OKANAGAN-COLVILLE KINSHIP TERMS

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0. Introduction

In this article we discuss Okanagan appellatives, or address terms. Since the majority of Okanagan address terms are also kin reference terms, we will want to describe briefly the Okanagan kinship system. We will also discuss the grammatical properties and the various allomorphs of the terms, calling particular attention to (1) hypochoristic and baby-talk forms; and (2) kin terms used to address unrelated individuals, which must reflect certain facts of Okanagan-Colville social organization.[1]

Okanagan kinship terminology insists on distinctions based on the sex of ego, or of parent's ego. Thus the term for man's father will differ from the term for woman's father; similarly the term for ego's mother's father will differ from the term for ego's father's father. This requirement does not hold either above the first ascending generation, or below ego's generation. Consequently the term for ego's father's father's mother and the term for ego's mother's father's father will be the same. Similarly the terms for ego's son's son and ego's daughter's son are identical.

Okanagan kinship is also generational, as follows: lineal and collateral relatives of ego's second ascending generation, and collateral relatives of ego's own generation are not differentiated. That is to say, for example, the term for ego's father's father is not different from the term for ego's father's father's brother; neither are the terms for ego's siblings different from the terms for ego's mother's siblings' sons and daughters.[2]

1. The data[3]

We begin by listing the basic Okanagan forms in columns 1 through 5: (1) reference term; (2) plural reference term; (3) appellative form; and (4) hypocoristic form, followed by (5) English gloss. We list other forms in column 6, with glosses in column 7 (see Chart).

2. Plural forms

Four types of grammatical devices mark the plural of kin terms: (1) prefixation of łčł- to the stem; (2) reduplication of C_1C_1- of stem; (3) lengthening of the unstressed stem vowel; and (4) infixation of -aʔ-.

2.1. Prefixation of łčł- is required to form the plural of seven stems. Of these, four are inherently reduplicated; the remaining three are also complex, but analyzable stems, consisting of more than a bare root, and including material which is presumed affixal. These seven stems form a heterogeneous set, without obvious phonological or semantic patterns.

COLVILLE-OKANAGAN KINSHIP TERMS

	1 Reference	2 Ref. pl.	3 Appellative	4 Hypocoristic appellative	5 Gloss
1.	sənqəílxʷ		sənqəílxʷ		One's people
2.	ṣxaʔcín		ṣxaʔcín		Elder(s), ancestor(s)
3.	xaʔxʔít	xaˑʔxʔít	xaʔxʔít		Elder, ancestor
4.	kíwəlx	kəwʔíwəlx			Old (person)
5.	łəpłxáp	łəpłxáp			Old man, old woman's husband / Elders, grand parents
6.	pəptwínax̌ʷ	pətpətwínax̌ʷ			Old woman, old man's wife / Old woman
7.	qʷúpaʔ	łəłqʷúpaʔ	qʷúpaʔ		Great great grand parent, child
8.	łaʔłúpaʔ	łaˑʔłúpaʔ	łaʔłúpaʔ	túpaʔ	Great grand parent; great grand child
9.	sx̌ápaʔ	łəłsx̌ápaʔ	sx̌ápaʔ	x̌ápaʔ	Father's father, brother, cousin
10.	kíkwaʔ	łəłkíkwaʔ	kíkwaʔ	káwaʔ	Mother's father, brother, cousin
11.	qéqnaʔ		qéqnaʔ	qʔánaʔ	Father's mother
12.	stəmtímaʔ		stəmtímaʔ	támaʔ	Mother's mother
13.	sʷaʔʷásaʔ	łəłsʷaʔʷásaʔ	sʷaʔʷásaʔ		Mother's sister, cousin; stepmother
14.	smiʔł	łəłsmiʔł	smiʔł	miʔł	Father's brother, cousin
15.	səsíʔ	łəłsəsíʔ	səsíʔ		Mother's brother, cousin
16.	skʷúkiʔ	łəłskʷúkiʔ	skʷúkiʔ		Father's sister, cousin
17.	łʔíw	laʔłʔíw	łʔíw		Man's father / Man's fathers, his brothers, cousins
18.	łwistə	łułwistə	łwistə / łłwistə		Stepfather / Stepfather (slightly derisive)
19.	místəm	məsmístəm	místəm		Woman's father / Woman's fathers, their brothers, cousins
20.	skʷuy		skʷuy / k̓ʷuy	skʷk̓ʷuy	Man's mother / Man's mother (endearing)
21.		skʷyk̓ʷuy			Man's mothers, their sisters, cousins
22.	tum	təmtúm	tum		Woman's mother / Woman's mothers, their sisters, cousins
23.	łqéqcaʔ	łəłqéqcaʔ	łqéqcaʔ		Older brother, cousin
24.	qick				Man's elder brother (Rare in Penticton, Vernon Okanagan)
25.	łsísəncaʔ	łəłsísəncaʔ	łsísəncaʔ	síncaʔ	Younger brother, cousin
26.	łcəcʔúpə	łcaʔcʔúpə	łcəcʔúpə	ʔúpaʔ	Younger sister, cousin
27.	sqəltmíxʷ			sqqəltmíxʷ	Man, husband / Man, husband (derisive)
28.		sqəlqəltmíxʷ			Man
29.	sx̌íłwiʔ	sx̌áłx̌əlwiʔ	sx̌áłwiʔ		Husband / Husband (slightly derisive)
30.	tkełmílxʷ	tkəłkəłmílxʷ			Woman, wife / Woman
31.				tkəkəmíla?xʷ	Woman, wife (slightly derisive)
32.	náx̌ʷnəx̌ʷ			nnáx̌ʷnəx̌ʷ	Wife / Wife (derisive)

