Okanagan aspect: A working paper.

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0. Introduction. This is a survey of the form and function of several Okanagan aspect markers, not an exhaustive account of the aspect system of the language. Some morphemes, cognates of which in other Interior languages are normally considered aspectual, are not included here because I am focusing on forms cognates of which are underdescribed. The intent is to make available for study these Okanagan forms, and to stimulate comparative and contrastive studies.[1]

1. Person markers. Preliminary to my discussion of the aspect morphemes, I list the following person referent sets:

Absolutive	Simple Possessive	Genitive			Ergative[2]
Ref. proc + Stem	Prefix-Stem	Ref. Proc + Prefix-Stem			Stem-Object-Subject
Stem + pl suffix	Stem-Suffix	Ref. Proc + Stem-Suffix			Ref. Proc + Stem-Subject
kn	in-	kʷu	+	Simple Possessive	-(i)n
kʷ	an-	kʷ	+	" "	-(i)xʷ
-	-s	-	+	" "	-(i)s
kʷu	-tt	(kʷu	+	" ")	-(i)m
p	-mp	p	+	" "	-(i)p
- -lx	-s-lx	-	+	" "	-(i)s-əlx

Examples of each of these sets follow:

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[1] In some form or other the contents of this paper will be part of the Okanagan Reference Grammar I am preparing. My presentational style is aimed at an audience that is expected to extend beyond trained linguists. The primary goal is to provide a detailed and comprehensive account of Okanagan grammatical phenomena that is accessible to specialists and non-specialists, with abundant data. I am indebted to the members of the Okanagan Language Program at the En'owkin Centre, Penticton, BC.

[2] The chart is to be read as follows: an absolutive form consists of a person referent proclitic plus a stem OR a stem plus the plural suffix; a simple possessive form consists of a possessive prefix plus a stem, OR a stem plus a possessive suffix; a genitive form consists of a person referent proclitic plus a stem with possessive affix (pre- or suffix); an ergative form consists of a transitive stem plus an object suffix and a subject suffix, OR an object proclitic, a transitive stem, and a subject suffix. The use of the term *absolutive* follows from the fact that 3rd person intransitive subjects and 3rd person objects are zero; the term *genitive* refers to possessive forms with (a subset of) absolutive person referents; the term *ergative* applies to forms with transitivizers.

Absolutive:

kən xʷuy.	'I went.'
kən sqəltmíxʷ.	'I am a man.'
kən ʔayx̌ʷt.	'I am tired.'
kən qʷácqnəm.	'I put a hat on.'
kən cqʷácqən.	'I have a hat on.'

Simple possessive:

inkílx	'my hand ...' (this is a predication, but not a complete sentence)

Genitive:

kʷu anlʔíw.	'I am your father.'
kʷu anx̌ást.	'You like me.'
kʷ inx̌mínk.	'I like/want you.'

Ergative:

wíkəntsən [wíkəncən].	'I saw you.'

Membership in a grammatical class is not determined by the root or stem, but by the defining affixes or combinations of affixes, such as the aspectual morphemes, the transitive morphemes, the absolutive person markers, the genitive person markers, etc. Furthermore, stems can undergo layers of affixation, with more than one change of membership. Finally, the interpretation of each word in a sentence depends on syntactic factors. All such matters are discussed in the grammar, but for the moment it will suffice to say that, however tentatively, I have found reasons for and I have sought ways to classify stems as verbal or nominal according to some morphosyntactic criteria; and that I have similarly sought syntactic clues for distinguishing NP's from VP's--a VP can function as an NP in Okanagan as it can in other languages.

2. Aspect morphemes. In the following chart, where kn[3] represents all the absolutive referents, and $i(n)$- all the genitive referents, I list the combinations of person marker and aspect affix(es) I discuss:

2.1. Absolutives:

2.1.1.	kn ...-∅	'completive'
	kn ...-m	
	Digression on -m 'middle'	
2.1.2.	kn (a)c-...-∅	'habitual, customary'
	kn (a)c-...-m	
2.1.3.	kn s-...-(mí)x	'perfect'
2.1.4.	kn səc-...-(mí)x	'imperfective'
2.1.5.	kn ks-...-(míx)aʔx	'inceptive'
2.1.6.	kn ksc-...-∅	'past perfect'

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[3] kn is realized as $kən$. I have yet to decide what spelling to adopt in what circumstances.

Digression on *kɫ-* 'have'

2.2. Genitives:

2.2.1.	i-s-...-∅	'completive'
	i-s-...-m	
2.2.2.	i-sc-...-∅	'perfective'
	i-sc-...-m	
2.2.3.	i-ks-...-∅[4]	'future'
	i-ks-...-m	
2.2.4.	i-k-sc-...-∅	'future perfect'
	i-k-sc-...-m	
2.2.5.	i-k-c-...-∅	'future imperative'
	i-k-c-...-m	

2.3. Transitives:

2.3.1. The forms:

∅-...-nt
∅-...-st
∅-...-ɫt
∅-...-x(í)t
∅-...-túɫt

2.3.2. (a)c-...-st 'customary transitive'
Digression on -nt vs. -st

2.3.3. Abnormal cases

2.3.4. Questions regarding the allomorphy of ac-

3. Comparative and historical notes (section not included)

2.1. Absolutives. Intransitive forms with absolute reference set.

2.1.1. kn ...-∅ 'completive'. The simplest intransitive predicate is a stem inflected for person with the absolutive person reference set, and nothing else inflectional. The following examples, all intransitive stems, are arranged in order of approximate increasing compositional (derivational) complexity:

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[4]For a discussion of the allomorphy of this morpheme, see the section Digression on *kɫ-* 'have'.

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1. x̌lap   mi   kn   x̌ʷuy.
   tomorrow   fut[6]   I   go
   I'm leaving tomorrow.

2. k'aʔkín   ki?[5]   k̓ʷ   ilíʔʔ
   where   that   you   be_there
   Where are you staying?

3. k'aʔkín   ki?   k̓ʷ   mut?
   where   that   you   sit
   Where are you staying?

4. i?[7]   l   swit   ki?   c+kxan.[8]
   the   in   who   that   cisl[9]+go_along
   Who did he come with?

5. swit   i?   c+kxan?
   who   the   come_along
   Who came along?

6. wayʼ   kən   x̌ík̓'+ək̓'.
   yes   I   wrong
   I am wrong.

7. n̓ín̓w̓i?s   cuntx̌ʷ   ik̓'lí?   kn   q̓ʷəlq̓ʷílt.
   if_an_when   you_tell_her   there   I   talk
   Tell her I called.

8. niʕʼíp   i?   l   ?asíl   scəlkstásqʼət   ki?   k̓ʷu   x̌áqʼ+əqʼ.
   always   the   on   two   Friday   that   we   get_paid
   We always get paid every second Friday.

9. kn   k̓aw   i?   l   tk̓ʷ'uʃʃtn-s   sisikrí.
   I   gone   the   on   birth-his   Christ
   I was gone for Christmas.

Examples 10-14 are compounds, and 15-17 are complex forms (stems with lexical affixes):

10. i?   l   sísp'əlk̓'   ki?   ?aws-ɫqʼ+ílx.
    the   at   seven   that   go_to_bed
    She went to bed at seven o'clock.

11. ntəx̌ʷx̌ʷqín   kn   k̓əws-?iɫn.[10]
    noon   I   go-eat
    Noon I go eat lunch.

12. wayʼ   kn   k̓əws-tíw̓cn   k̓l   sntumístn.
    yes   I   go-get_groceries   to   store
    I went grocery shopping at the store.

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[5]The glottal stop is lost in casual speech. See below for a mention of the allomorph *ka(?)*.

[6]*fut* = 'future.'

[7]The sequence *i? l* is realized as *i l* in casual speech.

[8]I use the symbol + to indicate a stem-internal morpheme boundary, that is, a boundary that is not relevant for the purposes of the current discussion.

[9]*cisl* = cislocative.

[10]I don't know what the difference between *k̓əws* and *?aws*, as in *kən k̓əws-?iɫn* and *kn ?aws-?iɫn* is.

13. tla?kín   mi   kʷ   ta?x̌ʷ-sqláw̓.
    from_where fut   you   obtain-money
    Where will you find the money?

