}^{\text{t}}\text{i}$ $\text{p}^{\text{p}}\text{t}^{\text{t}}\text{w}^{\text{t}}\text{i}^{\text{t}}\text{n}^{\text{a}}\text{x}^{\text{t}}$
 the old.man steal-bene-t-S3 some horses the old.lady
 "The old man stole a herd of horses for the old lady."

It is pertinent to note that 'smile' in other languages is an intransitive predicate: Engl.: *smile the people, *smile the banana, French: *sourire les gens, *sourire les bananes. In Okanagan, the benefactor in (22)g,i and (37) above is probably not an initial direct object, in the same way that the indirective construction contains an object nominal that is not an initial direct object:

(38) $\text{q}^{\text{t}}\text{i}$ $\text{x}^{\text{t}}\text{x}^{\text{t}}\text{x}^{\text{t}}\text{p}$ $\text{n}^{\text{a}}\text{q}^{\text{t}} - s - x - t - s$ $\text{q}^{\text{t}}\text{i}$ $\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{u}\text{x}^{\text{t}}\text{p} - s$ $\text{q}^{\text{t}}\text{i}$ $\text{p}^{\text{p}}\text{t}^{\text{t}}\text{w}^{\text{t}}\text{i}^{\text{t}}\text{n}^{\text{a}}\text{x}^{\text{t}}$
 the old.man steal-m-indirective-t-S3 the horses-S3 the old.lady
 gen
 "The old man stole {his/her} horses from the old lady."

The benefactives in conjunction with examples already cited in the previous paragraph confirms that these aspectual morphemes are not limited only to two-place transitive constructions. Moreover, the - n - perfective marking occurs in passive constructions which are superficially at least intransitive (cf. (25)b, (26)b, (27), (28)b, (29)).

Although the Customary Involvement Hypothesis is compatible with the Aspect Hypothesis with respect to the habitual reference associated with the - s - marking and the lack of this association with - n -, a strictly interpreted Customary Involvement Hypothesis which rests on transitivity as characterized by Mattina is not supported by the data.

Let us now turn to the discussion of the Control Hypothesis which has two elements: that - s -(t) marks a lexical causative and that - n -(t) marks a control transitive. To support such an analysis as lexical causative, one would expect to find productive processes such as that in Turkish⁹

(39) a. John buz - u eri - t - ti
 ice-ACC melt-C-PST
 John melted the ice.
 b. buz eri - di
 ice melt-PST
 The ice melted.

⁹ This Turkish data and explanations were provided by İnci Özkeremöz (UCSD).

- c. Çorba koyulaş - tî
 soup thicken - PST
 The soup thickened.
- d. Hasan çorbaya koyulaş - tîr - di
 soup-ACC thicken- C - PST
 Hasan thickened the soup.

The function of the causative morpheme is clear in (39)d above. It is less clear in (49)a where it may be a transitivizer instead. Nevertheless the point remains that in a language which encodes lexical causatives, one expects the appearance of an indicative morpheme. In (NL) Okenagan, however, the - s - t morpheme does not occur as expected, on a comparable predicate 'thaw's

- (40) a. kn s - ts - ʔáymⁱ - x t sʔíq
 S1 s-actual-thaw-prog. indef. meat
 intr
 "I'm thawing out meat/some meat."
- b. ʔi sʔíq s - ts - ʔáymⁱ - x
 def. meat s - actual-thaw-prog.
 "The meat thawing out."

In other constructions where a lexical causative analysis is tempting, other translations more readily reveal the imperfective aspect consistently encoded in the event.

- (41) kʷúí - ʔm - s - t - n "I make him work/I working him."
 work - m - impft - t - S1 (like he's working now)
 tr

- (42) a. kn qʷúíⁱ - t
 S1 warm-t
 intr
 "I'm warm."
- b. kn qʷúíⁱ - s - t
 S1 warm-impft-t
 intr
 "I warm myself./I keep warm./I warming."

A further clue to the imperfective aspect of example (42)b above can be seen in the English phrase "keep..." indicating durative or habitual meaning which may be part of the semantic features characteristic of imperfective aspect. It will be recalled that this allowed us to incorporate the gist of the Customary Involvement Hypothesis into the Aspect Hypothesis, since the former assigns 'customary' reference to - s - (t) marking. The analysis of - s -(t) as a lexical causative is not supported by the data. *It is not derived by the data.*

The Control Hypothesis claims that - n - t marks a control transitive, implying control by a subject. The intuitions of the native speakers who provided a completive reading for the predicates so marked does not necessarily violate this notion of control by the subject. A control analysis necessarily implies a focus upon the termination viewpoint of an action or event, thus the likelihood of perfective marking of an action or event within the full control of the subject. However, as has already been noted, limited control also tends to view actions or events from the termination viewpoint and

Lack of understanding
of passives -

also takes the - n - marking, thus - n - in itself cannot refer to the full control of the subject. Moreover, - n - occurs as part of the verbal morphology in passive constructions. Examples (28)b and (29) have no specified final subject which is problematic for a Control Hypothesis. In (26)b, the usual passive construction, the final subject is an unlikely candidate for a controller since it is an inanimate rope, and, as for (27), is semantically a patient undergoing the action.

