

Parallels between three Cv-Ok aspectual forms and their Sp-Fl-Ka cognates¹

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0. INTRODUCTION. In this paper I present side by side some Cv-Ok and Sp-Fl-Ka data that document the presence in the two languages of three cognate constructions, each with parallel allomorphy, to wit:²

¹The paper is inspired by how Pauline Flett inscribed her *s-qʷellʷumʷt*. *Salish Legends*. for me: 'This still has many "ow-ies", but here it is--.' Here are some of my "ow-ies", and may all our "ow-ies" help us all work toward a better understanding of the grammars of these languages.

²I should say that the labels I have assigned to these constructions are subject to revision.

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Cv-Ok	Sp-Fl-Ka
1. kn_ks-...-míxaʔx 'inceptive'	čn qs-...-mí
kn_ks-...-aʔx	čn qs-...-i
2. kn_sac-...-míx 'imperfective'	čn heʔc-...-mí (es-...-mí)
sac-...-x	čn heʔc-...-i (es-...-i)
3. kn_s-...-míx 'perfect'	čn (e)s-...-mí
s-...-x	čn (e)s-...-i

1. Inceptive forms. In this section I present data from both languages that exemplify the intransitive construction that, in Cv-Ok, I call *inceptive*. Not atypically, this Cv-Ok construction has two allomorphs, one suffix-stressed, found with weak stems; the other stem-stressed, found with strong stems.

1.1. Suffix-stressed inceptive forms. The forms I present here show the following correspondence:

Cv-Ok	Sp-Fl-Ka
ks-...-míxaʔx 'inceptive'	qs-...-mí

In both languages these forms are conjugated with the set of intransitive person markers, which for convenience I will call the kn/čn set.

1.1.1. Examples of Cv-Ok ks-...-míxaʔx 'inceptive' forms. Here I provide an ample number of these Cv-Ok examples. A side benefit of these numbers is that we can study the extent to which the stress valences of Cv-Ok roots, stems, and affixes match the stress valences of their Sp-Fl-Ka cognates. To make the work of comparison easier, I have arranged the examples alphabetically by C₁ of the root. I have listed an indefinite English gloss. The forms are to be understood as inceptives with translations like 'I am going to ...', 'I will ...'

kn ks-caʔ-míxaʔx	punch
kn ks-cʷ-míxaʔx	pour liquid
kn ks-cʷəx-míxaʔx	discipline, preach, instruct
kn ks-cʷq-míxaʔx	hit
kn ks-kʷay-míxaʔx	fall hunt
kn ks-kʷəp-míxaʔx	shut up
kn ks-kʷawcn-míxaʔx	get quiet
kn ks-kʷəx-míxaʔx	take off (clothing)
kn ks-laʷ-míxaʔx	slip s.t. on
kn ks-ʷlp-míxaʔx	stop

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kn ks-λ'a?k'a?-míxa?x	look for something
kn ks-λ'a?-míxa?x	fetch something
kn ks-λ'u?w-míxa?x	put out the light
kn ks-pk"-míxa?x	spill
kn ks-(s)əp'-míxa?x	hit, whip
kn ks-(s)əq'-míxa?x	split
kn ks-k'ət+q'əy'-míxa?x ³	write down
kn ks-ur-míxa?x	light fire
kn ks-təxt'-míxa?x	aim with bow and arrow
kn ks-tx"ət'p-míxa?x	chase after s.b.

I wish to point out that the prefixal part of the inceptive circumfix is regularly ks- in first and third person forms.⁴ The [s] of ks- is lost only in one circumstance: before the directional prefix †(ə†)- 'back (again)':

kn k-†+λ'a?-míxa?x I'm going to get it again.

1.1.2. Examples of Sp-Fl-Ka qs-...-mí. Here I list examples that show what I believe is the Sp-Fl-Ka equivalent of Cv-Ok ks-...-míxa?x 'inceptive'. I found two of these forms in Flett 1995b (I have added the stress marks, otherwise the transcriptions are as in the original, with hyphens and spaces intact). I list them first in isolation, then in context:

qs ya^{o'o}mí they will gather p. 16
qs č'lx^wmí will become evening p. 50

put čx^wax^wct n'e n tox^wx^wqin m qs ya^{o'o}mi ʔu? ut sqelix^w, p qs q'm-q'mil'š'i.
just shortly after noon, the people will gather, you all have something important to discuss.
ho...y ʔu? qsč'lx^wmi,
just as it was becoming evening,

I wish to point out that while continuative readings may be appropriate for these sentences, so are inceptive readings.

³I use hyphens to mark inflection; I use the plus sign (+) to mark other kinds of word-formation.

⁴The k- is often lost in 2nd person forms.