14. kʷ   səlx̌ʷa?-spu?ús.   15. kʷ   səlx̌ʷ?-íłx̌ʷ.[11]
    you   big-heart   you   big-house
    You have a big heart, you are generous.   You have a big house.

16. talí?   anwí   kʷ   x̌əsx̌s+íkst.
    very   you   you   good_hands
    You are very good with your hands.

17. talí?   kʷ   kʷ̓íʕ+i?st   ʕapná?   sx̌łx̌łʕalt.
    very   you   work_hard   now   day
    You are working hard today.

In these examples each action / state / event is viewed as a complete one. Absolute time reference is irrelevant. I call these unmarked forms 'completive.'

These examples are also morphologically simple forms consisting of a bare stem. There are cases where -m (traditionally called 'middle') is suffixed to the stem.[12] Some of these are unequivocal, while others are a matter of debate amongst native speakers (some examples will be given below). The apparent function of -m is to signal an object.

18. kən   qʷácqn-əm.
    I   hat-m
    I put my hat on.

Compare this with:

19. kən   qʷácqən.
    I   hat
    I am a hat (an acceptable, grammatical utterance).

and with:

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[11]The loss of a in səlx̌ʷ?íłx̌ʷ (and its retention in səlx̌ʷa?spu?ús) correlates with its distance from the (following) stressed vowel.

[12]-m does not compromise any of the statements that relate to aspect. I bring it up here to contribute Okanagan data to the ongoing discussion on Salish grammar(s).

21. kən   cqʷácqən.   22. kən   lasmíst-əm.
    I   hab-hat[13]   I   shirt-m
    I have a hat on.   I put a shirt on.

23. kən   lasmíst.   24. kən   c-lasmíst.
    I   shirt   I   hab-shirt
    I am a shirt.   I have a shirt on.[14]

25. kən   lakłí-m.   26. kən   píkst-əm.
    I   lock-m   I   put_on_gloves-m
    I locked it.   I put my gloves on.

The set of lexical items that when inflected for person translates with the equivalent of a predicate nominal or adjectival (with no copula) has to be sorted into a subset that does not allow -m and one that does.

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[13]hab- = 'habitual.'

[14]Here I discuss -m with additional data. First of all, no amount of pressure should force a speaker to come up with equivalents for 'I put my shirt on him' using lasmíst as the verb stem. Speakers will revert to something like
    laʕ-łt-ín   in-lasmíst.
    fit-łt-I   my-shirt
    I put my shirt on him.
where the -łt fulfills the function of allowing for three participants (I, him, my shirt) with co-referentiality markings.
    A simple transitivization of lasmíst allows sentences like
    lasmíst-ən
    shirt(-nt)-I
    I put a shirt on him.
where one should not try to analyze the form as containing -st 'causative.' Compare, for that purpose, qʷácqən (qʷácqən-nt-n) 'I put a hat on him.' and qʷácqəntxʷ 'you put a hat on him.'
    Finally, Okanagan has a transitivizer -túłt (with allomorphs -úłt, -ntúłt, -stúłt with unclear distribution), further exemplified in 165, 176, 179, 194, that allows two unmarked (by t or other prepositions) arguments to follow:
    laʕ-túłt-ən   pít   in-lasmíst
    fit-túłt-I   Pete   my-shirt
    I put my shirt on Pete.
I don't know if lasmíst and qʷácqən are kept from ditransitive affixation by a basic or inherent membership in a given grammatical class, but that seems plausible. A complete list of the grammatical range of a number of stems of the language will allow me to make some proposals.

Some intransitives do not allow affixation of -m and nothing else, but otherwise take -m before transitive morphemes. Otherwise stated -m prepares stems for transitivization:[15]

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[15]The thematic requirements of every stem in the language need to be mapped out to match phenomena such as the following:

27. kən s+təx+mín.
    I comb
    I am Comb.

28. təx-ənt-ín.
    comb-nt-I
    I combed his/her hair.

29. kən txa-m.
    I comb-m
    I comb my hair.

30. kən təx+áx.
    I combed
    I was combed (by somebody).

31. kən təx-əncút.
    I comb-refl
    I combed my hair.

this last example in a larger context:

32. yayʕát təx+tx+áx-əłx náx̌əmł incá kən təx+əncút.
    all combed-pl but I I comb-refl
    Somebody else combed all the others' hair, but I combed my own.

Some intransitive stems that end with -t 'stative' transitivize with -m, others do not, in apparent correlation with how unsegmentable speakers perceive the t to be. Examples 33-38 transitivize without -m, and examples 39-41 require it:

33. ha? ťi kʷ kʷaʕ-t?
    Q emph you warm-t
    Are you warm enough?

34. ac-kʷáʕ-st-ən.
    cust-warm-st-I
    I used to warm him up (all the time).

35. ha? kʷ kʷ-?-áʕ.
    Q you warm-inch
    Are you getting warm?

36. kʷáʕ-ən.
    warm-nt-I
    I warmed it/him/her up.

37. uc kʷ ʔílxʷt?
    Q you hungry
    Are you hungry?

38. ixí? ʔílxʷt-st-ən.
    that hungry-st-I
    I made him hungry.

39. ʔílxʷt-m-ən i? síya?.
    hungry-m-nt-I the saskatoons
    I am hungry for saskatoons.

40. ʔílxʷt-m-łt-s-ən as-c+ʔíłən.
    hungry-m-łt-you-I your-food
    I am hungry for your food.

41. ac-ʾalxʷt-m-st-ín i? sqʷʕip.
    cust-hungry-m-st-I the moss
    I am hungry for black moss.

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*kən cítxʷ-m.

42. kən cítxʷ.
    I house
    I am a house (possibly in a legend).

43. ac-cítxʷ-əm-st-ən.[16]
    cust-house-m-st-I[17]
    I claim it as (my) house.

44. kn tkłmílxʷ.
    I woman
    I am a woman.

45. tkłmílxʷ-st-ən.
    woman-st-I
    I claim her as my mate.

46. kn s+qəltmíxʷ.
    I man
    I am a man

47. qəltmíxʷ-əm-st-ən.[18]
    man-m-st-I
    I claim him as my man.

-m forms accompanied by a t phrase, in each case the logical object of the verb, suggest the interpretation of -m as signalling an object, but I have found several cases of optional -m (see 51-53 and 54-56):

48. tla?kín mi kn ka?kíc-m t łkapí.
    where fut I find-m t coffee
    Where can I find some coffee?

49. kn wík-əm t sx̌'a?cínəm t si?łkʷək̓ʷʕást.
    I see-m t deer t morning
    I saw a deer this morning.

50. wayʾ kən ʔickn-əm t p̓úkʷla?.
    yes I play-m t ball.
    Yes, I played ball.

51. kən x̌'x̌ʷúp-əm t sqlawʾ.
    I win-m t money
    I won some money.

52. kən x̌'x̌ʷup.
    I won.
    I won.

53. kən x̌'x̌ʷúp t sqlawʾ.
    I won t money
    I won some money.

54. kən ʔíłən.
    I eat
    I ate.

55. kən ʔíłn t słiqʷ.
    I eat t meat
    I ate (some) meat.

For further exemplification of the workings of -m and similar contexts, see examples 214-228.

[16]The allomorphy of ac- 'customary' (with transitive stems) is discussed in 2.3.2 and 2.3.4.

[17]cust = customary, but together with -st.

[18]Note the presence and absence of s- in the last two forms.

56. kən ʔiɬnəm t sɬiqʷ.
    I ate t meat.
    I ate (some) meat.

In any case, the interpretation of the object is always indefinite, and sentence like *kən wíkəm t pit, *kən kaʔkícəm t pit are excluded--the only choices here are wíkən pít 'I saw Pete.' and kaʔkícən pít 'I found Pete.' Even clearer are examples like kən wíkʷəm t sqlawˊ 'I hid some money' along with kən wíkʷəm təl isqláwˊ 'I hid some of my money,' and the excluded *kən wíkʷm t isqláwˊ. The best evidence that -m signals an object is afforded by such sets of forms (in the future aspect, q. v. below, where I discuss further the workings of -m):

57. a-ks-ʔiɬən ...
    you-fut-eat
    You will eat ...

