

BRIEF COMMENTS ON TWO OF HEBERT'S ARGUMENTS IN "A NOTE ON  
ASPECT IN (NICOLA LAKE) OKANAGAN"

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At least two of the arguments that H adduces in support of her "aspect hypothesis" in her otherwise very interesting paper, are based on questionable analyses of the data. In the next few lines I suggest revision of these analyses.

(1) H finds my description of the Cv -nt- and -st- transitives factually accurate, or at least compatible with her "aspect hypothesis" were it not for one apparent problem: both n and s occur in intransitive forms--and H assumes them to be (part of) the same morphemes found in transitive forms. She gives examples of forms based on three roots, cognate with Cv /k<sup>w</sup>al' 'warm', /'cak 'count', and /'caq<sup>w</sup> 'cry'. Note, however, that if the s of k<sup>w</sup>al<sub>st</sub>, k<sup>w</sup>al<sub>st</sub>x, and sən<sup>w</sup>al<sub>st</sub>ŋ is identified as the unstressed form of the lexical suffix -us 'fire'; and if the s of t<sup>w</sup>ms is identified as the unstressed form of the suffix -us 'face'; and if the s of s-c-čk-ásqət-x is identified as part of the suffix -asqət 'day', then the integrity of -st as a transitive morpheme is maintained. Other examples might show that my analysis is probably correct: k<sup>w</sup>na-nt 'put wood in!', k<sup>w</sup>n-ús-ənt 'put wood on the fire!'; ŋcix-s 'he warms it', ŋcix-s-əs 'he warms it on the fire'; k<sup>w</sup>u k<sup>w</sup>al-ənt 'warm me up!', k<sup>w</sup>u k<sup>w</sup>al-əm-st 'warm me up!', etc. (For a discussion of -nwix<sup>w</sup> cf my paper "Parallels Between the Colville Transitives and the Pseudo-Intransitives." Proceedings, VIII WECOL, pp. 103-7.)

The corollary argument that the -nt form ɬsac-ənt-əm 'he bruised him (on purpose)' contradicts my characterization of -st- transitives [if it means "on purpose" then it should be ɬsac-st-əm], is empty. ɬsac-ənt-əm is unmarked for "purpose". The difference between -nt- and -st- can be seen in the following examples based on the same root:

ny<sup>ɬ</sup>ip k-ɬsac-st-ən i? sɬaq kən ɬa? c-q<sup>w</sup>liw<sup>m</sup>. I always manage to smash all the berries when I go picking.

k-ɬsac-ən i? sɬaq. I smashed the berries (unspecified whether accidentally, or on purpose, or whatever).

(Note also the following Cv forms, in contradiction to H's starred ones:

?axl-àsqət c-xlít-st-ŋ. I used to call him every day.

?axl-àsqət c-maŋ-st-ən. I used to break one a day.)

(2) Though, by H's admission, not germanely to the main topic of her paper, she tries to show that the -t I identify as stative is better not so identified. However, whatever the effects of that proof might have been, and no matter how inappropriate my label, both examples of -t she gives in 57 and 58 are examples of (di-) transitives (x<sup>w</sup>ic-əxt 'give something to somebody'; x<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>a-nt 'clean something'), and not of statives, thus again leaving the argument without its feet.