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I looked elsewhere for occurrences of suffix-stressed qs-...-mí, and I found several. In a partially interlinearized, unpublished Montana Salish (Fl) text edited by Sarah Thomason, titled *čuláý spqən?* 'July', I found three such forms:

qe qsk^wən'čstəmí (p.2)
qe q†-s-k^wén'=éčst-mí
lplu IRREALIS-NOM-try.out=hand-INTR.CONT
we will be dressing up

The larger context of this form is:

λ'e qe qsk^wən'čstemí q^wo qswénš'i

We're going to dress up for war-dancing.

where the translation is the free translation provided by the editor at page bottom of the original, slightly different from the interlinear gloss (inceptive or future vs. continuative); and that the second inceptive form may be a subordinate clause. Focusing for a moment on the interpretation of qs- as the sequence q†-s-, I wish to point out that the putative underlying form q†-s- is realized as q†- only before the directional prefix -(e)†- 'back, again, home', analogous to its Ok counterpart.

In the same text I found

k^wʔλ't λ'e ešem'ʔim'š qsk^wisč'pəmí
some people have already moved out to go hunting (p. 8)
qe ʔim'š č' ... qsč'pəmí innunú.
we'd move to ... so my uncle could go hunting

and here, again, I find the intent/inceptive⁵ reading to be more appropriate than the continuative. A systematic search for these forms should either confirm the pattern just described, or highlight my ow-ie.

In Speck 1980 I found a form that parallels ʔu? qsč'lx^wmi that I gave above:

ʔu? q-s-λ'1-m-i, šey' č'aw-m Before dying, he prayed.

Two observations: the continuative reading seems inappropriate here; the stress valence of Ka λ'1 matches that of Cv-Ok λ'1.

I also looked at the texts in Vogt 1940. There I found more than a dozen examples of these forms, which I repeat here:

⁵I'd like to find in Sp-Fl-Ka at least traces of a prefix cognate with Cv-Ok and Cr s- *intent*. See, for example, forms like the following:

qe? sʔur'šič'ti ... how to regain possession of the fire (38g).
nté: hói čisxúí. He thought: I'll go there. (XIV1).

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put u qscək'eʔčəmf spq'nfʔ (II6)	just as the sun came up over the hills
činefél'i čiqeʔefnqləpəmí (II10)	[I] tried to get up in the canoe again
činséuneʔ qstəl'qamí	I heard there was going to be a dance (III1)
čiqsčšínəmf (V7) [see XI5]	I'll go with you.
kuqsčxcəmf (VII1)	Let us gamble.
qsšl'ipəmf (VII4; VII5)	He was going to lose.
qsč'elx'mí (VIII8)	(He longed eagerly) for the evening.
qsčt'pəmf (X39)	He was going hunting.
ʔu'čiqsx't'əpəmf (X41)	I'll run away.
čiqsčšənmí (X15) [see V7]	I'll go with them.
čiqsčšənmí ʔulesčt'pmí (XIV27; also XIV40)	I'll go hunting with you
qaqsčt'pəmf tənʔámqeʔ (XIX1)	Let us go and hunt the black-bear.
čəčén' qaqsčt'pəmfʔ (XIX2)	Where are we going to hunt?

1.2. Stem-stressed inceptive forms. The forms I present here show the following correspondence:

Cv-Ok	Sp-Fl-Ka
ks-...-aʔx 'inceptive'	qs-...-i

Again, in both languages these forms are conjugated with the set of intransitive person markers. In both languages these stem-stressed forms are much more common than their suffix-stressed counterparts.

1.2.1. Examples of Cv-Ok qs-...-aʔx 'inceptive' forms.

kn ksncuʔúsaʔx	punch s.b. in the eye
kn ksncʔúsaʔx	punch in the eye
kn kscáq'ʔaʔx	point
kn ksc'q'ápqnaʔx	hit s.b. on the head
kn ksnkəlxúsaʔx	put one's arms around s.b.
kn ksk'ək'aʔl'fkaʔx	do s.t. slowly
kn kstk'ínksaʔx	shake hands with s.b.
kn ksk'w'úl'aʔx	fix
kn ksnfk'aʔx	cut with knife
kn ksnaʔnik'aʔx	cut something up
kn ksúmaʔx	sniff
kn ksnp'áw'sqnaʔx	hit s.b. in the middle of the head