58. a-ks-ʔiɬn-əm ...
    you-fut-eat-m
    You will eat ...

59. lut a-ks-ʔiɬən ...
    not you-fut-eat
    You will not eat ...

60. lut a-ks-ʔiɬn-əm ...
    not you-fut-eat-m
    You will not eat ... (often with force 'Don't eat it ...')

61. lut kʷu a-ks-ʔiɬn-əm ...
    not I you-fut-eat-m
    You won't eat me (normal translation is 'don't eat me')

But *lut kʷu aksʔiɬən. The -m, in other words, is required in the genitive paradigm (forms with genitive plus possessive person referents). The third person genitive, identical with the third person absolute, is zero, and consequently the 3rd genitive is indistinguishable from any of the simple possessive forms. Hence the vacillation between forms with and without -m, in a studio setting.

2.1.2. kn (a)c-... ' habitual, customary'. The prefix c- 'habitual / customary' adds to Okanagan state words a notion 'get, become.' With action words it signals progressive or habitual action. With noun stems it translates as 'be with, have (on). ac- occurs with verbs of motion that are not cislocative (without c- 'cislocative'--for discussion of the allomorph see 2.3.4):

State words:[19]

[19]In addition to the examples given here, note the following unexpected judgments. Alongside the accepted
    kən c-ƛ̓ást-əm
    I hab-bad-m
    I used to misbehave
is the rejected:
    *kən c-x̌ást-əm
    I hab-good-m

62. uc kʷ ʔílx̌ʷt? (compl)
    Q you hungry
    Are you hungry?

63. uc kʷ c-ʼílx̌ʷt? (cust)
    Q you hab-hungry
    Do you get hungry?

64. ha kʷ nx̌ˤam·cn? (compl)
    Q you thirsty
    Are you thirsty?

65. ha kʷ c-nx̌ˤam·cn? (cust)
    Q you hab-thirsty
    Do you get thirsty?

66. kən c-ʼayx̌ʷt kən ɬaʔ c-maʔyá-m. (cust)
    I hab-tired I when hab-story-m
    I get tired when I tell stories.

Compare kən ʔáyx̌ʷt 'I am / was tired.'

Action words:

67. iʔ l sƛ̓əɬʔáʔ kiʔ kn nˤawˊˤáwˊmiʔst. (compl)
    the on weekend that I relax
    I relaxed on the weekend.

68. iʔ l sƛ̓ɬʔaʔ kiʔ kn c-nˤawˊˤáwˊmiʔst. (cust)
    the on weekend that I hab-relax
    Weekends I relax.

69. iʔ l sənkʷəkʷʔác kʷu yaˤyáx̌aʔ iʔ t snyaˤyáx̌aʔtn. (compl)
    the in evening we watch the t TV
    In the evening we watched television.

70. iʔ l sənkʷəkʷʔác kʷu c-yaˤyáx̌aʔ iʔ t snyaˤyáx̌aʔtn.[20] (cust)
    the in evening we hab-watch the t TV
    In the evening we watch television.

Note also kən cp̓aˤá 'I got bored.' where there is no final -t or -m. Ok {-t} is not aspectual in the same way that the affixes I am describing here are. For one thing, it often remains attached to the stem with further (outer) verbal affixes. For another, there are no regularly contrasting forms with and without -t (x̌ast but *x̌as).

[20]Consider the function of -m in
    kʷu yaˤyáx̌aʔ-m iʔ ƛ̓əl sənyaˤyáˤx̌aʔtən.
    We watched_a_movie-m the at theatre.
contrasted with its absence in 69-70. Note that sənyaˤyáˤx̌aʔtan is generically 'theater' and 'television.' iʔ l citx̌ʷ iʔ sənyaˤyáˤx̌aʔtn is specifically 'television,' lit. 'theatre in the house.'

72. kən cka?k?ús-m[21]   i?   l   i-snk"úɾmn. (cust)
    I   hab-work_hard-m   the   at my-office
    I work hard at the office.

73. i?   l skɾacíw's ki?   x̌áq'-m-əlx. (compl)
    the on Sunday   that   pay-m-pl
    They paid on Sunday.

74. niɾíp i?   l   s?asíl skɾacíw's ka[22]   c-x̌aq'-m-lx. (cust)
    always the on two   week   that   hab-pay-pl
    They pay every second week.

75. i?   l skix"íw's ki   kən   k'əw+s-m'am'áya?-m. (compl)
    the on Monday that I   go_to-school-m
    On Monday I went to school.

76. i?   tl   skix"íw's uɬ   k'l scəlkstásq'ət ki   kn c-m'am'áya?-m.[23] (cust)
    the from Monday and to   Friday   that I hab-school-m
    From Monday to Friday I go to school.

With noun stems:

77. kən c-lasmíst.   78. kən c-q"ácqən.
    I   hab-shirt   I   hab-hat
    I have a shirt on.   I have a hat on.

79. kən c-pikst[24]
    I   hab-glove
    I have gloves on

_____

[21]This is another case where the -m seems optional. The following have been judged synonymous:
    ta?lí? k" ka?k?ús   ki?   k"əɾ-nú-nt-x".
    ta?lí? k" ka?k?úsəm ki?   k"əɾ-nú-ntx".
    very   you work_hard that do-manage-nt-you
    You worked very hard to do that.

[22]ka(?) is a variant of ki? before the habitual prefix c-.

[23]This is another case where the -m seems optional.

[24]Noteworthy the absence of s-. spikst 'glove,' kən píkstəm 'I put gloves on.' One can argue that the s is lost as a morphophonological choice of the language (c- + s = c-) better that one can argue that because cpikst is a verb (by virtue of its habitual aspect prefix) the noun-forming s- withdraws. See kən kspikst 'I have gloves' and kən kɬq"ácqən 'I have a hat.' Both forms are verbs by definition because of the person referent set they take, yet spikst does not lose its initial s, but it is rather kɬ- that loses the ɬ before the s.

Note that this function of Ok (unlike the Th cognate, for example) c- is restricted to (a) certain subclass(es) of nouns. Thus *kən c-cítx" is uninterpretable, and not *I have a house.

2.1.3. kn s-...-(mí)x 'perfect'. This works something like the English perfect with present relevance. It has two allomorphs, the longer of which attaches to weak stems, and is itself stressed.

80. a-s+ɾác'əc'   ?ax"   k"   s-k"úɾ-x   t   k'ast.
    your-appearance again you perf-do-perf t bad
    It looks like you've done something wrong again.

81. kən s-cut-x.   82. ilí?,   way'   s-?iɬn-x.
    I   perf-say-perf   there already perf-eat-perf
    I have said it.   Leave him alone, he has eaten.

83. s-wi?+s+q"əlq"ílt-x.   84. s-wi?+cín-x.
    perf-finish_talk-perf   perf-finish_eat-perf
    He has finished talking.   He has finished eating.

85. xkínəm pit? s-píx-əx.   86. s-k"úɾ-x[25]   k'əl sáma?.
    where   Pete perf-hunt-perf   perf-work-perf to   White_person
    Where is Pete? He has gone hunting. He has gone working at the white man's.

All stems in examples 80-86 are stressed. The next set exemplifies weak stems:

87. s-tər'q-míx.   88. pit s-x̌'a?-míx   t   kɬ+q'əy'mín-tət.
    perf-dance-perf   Pete perf-fetch-perf t paper_to_be-us
    He has been dancing.   Pete has gone to get more paper for us.

89. kən s-k'əwp-míx   90. kən s-x̌'a?x̌'a?-míx   t   st'ápqəs.
    I   perf-quiet-perf   I   perf-look_for   t   thread
    I have stopped talking.   I am looking for thread.

91. kən s-x̌'a?-míx   t   st'ápqəs.
    I   perf-look-perf t   thread
    I am fetching some thread.

92. kən səp'-míx[26]   i?   t pumín, mi   sic[27] kən k"nim.
    I   (perf-)hit-perf the t drum   fut new   I   sing
    I am hitting the drum, then I will sing.

_____

[25]The interpretation of s-k"úɾ-x in 80. and in 86. follows from the accompanying adjuncts.

[26]s + s = s.

