Okanagan sentence types: A preliminary working paper
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In this working paper, I survey the person markers of Okanagan (Section 1); I list the paradigms defined by the person markers together with other inflectional markers (Section 2); and in Sections 3-6 I account exhaustively for all the sentences that comprise the text *Skunk and Fisher*, a Colville myth recorded by Dora Noyes DeSautel in 1970, the transcription of which is included in the volume *Dora ta? ktcapitkw* (MS), and the narration of which can be heard as a track of the accompanying CD. I list all the fragments found in the text in section 7, and in section 8 I give statistical summaries of the sentence types that occur in the text.

1 Person marking

Okanagan has four main sets of person reference markers: the kn set (intransitive), the i(n)- set (possessive), the -(I)n set (transitive subject), and the (transitive) object set.

The kn set consists of clitics (marked with the ligature), and a suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kn</th>
<th>k*u</th>
<th>1pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>3sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k*</td>
<td>0...-lx</td>
<td>3pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These markers accompany stems that in English translate as intransitive verbs, nouns, and adjectives.1

kn ?itx. I slept.
k* sqilx*. You are an Indian / a person.
?ayx*t (axa?). This one is tired.

1Aspectual criteria can be established to distinguish at least two word classes, and, as expected, these may derive forms of other classes—nouns can derive verbs and verbs can be nominalized, for example (N. Mattina 1996). A prototypical noun like k*lstn sweat lodge, culturally relevant and categorically marked (<tn instrumental), derives a verb with -m:

kn k*lstn-m I bathed.

Similarly, q*aqcn hat derives q*aqcn-m wear a hat (intransitive); ntx*x?qin noon derives ntx*x?qin-m do lunch (intransitive).

Analogously qi?q's dream (intransitive) derives s-qi?q's dream, and the latter form can be inflected with possessive markers and interpreted as a possessive noun form, or as a nominalized verb form.

Most Okanagan stems can be transitivized.

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A subset of these markers, identical in all persons except for 1sg k"u_, co-occurs with the possessive set of person markers, and is reserved for double possessives and verb nominalizations.

The possessive set, used with nouns, psych verbs, and verb nominalizations, consists of these markers (prefixes and suffixes; parentheses abbreviate variants):

\begin{itemize}
  \item i(n)- 1sg
  \item a(n)- 2sg
  \item -s/-c 3sg
  \item -tt 1pl
  \item -mp 2pl
  \item -s-lx / -c-lx 3pl
\end{itemize}

which yield such forms as

\begin{align*}
  &\text{an-l?fw your father} \\
  &\text{in-xmfnk I like / want it}
\end{align*}

which, in turn, may combine with members of the kn_ set (k"u_ subset) to yield forms such as

\begin{align*}
  &k"u_\text{an-l?fw I am your father.} \\
  &k"_\text{in-xmfnk I like / want you (you are my wanting) } \\
  &k"_j-ks-?am-lt-fm an-l?fw I am going to feed your father.
\end{align*}

the last of which is the nominalization of a future (ks-) possessor applicative (-tt) verb form (root ?am, feed), in which the suffix -(i)m, sometimes referred to as the antipassive, is required.

The transitive subject set, often called the ergative set, consists of the following suffixes (parentheses abbreviate stressed and unstressed variants):

\begin{itemize}
  \item -(0)n 1sg
  \item -(0)xw 2sg
  \item -(0)s 3sg
  \item -(0)m / -t 1pl
  \item -(0)p 2pl
  \item -(0)s-lx 3pl
\end{itemize}

These markers follow the object markers, which, in turn, follow one of several obligatory transitive markers.

The (transitive) object set consists of the following markers (one proclitic and suffixes):

\begin{itemize}
  \item k"u_ 1sg
  \item -s / -m 2sg
  \item -0 3sg
  \item k"u_...-m 1pl
  \item -(u)l)m 2pl
  \item -0 ... -lx 3pl
\end{itemize}
Because third person object markers and third person intransitive subject markers are \( \emptyset \), Salishan languages are sometimes characterized as split ergative systems. The allomorphy of the second singular object is transitivizer-dependent. The disambiguation of number in the first person object is accomplished by the suffix \(-m\) and such forms are interpreted as 3rd indef subject - 1pl object:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k'u}_{\text{nt}}'\text{s}^{'-nt-is} & \text{ He whipped me. (-nt transitivizer)} \\
\text{k'u}_{\text{nt}}'\text{s}^{'-nt-im} & \text{ They whipped us / We were whipped.}
\end{align*}
\]

\(-m\) occurs also with \( \emptyset \), and the interpretation of these forms can be indefinite subject, or passive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sp}'\text{-nt-is} & \text{ 3rd person whipped 3rd person.} \\
\text{sp}'\text{-nt-im} & \text{ 3rd person indef whipped 3rd person / 3rd person was whipped.}
\end{align*}
\]

