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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Simple Possessive</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ref. proc + Stem</td>
<td>Prefix-Stem</td>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>Stem-Object-Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem + pl suffix</td>
<td>Stem-Suffix</td>
<td>Ref. proc + Stem+Suff</td>
<td>Ref. proc + Stem-Suff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- kn in- k'u + Simple Possessive -(l)n
- k* an- k* + " -(l)x
- k'u -s + " -(l)s
- k'u tt (k'u + " ) -(l)m
- p -mp p + " -(l)p
- -lx -lx+k + " -(l)x+alx

Examples of each of these sets follow:

- 'I went.'
- 'I am a man.'
- 'I am tired.'
- 'I put a hat on.'
- 'I have a hat on.'
- 'my hand ...' (this is a predication, but not a complete sentence)
- 'I am your father.'
- 'You like me.'
- 'I like/want you.'

2. Aspect morphemes. In the following chart, where kn³ represents all the absolutive referents, and k(n)-all the genitive referents, I list the combinations of person marker and aspect affix(es) I discuss:

2.1. Absolutes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kn ...</th>
<th>'completive'</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kn ...m</td>
<td>'middle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1. kn s- -(m)x 'perfect'
2.1.4. kn sac- -(m)x 'imperfective'
2.1.5. kn ks- -(m)a7x 'inceptive'
2.1.6. kn ksc- -0 'past perfect'

2.1.2. kn (a)c- -0 'habitual, customary'
2.1.3. kn (a)c- -m

³kn is realized as kan. I have yet to decide what spelling to adopt in what circumstances. |
Digression on *k- 'have'

2.2. Genitives:

2.2.1. i-s-...θ  'completive'
2.2.2. i-sc-...θ  'perfective'
2.2.3. i-ks-...θ*  'future'
2.2.4. i-k-sc-...θ  'future perfect'
2.2.5. i-k-o-...θ  'future imperative'

2.3. Transitives:

2.3.1. The forms:
   θ-...-nt
   θ-...-st
   θ-...-tt
   θ-...-tšt

2.3.2. (a)c-...-st 'customary transitive'

2.3.3. Abnormal cases

2.3.4. Questions regarding the allomorphy of ac-

3. Comparative and historical notes (section not included)


2.1.1. kn ...θ '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:

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

1. išlap mi kn x*uy. tomorrow fut* I go I'm leaving tomorrow.
   2. *k'ak'in ki? k* ill? where that you be there Where are you staying?
   3. *k'ak'in ki? k* mut? where that you sit the in who that cis*+go_along Who did he come with?
   4. it? I swit ki? c+kxan.8 who the come_along Who came along?
   5. swit it? c+kxan? yes I wrong I am wrong.
   6. way' kan xik'+ak'.
   7. *nin'wi's cuntx* ik'll? kn q'̚aq'+ilt. if an when you_tell her there I talked Tell her I called.
   8. nil'ip it? I tasi scalstās'at ki? k'u ūaq'+aq'. always the on two Friday that we get_paid We always get paid every second Friday.
   9. kn k'aw it? I tk'wufn-s sisíkr.th 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. it? I sisp'alk' ki? taws-ľaq'+lkx. the at seven that go_to_bed She went to bed at seven o'clock.
11. *ntaš'x'sin kn k'aws-tišn.10 noon I go-eat Noon I go eat lunch.
12. way' kn k'aws-tišn k's numistin. yes I go-get_groceries to store I went grocery shopping at the store.

5The glottal stop is lost in casual speech. See below for a mention of the allomorph *ka(?).
6fut = 'future'.
7The sequence it? l is realized as i l in casual speech.
8I 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.
9cis* = cislocative.
10I don't know what the difference between k'aws and taws, as in kn k'aws-tišn and kn taws-tišn is.
13. tlaʔkins mi kʷ təxʷ-sqalaʔ.
from where you obtain-money
Where will you find the money?

14. kʷ səəʔaʔ-səpuʔus.
you big-heart
You have a big heart, you are generous.

15. kʷ səəʔaʔ-iiłəx.11
you big-house
You have a big house.

16. taliʔ anwí kʷ šá̱ks +iylko.
very you you good_hands
You are very good with your hands.

17. taliʔ kʷ šá̱k +iylko šə̱łʔaʔalt.
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. kan qʷəcqan-am.
I hat-m
I put my hat on.