[27]mi sic has the force 'then, subsequently.'

2.1.4. kn sᵊc-...-(mí)x²⁸ 'imperfective'.

93. way ixí? sᵊc-xʷúy-x.
yes that impf-go-impf
He's going.

94. lu(t) t̓ aláʔ, sᵊc-k̓ʷúʕ-x.
not emph here impf-work-impf
She is not here, she's working.

95. i-sk̓ʷúy sᵊc-k̓ʷʕcncút-x i? l sᵊnk̓ʷʕcᵊncútn-s.
my-m's_mother impf-cook-impf the in kitchen-her
My mother is cooking in her kitchen.

96. xʷᵊxʷ sᵊc-ᵊnpᵊx̌pᵊx̌cᵊnscút-x.
again impf-talk_smart-impf
He's talking like he's smart again.

97. xʷᵊxʷ sᵊc-k̓ɬpᵊx̌pᵊx̌ᵊncút-x.
again impf-outsmart-impf
He's trying to outsmart him again.

98. way kᵊn xʷy-ils náx̌ᵊmɬ lut, kᵊn sᵊc-k̓ʷúʕ-x.
yes I go-want but no I impf-work-impf
I would like to go with you but I'm working.

99. c-ᵊnk̓ʷaʔncínᵊm i? wᵊswʕisxaʔ aɬíʔ sᵊc-x̌ᵊl+sq̓ít-x.
hab-sing the robin because impf-call_for_rain-impf
A robin sings calling for rain.

100. i-ks-k̓ᵊwsyʕayʕáx̌aʔ-m i? sᵊc-p̓úk̓ʷlaʔ-x.²⁹
my-fut-go_watch-m the impf-ball-impf
I am going to watch them play ball.

101. sᵊc-c̓aq̓mí-xaʔx³⁰ ixíʔ i? t p̓úk̓ʷlaʔ.
impf-throw-impf that the t ball
He is practicing throwing the ball.

Examples with weak stems:

102. sᵊc-tᵊr̓q-míx.
impf-dance-impf
He's dancing.

103. stim' a³¹ c-x̌̓aʔx̌̓aʔ-st-ís? sᵊc-x̌̓aʔx̌̓aʔ-míx t lkapí.
what the cust-look_for-st-he impf-look_for-impf t coffee
What's he looking for? He's looking for some coffee.

104. sᵊc-x̌̓aʔ-míx i? t lkapí.
impf-fetch-impf the t coffee
He's getting some coffee.

2.1.5. kn ks-...-(míx)aʔx 'inceptive'. This combination is the inceptive aspect. Because I have called *iks-...* forms 'future,' I retain the label 'future' for the prefixal part of the circumfix, and call 'inceptive' the suffixal *-(míx)aʔx*. In casual speech the *k* is occasionally lost, but a careful repetition regularly restores it. The first three examples are of strong stems, the next three weak.

105. kᵊn ks-k̓ᵊwstíw̓cn-aʔx k̓l sᵊntumístn.
I fut-go_get_groceries-incp to store
I am going grocery shopping at the store.

106. k̓ʷu ks-nʔíys-aʔx t nc̓xʷíwltᵊn i? k̓l p̓úyxᵊntᵊt.
we fut-buy-incp t gas the to our_car
We are going to buy some gas for our car.

107. k̓ʷu k-tᵊɬ+xʷúy-aʔx³² mi k̓ʷu pulx, aɬíʔ x̌lap k̓ʷu ks-k̓ʷáʕct-aʔx.
we fut-again_go-incp fut we sleep because tomorrow we fut-early-incp
We are going back home to sleep because tomorrow we are getting up early.

108. k̓ʷu ks-x̌̓aʔx̌̓aʔ-míxaʔx i? t k-sípntᵊt i? tl tq̓ʷʕayxn i?
we fut-look_for-incp the t fut-daughter_in_law the from Blackfoot the
tl tᵊmxʷúlaʔxʷ-s.
from land-his
We are looking for a daughter-in-law from the Blackfoot country.

109. ks-q̓ʷa?q̓ʷʔal-míxaʔx i? sᵊxʷk̓ʷᵊn̓k̓ʷín̓maʔm i? l scᵊlkstásq̓ᵊt i? k̓ᵊl
fut-meeting-incp the council the on Friday the to
silmxʷíɬxʷ.
band_office
There will be a council meeting on Friday at the band office.

---

²⁸*sᵊc-* has a schwa that cannot be accounted for in phonotactic terms.

²⁹This is a typical example of a NP that consists of a determiner and a VP. One way to translate such constructions is 'those who ....'

³⁰This form deserves special mention. Along with the equivalent *sᵊc-c̓aq̓+mín-aʔx* it shows that the stem is *c̓aq̓mín*, and that *-aʔx* and *-xaʔx* are variants of *-x* in this environments. See the parallel variants *-x, -aʔx* 'intransitive imperative singular.'

³¹*a(ʔ)* is an allomorph of *i?* 'article' before the habitual aspect *c-*, parallel to *ki?, ka(?)*. Incidentally, you can see that *i?* is the object of the following V.

³²ɬ- 'back,' *tᵊɬ*-'again:' *kᵊn ksxʷúyaʔx* 'I am going,' *kᵊn kɬxʷúyaʔx* 'I am going back.' *kᵊn ksʔiɬnaʔx* 'I am going to eat.' *kᵊn kɬᵊɬʔiɬnaʔx* 'I am going to eat again.' **kᵊn kɬʔiɬnaʔx*. Both *kɬxʷúyaʔx* and *kɬᵊɬxʷúyaʔx* get translated informally as 'going back home.'

110. talí?   xʷ?it   i?   ks-nixʷ-míxa?x   i?   l   spaqt.[33]
 very   many   the   fut-dance-incp   the   in   January
They will be having many Chinook dances in January.

2.1.6. kn ksc-...-∅ 'past perfect'. Two characteristics of this construcion deserve mention. The first is that *kn ksc-* is not parallel to *i-ksc-* because while *ksc-* forms conjugated with the absolutive set are past perfect, *ksc-* forms conjugated with the possessive set are future perfect--one is not a possible substitute for the other in a given syntactic environment. The second is that I have never encountered any member of this paradigm with *-m*, and my efforts at producing an acceptable form with *-m* have failed. *ksc-* forms in construction with *ła(?)* are of high frequency, and this suggests an alternative to the analysis of *ksc-* that I discuss after I give some examples:

111. kən   ksc-wik   t   spʕáła?.
 I   pperf-see   t   monster.
I have seen a monster.

112. axá?   atwán   ła?   ksc-kʷin.
 this   Tony   that   pperf-take
Tony is the one that bought it.

113. incá   kən   ła?   ksc-wik   t   spáła?.
 I   I   that   pperf-see   t   monster
I'm the one that has seen a monster.

114. wayʲ   kən   ksc-kʷin'.
 yes   I   pperf-try
I have tried it already.

115. wayʲ   kən   ksc-cut.
 yes   I   pperf-say
I have already said it.

116. axá?   mnimłtt   kʷu   ła?   ksc-q'ayʲ.
 this   we   we   that   pperf-write
We are the ones that wrote it.

117. ixí?   sənk'líp   ła?   ksc-kʷuʔ,   ixí?   qʷʲc'i?-s   sənk'líp.
 that   Coyote   that   pperf-do   that   pit_house-his   Coyote
That's Coyote's work, that's Coyote's pit house.

Okanagan has a prefix *kł-* 'have', and it may be possible to analyze *ksc-* as containing it.

kł- 'have' has allomorph *k-* before stems that begin with *s*, and *kł-* forms are conjugated with the absolutive person referent set:

118. kən   kł-qʷácqən.
 I   have-hat
I have a hat.

119. kən   k-sqʷəsqsí?.
 I   have-child
I have a child.

This prefix should not be confused with *kł-* 'to be.' *kł-* forms are conjugated with the possessive reference set, as follows (note the nasalless allomorph *i-* of *in-*; similarly *a(n)-*, further mentioned in 2.2 and 2.2.3):

120. i-kł-qʷácqən ...
 my-fut-hat
my hat-to-be ...