2. OTHER \( \text{kn}_-\text{l(n)-, and -}(\text{m})\text{n PARADIGMS} \)

Beside the constructions already discussed, Okanagan uses \( \text{kn}_-\) inflection in a number of forms derived and inflected by means of prefixes, suffixes, and circumfixes. Among these forms are:

2.1. \( \text{kn}_-\) PARADIGMS

To-Be nouns (\( \text{kn}_-\text{kt}-\text{noun} \))

Ex: \( \text{kt}-\text{ilmfx}^*\text{m snk'lip. Coyote will be chief / is chief-to-be.} \)

\( \text{kt}-\) have forms (\( \text{kn}_-\text{kt}-\text{noun} \))

Ex: \( \text{kn}_-\text{kt}^*\text{-q}^*\text{acqn I have a hat.} \)

inchoatives (\( \text{kn}_{-\text{verb}+?-?\text{- before stressed vowel}} \))

\( \text{kn}_-\text{c}^*-?\text{-ax I got ashamed.} \text{ (root c'ax)} \)

patient forms (\( \text{kn}_{-\text{verb}+V}\text{C}_2 \))

\( \text{kn}_-\text{t}'\text{k}'\text{-ak}'\text{w I fell.} \text{ (Cf. t'k}'\text{-nt put something down)} \)

get patient forms (\( \text{kn}_{-\text{c}+\text{verb}} \))

\( \text{u}^*\text{ ilk? kn}_-\text{c-lak'} I was in jail a long time} \text{ (Cf. lk}'\text{-nt tie something)} \)

habitual / durative forms (\( \text{kn}_{-\text{c}+\text{verb}} \))

\( \text{kn}_-\text{c-nqilx}^*+\text{cn-m I (regularly) talk Indian.} \text{ (Cf. kn}_-\text{nqilx}^*+\text{cn-m I talked Indian)} \)
imperfective forms (kn_s-verb-(mi)x–compare with the forms that follow)
kn_s-k’”l’+cn+cut-x I am cooking.
s-?itx-x pit Pete is sleeping.
kn_s-q’y’-mix I am writing.

imperfective of present relevance forms (kn_sc-verb-(mi)x–compare with the imperfective forms given above)
kn_sc-k’”l’+cn+cut-x I have been cooking.
sc-?itx-x pit Pete has been sleeping.
kn_sc-q’y’-mix I have been writing.

inceptive forms (kn ks+verb-(mi)x)
kn ks-k’a’+k’a’-mixa’x I’m going to look for something.
kn ks-x”úy-a’x I’m going (away).

past perfect forms (kn_ksc+verb)2
kn_ksc-k”ul’ ta_nc’aqk”
I have some sour dough bread made / I have made some sour dough bread.
kn_ksc-nik’ I have some cut / I have cut some.

2.2. i(n)- PARADIGMS

durative / intent forms (i+s+verb)
s-q’sápi?-s ilf? i-s-ilf? I lived there a long time. (root ilf? there, lit. long-time there 1-there).

perfective forms (i+sc+verb)
in-ḵást i-sc-?itx I slept well (my-good my-having-slept).

future forms (i+ks+verb)
lut a-ks-x”úy Don’t go.
k” j-ks-(s)fw-m I’ll ask you.

future imperative forms (i+kc+verb)
lut a-kc-náq”” You will not steal.
ḵást a-kc-k”úl’-m You will work well.

2 These forms can also be analyzed as kt- have forms.
future applicative forms (a-ks-verb-t-m)
\[ k^w_j-ks-may'-xit-m \ldots I \text{ am going to tell you} \ldots \]

2.3. -(o)n PARADIGMS

All forms that take transitive person markers also take a (di)transitivizer. Okanagan has two transitivizers, -nt and -st; a causative -st; and three applicatives -it, -x(t)it, -túf.t.

-nt is the transitivizer that accompanies most stems:
  \[ \text{wik-nt-x'} \text{ You saw it.}^3 \]
  \[ \k'a?-nt-in \text{ I fetched it.} \]

One verb takes -t, ?am-t-in I fed him. Several verbs take -st:
  \[ \text{pul-st-n I beat him up.} \]
  \[ q'1+q'\text{il-st-m-s He talks to you.} \]

The causative is -st:
  \[ ?ayx't-st-m-n I \text{ made you tired} \text{(Cf. k}_x^w?ayx't You are tired).} \]

Customary transitive forms are marked with the circumfix c-...st:
  \[ c\text{-wik-st-n I always see it.} \]

Three suffixes prepare stems for transitivization:

-\[n(u(n))^4 \text{ manage to} \text{(most common added to stems with } -C_2 \text{ reduplication)} \]
  \[ \text{taft i'}_x^s+s+nu-nt-x' \text{ You did well (xast good).} \]
  \[ \text{tafl} ? \text{xast i'? k''l' +l' +nu-nt-x' You did / got it done very well.} \]
  \[ \text{taft xast i'? k''l' +nu-nt-x' You did very well. (Cf. k''ul' -nt-x' You fixed it.)} \]

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3 Scholars have argued that Salishan languages are pronominal argument languages: a form like wik-nt-x' You saw it. is a full sentence with a third person object (θ), and second person subject (-x'). In this interpretation, any object expressed in nominal form is an adjunct, not a (nominal) argument. The claim is countered with the suggestion that in applicative sentences like
  \[ k^w_u ftq-\text{it-is in-flx. He touched my hand.} \]
the noun phrase in-flx my hand functions as one of the arguments of the possessor applicative verb form k^w_u ftq-\text{it-is He touched my } \ldots \text{ and this argument is not, and cannot be, referenced in pronominal form on the verb.} \]

4 The underlying form -\[nun is confirmed by such forms as k^w_j-ks-k'l-nun-m I'm going to kill you.} \]
-min, often as the circumfix k-/t-....-min with intransitive stems:
  k+pulx+mn-(n)t-s-n I'll camp with you. (Cf. kn_pulx I camped.)
  t+x*uy+mn-(n)t-s-n I went up to you. (Cf. kn_x*uy I went; x*uy-st take st to).
  taft ?ayx*t+mn-(n)t-s-n I am tired of you. (Cf. kn ?ayx*t I am tired;
  ?ayx*t-st-n I made him tired.)
else with some change in the meaning of the stem:
  c’q’-nt-ix" You hit it; c’q’+mi-nt-x" You threw it.
-xixm, with changes (not fully understood) to the roles of the arguments of the
verb as well as to the meaning of the verb:
  k*tn+xixm-st-x" You lent it out to her. (Cf. k*ul-nt-x" You borrowed it.)
-ff is the possessor applicative:
  uc k*u_wik-nt-x" I-sqWsf? Did you see my son? (Cf. uc k*u_wik-nt-x" Did you see me?)
-x(i)t is the benefactive applicative:
  k*u_q’y’-xit-s t_j-ks... He wrote the X for me. (Cf. q’y’-nt-is He wrote it.)
-tuft with changes to the roles of the arguments:
  k*u_?am-tuft-x" i?_spapâ’la? You fed me to the monster. (Cf.
  k*u_?am-t-ix" You fed me; k*u_?am-ixW i-sqWsf? You fed my child.)

3. kn_ PREDICATES

This section organizes and discusses all the forms in the text marked with a member
of the kn_ paradigm. The number that precedes each example matches the number of
the unit in the text.

3.1. THIRD PERSON FORMS

A simple kn_ sentence is a(n intransitive) sentence with an unmarked (third person)
verb and a subject, in that order. Examples:

SF1. cwix i? sqilx*
  lived the people
  There were some people.
SF14. c'ayncut q"aq"c'w'jya?
    laugh    Chipmunk
    Chipmunk laughed.

In the stream of discourse the nominal subject, recoverable from context, is often omitted:

SF7. x"ù·y'+y -lx
    went    pl
    They went.

SF23. c'l'c'l'qinxnm
    put legs up
    He put his legs up.

SF63, SF113. cut
    said
    S/he said.

5 Intransitive forms are most often also analyzed as fully predicative.
   kn_x*uy. I went.
   k^_jlmfx^m You are a boss.
   k^_fast You are fine.

In these sentences, the clitics kn_ and k^_ are the subjects, and the word to which the clitics are attached are the predicates. Third person forms have Ø subject person marking, and forms like sql'tmix* have been analyzed as full predications that should be translated as something like 'He is a man' or 'It's a man.' In the stream of discourse such words can function as predicative elements. The normal way to express either of the isolated propositions 'He's a man,' and 'It's a man.' is with utterances like ifx? sql'tmix* That's a man, or sql'tmix* ya?xfbs That one over there is a man; that is, by juxtaposing (in either order) the stem sql'tmix* and a deictic stem (ifx?, ya?xfbs). In traditional terms these sentences would be analyzed as exocentric equational constructions consisting of a subject and a predicate. The participant persons kn_ and k^_ are pronominal subjects; third person forms can be analyzed as having a nominal subject of the classes mentioned, which, in context, can be deleted. Another complication for the interpretation of all full words as predicative is presented by the different markings for morphological and syntactic plurals: the morphological plural of citx* house is the reduplicated form ct-citx* houses, while the syntactic plural of the same form is citx*-lx (ifx?) (Those) are houses.