	6 Other	7 Gloss
	Hypocoristics:	
50.	mémaʔ	Mother (male and female's)
51.	wítaʔ - tətwít	Youngest boy in the family
	Miscellaneous:	
52.	puʔłlál	Widow(er)
53.	puʔłaxⁿt	Past widow(er)
54.	ṣpəlwʔíls	Want a husband
55.	nəx̌ʷnəx̌ʷíls	Want a wife
56.	caʔpsíʷs	Be sisters
57.	nəx̌ʷnəx̌ʷíʷs	Be married
58.	sənʔəsəíl	Twins
59.	sʔasləílt	Twins
60.	sʔasléílt	Twins of non human litter
61.	sək̓ʷətx̌əlút	Married woman's lover
62.	x̌ax̌áyaʔ	Married man's lover
63.	sqmənkánxⁿ	Sweetheart
	Nicknames:	
64.	spotwinax̌ʷsqáx̌aʔ	Old mare
65.	sk̓ʷulmsqáx̌aʔ	Old horse (to males and females)
66.	túmkət	Thumb (girl's)
67.	təmk̓łákaʔət	Little thumb (girl's)
68.	pápaʔ	? (girl's)
	Adopted:	
69.	k̓ʷəlłkíkwaʔ	Step grand father
70.	k̓ʷəlłłaʔłúpaʔ	Adopted great grand parent, child
71.	k̓ʷəlłqʷúpaʔ	Adopted great great grand parent, child
72.	k̓ʷəlłmístəm	Adopted woman's father
73.	k̓ʷəlłtum	Adopted woman's mother
74.	k̓ʷəlłskʷuy	Adopted man's mother
75.	k̓ʷəlłłʔíw	Adopted man's father
76.	k̓ʷəlłsx̌ápaʔ	Adopted father's father, brother, cousin
77.	k̓ʷəlłkíkwaʔ	Adopted mother's father, brother, cousin
78.	k̓ʷəlłmiʔł	Adopted father's brother, cousin
79.	k̓ʷəlłsəsíʔ	Adopted mother's brother, cousin
80.	k̓ʷəlłskʷúkiʔ	Adopted father's sister, cousin
81.	k̓ʷəlłsʷaʔʷásaʔ	Mother's sister, cousin; stepmother
82.	k̓ʷəlłqéqcaʔ	Adopted elder brother, cousin
83.	k̓ʷəlłsísəncaʔ	Adopted younger brother, cousin
84.	k̓ʷəlłcəcʔúpə	Adopted younger sister, cousin
85.	k̓ʷəlsəntxⁿús	Adopted female cousins, sisters, friends
86.	k̓ʷəlsłaxⁿt	Adopted brothers, male cousins, male friends; friends

14.	ŋqʷíčtn	ŋqʷácqʷ-ctṇ		
				qʷáctṇ
15.	sxaxá?	ƛeƛsxaxá?	sxaxá?	
16.	ƛcick	ƛeƛcick	ƛcick	
37.	sa?stám	sa?sa?stám		
				ssa?stám
38.	ṇkʷelmút			
39.	syúmcen	ƛeƛsyúmcen	syúmcen	
40.	slaxt	slegláxt	slaxt	
41.	sentxʷús	sentexʷtxʷús	sentxʷús	
42.	sqʷsi?	ƛeƛsqʷsi?	sqʷsi?	
43.	sqʷesqʷsi?			sqʷesqʷsi?
		sqʷesqʷa?síya?		sqʷesqʷsqʷa?síya?
44.	stemkʷilt	stemtemkʷilt		
				stestemkʷilt
45.	sƛwilt	sƛuƛwilt	sƛwilt	ƛƛwilt
46.	sen?ima?t	sen?en?ima?t	sen?ima?t	
47.	ṗḱi?ilt			
48.	sḱi?ilt			sḱeḱi?ila?t
49.	ṣtímtṇ			