121. i-k-sqʷəsqʷsí? ...
 my-fut-child
my child-to-be ...

ks- 'future,' in turn, should not be confused with *kł-* 'to be,' in spite of their semantic equivalence. While *kł-* 'to be' loses its *ł* before stems that begin with *s* (see 119, and *iksqəłmíxʷ* 'my husband-to-be,' etc.) and *ł* (*i-k-łúm'ən* 'my spoon-to-be,' *i-k-łkíkxa?* 'my older sister-to-be,' etc.), *ks-* 'future' loses its *s* before another *s*, but not before a *ł*: *kʷ i-k-síwm* 'I am going to ask you,' *kʷ i-ks-łwínəm* 'I am going to leave you.' All forms that belong to the paradimg *kən ksc-*, nevertheless, could be interpreted as consisting of *k(ł)-* 'have' plus *sc-* because alongside such forms as *inqʷácqən* 'my hat,' and *isqʷsqʷsí?* 'my child,' are:

122. incá   kən   ła?   kł-qʷácqən
 I   I   that   have-hat
It's my hat.

123. incá   kən   ła?   k-sqʷəsqʷsí?
 I   I   that   have-child
It's my son.

and these seem parallel to 112, 113, 116, and 117, as well as to

124. axá?   atwán   ła?   ksc-xʷuy.[34]
 this   Tony   that   ksc-go
These are Tony's ways.

125. axá?   atwán   ła?   ksc-q'ayʲ.
 this   Tony   that   ksc-write
It was Tony that wrote it.

2.2. Genitives. These forms consist of a possessive word plus a genitive person referent. With stems that are basically nominal, the affixation of the possessive occurs without intervening (nominalizing) affix:

126. kʷ   in-tkʷíls.
 you   my-company
You are my company.

127. kʷ   in-x'əl·tán.
 you   my-death
You are my death.

128. wayʲ   kʷ   in-tkʷʲəckʷəctán.
 yes   you   my-strength
You are my strength.

Here, too, belong such forms as

129. kʷ   in-xást.
 you   my-good
I like you.

130. kʷ   in-k'ást.
 you   my-bad
I don't like you.

---

[33]What is the correct analysis of the first *i?* in this sentence?

[34]*kscxʷuy* with the meaning 'way of doing' is idiomatic, but normal.

131. kʷu   an-x̌mínk.
     I   your-want
     You like me.

The allomorphy of *i(n)-* and *a(n)-* entails the loss of the nasal before stems that begin with *ł* and *s* (as well as before *ks-* 'future,' and *kł-* 'to be;' see 2.2.3):

132. kʷu   a-skʷúy.
     I   your-m's_mother
     I am your mother

133. kʷ   i-s+ənkʷʷ+ł+x̌ʷúpt.
     you   my-co_weakness
     You are my weakness.

134. kʷu   a-łkíkxaʔ.
     I   your-older_sister
     I am your older sister.

2.2.1. **i-s-...** 'completive'. Verbs in the completive aspect are interpreted as tense-independent events viewed as complete:

135. way̓   ixíʔ   s-x̌ʷúy-s.
     yes   that   compl-go-his
     He is going to go now.

136. way̓   ixíʔ   i-s-kʷní-m.
     yes   that   my-compl-take-m
     I am going to take that.

137. huy   a-s-k̓əłpáʔx̌?
     OK   your-compl-think
     What do you think?

138. way̓   ixíʔ   i-s-ʔíłən.
     yes   that   my-compl-eat
     I am going to eat.

139. húmaʔ   i-s-ʔíłn-əm.
     now   my-compl-eat-m
     Give it here, I'll eat it.

The last two example show the same verb stem with and without *-m*. I will continue the discussion of the function of *-m* in 2.2.3, but I show here the connection of *-m* with an object. *-m* is obligatory with forms that have both a genitive and a possessive person marker:

140. s+cút+x+əlx   lut   t̓   wík-ənt-s-əlx,   náx̌əmł   way̓   kʷ   i-s-wík-əm
     say_pl   not   emph see-nt-2sg-pl   but   yes   you   my-compl-see-m
     They said they didn't see you, but I saw you.

2.2.2. **i-sc-...** 'perfective'. The difference between completive and perfective forms is clearest in pairs like the following:

141. talíʔ   in-x̌ást   i-s-ʔítx. (compl.)
     very   my-good   my-compl-sleep
     I like very much to sleep.

142. talíʔ   in-x̌ást   i-sc-ʔítx. (perf.)
     very   my-good   my-perf-sleep
     I slept very well.

143. talíʔ   in-x̌ást   i-s-qíʔs. (compl.)
     very   my-good   my-compl-dream
     I like very much to dream.

144. talíʔ   in-x̌ást   i-sc-qíʔs. (perf.)
     very   my-good   my-perf-dream
     I like very much what I dreamt.

145. iʔ   l   i-s-qíʔs   kʷu   náqʷʷm-łt-s+əlx   in-kəwáp,   nax̌əmł   lut
     the   in   my-compl-dream   me   steal-łt-they   my-horse   but   not
     kən   t̓a   kł-kwap. (compl)
     I   emph have-horse
     In my dream they stole my horse, but I do not have a horse.

146. iʔ   l   i-sc-qíʔs   kʷu   náqʷʷm-łt-s+əlx   in-kəwáp,   łə-x̌láp
     the   in   my-perf-dream   me   steal-łt-they   my-horse   back-morning
     t̓i   k̓aw·. (perf)
     emph gone
     While I was dreaming they stole my horse, come morning it was gone.

147. way̓   xʷʔit   i-s-x̌áq̓. (compl)
     yes   much   my-compl-pay
     I pay a lot.

148. lut   t̓   put   i-sc-x̌áq̓. (perf)
     not   emph enough   my-perf-pay
     I didn't pay enough.

Note the following example with two referents and, obligatorily, *-m*:

149. way̓   t̓i   cu-nt-s-ən   tə   spisc̓íłt   way̓   kʷ   i-sc-wík-əm.
     yes   emph tell-nt-you-I   t   yesterday yes   you   my-perf-see-m
     I told you, I saw you yesterday.

2.2.3. **i-ks-...** 'future'. These forms should not be confused with the inceptive forms discussed in 2.1.5. These latter are conjugated with the absolutive reference set (*kn*), the genitive future forms are conjugated with the possessives and genitive sets. Note the allomorphs *i-* '1sg,' and *a-* '2sg.' Genitive future forms afford additional evidence that supports the analysis of *-m* as signaling an object: the *-m* is obligatory when both a possessive and a genitive referent are expressed. Here is an example of a future form with possessive referent:

150. way̓   kən   c-músəls   ł   i-ks-k̓x̌ʷúp.
     yes   I   hope   that I-fut-win
     I hope I will win.

and five in the negative with the force of a request. Note the allomorph *k-* before stems that begin with *s*:

151. lut   a-ks-x̌ʷúy.
     not   your-fut-go
     Don't go.

152. lut   a-k-síw-m
     not   your-fut-ask-m
     Don't ask.

153. lut   a-ks-ʔíɬən.
     not   your-fut-eat
     Don't eat.

154. lut   kʷu   a-k-síw-m.
     not   I   your-fut-ask
     Don't ask me.

155. lut   a-ks-ʔíɬn-əm
     not   your-fut-eat-m
     Don't eat.

When another referent is added, a member of the genitive set, the form must take -m. ks- is intact before ɬ that belongs to the root, but reduces to k- before ɬ(əɬ)-'again':

156. lut   kʷu   a-ks-ɬwín-əm
     not   I   your-fut-leave-m
     Don't leave me.

157. lut   kʷu   a-k-ɬ-ɬwín-əm
     not   I   your-fut-again-leave-m
     Don't leave me again.

See also:

158. kən   ks-ɬwín-aʔx   aláʔ   t   q'əymín.
     I   fut-leave-inc   here   t   letter
     I'm going to leave a letter here.

159. kən   k-ɬə-ɬwín-aʔx   aláʔ   t   q'əymín.
     I   fut-again-leave-inc   here   t   letter
     I'm going to leave a letter here again.

Note that (n)-m- becomes -iʔ before -s '3rd possessive,' as shown in the following contrasting pair of sentences:

160. lut   a-ks-ʔíɬən,   uɬ   yaʔx̌ís   nixʷ   lut   ks-ʔíɬən-s.
     not   your-fut-eat   and   that_one   also   not   fut-eat-his
     Don't eat, and he won't eat either.