In recent times, when scholars are preferring to view all constructions to have heads (or centers, in the old terminology) the question is raised as to what constitutes the head of such a sentence as kn_sql'tmix*. Most common is the hypothesis that the verb is the head of the sentence (here it would be the predicate nominal), but because the identification of head with lexical head can be dispensed with, just as abstract features within the Inflection or Agreement nodes have been proposed to head sentences, and just as the determiner has been proposed to head Determiner Phrases, so can kn_ be proposed to head the sentence kn_sql'tmix*. An utterance like x*uy He went, then, can be viewed as the abbreviation of x*uy ifx? That one went, and analyzed either as having a null subject, or as requiring a third person nominal subject which undergoes deletion in the appropriate circumstances.
All the following one-word sentences consist of third person forms, with and without expressed nominal subjects:

SF124. ciyā° iʔ stim’ xítmíʔstɔlx
   Every creature ran (ciyā° iʔ stim’ lit. every the thing, everything)

SF123. tiix°ptlx ix'aff hɬ ’aʔcfnam
   run out these deer
   The deer ran out (lit. these deer).

SF50. xʷət’pəncú’t He ran.

SF64, SF65, SF66, SF69, SF78, SF96, SF109. cut He said.

SF75. ʔatxťlxəlx° They slept.

3.2. PARTICIPANT PERSON FORMS

Intransitive sentences with non-third person subjects by definition do not have a nominal referent, and are marked for person with the pronominal clitics of the kn set:

   kn ʔayx°t
   I tired
   I am tired.

Several such occur in SF:

SF116, SF116, SF121, SF121. kən cxʷuyax°ú·y I came down; SF121. kən cyayúx°t
   I came down.

3.3. ADJUNCTS TO kn PREDICATES

Intransitive sentences may include adjuncts of various functions and may be introduced by a conjunction or other particle. The verb usually precedes adjuncts, but locatives such as ik’līʔ, iliʔ, occur on either side of the verb:

SF4. p ksxʷuyaʔx k’əl cəʔtúps
     youpl will go to Fisher
     You’ll go to Fisher.

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6The same structure obtains in SF98. xʷu·y He went; SF117. pəlk’məncút he turned around;
SF124. yiləáltlx they ran away; SF131. nstؤls he thought; SF117. taʔxľem he did that; SF127.
nuxuxpágqs the air went in his nose.
SF7. \( \text{uf } \text{ip} \text{k}'\text{llf} \)  
and arrive there  
And they got there.

SF16. \( \text{uf } \text{ilf} \text{k}'\text{t}k\text{lt}w\text{lltx} \)  
and there they sat under  
They were sitting under there.

SF20. \( \text{uf } \text{k}'\text{al}k\text{lwfs ilf} \)  
and he rolled around there  
And he rolled around there.

SF28. \( \text{ixf} \text{t}l \)  
then morning  
Then it was morning.

SF93. \( \text{ixf} \text{ckm}\text{âm} \text{t} \text{st}'^\text{pi} \)  
then took art obj_itr grass  
Then he took some grass. (The oblique t marks the object of the intransitive ckm\text{âm}).

SF97. \( \text{ik}'\text{lf} \text{x"uy} \)  
there went  
He went there.

SF130. \( \text{ixf} \text{yly\text{alt}lx} \)  
then run away  
Then they ran away.

Several other sentences also show the same pattern: SF26. \( \text{uf } \text{afl} \text{ftn And they ate} \).  
SF31. \( \text{uf } \text{nis And he was gone} \).  
SF57. \( \text{uf } \text{nk} \text{ltlf} \text{tk} \text{And they lived in the water} \).  
SF120. \( \text{mf } \text{k}'\text{la} \text{x'\text{kmlmncút And he turned this way} \).  
SF121. \( \text{mf } \text{cut And she said} \).  
SF103. \( \text{uf } \text{nq} \text{t} \text{c'talx And they were packed there} \).  
SF50. \( \text{k}'\text{llf } \text{tkcx He got back there} \).  
SF51. \( \text{uf } \text{cya}" \text{uláp And it all burned} \).  
SF57. \( \text{ilf} \text{nt} \text{Apqš\text{âm He tipped his head to drink} \).  
SF43. \( \text{k}'\text{acq}q\text{\text{lx k}'\text{al tk} \text{e\text{\text{mknt}lx" They went outside} \).  
SF46. \( \text{way} \text{qilt k}'\text{atf} \text{\{k}'\text{al} He was already on the top} \).  
SF61. \( \text{nī}'\text{fp k}'\text{lal He's still dead} \).  
SF56. \( \text{q'sápī} \text{scutx Long time ago, they said} \).

The locative ilf\text{t}, a form that can undergo intransitive inflection, has another adverbial lexical function, that of indicating the passage of time, as in the following examples:

SF38. \( \text{ilf} \text{cær'túsps k}'\text{mdmu}'\text{s} \)  
a\_while Fisher sit  
Fisher sat there.