It can further be noted that the Control Hypothesis and the Customary Involvement Hypothesis contradict each other. The former states that the subject of the - n - construction is in control whereas the latter states that the actor (= underlying subject?) is in control in a - s - construction. Since the - n - construction lacks the customary/purposeful reference of the - s - one, then by extension, the - n - marks a construction where the actor is not in full control or not purposefully involved.

Example (29) repeated here is pertinent:

(29) ʃi t saləxt - s tʃɛc - n - t²_m
 chō friend-his bruise-pft-pass
 "His friend bruised him up." (on purpose)
 (lit.s △ bruised up by his friend.)

This sentence does not support the Control Hypothesis since it contains no specified subject to be in control. Nor does it support

the Customary Involvement Hypothesis since it was identified as a purposeful action which is supposed to be associated with - s - marking.

Thus it has been shown that the Control Hypothesis and the Customary Involvement Hypothesis cannot be stretched to account for all the data. The Aspect Hypothesis (a) offers an explanation for the lexical causative of the Control Hypothesis, (b) includes the assignment of 'customary' reference to - s - (t) of the other hypothesis, (c) accounts for the data presented herein, without depending crucially on transitivity, and (d) allows an explanatory statement of the viewpoint in common to passive and limited control constructions.

The - t morpheme has been frequently referred to in this paper. Although not specifically germane to the identification of - s - and - n - as imperfective/perfective aspect, let us diverge sufficiently to allow a discussion of this morpheme since it frequently occurs alongside these aspectual markings.

According to Mattina (1973, 1978), the -t morpheme encodes stative aspect. The internal structure of the aspectual system appears to support this identification. Let us examine briefly the interaction of stativity with imperfectivity, with inchoatives, with progressives, and with inceptivity.

1) The -t versus -s-t has already been noted for 'warm', illustrating stativity with and without imperfectivity. See (42)a and b.

Two -t suffixes
are involved in
what follows.

11) Some inchoatives also support this; thus stativity, i.e., being in a given state or inchoativity, i.e., getting to or becoming to that states

- (43) a. kn q^huct [q^huct^h] "I'm fat."
 Sl fat-t
 intr
 b. kn q^huc [q^huc^h]¹⁰ "I'm becoming fat."
 Sl fat
 intr I'm getting fat."
- (44) a. ʃi ʃin-ltɪʃ n - cʃɔʃt ʃapɔnɔʃ [cʃɔʃt^h]
 the my-tee contained-cold-t now
 "My tea's really cold."
 b. ʃi ʃin-ltɪʃ n - cʃɔʃ [cʃɔʃ^h]¹⁰
 the my-tee contained-cold
 "my tea getting really cold."

11i) Progressive aspect has been defined by Comrie (1976) as the combination of continuous meaning and non-stativity. It is notable then that in (NL)Okanagan, the progressive aspect morpheme does not apparently co-occur with the -t morpheme, thus supporting its identification as stativity:

10 The second consonant glottalization for inchoative meaning here has been described as glottal stop infixation by Mattina (1973). These differences reflect different phonological analyses; we are however describing the same phonetic phenomena.

- (45) kn s - ts - cka - mɪ - x
 Sl s-actual-count-mɪ-prog.
 intr
 "I'm counting." (like figuring out the numbers, balancing the books.)
- (46) ʃɔʃɔʃɔʃ n - cɪx - x
 eggs contained-fry-prog.
 "eggs frying"
- (47) kn s - ts - tɔmɪs - x
 Sl s-actual-fish.trap-prog.
 intr
 "I'm fish-trapping."
- (48) n - xeltɪs - n - t - s - n k^w ks - cɔlɔlɔq^w - x
 contained-challenge-pft-t-S2 -S1 S2 unrealized-
 obj tr intr -stick.game-prog.
 "I challenge you to play stick game."
- (49) k^wu s - ts - ʔɪɪn - x
 Pl s-actual-eat-progressive
 intr
 "We eating."
- (50) a. kn s - ts - mɔlɪxɔʃ - x
 Sl s-actual-lie-prog.
 intr
 "I'm lying."

b. naɣip kn s - ts - málxə?
always Sl s-actual-lie
intr

"I always lie."

c. málxə? - n - n
lie - pft - t - Sl
trans

"I lied (to him)."