Compare this with:

19. kan qʷəcqan.
I hat
I am a hat (an acceptable, grammatical utterance).

and with:

21. kan qʷəcqan.
I hab-hat13
I have a hat on.

22. kan lasmíst-am.
I shirt-m
I put a shirt on.

23. kan lasmíst.
I shirt
I am a shirt.

24. kan e-lasmíst.
I hab-shirt
I have a shirt on.14

25. kan lakli-m.
I lock-m.
I locked it.

26. kan pikst-am.
I put_on_gloves-m.
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.

The loss of a in səəʔaʔ-iiłəx (and its retention in səəʔaʔ-səpuʔus) correlates with its distance from the (following) stressed vowel.

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-\text{hab-} = \text{"habitual."

12} 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

13} hab-

lət-iiłəx in-lasmíst.

fit-it-I my-shirt
I put my shirt on him.

where the -it fulfills the function of allowing for three participants (I, him, my shirt) with co-referentiality markings.

A simple transitivization of lasmíst allows sentences like

lət-iiłəx-I in-lasmíst.

fit-it-I my-shirt
I put my shirt on him.

where one should not try to analyze the form as containing -st 'causative.' Compare, for that purpose, qʷəcqan (qʷəcqan-nt-n) 'I put a hat on him.' and qʷəcqamčə 'you put a hat on him.'

Finally, Okanagan has a transitivizer -nət (with allomorphs -nət, -nətə, -nətət with unclear distribution), further exemplified in 165, 176, 179, 194, that allows two unmarked (by t or other prepositions) arguments to follow:

lət-iiłəx-I in-lasmíst.

fit-it-I Pete my-shirt
I put my shirt on Pete.

I don't know if lasmíst and qʷəcqan 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.

13} hab-

\text{hab-} = \text{"habitual."}
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:\(^{15}\)

\[\text{tax-nt-I} \rightarrow \text{I combed his/her hair.}\]

\[\text{kan tax} + \text{m} \rightarrow \text{I comb}\]

\[\text{I comb my hair.}\]

\[\text{kan tax-ancut} \rightarrow \text{I comb-refl}\]

\[\text{I combed my hair.}\]

\[\text{kan sax-nt} \rightarrow \text{I house}\]

\[\text{I am a house (possibly in a legend).}\]

\[\text{kan sax} + \text{m} \rightarrow \text{I woman}\]

\[\text{I am a woman.}\]

\[\text{kan sax} + \text{qaltn} \rightarrow \text{I man}\]

\[\text{I am a man.}\]

\[-\(m\) forms accompanied by a \(\text{nt}\) 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):\]

\[\text{tax-ant-in} \rightarrow \text{Where can I find some coffee?}\]

\[\text{kan sax-am} \rightarrow \text{I saw; deer this morning.}\]

\[\text{kan sax} + \text{m} \rightarrow \text{I won}\]

\[\text{I won.}\]

\[\text{kan sax} + \text{qaltn} \rightarrow \text{I man-m-st-I}\]

\[\text{I am hungry for black moss.}\]

\[\text{kan sax} + \text{nt} \rightarrow \text{I house}\]

\[\text{I am a house (possibly in a legend).}\]

\[\text{kan sax} + \text{m} \rightarrow \text{I woman}\]

\[\text{I am a woman.}\]

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\[\text{tax-ant-in} \rightarrow \text{Where can I find some coffee?}\]

\[\text{I saw; deer this morning.}\]

\[\text{kan sax-am} \rightarrow \text{I win-m t money}\]

\[\text{I won some money.}\]

\[\text{kan sax} + \text{m} \rightarrow \text{I won}\]

\[\text{I won.}\]

\[\text{kan sax} + \text{nt} \rightarrow \text{I eat}\]

\[\text{I ate (some) meat.}\]

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\[\text{kan sax} + \text{nt} \rightarrow \text{I eat}\]

\[\text{I ate (some) meat.}\]
I ate meat.
I ate (some) meat.

In any case, the interpretation of the object is always indefinite, and sentence like *kan wíkám t ṣqlaw. *kan káʔkám t pií are excluded—the only choices here are wíkám t 'I saw Pete.' and káʔkám t 'I found Pete.' Even clearer are examples like kan wíkám t ṣqlaw 'I hid some money' along with kan wíkám ṭd lqáʔlów 'I hid some of my money,' and the excluded *kan wíkám t ṣqlaw. 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):

56. kan ʔínám siiqw.
I ate (some) meat.