SF72. \( \text{ilf} \text{uf } \text{gltx} \)  
a\_while and sleep  
... a while, and he slept.
Intransitive sentences may further be introduced by conjunctions, interjections, or evidential particles:

**SF27.** uf afl? knaqsmfsa?t
and so alone
*He was alone.*

**SF19.** nt'a? uf "ayncút
gee and he laughed
*And, gee, he laughed.*

**SF127.** nt'a· ck'əlt'ak"
gee lie
*Gee, he was lying there.*

Intransitive sentences, in fact all Okanagan sentences, are commonly introduced by particles, the function of which I interpret as being that of standing in parallel with the predicate and its arguments, so that a sentence can be said to consist of an opening particle and a sentence. In addition, conjunctions may introduce sentences, with or without other particles, before or after other particles. Deictics (ixf?, axá?), beside having their basic function, double up as particles, and the description of each of these two functions remains to be refined:

**SF20.** uf 'hoy cut
and well said
and ptcl pred
*Then he said.*

**SF80.** uf t'i? k'aw i? smam?im
and evid gone the women
conj ptcl pred subj...
*And the women are gone.*

**SF23.** mət axá? tckicx cər'túps
and then came_back Fisher
conj ptcl pred subj
*And then Fisher came back home.*
And then Fisher cooked.

He laughed and laughed.

And they were going to crawl under.

And there was a little hole there.

I am tired.

Ah, Skunk was on that side.

They were sitting on the rock.

Fisher was hiding outside the door.

And then he said.

They had just gone in there.

There is a hole in the ground.

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7The force of this form is "for quite a while." See 3.3. above.

8This form can function as an inflectable verb root, as a negative particle in negative sentences, and as a reply.
That’s it, the end of the story. (the force of \texttt{ixf? ut way’} is that it’s all.).

And they crawled into the ground.

\texttt{And there they \{were hiding\} in the cache.}

Intransitive sentences may be introduced by modal particles, and have an expressed or implied subject as in:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{SF110.} & \texttt{cəm’ xuxwáp ism’a?m’áy’}  \\
& \texttt{might deflate my story}  \\
& \texttt{The air might go out of my story.}  \\
\textbf{SF111.} & \texttt{cəm’ ilf’ xuxwáp}  \\
& \texttt{might from that deflate}  \\
& \texttt{It might ooze out from there.}  \\
\textbf{SF114.} & \texttt{cəm’ xuxwáp} \texttt{It might ooze out.}  \\
\end{tabular}

\subsection*{3.5. Equational Constructions}

These sentences consist of two constituents. One of them can be a nominal or adjectival, and the other a deictic, a locative, or another nominal or adjectival, expressed or implied. It may not be possible to distinguish formally nominals from adjectivals, but for the moment I will use notional approximations based on the English translations. The language has no overt copula:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{SF2.} & \texttt{ixf? i? pəptwína’xʷ} \texttt{That’s the old lady.}  \\
\textbf{SF67.} & \texttt{ixf? státąq} \texttt{That’s Squirrel.}  \\
\textbf{SF9.} & \texttt{ut ilf’ i? xálna?} \texttt{And there are the caches, two caches.}  \\
\textbf{SF10.} & \texttt{k’a?xís i? xálna? The cache is over there.}  \\
\textbf{SF79.} & \texttt{atf’ xk’ut ilf’} \texttt{There is a rock there.}  \\
\textbf{SF103.} & \texttt{ha’túm’ ilf?} \texttt{There is everything there.}  \\
\textbf{SF114.} & \texttt{atf’ xast iksm’a?m’áy’ My story is very good.}  \\
\textbf{SF126.} & \texttt{atf’ sínx”a’ i? sənp’sáqstəns His nose is big.}  \\
\textbf{SF69.} & \texttt{ik’ílf? way’} \texttt{Over there is OK.}  \\
\end{tabular}

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\textsuperscript{9}The word in unintelligible in the tape—this is a possible inference.

\textsuperscript{10}Because the language has no copula, the phrase \texttt{ixf? i? pəptwína’xʷ ... that old lady ...} and the sentence \texttt{ixf? i? pəptwína’xʷ. That’s the old lady.} coincide.
Note, in the last sentence, the predicative use of way', a form that doubles as a verb (wi'stin I finished it; way'stin I gave it up), and as probably the most common multi-use particle in the language as in SF64, above.

The referent may be implied, as in:

SF64. way’ myať k’”ok’”yúma? It’s too small.

3.6. kt- PREDICATES

The language has a prefix kt- (with allomorph k- before forms that begin with s) that attached to stems forms verb forms that take the kn set of person markers, and with the meaning have X, where X is the meaning of the stem:

SF2. ut kson’am’im’a?t státáq la?ti q’”aq’”c’w’iya? She had granddaughters, Squirrel and Chipmunk.
SF110. kən ksm’a?m’áy’ I have a story.