Plurals of inherently reduplicated stems:

9. ƛeƛ-sxáppa? *father's father, brother, cousin*
10. ƛeƛ-ḱiḱwa? *mother's father, brother, cousin*
13. ƛeƛ-sʷa?ʷána? *mother's sister, cousin; stepmother*
15. ƛeƛ-ssi? *mother's brother, cousin*

Plurals of complex unanalyzable forms:

7. ƛeƛ-qʷúpsa? *great great grand parent, child*
14. ƛeƛ-smí?ƛ *father's brother, cousin*
16. ƛeƛ-sḱ"úḱi? *father's sister, cousin*

We have identified the following complexities in these stems: s- of *s-mi?ƛ, *s-ḱʷúḱi? and -a? of *qʷúps-a?. We are also aware that there may be a connection between 16. ƛeƛ-sḱʷúḱi? *father's sister* and 20. s-ḱʷuy *mother*.

If it is possible to reconstruct *s-ḱuy *mother*, then s-ḱʷúḱi? would be a fully reduplicated form with automatic rounding of ḱ before u, and syllabicity of y—only the final glottal stop remains to be accounted for (but cf. Sh ḱʷúye, *parent's brother's wife*, with ỹ; cf. also the Th doublet ḱʷos, ḱʷuy *parent's sister or female cousin*).

2.2. Three patterns of C₁C₁- reduplication of stem are found.

2.2.1. C₁C₁-. 14 forms have a vowelless reduplicative prefix:

34.	Widow(er)'s brother, sister, or cousin-in-law	88.	ḱʷelstemkʷílt	*Adopted daughter*
	Widow(er)'s brother, sister, or cousin-in-law (derivive)	89.	ḱʷelsen?íma?t	*Adopted grandchild; brother, sister or cousin's grandchild*
35.	Father-in-law	90.	ḱʷelíqʷána? ~ qáqna?	*Adopted father's mother*
36.	Mother-in-law	91.	ḱʷelstemtíma?	*Adopted mother's mother*
37.	Brother-, sister-, cousin-in-law; loosely, friend of one's spouse			
	Young brother, sister, cousin-in-law; loosely, young friend of one's spouse			
38.	Husbands of two sisters or cousins; wives of two brothers or cousins			
39.	Buddy, close friend (male to male)			
40.	Brothers, male cousins, male friends; friends			
41.	Female cousins, sisters, friends			
42.	Son			
	Little son			
43.	Small child			
	Children			
44.	Daughter			
	Little daughter			
45.	Brother, sister or cousin's son or daughter			
46.	Grandchild; brother, sister or cousin's grandchild			
47.	Grandchild-in-law; (spouse of grandchild)			
48.	son or daughter's widow(er)			
49.	son- or daughter-in-law's parents			

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4. //ḱ-?iwelx// //ḱ-?ew-?iwelx// *old (person)*
6. //ptwinax"// pet-petwinax" *old woman, old man's wife*
18. ƛwistṇ //ƛʷ-ƛwistṇ// *stepfather*
19. xístem xes-xístem *woman's father*
20. s-ḱʷuy s-ḱʷy-ḱʷuy *man's mother*
22. tum tem-túm *woman's mother*
27-8. s-qeltmíxʷ s-qel-qeltmíxʷ *man, husband*
30. t-keƛmílxʷ t-keƛ-keƛmílxʷ (cf. tk-tkimílxʷ in Cv) *woman, wife*
37. sa?stám sa?-sa?stám *brother, sister, cousin-in-law; loosely, friend of one's spouse*
40. s-laxt s-leq-láxt *brothers, male cousins, male friends; friends*
41. s-en-txʷús s-en-txʷ-txʷús *female cousin, sisters, friends*
44. s-ƛemkʷilt s-ƛem-ƛemkʷilt *daughter*
45. s-ƛwilt //s-ƛʷ-ƛwilt// *brother, sister or cousin's son or daughter*
46. s-en-?imat? s-en-?en-?íma?t *grandchild; brother, sister or cousin's grandchild*