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kn ksp'áp'qnaʔx	hit s.b. on the head
kn kstáqaʔx	wave
kn ksk'əʔt'm'ásaʔx	kiss s.b.
kn kst'əquʔsúsaʔx	slap in the face
kn kskʔənwisəlxəʔx	jump over s.t.
kn ksk'ʔənx'fpaʔx	close the door
kn ksklftaʔx	ask s.t.
kn ks'ftnaʔx	eat s.t.
kn ks'úmaʔx	name s.t.
ksk'ək'aʔl'fstaʔx	go slow
ksk'əsk'əskscútaʔx	struggle
kstk'fwlxaʔx	climb (ladder, pole, tree)
ksnk'ʔa'k'w'ínaʔx	pick one out
kstət'pməncútaʔx	jump
kstət'ʔa'ʔt'pməncútaʔx	jump around
ksmútaʔx	one sits
ksnpplxaʔx	several go in
ksc-npplxaʔx	several come in
kspúlxaʔx	go to bed and sleep
kspíxaʔx	hunt
kskʔnwislxaʔx	jump over it
kskʔnwislxaʔx	jump over them
ksqícəlxəʔx	one runs
kstək'w'útaʔx	several walk
kstífxaʔx	one stands
ksntərpəncútaʔx	one runs fast
kst'wístaʔx	several stand
kstxírrptaʔx	several ride
ksxiʔxiʔscútaʔx	let oneself go
kstxt'məscútaʔx	take care of oneself
ksx'əsx'úsəlxəʔx	hurry up do s.t.
ksx'ístaʔx	walk
ksx't'ífxaʔx	get up in the morning
ksx't'pnúmtaʔx	get up fast
ksx'ət'pəncútaʔx	run

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ksxʷətʰpməncútaʷx	jump up fast (and run)
kstxʷətʰməncútaʷx	sit up from lying down
kstxʷətʰpəncútaʷx	run to s.b.
ksxʷúyaʷx	go
ksc-xʷúyaʷx	come
ksx̄l̄aʷx	climb a hill
ksʷácqaʷx	one goes outside
ksʷácəcqaʷx	several go outside
ksʷíckənaʷx	one plays
ksʷíckəkənaʷx	several play
ksʷúkʷtaʷx	crawl
ksʷíʔnaʷx	eat
ksnʷúʔxʷaʷx	one goes in
ksc-nʷúʔxʷaʷx	one comes in
ksʷímxaʷx	move
ksʷətʰ-íʔxaʷx	several sleep
ksʷax̄lmncútaʷx	turn around

1.2.2. Examples of Sp-Fl qs-...-i.⁶ I leave these examples in the order that I found them in their respective sources, *Salish Phrases* (abbreviated p), and *s-qʷellʷumʷt. Salish Legends* (abbreviated g).

čʷiqs amxʷ sn-cút-i	I'm going to shave	7p
qs cʷer-tí	It's going to be cold!	27p
qs imʷ-ši	He's going to move away	64p
qaʷ qs kʷum-šlʷ-šiʷ?	We're going out on the plains to dig roots	78p
ha kʷ qs kʷ ʷis íʔn-iʷ?	Are you going to go eat?	86p

⁶Sp (and Ok) also have transitive and genitive forms that take qs-/ks- *future* (but not the suffix part of the circumfix—see A. Mattina 1993 for an account of the Okanagan constructions). As what I just said implies, their function as well as their form is to be kept separate from these intransitive forms under discussion. See, for example,

pʷiqs cunm let me tell you this 33g (gen) (Ok p ikscúnəm I am going to tell you st.)
ta qʷuyʷe qʷu qs kʷíʔnuntm ... it will not kill me 25g (trans)

⁷Note that -iʷ found here and in a few other forms is a good match with Cv-Ok -aʷ(x).

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či qs ʔaq-l-ši	I'm going to sit down	114p
qs ʔaq-l-ši	he's going to sit down	114p
qs xʷ-is-t-i	he's going to go somewhere	214p
č ʷiqs xʷ-ist-i	I am going to travel	214p
či qeʷt xʷuy-i	I'm ready to go home now	217p
... qs tʷukʷmiʷ?	(he forgot) to make them bet	3g
... qs ʷaʷcʷxi	... to watch	3g
... qs ʔlt-sqeʷlʷixʷi	... they would call a meeting	16g
p qs qʷm-qʷmʔlʷši	you have st important to discuss	17g
qs iʷmʷši	should find a different location	17g
ne ʔest čʷiqs ʔúsi	so I could look around better	18g
tu nʷe qsiʷmši	[the ones who] will have to move	19g
... qs pnheʷsmnweʷxʷi	... [would soon] be coming toward him	24g
hayo čʷiqseščeʷni	intrj what am I going to do?	24g
ta čʷiqs nšešiʷti	you wouldn't let me starve	25g
kʷenʷt qqs eš-čeniʷ?	what is he to do?	25g
(possible that this should be qseš-čeniʷ ?)		
čʷiqs eščeniʷ?	what am I to do?	26g
put qsnkʷneyi	just as he was going to sing	27g
qaʷqs eščeniʷ?	what are we to do?	33g
qaʷqs wnwénši	let us dance	34g
qaʷqs yaʷpqʷinʷiʷ?	let us celebrate	34g
qaʷ qs eščeniʷ?	what are we to do?	35g
qs ecʷé-wtiʷ?	he [would be among] the last	37g
qs pʷiʷqeʷlʷti t to cook the ...	38g
qs tʷuxʷti	[Eagle] would fly	39g
(hec u-rʷu-rʷuʷsi) qs kʷlʷsncúʷti	they were starting their own breakfast fires	40g
nʷe qs nʷlʷlétkʷi	he will drown ⁸	41g
šeyʷ pentč qs tʷuxʷtlwísi	He will now always have to fly	42g
nʷe qs éyʷčsti	he thought to himself, <i>I'll get even!</i>	51g

⁸This is my translation. I can't find it in the text.