57. a-ks-ʔíaam ...
you-fut-eat
You will eat ...
58. a-ks-ʔín-am ...
you-fut-eat-m
You will eat ...
59. lut a-ks-ʔín ...
not you-fut-eat
You will not eat ...
60. lut a-ks-ʔín-am ...
not you-fut-eat-m
You will not eat ...
61. lut kʷu a-ks-ʔín-am ...
not I you-fut-eat-m
You won't eat me (normal translation is 'don't eat me')

But *lut kʷu aksʔín. 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 absolutive, 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. k'-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

62. uc kʷ ríšʰáʔt? (compl) Q you hungry Are you hungry?
Do you get hungry?
63. uc kʷ c-íšʰáʔt? (cust)
64. ha kʷ n̂akʷá:mm-n? (compl) Q you thirsty Are you thirsty?
Do you get thirsty?
65. ha kʷ n̂akʷá:mm-n? (cust)
66. kan c-áʔáʔt kan ṭá? c-маʔá:mm. (cust)
I hab-tired I when hab-story-m
I get tired when I tell stories.

Compare kan ʔýłʔ't 'I am / was tired.'

Action words:
67. iʔ k'elʔáʔ kʔ?) kn n̂aw'á:mm miʔst. (compl) the on weekend that I relax
I relaxed on the weekend.
68. iʔ k'elʔáʔ kʔ?) kn c-n̂aw'á:mm miʔst. (cust) the on weekend that I hab-relax
Weekends I relax.
69. iʔ l sank̃kʷátác kʷu yáʔyáʔt? iʔ t snyaʔyáʔa?tn. (compl) the in evening we watch the t TV
In the evening we watched television.
70. iʔ l sank̃kʷátác kʷu c-yáʔyáʔa? iʔ t snyaʔyáʔa?tn. (cust) the in evening we hab-watch the t TV
In the evening we watch television.

Note also kan c'páʔt '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 (káʔ but káʔt).

20Consider the function of -m in kʷu yáʔyáʔa?tn l iʔ k'el snyaʔyáʔa?tn. We watched a movie-m the at theatre, contrasted with its absence in 69-70. Note that snyaʔyáʔa?tn is generically 'theater' and 'television.' In cite] if snyaʔyáʔa?tn is specifically 'television,' lit. 'theatres in the house.'
72. kan ckaʔtʃʔ-gə-m21 iʔ l i-enkʷ-ə-fənn. (cust)
   I work-hard at my-office
   I work hard at the office.

73. iʔ l skʔáciwʔs kiʔ kəqʷ-m-ab. (compl)
    the on Sunday that pay-m-pl
    They paid on Sunday.

74. niʔl?p iʔ l sʔasli skʔáciwʔs kəʔ22 c-kəqʷ-m-ka. (cust)
   always the on two-weeks that hab-pay-pl
   They pay every second week.

75. kanie iʔ sʔasil skʔáciwʔs kan kəw+κamʔ-amʔ-ə?m. (compl)
    the on Monday that go-to-school-m
    On Monday I went to school.

76. iʔ l skʔáciwʔs ut kʷl scalkstásq ask ka mn kəmʔ-amʔ-ə?m.23 (cust)
    the from Monday and to Friday that I go-to-school-m
    From Monday to Friday I go to school.

With noun stems:

77. kan c-lasmiʔ.
    I have a shirt on.

78. kan c-qʷəqʷam.
    I have a hat on.

79. kan c-pikst24
    I have gloves on

21 Th is is another case where the -m seems optional. The following have been judged synonymous:
   taʔl?k kʷ∈kaʔtʃʔ-gə-m kiʔ kʷəf-nú-nə-t-x.22
   taʔl?k kʷ∈kaʔtʃʔ-gə-m am kiʔ kʷəf-nú-nt-x.
   very you work-hard do-manage-nt-you
   You worked very hard to do that.

22 kə? is a variant of kʔ before the habitual prefix c-.

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

24 Noteworthy the absence of s-. spikst 'glove', kan pikstəm '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 spikst is a verb (by virtue of its habitual aspect prefix) the noun-forming s- withdraws. See kan kspikst 'I have gloves' and kan kʰəʔ-əqʷam '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 kʔ- that loses the t 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 *kan c-číʔ* is uninterpretable, and not *I have a house.

2.1.3. kn s--'(mi)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-s'cʰəcʰ' həxʷ kʷ s-kʷəf-x t kʷaʔst.
    your-appearance again you perf-do-perf t bad
    It looks like you've done something wrong again.