161. lut   a-ks-ʔíɬən-əm,   uɬ   yaʔx̌ís   nixʷ   lut   ks-ʔíɬ-iʔ-s.
     not   your-fut-eat-it   and   that_one   also   not   fut-eat-m-his
     Don't eat, and he won't eat either.

See also ks-wík-iʔ-s 'he'll see it,' ks-wíkʷ-iʔ-s 'he will hide it,' etc.

A set of features of these future forms must be pointed out. As I have said, the -m is required of all futures that have a possessive and a genitive referent, and I have proposed that the -m signals an object. It might be better to say that the -m signals a transitive stem (with genitive inflection). All transitivizers

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except -nt can occur before the -m,[35] and this suggests that, just as -nt has zero allomorph in the 1sg and 3rd persons of strong verbs,

//wík-nt-n//	wíkən	I saw it
//wík-nt-xʷ//	wíkəntxʷ	etc.
//wík-nt-s//	wiks	
//wík-nt-m//	wíkəntəm	
//wík-nt-p//	wíkəntəp	
//wík-nt-s-lx//	wíksəlx	

so does the -nt have allomorph zero before -m of these future forms. Consider

162. in-x̌mínk   kʷ   i-ks-wík-ɬt-əm   an-lʔíw.
     my-want   you   my-fut-see-ɬt-m   your-m's_father
     I want to see your father.

163. kʷ   i-ks-ənkʷní-xt-əm   t   stim'?
     you   my-future-sing-xt-m   t   what
     What will I sing for you?

164. lut   kʷu   a-ks-pəkʷqín-xt-əm.
     not   I   your-fut-shake_head-xt-m
     Don't shake your head at me.

165. uc   an-x̌mínk   kʷ   i-ks-kʷʼən-stúɬt-əm   iʔ ...
     Q   your-want   you   my-fut-show-stúɬt-m   the
     Do you want me to show you the ...

166. lut   kʷu   a-ks-púl-st-əm
     not   I   your-fut-beat-st-m
     Don't beat me up.

167. lut   kʷu   a-ks-púl-ɬt-əm   i-ɬsísəncaʔ.
     not   I   your-fut-beat-ɬt-m   my-younger_brother
     Don't beat my brother up.

168. lut   kʷu   a-ks-qʷəlqʷíl-st-əm
     not   I   your-fut-talk-st-m
     Don't talk to me.

---

[35]This may be overstated with respect to -st. See my discussion of the transitivizers below.

169. lut   a-ks-qʷəlqʷíl-st-əm[36] i-łsísənca?.
     not   your-fut-talk-st-m my-younger_brother
     Don't talk to my brother.

170. kʷ   i-ks-ʕáć-łt-əm   a-sc-kʷúʕ.
     you my-fut-look-łt-m   your-perf-do
     I'm going to look at what you've made.

A stronger suggestion that -m signals the genitive inflection of a transitive stem is afforded by the first and second plural forms of -nt stems:

171. i-ks-wík-əm   tarás.
     my-fut-see-m Theresa
     I'm going to see Theresa.

172. ks-wík-nt-əm tarás.
     fut-see-nt-we Theresa
     We're going to see Theresa.

173. ks-wík-nt-əp   tarás.
     fut-see-nt-you Theresa
     You're going to see Theresa.

174. i-ks-wíkʷ-əm   i-sqláwʼ.
     my-fut-hide-m my-money
     I'm going to hide my money.

175. ks-wíkʷ-ənt-əm i?   sqláwʼ-tət[37]
     fut-hide-nt-we the money-our
     We are going to hide our money

The future paradigm of -nt stems, in other words, is a mixed set with four persons (1sg, 2sg, 3sg, 3pl) conjugated with the possessive and genitive referents, and two persons (1pl, 2pl) conjugated with the ergative referents.

2.2.4. i-ksc-... 'future perfect'. These forms are straight forward, and are analyzable as ks- plus sc-.

176. kʷu   kənx-túłt[38] i-ksc-q'áyʼ.
     me   help-túłt   my-fut_perf-write
     Help me with what I am going to write.

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[36]This stem does not allow a construction *lut kʷu a-ks-qʷəlqʷíl-łt-əm i-łsísənca? which has the outward appearance of a grammatical sentence.

[37]The forms of the future -st paradigm retain -st, as in i-ks-qʷəlqʷíl-st-əm tarás 'I am going to talk to Theresa;' ks-xʷuy-st-s 'he will take it;' ks-ta?xíl-st-s 'he will do it like that;' etc.

[38]Some readers may have already noticed that kənxít 'help' is irregular. The irregularity consists in the xít which under certain circumstances is considered part of the stem, in others not. Thus both the following forms are grammatical:
    kʷu   kənxít-ənt-xʷ
    me   help-nt-you
    kʷu   kən-xít-xʷ
    me   help-xít-you

---

177. kən   x'a?x'?á-m   t i-ksc-xʷíćʼ+x   i?   l   spúta?   kʼ i-skʼuy.
     I   search-m   t my-fut_perf-give the   on Xmas   to my-m's_mother
     I went looking for something to give my mother for Christmas.

178. ixí?   i-ksc-kta?qína?.
     this   my-fut_perf-type
     This is what I am going to type.

179. ixí?   xa?xá?   i?   kʷu   ťkʼʷ-túłt-əm[39]   t   ksc-kʷúʕ-tət.[40]
     this   sacred   the   us   put_down-túłt-m   t   fut_perf-do-our
     What he gave us to work with is sacred.

2.2.5. i-kc- 'future imperative'. These forms translate with 'should, would' and contrast with simple future forms as in these examples:

180. ixí?   i-kc-kʷúʕ-əm.
     this   my-fut_imptv-do-m
     This is what I should/could be doing.

181. ixí?   i-ks-kʷúʕ-əm.
     this   my-fut-do-m
     This is what I will be doing.

182. ixí?   i-kc-wík-əm.
     this   my-fut_imptv-see-m
     That's the one I want to be able to see.

183. ixí?   i-ks-wík-əm.
     this   my-fut-see-m
     That's the one I will see.

184. lut   ť   in-xast   ł   i-kc-qʷəlqʷílt.
     not   emph my-want that my-fut_imptv-talk
     I don't like that I should be talking.

Negative constructions show the function and force of kc- in the clearest manner:

185. lut   a-kc-ća?xmín-əm   i?   sqílxʷ-tət.
     not   your-fut_imptv-shame-m the   Indian-our
     Do not be ashamed of our Indianess.

186. lut   a-kc-kak?ámn-əm   asʕəxʕáxt   kəm'   a-s+nəqs+ílxʷ.
     not   your-fut_imptv-ridicule-m your-friends or   your-relatives
     Do not ridicule your friends or relatives.

---

[39]kʷu ťkʼʷ-túłt-s 'he put down for me,' and kʷu ťkʼʷ-túłt-əm 'he put down for us.' This is how the language disambiguates between kʷu 'me' and kʷu 'us.'

[40]Why no article?

187. lut   a-kc-kʕaʔ+iɫc̓aʔ.
     not   you-fut_imptv-laugh_at
     Do not laugh at anyone.

188. lut   a-kc-náq̓ʷ.[41]   189. lut   a-kc-mál·x̌aʔ.
     not   your-fut_imptv-steal   not   your-fut_imptv-lie
     You won't steal.   Don't tell lies.

2.3. Transitives. I list five Ok transitivizers, having excluded from consideration -nú(n)-, -mí(n)-, and -x̌íx-, all three of which extend stems which may then be transitivized. The transitivizers are:

Ø-...-nt
Ø-...-st
Ø-...-ɫt
Ø-...-x(í)t
Ø-...-túɫt

A transitive customary form consists of the prefix ac-, a verb stem, the transitive suffix -st, and the object and subject suffixes, for example:

190. uɫ   iʔ   x̌ʼəx̌əx̌x̌áp   təl   q̓sápiʔ   wáy̓   taʔlíʔ   ac-wík-st-s+əlx.
     and the elders   from long_ago yes   very   cust-see-st-they
     The elders long ago saw them a lot.