The second use of kt- in third person forms parallels that of French il y a:

SF56. ilf? i? ksiwtk” There is water there.

3.7. kin’ PREDICATES

These correspond roughly to English wh- words. The text has three such sentences, two with the locative k’a”kin’, and one with stim’ what:

SF62. anwf k’a?kín’ ancftx” Where is your house?

For the moment I analyze anwf as a sort of apposition to ancftx”, which can also occur next to the possessed referent:

SF65. k’a?kín’ anwf ancftx” Where is your house?
SF86. stim’s ixf?, ha sw’ar’fps What is that (of his ?), Stink Bug?

3.8. COMPLEX INTRANSITIVE SENTENCES

The text has few of these. Three include ki?, a relativizing conjunction:

SF60. ixf? ki? cyax’”t ut k’lal
then rel fall and die
That’s when he fell down and died.
It was quite a little while before he arrived. That’s when Raven flew.

Two include tə, a relative pronoun or article that can be rendered as the one(s) that.\(^\text{11}\)

We were coming for you.

or that remains unclear,

One includes iʔ, a form that doubles as article and as relative pronoun:

Those gathered there are all sitting.

3.9. RESIDUAL CASES

Here I list five utterances each containing some element the function of which I have not decided whether to consider performance errors or unrecognized cases. I mark the form in doubt with a question mark.

That thing, Stink Bug, was stuck in his anus (Lit. he was anus-stuck by...)

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\(^\text{11}\)Compare: p’ina? axâ? / axâ? p’ina? This is a basket.
axâ? iʔ p’ina? This is the basket.
axâ? tə p’ina? This is the one that is a p’ina.
SF42. ixf? ut i? k'et?ákca?lx {ut}\(^{12}\)
then ? ? come_out
Then they came out.

SF75. ut ɬlap ɬi? qit
and morning ? wake_up
In the morning he woke up. (Possibly i? for ki?).

SF22. kəm' ɬəskəaqfnxan
or good_knees
He was good-kneed. (The problem here is the context).

SF76. ut ɬa? ck'ip' {i?} i? xə'ut atf?
and here be_pinched the rock so
He was pinched in the rock. The problem here is the lack of the expected
oblique marker, i? t xə'ut).

4. i- PREDICATES

All the intransitive sentences discussed so far have employed the kn set of person
marker. In this section I discuss sentences the predicate of which employs the i- set of
person markers.\(^{13}\) Many of these sentences seem to be equational constructions, the
i- predicate one member of the equation, and a (modified) nominal, a deictic, or a
particle, the other.

4.1. THIRD PERSON i- PREDICATES

The form of the third person marker is -s / -c.

SF54. ixf? s\(^{14}\)
\(\begin{array}{c}
\text{then } \text{dur} \\
\text{track } 3i
\end{array}\)
Then he tracked them (started / wanted to track them).

The following sentences all show the same basic structure, SF22. ixf?
scə'əl'cə'əl'qfnxəms He put their legs up. SF38. ixf? scə'uyəs He came. SF52. ixf?
sə'q'əq's He cried. SF80. ixf? sə'əkə'l'ųlməms He looked around. SF90. ixf? snisc

\(^{12}\)The problem is to discern between the sequence ut i? and the form ñui? and then.

\(^{13}\)Many of these sentences function as independent sentences, others as dependent sentences. It is
possible that historically all i- predicates functioned as dependent constructions, but this is not the case
at present.

\(^{14}\)Here and elsewhere the function of ixf? can be analyzed in different ways--see above.

\(^{15}\)Forms I label \textit{durative} can be translated as: start to X, intend to X, do some Xing.
He left. SFI5. ix? ixf? san?úcxåns He started tracking them. SFI6. ix? scuts He said.
SFI8. ix? skicx He came, while the following sentences include additional material
(locatives, conjunctions, particles),

SFI6. ix? itlf? sx*úy’ysålx
then from there they went
ptcl loc pred
Then they went.
SFI29. way’ ix? itlfipíxåm
well then I_again_hunt
pcl pcl pred
I’m going back hunting.
SFI12. ix? ik’lf? sx*úy’sålx
then there they went
ptcl loc pred
Then they went there.

and the following sentences include an expressed third person subject nominal:

SFI14. ix? ut s”ayncûts axå? q’”æq”c’w’fyå?
then and laughed this Chipmunk
ptcl conj pred subj ...
Then Chipmunk laughed.
SFI13. ix? scx*uys sänkstfyå?
then come_back Skunk
ptcl pred subj
Then Skunk came back.