81. kan s-cut-x.
    I perf-say-perf
    I have said it.

82. illʔ, way s-tiʔn-x.
    there already perf-eat-perf
    Leave him alone, he has eaten.

83. s-wəʔ+qʷəqʷil-t-x.
    perf-finish_talk-perf
    He has finished talking.

84. s-wəʔ+qʷəqʷil-t-x.
    perf-finish_eat-perf
    He has finished eating.

85. xkinam piʔ s-píʔ-ax.
    perfume-hunt-perf
    Where is Pete? He has gone hunting.

86. s-kʷəf-x23 kʷəl sāʔməʔ.
    perf-work-perf to White person
    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-təq-mix.
    perf dance-perf
    He has been dancing.

88. pit s-Kʷəʔ-AM t kʷ+qʷəʔn̓-min-tat.
    Pete perf-fetch-perf t paper_to_be-us
    Pete has gone to get more paper for us.

89. kan s-Kʷəʔ-AM t sʔəpʔas.
    I perf-quiet-perf
    I have stopped talking.

90. kan s-Kʷəʔ-AM t sʔəpʔas.
    I perf-look-for t thread
    I am looking for thread.

91. kan s-Kʷəʔ-AM t sʔəpʔas.
    I perf-look-perf t thread
    I am fetching some thread.

92. kan ap-AM26 iʔ t pumín, mi síc27 kan kʷəʔ-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-kʷəf-x in 80. and in 86. follows from the accompanying adjuncts.
26 s+ + s = s.
27 mi síc has the force 'then, subsequently.'
2.1.4. kn sac---(mi)²⁸ 'imperfective'.

93. way ix? sac-ax⁸uy-x.
yes that impf-go-impf He's going.

94. lu(t) t 'aläf, sac-k⁹uf-x.
not emph here impf-work-impf She is not here, she's working.

95. i-sk⁴/uy sac-k⁰uncút-x?
my-m's mother impf-cook-impf the
My mother is cooking in her kitchen.

96. x'ax⁴ sac-onaŋpaŋaŋaŋcút-x.
again impf-talk_smart-impf
He's talking like he's smart again.

97. xWaxw sac-ak'apaxpaxancút-x.
again impf-outsmart-impf
He's trying to outsmart him again.

98. way kan x'yi'is nákam̥ lut, kan sac-k⁰uf-x.
I would like to go with you but I'm working.

99. c-ank'a?ncínam it waswílaxa? aIf? sac-šal+squit-x.
hab-sing the robin because impf-call_for_rain-impf
A robin sings calling for rain.

100. i-ks'wowyayáktan-?m it? sac-p'úk'laatlax-²⁹
my-fut-go_watch-m the impf-ball-impf
I am going to watch them play ball.

101. sac-c'aq'mi-xa-rro i? sac-lt'a1)('a1-mix
impf-throw-impf that the
He is practicing throwing the ball.

Examples with weak stems:

102. sac-tar'q-mix.
impf-dance-impf
He's dancing.

103. stim' a³¹ c-k'a'tx'aṭ?-(St-is) sac-c-k'a'tx'aṭ?-mix t ikapl.
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. sac-k'a'tx' mix it? t ikapl.
impf-fetch-impf the t coffee
He's getting some coffee.

2.1.5. kn ks---(mi)²⁹x 'inceptive'. This combination is the inceptive aspect. Because I have called ik's...

forms 'future,' I retain the label 'future' for the prefixal part of the circumfix, and call 'inceptive' the suffixal -(mi)xα. 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. kan ks-k'awst'wncn-a7x k'I santumistn.
I am going grocery shopping at the store.

106. k'u ks-nylla's-a7x t ncx'slwton i? k'I p'uyxantat.
we fut-buy-incp t gas the to our_car
We are going to buy some gas for our car.

107. k'u k-tel+x'ax⁸uy-a7x k'1 ulax p'ulx, aIf? klap k'u ks-k'fct-a7x.
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. k'u ks-k'awst'wncn-a7x i? t k'sipntat i? t lq'Yayx i?
we fut-look_for-incp the t fut-daughter-in-law the from Blackfoot the
ti tlmé'ulaxé'x-s.
from land-his
We are looking for a daughter-in-law from the Blackfoot country.