2.2.2. Two forms reduplicate with C₁eC₁-:

29. s-ỹilwi? s-ỹál-ỹelwi? *husband*
34. s-q̇ʷíčtṇ s-q̇ʷác-q̇ʷ-ectṇ *widow(er)'s brother, sister, or cousin-in-law*

2.2.3. Two forms reduplicate with C₁a?-:

17. l?iw la?-l?iw *man's father*
26. //ƛ-c?ups// ƛ-ca?-c?ups *younger sister, cousin*

2.3. Two forms, reduplicated in the singular, form the plural by lengthening the unstressed stem vowel a.

3. xaʔ-xʔít   xa·ʔ-xʔít   *elder, ancestor*

8. ċaʔ-ċúpaʔ   ċa·ʔ-ċúpaʔ   *great grand parent; great grand child*

2.4. One form infixes -aʔ- twice, once before the C immediately preceding the stressed vowel, and once immediately following the stressed vowel:

43. //s-(qʷee-)qʷsiʔ//   s-qʷee-qʷaʔsíyaʔ   *small child*

3. Appellative forms

Under normal circumstances neither the reference term not a specific appellative is used to address 4. *elder;* 5. *old men;* 6. *old women;* 27. *man/husband;* 30. *woman/wife;* 34. *widow(er)/a brother, sister or cousin-in-law;* 37. *brother, sister, or cousin-in-law;* 30. *husband of one's wife's sister or wife of one's husband's brother;* 41. *small child;* 44. *daughter;* 47. *spouse of grandchild;* 48. *son- or daughter-in-law's parents.* Other reference terms serve as terms of address.

Some of these address terms can be used to address not only persons of actual or literal reference (ego's actual uncles, aunts, or grandfathers), but to unrelated individuals who by reason of age and sex may be so addressed. Thus an (unrelated) elderly male may be addressed as 10. k̓íkwaʔ (lit. *mother's father, brother, cousin*) or 15. seeíʔ (lit. *mother's brother, cousin*), and an elderly female as 12. stəmtímaʔ (lit. *mother's mother*), or 13. sʷsʔʷísaʔ (lit. *mother's sister, cousin; stepmother*).

A man may address a younger male as 25. síncaʔ (lit. *younger brother, cousin*), and a woman may address a younger female as 26. ʔúpaʔ (lit. *younger sister, cousin*). Conversely, two terms without actual kin reference may be used to address kin. Thus 40. sláxt *friend, partner* is used by males to address brothers, or male cousins, and 41. sentxʷús *friend, partner* is used by females to address sisters or female cousins.

As terms of address these last two terms serve other functions: sláxt may be used by a male to address a female with whom he is intimate, and sentxʷús is a reserved or polite term of address between coeval members of the opposite sex.

We might note that (1) the generic address terms for unrelated elders are all terms ...nat literally refer to ego's mother's (not father's) ascending relatives; and (2) there is no term (parallel to sláxt) with which a woman may address an intimate male. We take these facts to correlate with elements in (an earlier stage of) the social organization of the Okanagan-Colvilles.*

4. Hypocoristic forms

Twenty terms of address have special baby-talk variants, used both by children and adults. A variety of phonological operations applied to the reference terms yield these hypocoristics.

4.1. In one case word-initial s- is deleted, as though identified as (s-) *absolutive:*

14. miʔł   (<s-miʔł)   *father's brother, cousin*

4.2. In several cases simplexes are reconstructed, as though underlying (otherwise unanalyzable) reference forms, with or without attendant phonological changes:

8. túpaʔ   (<*ċaʔ-ċúpaʔ, with deglottalisation of ċ)

9. hʕápaʔ   (<*s-ɣá-ɣpaʔ, with replacement of ɣ with h and pharyngeal intrusion)

10. qʕánaʔ   (<*qá-qnaʔ, with reinstatement of a stressed stem vowel and pharyngeal intrusion)

12. támaʔ   (<*s-təm-tímaʔ, with ablaut í > á)

25. síncaʔ   (<*ł-sí-sencaʔ where (ł-) *diminutive*)

26. ʔúpaʔ   (<*ł-c-c-ʔʔup-e, with affixation of -aʔ)

It will be noted that while the morphology of the hypocoristic forms is simpler (with the possible exception of 26) than the referent forms, each hypocoristic word an underlying simplex, their phonology is not always simpler. túpaʔ is simpler than *ċúpaʔ, támaʔ may be simpler (a is less marked than í) than *tímaʔ, and ʔup (of ʔúpaʔ) is equivalent to *ʔup. But hʕápaʔ and qʕánaʔ seem more "complicated" than *ɣápaʔ and *qánaʔ respectively, unless we are prepared to argue that pharyngeal and similar vocalizations are typical of infancy and early childhood (cf. also 66).