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p'e'fmi'ʔst qs et'i'ʔtši	they laid down to go to bed for the night	50g
... qs ocqe'ey	(just as ...) headed for the door	51g

While some of these forms might, most do not lend themselves to a continuative reading. I have not tampered with the translations provided by the author.

Vogt 1940 is a rich source of these stem stressed forms.

tə'é mčiqsčtq'fəšilši	I want to step over in this direction (II8)
esiyá u qe'esqftqəʔti	Everyone has to be awake (III4)
wé čiqe'et'ócqe'ʔi	I wanted to go out [to go back out] (III6)
wé čiqe'etxúí	I wanted to go out [to go back] (III6)
qaqsəčéni. cúis qaqsxúí ...	What are we going to do? He said we'll go to ... (V2)
ul čén qaqs'ašfli	How are we going to do it? (V2)
qaqsq'fli	We'll cheat. (V3)
qe'espū·péulši	so that he could breathe (V4)
xú, kuqsc'əláq'i	Let us gamble (VIII)
čiqsʔ'u'ʔʔ'u'úsi	I'll go and look around (VIII1)
ʔ'é qaqe'etčáulši	Let us now swim again (IX4)
qsk'əʔ'úfʔ'i	was going to slip under (IX17)
qfʔtš k'qsc'é'usi	wake up, you shall wash your face (IX18)
k'úl'is ... qsc'álti	[he] made it still colder (IX23, 24,26)
kuqe'etčáulši	We'll swim again (IX25)
čiqsənxčépi	I'll fight (IX29)
hói wé qsc'q'áq'i	[he] was going to cry (X16)
wé qsc'x'álsəni	He was going to take this way (X29)
qsələmti	he'll be glad to ... (X38)
hói kuqsc'ə·sqélix'i	Let us go and see some people and gamble (XI8,12)
qsəčéni qe'lə'əu	What is our father going to do? (XI11)
néye qe'esqécilši	When we are going to race (XI22)
xú'ui ʔu'qscxú'ui	They went away to come over here (XIII)
qaqsxúí čəqalispé	We'll go to Kalispel (XIII)
cxú'ui čə'é u qsk'ə'šx'šixul'ti	they came over here in order to make children (XII2)
... u nté: yó čiqsiyóq'i	and thought: I'll tell some lies (XIV2)
čiqs'ó'cqé'i	I'll go out for a moment (XIV26)

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1.3. The allomorphy of the inceptive circumfix. It is not difficult to describe the allomorphy of the Ok-Cv circumfix. Synchronically, the prefix part of the Sp-FI-Ka circumfix presents no difficulties. The suffix part of the Sp-FI-Ka circumfix can be analyzed as -mí in weak stems in complementary distribution with -i, in strong stems. Needless to say, the (unstressed) -i should not be viewed as the unstressed counterpart of the (stressed) í of -mí.⁹ As for the historical connections between the affixes of the two languages, the stressed suffix part of Sp-FI-Ka -mí corresponds to the Ok-Cv with the not unexpected deletion of the post-tonic material. The unstressed suffix part probably corresponds to the -aʔ of Ok-Cv -aʔx. The steps that eventually resulted in the suffix -i are not completely clear, but we have some clues. The match Ok ks- / Sp qs- also requires some careful accounting.

2. The imperfective forms. In this section I present data from both (groups of) languages that exemplify the intransitive construction that, in Cv-Ok, I have been calling *imperfective*. Not atypically, this Cv-Ok construction has two allomorphs, one suffix-stressed, found with weak stems; the other stem-stressed, found with strong stems.

In both (groups of) languages these forms are conjugated with the set of intransitive person markers, which for convenience I have called the kn/čn set. Two isoglosses separate Sp from FI-Ka: whereas Sp has heʔc- ~ ʔec-, FI-Ka seem to have es-¹⁰. While in these constructions Sp has čy 1sg, FI-Ka have čn. The alternation and/or variation found in Sp between heʔc- and ʔec- is not surprising, but I do not know what explanations have been given to account for the (competing ?) forms. In Carlson & Flett 1992 we find these data:

hec-...-i (with 0 3rd subj)	p. 7; p. 14; p. 15; p. 16 (3 forms); p. 19 (2 forms); p. 21-22-23 (10 forms); p. 43 (5 forms); p. 47 (4 forms); p. 49-50-51 (9 forms); p. 53; p. 77 (6 forms); p. 78-79 (6 forms)
ʔec-...-i (with 0 3rd subj)	p. 12-13 (14 forms); p. 15 (3 forms); p. 17-18-19 (8 forms); p. 19 (6 forms); p. 24; p. 48 (4 forms)
čyʔec-...-i (čn 1sg subj)	p. 38 (8 forms); p. 48; p.53; p. 78 (5 forms)
qeʔec-...-i (qe 1pl subj)	p. 40 (5 forms); p. 45-46 (8 forms); p. 76 (4 forms)
kʔec-...-i (kʔ 2sg subj)	p. 76 (4 forms); p. 77; p. 78
pʔec-...-i (p 2pl subj)	p. 76 (4 forms); p. 77

⁹Carlson 1972 identifies a continuative suffix //iy// and adds that "this suffix cannot be //-i// or it would be deleted when unstressed" (p. 123)

¹⁰To me this signals that we need to sort out the forms that have been called *actual*, *customary*, *stative*, *nominalizer*, *intent* and possibly others.

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with ^oec- regularly in non-third person forms, and hec- ~ ^oec- in third person forms. On the same page one may find both variants, as, for example, on page 15, where one finds ^oeck'w'ul'i and heck'w'ul'i. ^oec- prevails in non-third person forms, and on page 53 one finds an exercise that prompts for 3rd person forms with hec-, and for 1st person forms with čy^oec-.

2.1. Suffix-stressed imperfective forms. The forms I present here show the following correspondence:

Cv-Ok	Sp	Fl-Ka
kn səc-...-míx 'imperfective'	čn he ^o c-...-mí	čn es-...-mí

2.1.1. Examples of Cv-Ok kn səc-...-míx 'imperfective'

kn səc-ca ^o -míx	punch
kn səc-c'x ^w -míx	pour liquid
kn səc-c'əx ^w -míx	discipline, preach, instruct
kn səc-c'q'-míx	hit
kn səc-k'ay'-míx	fall hunt
kn səc-k'əwp'-míx	shut up
kn səc-k'awcn'-míx	get quiet
kn səc-k'w'əx'-míx	take off (clothing)
kn səc-la ^o '-míx	slip s.t. on
kn səc-ł'lp'-míx	stop
kn səc-ł'a'ł'a ^o -míx	look for something
kn səc-ł'a ^o -míx	fetch something
kn səc-ł'u ^o w'-míx	put out the light
kn səc-pk ^w -míx	spill
kn səc-q'əy'-míx.	write
kn səc-q'əl'-míx.	roast
kn səc-(s)əp'-míx	hit, whip
kn səc-(s)əq'-míx	split
kn səc-k'ət'+q'əy'-míx	write down
kn səc-ur'-míx	light fire
kn səc-təxt'-míx	aim with bow and arrow
kn səc-tx ^w ət'-p'-míx	chase after s.b.

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2.1.2. Examples of Sp-Fl čn he^oc-...-mí forms.¹¹

he^oc-...-mí (corresponding to Ok səc-...-míx, weak stems)¹²

hec c'spmí	she was beating everyone	3g
či ye ^o clux ^w pmí	I've got hurt	8g
či ye ^o ct'uk ^w k ^w pmí	I've fallen down	8g
hec xčxcmf ^o	[they were] gambling	27g
hec č's-smf ^o ?	things don't seem to be going right	27g
hec ya ^o - ^o mí	everybody is gathering, celebrating, pow-wow	239p
hec ^o ay'-p-mí	he's going fast	255p
he ^o c mox ^w -p-mí	there's snow on the mountain	66p
he ^o c n ^o ur'-mí	he's lighting a fire under the sweathouse rocks	70p
he ^o c ł'll-mí	he's dying	96p
he ^o c l-x ^w -p-mí	he's hurting	108p
he ^o c q ^w e ^o c-mí	it's beginning to warm up (weather)	151p
he ^o c ul-p-mí	it is burning	17p
hec xmxm'pmí	it was drying	53g

In the Thomason edited Fl text *July*, I found

esxam'pəmí	it's getting dry (p. 18)
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In the Vogt texts I found

... tesx ^w ax ^w e ^o eyəmí	[I heard people] laughing (I3)
ł'é esiya'a ^o mí ^o	[they] are already coming together (XIII1)
k ^w esł'ləmí	you have to die (XIV47); (you are lying here,) quite dead (XV27)
tu ^o čššéy'u estəlq'omí	in the direction he was running away (XV24)
k'úc tu ^o čššéy'u omí tu ^o tséu ^o k ^w	as I was running away in the water (XV28)

2.2. Stem-stressed imperfective forms. The forms I present here show the following correspondences:

Cv-Ok	Sp	Fl-Ka
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¹¹hec-...-mí has to be kept separate from hec- 'actual', as in hec nq'mscín t ... he wished for ... 49g.