109. ks-q'aqW?al-mixा7x i? sac-k'ar'k'mn'ma7m i? I scalkstásq'at i? k'a1.
fut-meeting-incp the council the on Friday the to
silmx'Htx-.
band_office
There will be a council meeting on Friday at the band office.

²⁸sac- 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 sac-c'aq'+min-a7x it shows that the stem is c'aq'mín, and that -a7x and -a7x are variants of x in this environments. See the parallel variants x- -a7x 'intransitive imperative singular.'

³¹a(t) is an allomorph of it 'article' before the habitual aspect e-, parallel to ki?t, ka(t). Incidentally, you can see that it is the object of the following V.

³²k-back,'tak-'again; kan kxs'iyu?x 'I am going,' kan kxs'iyu?x 'I am going back,' kan kts'hna7x 'I am going to eat.' kan kts'hna7x 'I am going to eat again.' kan k'thna7x. Both kxs'iyu?x and kts'hna7x get translated informally as 'going back home.'
They will be having many Chinook dances in January.

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. lese- forms in construction with fa ('I') are of high frequency, and this suggests an alternative to the analysis of lese- that I discuss after I give some examples:

I have seen a monster.

I'm the one that has seen a monster.

I have tried it already.

I have already said it.

We are the ones that wrote it.

We are the ones that wrote it.

That Coyote's work, that's Coyote's pit house.

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

kf- 'have' has allomorphs kf- before stems that begin with s, and kf- forms are conjugated with the absolutive person referent set:

I have child.

I have a child.

This prefix should not be confused with kf- 'to be.' kf- 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):

This Tony that pperf-take

I have a hat. I have a child.

You are my company.

You are my company.

You are my death.

You are my death.

Here, too, belong such forms as

You are my good.

You are my bad.

I like you.

I don't like you.
The allomorphy of i(n)- and a(n)- entails the loss of the nasal before stems that begin with t and s (as well as before ks- 'future,' and kh- 'to be;' see 2.2.3):

131. kWu an-šëmkí
I your-want
You like me.

132. kWu a·sk'uy.
I your-older_sister
I am your older sister.

133. kWu a·is+ank"t+xwupt.
you my-co_weakness
You are my weakness.

134. kWu a·iklkxa?
I your-older_sister
I am your older sister.

135. way ixl? s·XWuy·s.
yes that compl-go-his
He is going to go now.

136. way ixl? i·s-xaq'.
yes much my-compl-pay
I pay a lot. I didn't pay enough.

137. way ixl' i·s-'1tx.
yes that my-compl-eat
I am going to eat.

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:

138. húma? i·s-š1Hw-am.
now my-compl-eat-m
Give it here, I'll eat it.

The allomorphs i- 'lsg.' 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:

139. ūk"axn? i-s-š1Hw-am.
I hope I will win.

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

140. s+cút+x+alx lut f wik-ant-s-alx, nášam³ way' kú i-s-wik-am
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. tail? in-šást i-s-š1tx. (compl.)
very my-good my-compl-sleep
I like very much to sleep.

142. tail? in-šást i-sc-š1tx. (perf.)
very my-good my-perf-sleep
I slept very well.

2.2.1. i-sc-... ‘perfective’. These forms should not be confused with the inceptive forms discussed in 2.1.5. These latter are conjugated with the absolutive reference set (/en), the genitive future forms are conjugated with the possessives and genitive sets. Note the allomorphs k- ‘1sg,’ and a- ‘2sg.’ Genitive future forms can have 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:

143. tail? in-šást i-s-qí·ts. (compl.)
very my-good my-compl-dream
I like very much to dream.

144. tail? in-šóst i-sc-qí·ts. (perf.)
very my-good my-perf-dream
I like very much what I dreamt.

145. if? i i-s-qí·ts
kú nak"m-t s+alx in-kowáp, nášam³ lut
the in my-compl-dream me steal-ft-they my-horse but
I emph have-horse
In my dream they stole my horse, but I do not have a horse.

146. if? i i-sc-qí·ts
kú nak"m-t s+alx in-kowáp, ta-xláp
the in my-perf-dream me steal-ft-they my-horse back-morning
I kaw-: (perf)
emph gone
While I was dreaming they stole my horse, come morning it was gone.

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

147. way' xšít i-s-xaq'. (compl)
yes much my-compl-pay
I pay a lot. I didn't pay enough.

148. lut f put i-sc-xaq'. (perf)
yes much my-perf-pay
I pay a lot. I didn't pay enough.