If we understood the reason for the apparent complexity of these forms, we would probably understand the intrusion of pharyngeals in such borrowed items as kʷʕáta *quarter* and mʕotón *sheep.* These are words that remind Okanagan-Colville speakers of a canon that includes a pharyngeal in C₂ position.

4.3. In five forms diminutive affixation achieves the hypocoristic effect:

42. s-qʷ-qʷsiʔ   *son*

43. s-qʷ-qʷeqʷaʔsíyaʔ   *small child*

44. s-ċe-ċemkʔíit   *daughter*

45. ł-łwiłt   *brother, sister or cousin's son or daughter*

46. s-ke-k̓ʔílaʔt   *son or daughter's widow(er)*

Note that in 46. the diminutive is marked twice, once by the reduplicative k̓-, and again by the infix -aʔ-.

In five other forms the diminutive adds derision:

18. ł-łwistn   *stepfather*

20. s-q-qeltmíxʷ   *husband*

31. ł-ŋáɣʷnəɣʷ   *wife*

32. ł-ŋáɣʷnəɣʷ   *wife*

37. s-saʔstám   *brother-, sister-, cousin-in-law*

Note that in 31. the diminutive is marked twice, as in 46.

In contrast to the examples just given, another diminutive rings endearing to the native ear:

21. s-k̓ʷ-k̓ʷuy   *mother*

5. Miscellaneous forms

In the spirit of sharing the richness of Okanagan-Colville vocabulary, hoping to stimulate the compilation of similar lists in related languages, we offer the following comments (refer to the chart, items 50 through 91).

5.1. Hypocoristics

51. wíta? (<*tet-wít) *youngest boy* is formed, like 26. ?úpa?, by the extraction of an underlying simplex, and suffixation of -a?. It is roughly equivalent to English *Junior*.

5.2. The analysis of the miscellaneous items is as follows: 52-3. pu(?)- *spouse*, ḱlal *dead sg.*, ḱaxʷt *dead pl.*; 54-5. n- *locative*, ‌ŋlʷ *husband*, ‌ŋgʷ *wife*; 56-7. ‌cps *sister*, -iʷs *reciprocal*; 61. ‌vəḱʷt *half, across*, -ʔníʷt *side*; 62. ‌ŋgʷ *wife*, -áya? *pretend, play*; 63. s- *absolutive*, ‌ŋ‌m-nk *like, want*, -áwa? *?*.

5.3. **Nicknames**

The analysis of these forms is as follows:

64-5. s- *absolutive*, ptʷnxʷ *old woman*, -sqáxa? *horse*; 66-7. ‌ṭm *thumb* (cf. tụm *woman's mother*), -kst *hand, fingers*, -ṭáka?st *hand, diminutive*, with unexplained reduplication of k- and pharyngeal intrusion. 68. is not analysable.

5.4. **Step forms**

All these are compounds consisting of vḱʷl *mate, do*, the compound connector -ḷ-, and a kin term. If the kin term begins with s-, the compound connector does not occur, except in two cases,

74. ḱʷəl-ḷ-sḱʷúy *adopted man's mother*

76. ḱʷəl-ḷ-spáxpa? *adopted father's father, brother, cousin*

6. **Conclusions**

Okanagan-Colville terms of reference and address represent a rich system that correlates with a complex social organisation. Of special interest are (1) the richness of morphological devices that mark plural, (2) the intrusion of pharyngeal resonants into several otherwise morphologically simpler baby-talk forms, and (3) the restrictions that apply to the rules for addressing unrelated (non-kin) individuals. As yet we have not discovered any terms of personal reference that can not take possessives, similar to those found in Halkomelem.

NOTES

[1] Because we avoid the question of defining formally the limits of the kin group, we include some terms (such as *boss friend*) that might otherwise be excluded, but that are of interest because they are used as appellatives.

[2] The most recent informal discussion of Okanagan kinship is included in Hudson (forthcoming). A chart of the Okanagan extended family, cleverly color-coded, but excluding the affinal branches, can be found in the Okanagan Indian Curriculum Project's *We are the People, Grade Four Teacher/Student Resource Guide*. Okanagan Tribal Council.

[3] The list of kin terms was compiled by the authors with the assistance of Edna Jack, Delphine Baptiste, and Marine ... We are grateful for their valuable help.

[4] Cf. Chance 1973 for discussion and references.

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