The following sentences exhibit the patterns just described,

SFI37. ix? sänkxåms san?úcxåns sänkstfyå?
then followed tracked Skunk
He followed Skunk’s tracks (with two parallel durative forms).
SFI77. ix? ut scuts And he said...
SFI55. [s]x*u·ys ut i? k’áI st’a?t’d’pu?stn He went as far as st’a?t’d’pu?stn (the
import of ut i? k’l is as far as).
SFI48. nt’a [i]xf[?] suckl’fpoms Gee, he ran down the hill.
SFI122. nt’a· ix? sxftmi?stsålx {i?} Gee, they ran, the ...

4.2. NON-THIRD PERSON i- PREDICATES

The following example has a first person form:
In this sentence, as in all non-third person forms, the role of the person marker in the predicate determines the role of the adjunct: my friend is what I will track.\(^\text{16}\)

5. **TRANSITIVE PREDICATES**

Simple transitive sentences with 3rd person subjects and objects include the subject suffix -(o)s and an expressed or implied nominal object:

**SF24.** cus i? sl’axts  
*he_told art his_friend*  
*He told his friend.*

**SF 32, SF39, SF61, SF61.** (ixf? uf) kam’ontis i? sm’am’úms  
*then and he_took art his_women*  
*(Then) he took his women.*

**SF82.** ixf? tałntís i? sc’uxáns  
*then he_broke art his_foot*  
*Then he broke his foot.*

**SF91.** a? ʔám’cqa?sts i? sqíltks  
*intj he_took_out art his_body*  
*He got his body out. (st causative).*

All the examples given have a 3rd person possessed object, and in all such cases the possessor is co-referential with the subject, else the transitivizer would be -lt, the so-called *possessor applicative*, as in the following sentence:

**SF131.** n’in’w’i? k’əńšik’tsałx i? sp’sáqsc  
*if/when they_cut_his art his_nose*  
*If they cut his nose off.*

Other sentences with nominal (but not possessed) objects are:

**SF52.** uf ixf? k’ám’ú’sams i? s+x”uy+tn *And then he looked for tracks.*

**SF89.** nwa’lľsams stim’ {a’} *He wondered what.*

\(^\text{16}\)In third person forms the possibility of ambiguity arises (he tracked his friend / his friend tracked him), and the language has various means to resolve such ambiguities.
They examined this Stink Bug.

That's when they burned the house.

He took the rock and threw it.

One sentence has an expressed nominal object, and an adjunct:

They sprinkled the tracks with ashes.

The text also contains two sentences with expressed subjects. When such occur, they are normally, but not always, accompanied by the oblique t, with pragmatics and context often determining when not to mark the nominal subject:

Another person takes it back...

The expected way to express a nominal transitive subject is with the -m I and others have at different times called passive and indefinite, and the Coeur d'Alene cognate of which Doak 1977 has called non-topic ergative:

They were told by their grandmother / Their grandmother told them.

Skunk took them / They were taken by Skunk.

Commonly the third person object (suffix -Ø) is pronominal:

He put them there under the side of the cache.

He threw it there outside.

He told him.

They tickled him.

17 nák¬am is a particle the force of which can be translated, "Oh, that's what / how it is!"

18 I see two possible analyses of k: the prefix I have called resultive that derives verbs with unpredictable changes to the meaning of the root; the relativizer ki?, and that's when...
They tickled him. SF89. a? wiks He saw it. SF90. ix? c'əlxəntís He grabbed it. SF94. ta?xí-ists He did like that. SF94. ut ix? naq"məntís He plugged it. SF112, SF115. ix? nq"omq"muv-əlx They managed to plug it. SF107. maə ixtf? x"ic"xəms And then he passes it on. SF107. ut nxə'nusəlx They complete it. SF115. xac"mstísəlx They made it tight. SF59. ix? pəc"ntá"s He sprayed them. SF60. t'əx" mat xkists He must have done something to it.

The text contains transitive predicates with non-third person subjects:

SF41. ut axtf? k"u kəmtəntfm And so he took us. (k"u...-fm they-us).
SF113, SF113. (ta?ltf?) xca"mstíp You get them (very) tight.

and a sentence with a third person passive:

SF119. ix? pəc"ntá"məlx It was squirted out.

6. OTHER SENTENCE TYPES

The text has two intransitive commands:

SF77. k"atátxa?x way' Move over; SF78. k"atá?x q"aq"c"w"ftya? Move over Chipmunk.

and one transitive command:

SF109. nq"omq"músənt iʔ ciyaʔ cəəq reelection {cəm'} Plug all the holes.