¹²I'd like to confirm the stress in he^oc čoš-mí he's yelling, shouting (53p).

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kn_səc-...-x čn heʔc-...-i ~ ʔec-...-i čn es-...-i

2.2.1. Examples of Cv-Ok kn_səc-...-x

kn səxʷfstx.	I am walking.
kn səckʷúlʷx.	I am working, I have been working.
kn səcʷftnx.	I am eating, I have been eating.
kn səcʷftxəx.	I have been sleeping, I am sleeping.
kn səckcʷawʷfwʷsx.	I am washing my face.
kn səcʷqíclxəx.	I am running.
kn səcʷəcʷqíclxəx.	I am running around.
kn səcʷsfwstx.	I am drinking.
kn səcʷəqʷəlxʷftx.	I have been talking.
kn səcənkʷancfnx.	I have been singing.
kn səcnkʷnfx.	I am singing.
kn səckʷəlʷcəncútx.	I am cooking.
kn səccʷqʷəqʷx	I am crying.
kn səckskʷáltx.	I am sweating.
kn səckʷflstnx.	I am doing a sweat bath.
kn səcksáqʷx.	I am skinning it.
kn səccʷíqʷx. (MT)	I am skinning it.

For the sake of thoroughness I should add here that the suffix part of imperfective forms has a variant -aʔx when the stem is reduplicated with unstressed a(ʔ)¹³:

Suffix-stressed:

kn səckʷaʔkʷaʔ-míxaʔx.	I am searching.
kʷu səc-qʷaqʷal-míxaʔx	we are having a meeting.

Stem-stressed:

kn səcxʷaxʷfst-aʔx.	I have been walking.
kn səckʷakʷúlʷst-aʔx.	I am training.
kn səcʷaʔúm-aʔx.	I am reading.
kn səcyayʷáʔx-aʔx.	I am watching it.

¹³I don't know when or if the glottal stop is there.

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kn səcʷaʔkʷácʷ-aʔx. (not MT) I am looking at a book.
kn səcəncʷacʷíxlaʔx-aʔx. MT I am frying bread.

2.2.2. Examples of Sp čn heʔc-...-i forms and Fl-Ka čn es-...-i. As expected, these are more numerous than their suffix-stressed counterparts.

hec kʷʷisxecti	she'd go dig	8g
heʔc yaʷpqʷnʷi	There were many people	27g
hec weʷnši	they were dancing	27g
hec qʷqʷuʷkʷeʷšiʔ	they were racing	27g
hec susʷuʷtumʷši	he was asking	33g
hec sekʷcínʷiʔ	he was whistling softly	35g
hu hec kʷúʷli	what a busy camp	38g
hec čsʷsáqsi	he was enjoying himself thoroughly	39g
hec u-rʷu-rʷuʷsi (qs kʷʷlʷsncúʷti)	they were starting their own breakfast fires	40g
pútiʔ hec qʷlqʷélti	she was still talking	41g
unéxʷ hec nʷéli	he is really scared	41g
hec nʷéxlʷi	he was really terrified	42g
hec míxʷti	he had been ill	43g
hec áyʷpmi	he was running	44g
hec tʷaqʷemʷi t ...	she was sewing on a pair of	49g
heʔc cʷarqini	his head hurt	51g
heʔc háh-ti	he was slapping his knee in a good belly laugh	52g

In the Thomason edited texts *Six Months* and *July*, I found:

qʷo eslém̄ti	we're happy (Six, p. 4)
kʷ esxécti	you dig ... [in the summer] (Six, p. 7)
kʷ estíxʷi t ...	you get ... (Six, p. 14)
kʷ psé espéši	you'll gather, be gathering (Six, p. 16)
čn esáyxʷti	we are [I am] tired (Six, p. 20)
escúti	[he] says (July, p. 2)
ł'e esnkʷnéʔeyi	They're already singing (July, p. 2)
qeʔ esčnčənwésti	we're doing the giveaway dance (July, p. 3)
ł'e esxəlpúlexʷi	it's going to be daybreak (July, p. 6)

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esx^wək^xf^ʔik^wi they're tanning hides (July, p. 12)
 esk^wúlⁱ esx^wf^ʔik^wi [they] are processing their hides (July, p. 13)

The next set of examples is extracted from Vogt 1940. I found at least 60 such forms, not counting several continuatives based on *xui* go, where the -i suffix is not as readily observable as in forms that do not have a stem-final i/y,¹⁴ for example:

tčén^ʔ ʔu^ʔpesxúí^ʔ ʔu^ʔč^ʔesiyapqínⁱ ʔu^ʔqe^ʔesxúí (V6-7).

Where are you going? We are going to the pow-wow.