2.2.2. i-sc-... ‘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 (/en), the genitive future forms are conjugated with the possessives and genitive sets. Note the allomorphs k- ‘1sg,’ and a- ‘2sg.’ Genitive future forms can have 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:

149. way' ti cu-nt-s-an ta spisc'ílt way' kú i-sc-wik-am.
yes emph tell-ni-you-I t yesterday yes you my-perf-see-m
I told you, I saw you yesterday.

150. way' kan c-músals i k-s-k'x"úp.
yes I hope that I-fut-win
I hope I will win.

151. lut a-ks-xš1Ny.
not your-fut-go
Don't go.

152. lut a-k-síw-m
not your-fut-ask-m
Don't ask.
When another referent is added, a member of the genitive set, the form must take -m. ks- is intact before f that belongs to the root, but reduces to k- before f(om)-’again’:

156. lut k'u a-ks-twin-am
not I your-fut-leave-m
Don't leave me again.

157. lut k'u a-ks-twin-am
not I your-fut-again-leave-m
Don't leave me again.

See also:

158. kan ks-twin-a?x alâ? t q'ay'min.
I fut-leave-inc here t letter
I'm going to leave a letter here.

159. kan k-la-twin-a?x alâ? t q'ay'min.
I fut-again-leave-inc here t letter
I'm going to leave a letter here again.

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

160. lut a-ks-?îl?an, ut ya'?is nix' lut ks-?îl?an-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-?îl?an-am, ut ya'?is nix' lut ks-?îl?an-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-wik-?f-s ‘he’ll see it,’ ks-wik-?f-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 except -nt can occur before the -m,39 and this suggests that, just as -nt has zero allomorph in the 1sg and 3rd persons of strong verbs,

/wik-nt-n// wikant I saw it
/wik-nt-nx// wikantx etc.
/wik-nt-s// wiks
/wik-nt-m// wikantam
/wik-nt-pl// wikantap
/wik-nt-s-b/ wiksalsx

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

162. in-k'mink k* i-ks-wik-tl-am an-?i?w.
my-want you my-fut-see-tl-m your-m's_father
I want to see your father.

163. k* i-ks-ankw?nl-xt-am t stim?
you my-future-sing-xt-m t what
What will I sing for you?

164. lut k'u a-ks-pak?ql?nl-xt-am.
not I your-fut-shake_head-xt-m
Don't shake your head at me.

165. uc an-k'mink k* i-ks-k'wan-stuh-tl-am ? ...
Q your-want you my-fut-show-stuh-tl-m the
Do you want me to show you the ...

166. lut k'u a-ks-pul-st-am
not I your-fut-beat-st-m
Don't beat me up.

167. lut k'u a-ks-pul-tl-am i-lsianca?
not I your-fut-beat-tl-m my-younger_brother
Don't beat my brother up.

168. lut k'u a-ks-q'olq'il-st-am
not I your-fut-talk-st-m
Don't talk to me.

39This may be overstated with respect to -st. See my discussion of the transitivizers below.
169. lut a-ks-qʷəlqʷílt-st-am i-ťəsəncaʔ.
not your-fut-talk-st-m my-younger_brother
Don't talk to my brother.

170. kʷ i-ks-ťačʷ-łt-am a-sc-kʷəff.
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 -st stems:

171. i-ks-wik-am tarás.
my-fut-see-m Theresa
I'm going to see Theresa.

172. ks-wik-nt-am tarás.
fut-see-nt-we Theresa
We're going to see Theresa.

173. ks-wik-nt-op tarás.
we my-fut-see-you Theresa
You're going to see Theresa.

174. i-ks-wikʷ-am i-sqəlawʷ.
my-fut-hide-m my-money
I'm going to hide my money.

175. ks-wikʷ-ant-am iʔ sqəlawʷ-tat³⁷
fut-hide-nt-we the money-your
We are going to hide our money

The future paradigm of -st 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 straightforward, and are analyzable as ks- plus sc-.

176. kʷu konx-tuň³⁸ i-ksc-qʷəlqʷ.
me help-tuň my-fut-perf-write
Help me with what I am going to write.

177. kan kʷaʔ kʷaʔ-m t i-ksc-šəlqʷ+iʔ x?
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. iʔ kʷsəkʷtəʔqʷənəʔ.
this my-fut_perf-type
This is what I am going to type.