191. ixíʔ   yaʕyát   ac-tumíst+m-st-s+əlx   iʔ   k̓əl   pækənhaws.
     this   all   cust-sell-st-they   the   to   packing_house
     They used to sell everything to the packing house.

A review of the properties of transitive stems reveals that most Okanagan verbs are transitivized with -nt. So for a typical Ok verb stem we have:

kən x̌ʼaʔx̌ʼʔá-m t ... (intransitive with absolute referents)
I searched for some ...
x̌ʼaʔx̌ʼaʔ-nt-ín ... (transitive)
ac-x̌ʼaʔx̌ʼaʔ-st-ín (transitive customary)

Some Okanagan verbs are transitivized with -st and not -nt. In these verbs -st (without ac-) carries only a transitivizing function;[42] forms with ac- (and -st) are customary forms. In other verbs -st is the causative transitivizer, and together with ac- it is the customary. Here are some verbs that transitivize with -st (and not -nt) and examples of completive and customary forms:

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[41]lut akcnáq̓ʷəm 'don't steal from him,' 'don't rob him.'
[42]It may be possible to give causative interpretations to these, but I am not ready to try.

kʷuk-st-m 'do something for'

192. kʷu   kʷuk-st-xʷ. (compl)   193. kʷu   c-kʷúk-st-s. (cust)
     me   do_for-st-you   me   cust-do_for-st-he
     You did a great deal for me.   He always does good things for me.

wiʔ-st-ím (way̓) 'finish something'

194. kʷu   knx-tuɫt   axáʔ,   məɫ   xʷəs   wiʔ-st-ím. (compl)
     me   help-túɫt this   and   fast   finish-st-we
     Help me with this, we'll be done faster.

195. ac-wiʔ-st-ís   iʔ   ksc-kʷúɫ-s   mi   sic   ɫ-xʷuy. (cust)
     cust-finish-st-he the   fut_perf-do-his fut   new   back-go
     He finishes his work, and then he goes home.

wáy̓-st-əm (way̓) 'quit something altogether'

196. wáy̓-st-ən   iʔ   sc̓lálqʷəm. (compl)
     finish-st-I the   stickgame
     I quit (don't play anymore) stickgame.

197. ɫaʔ   c-wáy̓-st-ən[43]   iʔ   sman'xʷ   talíʔ   kən   c-ənxʷəcxʷəcmíls. (cust)
     when cust-finish-st-I   the   tobacco   very   I   hab-irritable
     Whenever I quit smoking I become very irritable.

qʷəlqʷíl-st-əm 'talk to someone' (qʷəlqʷílt 'sound off')

198. qʷəlqʷíl-st-əm   iʔ   t   sumíx-s. (compl)   199. kʷu   c-qʷəlqʷíl-st-s. (cust)
     talk-st-indef   the   t   power-his   me   cust-talk-st-he
     His spirit power talked to him.   He always talks to me.

xʷúy-st-əm 'take something / someone' (xʷuy 'go')

200. axáʔ   k̓a   ixʷút   mi   xʷúy-st-ən? (compl)
     this   to   below   fut   go-st-I
     Should I take it downstairs?

201. ɫaʔ   c-xʷúy-st-xʷ   a-sctíwcn,   ʔip+r̓kʷ-ɫt-íxʷ
     when cust-go-st-you   your-groceries on_the_way_drop-ɫt-you

---

[43]ɫaʔ c- is the resolution of ɫ 'when' + ac- 'cust.'

marí i? sctíwcən-s. (cust)
Mary the groceries-her
When you take your groceries, drop off Mary's groceries.

Other verbs that take -st are:
púƛ'mstəm 'finish something, go the distance'
np'aƛ'mqstn 'complete to the highest level'
k'əwpstín 'finish talking with somebody'
púlstəm 'beat somebody up'
k'ʷúlstəm 'send someone'
xi?xi?stím 'allow someone (to be intimate)'
ta?xílstəm 'do like'
míy·stəm 'be sure of something'

Some verbs transitivize with -nt and -st without apparent difference in meaning:

202. ha x̌ʷíl-ənt-xʷ i? sƚiqʷ.
     Q discard-nt-you the meat
     Did you throw the meat away?

203. ha x̌ʷíl-st-xʷ i? sƚiqʷ.
     Q discard-st-you the meat
     Did you throw the meat away?

204. t ack'lá? mi x̌íl-ənt-xʷ.[44]
     t this_way fut do_like-nt-you
     This is the way you should do it.

205. t ack'lá? mi x̌íl-st-xʷ.
     t this_way fut do_like-st-you
     This is the way you should do it.

A few verbs that transitivize with -nt have causative forms in -st, but usually (always?) along with some other morphological process, a fact which points to the preference that -st 'causative' has for certain kinds of stems to attach itself to--stems that are not basically transitive:

206. ul-nt-ín.
     burn-nt-I
     I burned it.

207. ul+l-st-ín in-lkalát.
     burned-st-I my-bread
     I burned my bread (e.g. while baking it).

208. mat incá i? ul+p-st-ín i? lkalát, km'a[45] anwí.
     maybe I the burn-st-I the bread or you
     Maybe I burned the bread, or maybe you did.

209. x̌'əl+l+nú-nt-xʷ.
     dead_manage-nt-you
     You killed him accidentally.

210. x̌'əl+l-st-íxʷ.
     dead-st-you
     You killed him (on purpose).

---

[44]I don't know what the best analysis of t ack'lá? is.
[45]I don't know the difference between kəm' and km'a but both are possible here.

211. x̌'əl+p+nú-nt-xʷ.
     stopped_manage-nt-you
     You managed to stop him.

212. x̌'əl+p-nt-íxʷ.
     stopped-nt-you
     You stopped him.

213. x̌'əl+p-st-íxʷ.
     stopped-st-you
     You made him stop.

The norm is that stems that are not basically transitive receive the causative -st. These causatives can then receive the customary prefix (a)c- (see 2.3.4. for a discussion of its allomorphy):

214. ʕímt.
     mad
     He's mad.

215. k'ʷu ʕímt-st-s pit.
     me mad-st-he Pete
     Pete made me mad.

216. k'ʷu c-ʕímt-st-s pit.
     me cust-mad-st-he Pete
     Pete always makes me mad.

217. k'ʷu ʕímt+m-ənt-xʷ.
     me mad_at-nt-you
     You are mad at me.

218. k'ʷu c-ʕímt+m-st-xʷ.
     me cust-mad_at-st-you
     You are always mad at me.

I should say that in the group of examples just given there is a stem ʕímt 'be mad,' a stem ʕímt-st 'make mad,' and a stem ?imt+m-nt 'be mad at someone,' all based on the same root. -m derives a transitivizable stem. Similarly, there is a stem ?ayx̌ʷt 'tired' that allows for parallel constructions, ?ayx̌ʷt-st 'make tired,' ?ayx̌ʷt-m-nt 'be tired of;' and nx̌iƚ 'scared,' nx̌il-st 'make scared,' nx̌il-m-nt 'be scared of someone, fear someone':

219. ?ayx̌ʷt.
     tired
     He's tired.

220. k'ʷu ?ayx̌ʷt-st-s pit.
     me tired-st-he Pete
     Pete made me tired.

221. k'ʷu c-?ayx̌ʷt-st-s pit.
     me cust-tired-st-he Pete
     Pete always makes me tired.

222. k'ʷu ?ayx̌ʷt+m-ənt-xʷ.
     me tired_of-nt-you
     You are tired of me.

223. k'ʷu c-?ayx̌ʷt+m-st-xʷ.
     me cust-tired_of-st-you
     You are always tired of me.

224. kən nx̌iƚ.
     I scared
     I am scared.

225. nx̌il-st-ən.
     scared-st-I
     I scared him.

226. ac-ənx̌íl-st-ən.
cust-scared-st-I
I always scare(d) him.

227. nx̌íl+m-ənt-s-ən.
scared_of-nt-you-I
I'm scared of you.

228. ac-ənx̌íl+m-st-m-ən.[46]
cust-scared_of-st-you-I
I am (always) scared of you.

A final set of examples will conclude this survey:

229. kən   qíɬ+əɬ.
I   be_awakened
I was awakened.