I will provide here many of these forms:

č ^ʔ əčén u k ^w esəlci ^ʔ i?	Where have you been? (III8)
k ^w esx ^w stəlúisi	you are walking around here (IV4, VIII5)
há tá k ^w esséune ^ʔ i	don't you hear? (XIII12)
k ^w esəncəl'épi	you are fooling (XV26)
k ^w ec ^ʔ esčínəmscúti	what is the matter with you (XV27)
ʔu ^ʔ estiyáq ^w ti	[I saw two grizzly bears] fighting (I1)
u esif ^ʔ u ^ʔ i	[the canoe] was moving (II, 8)
ʔu ^ʔ esč ^ʔ o ^ʔ sqélix ^w i	when they gather for gambling (V11, 13, XI21)
es ^ʔ ítni	[he] was eating (VII)
ʔu ^ʔ esənc ^ʔ íflši tə ^ʔ esšiy ^ʔ ústi	it splashed in the water by the salmon coming upstream (VIII6)
escəq ^w áq ^w i	[she] was crying (IX17, XII7)
esq ^w ə ^ʔ təmənwéx ^w i	[they] were packing each other (IX35)
es ^ʔ x ^w íx ^w sti	[she] walked along (X6)
esenmúli	he was going after water (XI14)
ł ^ʔ e esqom ^ʔ qom ^ʔ á ^ʔ q ⁱ	[he] is already catching up (XI27)
esənkuncəná ^ʔ q ⁱ	[he heard the wolverine] singing (XIII1)
esənkunéi	he was singing (XIII2,3)
ʔi ^ʔ u ^ʔ es ^ʔ ecsufiši	(the man) standing by the log (XIII10) (cf. Ok ^ʔ akswíx)
esənpiyéšli	[they] are having a good time (XIII12)
esənx ^w stáqsi	[he] was walking along (XIV1, 6)

¹⁴Vogt explained: "In činesxúí, compl. činxúí I go, the stem is *xui, činesxúí < činesxúy-i < činesxúí-i" (p.30).

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cúntəm: esənk ^ʔ u ^ʔ ʔafli	he was told to take one bite [ʔ] (XIV2, 4, 10)
escən ^ʔ úíx ^w i	[they] have been coming here (XIV10)
esk ^w təntíłši	bigger and bigger (XIV65)
ta ^ʔ asənuwék ^w i	she does not hide herself (XIV68)
esčc ^ʔ a ^ʔ léləsi	she was sick (XV8)
u essústi	[he swam] still drinking (XV24)
ʔu ^ʔ qe ^ʔ esq ^w ən ^ʔ q ^w ən ^ʔ mstúti	we are had up (XIV2)
qe ^ʔ esx ^w əl ^ʔ x ^w əl ^ʔ stuwéx ^w i	we have left each other (XIV5) (not clear)
pesq ^w ən ^ʔ nəmstúti	it is quite useless for you ... (XIV51)
ʔu ^ʔ pesq ^w éy ^ʔ ti	then you would have had plenty of food (XIV72)
ł ^ʔ é ^ʔ esq ^w q ^w ú ^ʔ ł ^ʔ e ^ʔ ši	[they] were already in the race (XI22)
(hec q ^w q ^w u ^ʔ ł ^ʔ e ^ʔ ši ^ʔ 27g)	

3. Perfect forms. There is a circumfix s-...-(m)x in Cv-Ok, which I have tentatively labelled 'perfect' and which I have said "works something like the English perfect with present relevance" (A. Mattina 1993, p. 12). However inadequate my description of its function, the allomorphy of the circumfix is clear, s-...-míx with weak stems, and s-...-x with strong stems. There seem to be in Sp-Fl-Ka forms that correspond to these. First I will give examples of Cv-Ok forms.

3.1. Suffix-stressed Perfect forms.

3.1.1. Examples of Cv-Ok s-...-míx 'perfect'.

s-tər ^ʔ q-míx.	He has been dancing.
pit s-ł ^ʔ a ^ʔ -míx t k ^ʔ +q ^ʔ əy ^ʔ mín-tət.	Pete has gone to get more paper for us.
kən s-k ^ʔ əwp-míx.	I have stopped talking.
kən s-ł ^ʔ a ^ʔ ł ^ʔ a ^ʔ -míx t st ^ʔ ápqəs.	I am looking for thread.
kən s-ł ^ʔ a ^ʔ -míx t st ^ʔ ápqəs.	I am fetching some thread.
kən səp ^ʔ -míx ¹⁵ i ^ʔ t pumín, mi sic ¹⁶ kən k ^w nim.	I am hitting the drum, then I will sing.

3.1.2. Examples of Sp es-...-mí.

¹⁵s + s = s.

¹⁶mi sic has the force 'then, subsequently.'

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es čt-p-mí	he's out hunting	118p
s lux*pmí	he got hurt	8g

3.2. Stem-stressed Perfect forms.

3.2.1. Examples of Cv-Ok s-...-x 'perfect'.

ʔums iʔ sqilxʷ, q'sápiʔ iʔ Hudson_Bay, iʔ səstkʷtkʷʔútx.