179. iʔ kʷəəkʷəʔ iʔ kʷu t̑kʷ-ʔuʔt-st-am³⁹ t ksc-kʷuʔ-tət.
this sacred the us put_down-tət-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. iʔ kʷc-kʷuʔ-st-am.
this my-fut-impv-do-m
This is what I should/could be doing.
This is what I will be doing.

182. iʔ kʷc-wik-am.¹⁸³
this my-fut-impv-see-m
That's the one I want to be able to see.
That's the one I will see.

184. lut t̑ in-kast i i-kc-qʷəlqʷiɬt.
not emph my-want that my-fut_impv-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-łəʔx̓əq̓ʷəm-am iʔ sqələxʷ-ɬat.
not your-fut_impv-shame-m the Indian-ouɬ-
Do not be ashamed of our Indianess.

186. lut a-kc-kəʔátəʔəm-am așəxʷəkt kəmə a+naq+ɬxʷ.
not your-fut_impv-ridicule-m your-friends or your-relatives
Do not ridicule your friends or relatives.

³⁷This stem does not allow a construction *lut kʷu a-ks-qʷəlqʷílt-st-am i-ťəsəncaʔ which has the outward appearance of a grammatical sentence.

³⁹The forms of the future -st paradigm retain -st, as in i-ks-qʷəlqʷílt-st-am t̑ərs 'I am going to talk to Theresa;' ks-əxʷəlqʷ-ət-s 'he will take it;' ks-əxʷəlqʷ-ət-s 'he will do it like that;' etc.

³⁸Some readers may have already noticed that konx̣ 'help' is irregular. The irregularity consists in the x̣ which under certain circumstances is considered part of the stem, in others not. Thus both the following forms are grammatical:

kʷu konx̣-tunt-ɛ
me help-tunt-you
kʷu konx̣-tunt-ɛ
me help-tunt-you

³⁸Why no article?
255

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

\[\begin{array}{ll}
0...-nt \\
0...-st \\
0...-t \\
0...-stf \\
0...-u
\end{array}\]

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

and the elders from long ago yes very cust-sec-st-they
The elders long ago saw them a lot.

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:

kan ka?ax?t?ax-m t ... (intransitive with absolutive referents)
I searched for some ...
ka?ax?xa?nt-in ... (transitive)
ac-ka?axon-nt-in (transitive customary)

Some Okanagan verbs are transitivized with -st and not -nt. In these verbs -st (without ac-) carries only a transitivizing function;\(^4\) 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:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{k"uk-st-m 'do something for'} \\
192. k"u k"uk-st-x. (compl) 193. k"u c-k"uk-st-s. (cust) \\
\text{me do_for-st-you} \text{ me cust-do_for-st-he} \\
\text{You did a great deal for me.} \text{He always does good things for me.} \\
\text{wi?st-lm (way') 'finish something'} \\
194. k"u kwa-tul? axa?, ma? x?as wi?st-lm. (compl) \\
\text{me help-tul? this and fast finish-st-we} \\
\text{Help me with this, we'll be done faster.} \\
195. ac-wi?st-ls it ksc-k"uf-s mi sic t-x?u. (cust) \\
cust-finish-st-he the fut_perf-do-his fut new back-go \\
He finishes his work, and then he goes home.
\text{wi?st-am (way') 'quit something altogether'} \\
196. wi?st-an it scax?l?m. (compl) \\
\text{finish-st-1 the stickgame} \\
I quit (don't play anymore) stickgame.
\text{wi?st-am (way') 'quit something altogether'} \\
\text{when cust-finish-st-1 the tobacco very I hab-irritable} \\
Whenever I quit smoking I become very irritable.
\text{q"alq"il-st-am 'talk to someone' (q"alq"l 'soft off') } \\
198. q"alq"il-st-am it t sumix-s. (compl) 199. k"u c-q"alq"il-st-s. (cust) \\
\text{talk-st-indef the t power-his} \text{ me cust-talk-st-he} \\
\text{His spirit power talked to him.} \text{He always talks to me.} \\
\text{x?i?y-st-am 'take something / someone' (x?i?y 'go') } \\
\text{this to below fut go-st-1} \text{Should I take it downstairs?}
\text{X?i?y-st-am 'take something / someone' (x?i?y 'go') } \\
201. ta? c-x?i?y-st-s x?ascriwn, ?ip+f x"t-t-xa? \\
\text{when cust-go-st-you your-groceries on_the_way_drop-it-you} \\
\text{X?i?y-st-am 'take something / someone' (x?i?y 'go') } \\
\text{\textsuperscript{4}It may be possible to give causative interpretations to these, but I am not ready to try.}
Other verbs that take -st are:

- *puram* 'finish something, go the distance'
- *npamq* 'complete to the highest level'
- *pamst* 'beat somebody up'
- *kulam* 'send someone'
- *ntam* 'do like'
- *stam* 'be sure of something'

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

- 202. *haj* ant-x
  
  Did you throw the meat away?