Interestingly, the imperfective and the progressive may co-occur but without the -t markers

(51) kn s - ts - cké - s - qt- x
Sl s-actual-count-impft-days-prog.
intr

"I'm counting the days."

iv) The -aʔx inceptive morpheme also does not usually co-occur with stativity:

(52) kn ks - n - cɪx - aʔx t ʔaʔʔúsa?
Sl unrealized- -fry-inceptive indef. eggs
intr -contained-
"I'm gonna fry some eggs." (eggs in hand and pan hot)

(53) kn ks - ʔɪtx - aʔx
Sl unrealized-sleep-inceptive
intr
"I'm gonna sleep."

(54) kn ks - cʔa cʔaɪx - aʔx
Sl unrealized-bathe-inceptive
intr

"I'm gonna take a bath."

(55) kn ks - ʔaɪkʷúsa - aʔx
Sl unrealized-sharpen-inceptive
intr
"I'm gonna sharpen." (like a bunch of knives)
(just before I start)

Thus, the encoding of inceptive, progressive and inchoative semantic features without the co-occurrence of -t supports the identification of the latter as stativity. If this is the case, then, the encoding of stativity vs activity in Okanogan would be as follows. The internal development characteristic of actives is readily observed in the inchoatives, progressives and inceptives, while the stative which lacks this internal development does not usually co-occur with these morphemes. Hence, the imperfective/perfective distinction appears to exist alongside the active/stative distinction. The two prefixes ks- unrealized action and ts- actually occurring action again tend to cluster themselves with one of the opposition, i.e., with the active rather than with the stative, much as they clustered with the imperfective rather than the perfective.

However, two arguments may be given against the identification of -t as the stative marker. First of all, it occurs in imperatives:

↓ all t-trans.

- (57) a. k^wu x^wfc - x - t ! "Gimme (something)!"
me give-bene-t-~~g~~
imp. sg. trans.
- b. k^wu x^wfc - x - t - i ! "Give us some!"
us give-bene-t-imp.pl.trans.
- (58) a. x^wqə - n - t ʃi cftx^w ! "Clean the house!"
clean-pft-t-~~g~~ the house (said to one person)
imp.sg.trans.
- b. x^wqə - n + t - fk^w ʃi cftx^w !
clean-pft-t-S2 the house
intr
"Clean the house immediately!" (said to one person)
- c. x^wqə - n - t - i ʃi cftx^w !
clean-pft-t-imp.pl. the house
trans
"Clean the house!" (said to two or more)
- d. x^wqə - n - t - fk^w - i ʃi cftx^w !
clean-pft-t-S2 -imp.pl. the house
intr trans
"Clean the house immediately!" (said to two or more)

It is very difficult to see how stativity is compatible with such imperatives.

Secondly, - t occurs regularly with both - s - and - n -. The semantic features of the - n - perfective includes punctual however, as Comrie (1976) says:

Since punctual situations automatically involve a change of state, they are automatically dynamics

there can be no such thing as a punctual state. (p. 50)

If states are viewed from within, then they can be referred to as ongoing situations, i.e., as dynamic. So stativity correlates well with imperfectivity but not so well with perfectivity. Thus it is bizarre that, if the - t morpheme marks stativity, that it should occur with both - s - and - n - .

Unlike Russian, iterativity in Okanagan is probably independent of the imperfective/perfective aspectual opposition (cf. Timberlake 1979 for Russian data and analysis). Instead, there is a possibility that the placement of stress may be a means of encoding a repeated event or action, although it is not yet known how widespread and productive this encoding may be.

- (59) a. kn k^wiχ'əm "I take off one part (off the car)."
S1 remove-medio
intr
- b. kn k^wiχ'əm "I take off more than one part
S1 remove-medio (off the car)."
intr
- (60) a. k^wiχ - n - t - fn ʃi ʃi-sweater
remove-pft-t-S1 the my-sweater
tr
"I take off my sweater."
- b. ʃənwɪ? k^w n - k^wiχ - qfn - m
you S1 contained-remove-head-medio
intr
"You're taking your hat off."

- (61) a. lút ʔi - s - kʲʲɛm
 neg. S1 -s- cut.more.than.one.strip-medio
 sub
 "I didn't cut any strips."
- b. lút ʔi - s - kʲʲɛm
 * neg S1 -s-cut.one.strip-medio
 sub
 "I didn't cut one strip."