The text has seven negative sentences, six with lut, and one with nak"wáʔ. lut has several functions. It is the interjection "no"; it is a full root; together with a class of lexical items it forms other complex lexical items, e.g. lut swit nobody; lut stim' nothing; lut pən'kín' never.19 I have labelled the function of the particle t' factual negative, and it differentiates such pairs of future sentences as

lut aksənk"əwpíls. Don't get lonesome.

and

lut t' aksənk"əwpíls. You won't get lonesome.

the latter of which has a factual and the former a hortative reading. Forms unmarked for aspect, the interpretations of which default to past, do not exhibit similar paired

19. These are not predications—the way to express the proposition it's nobody, it's not somebody is with lut t\'e swit (where lut co-occurs (obligatorily) with t'.

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readings, and the way to say Nobody spoke.\textsuperscript{20} is with the obligatory inclusion of the particle \textit{t}: lut swit t'q*olq*ilt. Nobody spoke.

SF5. lut t'a lk"ut itlf? It's not far from there. (intransitive, with kn_ marking)
SF24. uʃ lut k" t' k"ol'cəcət You haven't cooked. (intransitive, with kn_ marking)
SF129. ixʔ? uʃ lut t' q'a?lsəmsolx Nobody paid attention to him. (transitive, with -(n) marking)
SF8. uʃ lut t'a kswit ilf? There was nobody there. (kt- predicate, with kn_ marking)
SF92. uʃ lut k'am t'a ksw'ar'fps There was no Stink Bug. (kt- predicate, with kn_ marking; the function of k'am is not clear).
SF81. \{xiʔ s\} lut xkənəm aft? mi ?əcqa? He can't do anything to get out. (contrast lut t' xkənəm He didn't do anything...; intransitive with kn_ marking).
SF25. nak"*\textsuperscript{21} k* inilmfx*əm mi ck"*a?k"*ul'st'mən
indeed_not you my_boss fut Icust_cook_for_you
It's not that you are my boss that I [should] cook for you.

7. INTERJECTIONS AND FRAGMENTS

The text contains five occurrences of the interjection kiw yes (SF61, SF68, SF74, SF102, SF105), in response to an interlocutor's questions or remarks; three onomatopoic sequences, the sound of Skunk arriving, SF13. uʃ t'iq" piq"* piq"* piq"*; the sound of a rolling rock, SF31. t'iʔ lu lu lu lu; and the sound of peeling or cutting off something, SF128. laq"fs.. laq"fs..; several phrases (as responses to an interjected comment or question, or a simple naming, imprecation, or other utterance: SF73. sənkstəkya? Skunk; SF104. t"ax*_mat həts*ən* Maybe the Magpies; SF103. hət"c*əsqəqa? ilf? The Chickadees then; SF101. iʔ kstər'qmfxa?x Those who are going to dance; SF50. lut_stim' Nothing; SF100. ciyə" iʔ stim' Everything; SF79. uʃ lut But no; SF49. nákna t ism'am?qim, nákna t ism'am?íim Goodness, my women! Goodness, my women!; SF45. nt'a kli uláp Gee that it burned; SF47. nt'a i sulápS Gee, the burning; SF63. t"ax* ya nəx"əx"c*úsə? In that stump; SF66. t"ax* a? cənsq"f"w's iʔ l xk'ut The split in the rock; SF85. ho·y uʃ iʔ kilxs uʃ iʔ sc'uʔxás And then his hand and his foot.

\textsuperscript{20}This is a shortcut for "one way to express in Cv-Ok what in English might be expressed by the utterance Nobody spoke. is ..."

\textsuperscript{21}The form is based on the evidential nak"*m, see above. Another such pair is km' or. km' +a? nor, or not.

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8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The 133 units into which I edited the text *Skunk and Fisher* contain about 150 intransitive and 64 transitive sentences. The 150 intransitive sentences include 12 nominal and adjectival predicates. 130 of the intransitive forms are conjugated with the *kn* paradigm. Of these 72 are unmarked for aspect, 8 are habitual forms, 6 are *m* verbs, 4 are imperfective forms, two are inceptive forms, 3 are *k* verbs, and 3 are *kin* words. The 20 forms conjugated with the *i* paradigm divide into 18 durative / intent forms, and 2 future forms. The 64 transitive predicates divide into 37 *nt*, 10 *st*, and 9 *tt* forms. There are also 3 *st* customary, 1 *st* causative, and 1 *t* transitive forms. The two remaining transitives are based on the stem *kn+xit* help, which is irregular. Some speakers use it as a stem that takes *nt* in some forms, e.g. *kn+xit-nt-x* you helped him, but not in others, viz. *kn-xit-m-n* I helped you, with the *m* 2obj typical of *xit* (and *st*) transitives. In sum, the text contains a preponderance of simple intransitive sentences and a substantial number of simple transitive ones. Complex and subordinate sentences are virtually absent, and the number of constructions represented in the text is relatively small. Similar surveys and counts will show the extent to which it is possible to identify stylistic preferences of various speakers, and/or make generalizations about the distribution and occurrence of the various Okanagan sentence types.

References Cited