- 203. *haj* st-x
  
  Did you throw the meat away?

- 204. *ackla?* x il ant-x
  
  This is the way you should do it.

- 205. *ackla?* x il st-x
  
  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:

  
  I burned the bread.

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

- 208. *mat incá?* nt in-lkalát, km'a anwi.
  
  Maybe I the burn-st-I the bread or you
  
  Maybe I burned the bread, or maybe you did.

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

- 219. *tayx*.
  
  He's tired.

- 220. *tayx* st-x
  
  Pete made me tired.

- 221. *tayx* st-x
  
  Pete always makes me tired.

- 222. *tayx* st-x
  
  You are tired of me.

- 223. *tayx* st-x
  
  You are always mad at me.

- 224. *tayx* st-x
  
  You are always mad at me.

- 225. *tayx* st-x
  
  You are always mad at me.

- 226. *tayx* st-x
  
  You are always mad at me.

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- 219. *tayx*.
  
  He's tired.

- 220. *tayx* st-x
  
  Pete made me tired.

- 221. *tayx* st-x
  
  Pete always makes me tired.

- 222. *tayx* st-x
  
  You are tired of me.

- 223. *tayx* st-x
  
  You are always mad at me.

- 224. *tayx* st-x
  
  You are always mad at me.

- 225. *tayx* st-x
  
  You are always mad at me.
226. ac-anXll-st-an.
cust-scared-st-I
I always scare(d) him.

227. nXll+m-ant-s-an.
scared_of nt you-I
I'm scared of you.

228. ac-anXll+m-st-m-an.46
cust-scared_of-st-you-I
I am (always) scared of you.

A final set of examples will conclude this survey:

229. kan qiHa+.
I be awakened
I was awakened.

230. kan qiH+t.
I awaken
I woke up.

231. qiH-an (/qiH-nt-n/).
awaken-l
I woke him up.

232. ac-qH-st-an
i? l sk"a'ap i? sY¾nax*.
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)
c-ac-mrim-st 'customarily cure, doctor someone' (customary transitive)

233. mrim-ant
marry-nt
Marry that person!

But c-ac-mrim

234. ta spisc'lt k? c-mrim-bx, k'il? k'u x'u-y.
yesterday that c-married-pl there we went
It was yesterday that they got married and we went there.

46As these examples show, the 2sg object is -(u)m with -st, and -s with -nt.
He's swimming this way, he's swimming, he swam this way.

He's coming down the hill, he's going down the hill, he came down the hill.

He's climbing up this way, he's climbing up, he climbed up.

He's hopping this way, he is hopping, he hopped this way.

My current interpretation is that 'a'- is 'habitual-cislocative;' (a)'- is 'habitual;' c- is 'cislocative.' 

'cislocative' and (a)'- '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:

When it's warm he goes out.

When it's warm he comes out.

The 'habitual' of c-c?ix regularly has no o or a when it follows a(?),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 elicitions. Forms in the negative show sets like:

I saw what they are building. A canoe.

I will give two examples that show once again the contrast between 'a' c- and 'a' ac- whatever the best interpretation of the facts turns out to be. Based on the root √my are such forms as

mystan 'I am sure of it'

cmistin 'I know it' (completive)

cmistin 'I know it' (customary)

There are no forms *mistin or *cmistin (with -st 'transitive'), so cmistin serves as both the customary and the completive. The negatives, however, are as follows:

In the way I was brought up I don't know the ways of the sweathouse.

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

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

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

I saw the ones that built it. It was three of them.

Every year the groundhog comes out in February.

I saw what they are building. A canoe.

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

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

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254. lut 'a cmi+p+nū-n (/cmi+p+nū-nt-nt/).
not emph manage_to_know-l
I did not learn.

with a corresponding customary form

255. lut f ac-mi+p+nū-st-an.
not emph cust-manage_to_know-st-l
I could never learn it.

but no *lut 'a cmiṇnūn.