Long ago the People called it Hudson Bay, the travellers. (mychildr 052)
 uʔ aʔiʔ kən sʰuʔptx ʔapnáʔ.

Now I am feeble. (mychildr 157)

scútxəlx taʔliʔ wisxən.

They say it's very long. (su7q'im 011)

niʔʔp ilʔ iʔ sqilxʷ silʔx.

All the time they stay there. (su7q'im 023)

kʷaʔ sənkl'íp sps'áyaʔx, sxəxát'wyaʔx.

Coyote is crazy, plays tricks. (su7q'im 053)

uʔ kʷu scutx ixʔ lut kʷu t'a kʔp'úlaʔx'tən iʔ kʷu sqilxʷ.

We are saying that we the People don't have a border. (su7q'im 067)
 sq'əlq'əlsč'ímx.

The one with arthritis. (su7q'im 074)

way' incá aláʔ kən saláʔx.

I stay here. (su7q'im 098)

nt'əkʷt'kʷəncút ilʔ uʔ swfkʷmistx.

He lowered himself into the water there and hid. (su7q'im 104)
 mat way' st'wístxəlx iʔ k'əl tk'əmkn'ítxʷ.

Maybe they were standing outside. (su7q'im 176b)

lut kən t' scutx iʔ l sámaʔ iʔ sckʷul's iʔ snk'ʔamən.

I'm not talking about the white men's way of praying. (su7q'im 219)
 lut kən t' ac'ítx, scutx.

I couldn't sleep," he said. (su7q'im 246)

kʷaʔ səc'intx.

OK, what did he say? (su7q'im 277)

a-s+ʔ'ác'əc' ʔaxʷ kʷ s-kʷul'-x t k'ast.

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your-appearance again you perf-do-perf t bad
 It looks like you've done something wrong again.

kən s-cut-x.
 I perf-say-perf
 I have said it.

ilʔ, way' s-ʔitn-x.
 there already perf-eat-perf
 Leave him alone, he has eaten.

s-wiʔ+s+qʷəlqʷílt-x.
 perf-finish_talk-perf
 He has finished talking.

s-wiʔ+cín-x.
 perf-finish_eat-perf
 He has finished eating.

xkínəm pitʔ s-píx-əx.
 where Pete perf-hunt-perf
 Where is Pete? He has gone hunting.

s-kʷúl'-x k'əl sámaʔ.
 perf-work-perf to White_person
 He has gone working at the white man's.

3.2.2. Examples of Ka es-...-i.

činesʔíʃi	I was sleeping (I2)
činesxʷísti	I was walking (II7)
činesqéʔisi	[I did it] dreaming (III5); I was dreaming (XVIII4)
činesʔemúti	I stayed [outdoors] (X40)
činesʔíʃi	I have been sleeping (XVI7)
čineskʷúl'i	I was working (XVIII2)

4. Closing notes. I add some final observations on the correspondences Cv-Ok /x/ Sp-Fl-Ka /i/; and Cv-Ok /s/ Sp-Fl-Ka /h/. The developments that have led to the present day reflexes are not entirely clear to me (it is possible that this correspondence should be reconstructed as a sequence of segments), but the correspondence Cv-Ok /x/ Sp-Fl-Ka /i/ seems specific to some grammatical morpheme(s), and is not restricted to the inceptive, imperfective and perfect forms I have discussed here. The following matches confirm it:

Sp suyápi, suyépi	Cv-Ok suyápix, suyápx white person
Sp s-wiʔ-num-ti	Cv-Ok swinúmtx good looking (sw'in'úm'taʔx dim)
Ka sʃiʔíʔti (XIV43)	Cv-Ok s-xʔit-x the oldest one
Ka tsʃiʔíʔti (XIV47)	Cv-Ok t s-xʔit-x (by) the oldest one

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Ka tsti-təʔéʔuti¹⁷ (XVII3) Cv-Ok t s-tətʔiw't-x (by) the youngest one (s-tətʔiw't-aʔx dim)

Ka mqec'aʔli (V11) Cv-Ok c'xilx //c-ʔxil-x// do like

and possibly

Ka cútí (XI17) Cv-Ok (s-)cut-x he said

I have not had the opportunity to explore in any depth the possible /h/ /s/ correspondence, but (aside from its occurrence in other families) I am alerted to it by such matches as Cr hemeʔ (no stress marked in Nicodemus) Cv-Ok sámaʔ white person. Finally, with reference to the schwa of Cv-Ok səc-....-(m)x, the troublesome presence of which I have noted before, I now note that this schwa corresponds to the full vowel /e/ in Sp-FI-Ka, and is probably more than an epenthetic vowel.

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¹⁷It is possible Ka -iʔ matches Cv-Ok -aʔ (and not i/x).