230. kən   qíɬ+t.
I   awaken
I woke up.

231. qíɬ-ən (//qiɬ-nt-n//).
awaken-I
I woke him up.

232. ac-qíɬ-st-ən   i?   l   sk̓ʷx̌'ap   i?   x̌yáɬnəx̌ʷ.
cust-awaken-st-I   the   on appearance   the   sun
I usually wake him up at sunup.

2.3.3. Abnormal cases: mrim-st, c-mrim-st, c-mrim, mrim-nt. There are cases of verb forms that are related, but not in the normal paradigmatic way. An added aspect or transitivity marker derives a new lexical item--it changes the meaning of the stem not in the expected inflectional variant, but forms a new word. This is the case of
mrim-nt 'marry someone' (unmarked completive transitive)
c-mrim 'get married with someone' (completive intransitive)
c-mrim 'be married with someone' (customary intransitive)
mrim-st 'doctor, cure someone' (unmarked completive transitive)
ac-mrím-st 'customarily cure, doctor someone' (customary transitive)

233. mrím-ənt
marry-nt
Marry that person!

But *cmrímənt

234. tə spisc̓íɬt ka?   c-mərím-lx,   ik̓lí?   k̓ʷu   x̌ʷuy·.
t   yesterday that   c-marry-pl   there   we   went
It was yesterday that they got married and we went there.

235. i   l   skix̌ʷíw̓s   ka?   c-mrím(-əlx).
the   on Monday   that   c-marry-pl
They ((s)he) got married on Monday.

236. tə sx̌ʷa?spíntk   ka?   c-mrím-əlx.
t   many_years   that   c-marry-pl
They were married many years ago.

Compare this with:

237. x̌ʷa?spíntk   c-mrím-əlx. (customary intransitive)
many_years   c-mrim-pl
They were married many years.

238. ks-c+mrím-a?x-əlx   i   l   skix̌ʷíw̓s. (future completive intransitive)
fut-marry-incp-pl   the   on Monday
They will get married Monday.

239. tə spisc̓íɬt   mərím+st-əlx.
t   yesterday   medicine-pl
They took their medicine yesterday.

240. ɬa?   c-q̓ilt   ac-mərím-st-əlx.
when   hab-sick   cust-medicine-st-pl
When they are sick they treat themselves.

241. ac-mrim-st-s   i?   sx̌ílwi?s
cust-medicine-st-she   the   husband-her
She doctors her husband.

A pair of examples based on the stem x̌a?x̌á? 'sacred' shows, again, that the -st transitivizer and transitive customary constructions deserve further study:

242. c-x̌a?x̌a?-st-ín.
c-sacred-st-I
I hold it sacred (not *I make it sacred.)

243. talí?   c-x̌a?x̌a?-st-ís   i?   sqlaw̓.
very   c-sacred-st-he   the   money
He holds money sacred.

2.3.4. Questions regarding the analysis of c- / ac-. There are some cases of phonetic indeterminacy (phonetics of which I am not sure) that are equivalent to problems of morphosyntactic analysis. The language has sets like the following

t̓əcx̌ʷúy, acx̌ʷúy, cx̌ʷuy
he's coming, he's going, he came.
t̓əcqícəlx, acqícəlx, cqícəlx.
he's running this way, he's running, he ran this way.
t̓əcx̌ʷíst, acx̌ʷíst, cx̌ʷíst.
he's walking this way, he's walking, he walked this way.

---

[46]As these examples show, the 2sg object is -(ú)m with -st, and -s with -nt.

t'ack'rám, ack'rám, ck'ram.
He's swimming this way, he's swimming, he swam this way.
t'əcsáx̌ʷt, acsáx̌ʷt, csax̌ʷt.
he's coming down the hill, he's going down the hill, he came down the hill
t'əčx̌íx̌'əm, ačx̌íx̌'əm, čx̌íx̌'əm.
He's climbing up this way, he's climbing up, he climbed up.
t'ačłət'łat'pməncút, acłət'łat'pməncút, cłət'łat'pməncút.
He's hopping this way, he is hopping, he hopped this way.

My current interpretation is that t'-əc- is 'habitual-cislocative;' (a)c- is 'habitual;' c- is 'cislocative.' c- 'cislocative' and (a)c- 'habitual' have different morphophonemic behavior, and cause problems of analysis, both for the linguist and for the native speaker. The different behavior of the two prefixes is manifested in such pairs as:

244. ła(?) c-c?ix   əc-?ácqa?.   245. ła(?) c-c?ix   t'-əc-'ácqa?.
     when hab-warm   hab-go_out   when hab-warm   hab-cisl-go_out
     When it's warm he goes out.   When it's warm he comes out.

246. ac-'ácqa?   i?   sxx̌'úx̌'x   yayʕát spintk i   l   skníyrmən.
     hab-go_out   the groundhog   all   year the   in February
     Every year the groundhog comes out in February.

The 'habitual' of c-c?ix regularly has no ə or a when it follows ła(?).[47] c- 'cislocative' coalesces with a stem-initial glottal stop yielding c', but not with the regularity I would wish: this is the norm in texts, but not always in paradigmatic elications. Forms in the negative show sets like:

     lut t'ə cx̌ʷuy. He didn't come.
     lut t'a cx̌ʷúy. He doesn't go.
     lut t'a t'əcx̌ʷúy. 'he is not coming.'

where the ə and a (of t'ə, t'a) correlate much as they do with ł. The interpretation I favor at this time is that ac- is the habitual allomorph for verbs of motion, and the a distinguishes habitual (not cislocative) from the cislocative forms:

     cən?úłxʷ 'he came in'
     acən?úłxʷ 'he always goes in'
     t'əcən?úłxʷ 'he always come in'

---

[47]Cf. ł 'when' in other environments, i.e. not before forms that begin with the habitual prefix. Is this the best analysis? What about the possibility that this is ł plus the article a(?)? The intuitions of the native speakers on these points are unclear.

The customary of transitive forms has parallels to the intransitive habitual, but problems of analysis remain. While after kʷu we always find c- (see examples 193, 199, 215, 216, 217, 218), and cases like the following are clear:

247. lut   t'ə   síws-ən (//síws-nt-n//).   248. lut   t'   ac-síw-st-ən.
     not   emph drink-I   not   emph cust-drink-st-I
     I didn't drink it.   I never drink it.

the interpretation of a as the article is put in doubt by forms like

249. way'   wík-ən i?   ac-kʷúł-st-s-əlx.   t-kaka?łís.
     yes   see-I   the cust-do-st-3rd-pl   person-three
     I saw the ones that built it. It was three of them.

250. way'   wík-ən ac-kʷúł-st-s-əlx.   x̌'iyí?.
     yes   see-I   cust-do-st-3rd-pl   canoe
     I saw what they are building. A canoe.

I will give two examples that show once again the contrast between t'ə c- and t' ac- whatever the best interpretation of the facts turns out to be. Based on the root √my are such forms as

     míystən 'I am sure of it'
     cmistín 'I know it' (completive)
     cmistín 'I know it' (customary)

There are no forms *mintín or *cmintín (with -nt 'transitive'), so cmistín serves as both the customary and the completive. The negatives, however, are as follows:

251. i?   təl   iscx̌'x̌áp   lut   t'ə   c-mi-st-ín i?   skʷílstnəm. (compl)
     the from my_upbringing not   emph know-st-I the   Sweat
     In the way I was brought up I don't know the ways of the sweathouse.

252. lut   t'   ac-mi-st-ín   i?   skʷíst-s. (cust)
     not   emph cust-know-st-I   the   name-his
     I don't know his name.

253. lut   t'ə   cmi-st-ín i?   skʷíst-s. (compl)
     not   emph know-st-I the   name-his
     I didn't /don't know his name.

I give finally two examples, also based on the root √my, that show the workings of the habitual. The following is grammatical:

254. lut   t'ə   cmi+p+nú-n (//cmi+p+nú-nt-n//).
      not   emph manage_to_know-I
      I did not learn.

with a corresponding customary form

255. lut   t'   ac-mi+p+nú-st-ən.
      not   emph cust-manage_to_know-st-I
      I could never learn it.

but no *lut t'a cmipnún.