The complexities of the Okanagan aspectual system have just barely been touched upon. We have seen (1) that the imperfective/perfective distinction includes the semantic features of:

<u>imperfective</u>	<u>perfective</u>
durative	non-durative
non-punctual	punctual
continuous	non-continuous
non-completive	completive
habitual, customary	non-habitual

(2) that the -t morpheme may co-occur with both of these, however progressivity, inchoativity and possibly inceptivity as well, cluster around the absence of this morpheme; (3) the prefixes ks - 'unrealized' and ts - 'actually occurring' may occur with imperfectivity and with the absence of -t, the former of which at least looks at and encodes the internal structure of an event or situation; (4) iterativity appears to co-exist with the imperfective/perfective distinction, although this identification is still tenuous.

Much remains to be discovered about aspect in Okanagan.

Although it has been shown that imperfective/perfective aspect do not depend crucially on transitivity, there is nevertheless some significant interaction with the constructions and subject pronoun set previously identified as transitive. This near-limitation is unusual since cross-linguistically, basic aspectual categories are usually obligatory on intransitive and transitive constructions alike. In order to work out the constraints on the use of -s- and -n-, considerable syntactic analysis will be required, especially with respect to subjecthood, its interaction with transitivity and strata or levels of derivation, depending on one's theoretical framework.

The syntax or aspect within complex and compound constructions especially with respect to sequential or simultaneous action, has not been examined. The discourse function of imperfective vs perfective aspect has not been considered. For Malay, Hopper (1979) discusses the foregrounding function of the perfective, for example, signalling serial events, relating the main story line, and the backgrounding function of the imperfective, for example, narrating on-going events, commenting on the main events and drawing the descriptive background for these chief occurrences. In a similar vein, but for Inuktitut, Kalmár (1979) examines the semantic functions of verbal moods in narrative texts. These will be productive areas for future work in Okanagan.

Bibliography

- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. Aspect. An Introduction to the Study of
Verbal Aspect and Related Problems. Cambridge University Press.
DeLancey, Scott. 1979. "Aspect, Transitivity and Viewpoint."
Presented at the UCLA Tense/Aspect Symposium, May 4-6, 1979.
Friedrich, Paul. 1974. "On Aspect Theory and Homeric Aspect."
IJAL 40.4, Part 2, Memoir # 28.
Hopper, Paul. 1977/78. "Some Observations on the Typology of
Focus and Aspect in Narrative Language." NUSA: Linguistics
Studies in Indonesian and Languages of Indonesia. Vol. 4.14-25.
_____. 1979. "Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse."
in Talmy Givon. ed. Discourse and Syntax. New York: Academic
Press.
_____. 1979. "On Perfectivity and Possession." Symposium
on Tense/Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics. UCLA
May 4-6, 1979.
Mattina, Anthony. 1973. "Colville Grammatical Structure."
PhD dissertation. U. of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics
Vol. 5, no. 3.
_____. 1978. "The Colville Transitive System." XIII
International Conference on Salishan Languages. August 17-19th.
U. of Victoria.
Thompson, Laurence C. and M. Terry. 197?. "Thompson."
To appear in Handbook of American Indians.
Timberlake, Alan. 1979. "Invariance and the Syntax of Russian Aspect."
Tense and Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics.
A Symposium. UCLA. May 4-6, 1979.

A Note on Thompson Salish Surface *iy*
Laurence C. Thompson
University of Hawaii

In Thompson River Salish /y/ is the surface realization of both underlying /*fiy*/ and /*ʕiy*/. This involves a quite natural rule //ə// → *i*/ under stress, actually part of a more general accommodation of /*ʔə*/ under stress to various following consonants (to *u* before a rounded velar, *a* before a plain uvular, *o* before a rounded uvular, *ə* before a laryngeal).

However, when, in the common diminutive reduplicative formation, the underlying vowel is separated from the semivowel, the surface vowel reflects /ə/ in both cases, rather than /i/. There are a few exceptions; those and some cases of variation are usually, if not always, traceable historically to earlier etyma with *i. *i is not otherwise affected by this replacement, and the diminutive pattern is otherwise describable as involving insertion of a copy of CV of the stressed syllable directly after that syllable, with regular phonological adjustments. (See examples below.)

While the first accommodation ($*\acute{o} \rightarrow i/_y$) is easily seen as a natural development in a rule-oriented model of historical change, and restitution of \acute{o} is natural enough when the y is isolated from it, it seems difficult to formulate a natural rule dynamism to account for the shift of $*i$ to \acute{o} in the parallel forms from $*iy$. On the other hand, classical analogical change directly accounts for the forms \acute{o} and the dynamics as well: the large number of cases where diminutives with etymological \acute{o} correspond to simplexes in iy provide the model for conversion of those involving etymological $*i$. The forms exhibiting variation further support this analysis. The case is interesting because it supports the notion of this sort of change operating on the surface, in performance.

In the following examples the infixed diminutive: reduplication is enclosed in brackets; resulting forms are "baby-talk" words where they are not otherwise glossed. The formative also involves glottalization of posttonic resonants.

Kalmari,