

# 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 ʔaʔ kʔcapitkʔt* (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:

|           |     |                 |     |
|-----------|-----|-----------------|-----|
| <b>kn</b> | 1sg | <b>kʔu</b>      | 1pl |
| <b>kʔ</b> | 2sg | <b>ɹ</b>        | 2pl |
| <b>∅</b>  | 3sg | <b>∅ ...-lx</b> | 3pl |

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

**kn**ʔitx. *I slept.*

**kʔ**sqilxʔ. *You are an Indian / a person.*

ʔayxʔt (axáʔ). *This one is tired.*

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<sup>1</sup>Aspectual 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 **kʔilstn** *sweat lodge*, culturally relevant and categorially marked (**-tn** *instrumental*), derives a verb with **-m**:

**kn**kʔilstn-m *I sweat bathed.*

Similarly, **qʔacqn** *hat* derives **qʔacqn-m** *wear a hat* (intransitive); **ntxʔxʔqin** *noon* derives **ntxʔxʔqin-m** *do lunch* (intransitive).

Analogously **qiʔs** *dream* (intransitive) derives **s-qiʔs** *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.

A subset of these markers, identical in all persons except for 1sg  $k^w u$ , 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):

|              |     |                      |     |
|--------------|-----|----------------------|-----|
| <b>i(n)-</b> | 1sg | <b>-tt</b>           | 1pl |
| <b>a(n)-</b> | 2sg | <b>-mp</b>           | 2pl |
| <b>-s/-c</b> | 3sg | <b>-s-lx / -c-lx</b> | 3pl |

which yield such forms as

*an-lʔíw your father*  
*in-ǰmínk I like / want it*

which, in turn, may combine with members of the  $kn$  set ( $k^w u$  subset) to yield forms such as

$k^w u$  *an-lʔíw I am your father.*  
 $k^w$  *in-ǰmínk I like / want you (you are my wanting)*  
 $k^w$  *j-ks-ʔam-ǰt-ǰm an-lʔíw I am going to feed your father.*

the last of which is the nominalization of a future (**ks-**) possessor applicative (**-ǰt**) verb form (root **ʔam**, *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):

|                          |     |                   |     |
|--------------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| <b>-(i)n</b>             | 1sg | <b>-(i)m / -t</b> | 1pl |
| <b>-(i)x<sup>w</sup></b> | 2sg | <b>-(i)p</b>      | 2pl |
| <b>-(i)s</b>             | 3sg | <b>-(i)s-lx</b>   | 3pl |

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):

|                |     |                   |     |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| $k^w u$        | 1sg | $k^w u \dots -m$  | 1pl |
| <b>-s / -m</b> | 2sg | <b>-ǰ(ú)m</b>     | 2pl |
| <b>-θ</b>      | 3sg | <b>-θ ... -lx</b> | 3pl |

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:

$k^w u_{sp}$ '-nt-is *He whipped me.* (-nt transitivizer)  
 $k^w u_{sp}$ '-nt-im *They whipped us / We were whipped.*

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

$sp$ '-nt-is *3rd person whipped 3rd person.*  
 $sp$ '-nt-im *3rd person indef whipped 3rd person / 3rd person was whipped.*

## 2. OTHER $kn_{\text{c}}$ , i(n)-, AND -( $\emptyset$ )n PARADIGMS

Beside the constructions already discussed, Okanagan uses  $kn_{\text{c}}$  inflection in a number of forms derived and inflected by means of prefixes, suffixes, and circumfixes. Among these forms are:

### 2.1. $kn_{\text{c}}$ PARADIGMS

To-Be nouns ( $kn_{\text{c}} k\ddot{t}$ -noun)

Ex:  $k\ddot{t}$ -ilmix<sup>w</sup>m snk'lip. *Coyote will be chief / is chief-to-be.*

$k\ddot{t}$ - have forms ( $kn_{\text{c}} k\ddot{t}$ -noun)

Ex:  $kn_{\text{c}} k\ddot{t}$ -q<sup>w</sup>acqn *I have a hat.*

inchoatives ( $kn_{\text{c}}$  verb + - $\text{?}$ - before stressed vowel)

$kn_{\text{c}} c$ '- $\text{?}$ -ax *I got ashamed.* (root  $c'$ ax)

patient forms ( $kn_{\text{c}}$  verb + VC<sub>2</sub>)

$kn_{\text{c}} t'$ k<sup>w</sup>-ak<sup>w</sup> *I fell.* (Cf.  $t'$ k<sup>w</sup>-nt *put something down*)

get patient forms ( $kn_{\text{c}} c$ +verb)

u $\ddot{t}$  ilf $\text{?}$   $kn_{\text{c}}$ -lak' *I was in jail a long time* (Cf.  $lk'$ -nt *tie something*)

habitual / durative forms ( $kn_{\text{c}} c$ +verb)

$kn_{\text{c}} c$ -nqilx<sup>w</sup>+cn-m *I (regularly) talk Indian.* (Cf.  $kn_{\text{c}} nqilx^w$ +cn-m *I talked Indian*)

kn<sub>c</sub>-málǵaʔ *I (regularly) lie.*  
(Cf. kn<sub>c</sub>-málǵaʔ *I lied*)

imperfective forms (kn<sub>s</sub>-verb-(mi)x—compare with the forms that follow)

kn<sub>s</sub>-kʷlʹ + cn + cut-x *I am cooking.*

s-ʔitx-x pit *Pete is sleeping.*

kn<sub>s</sub>-qʹyʹ-mix *I am writing.*

imperfective of present relevance forms (kn<sub>sc</sub>-verb-(mi)x—compare with the imperfective forms given above)

kn<sub>sc</sub>-kʷlʹ + cn + cut-x *I have been cooking.*

sc-ʔitx-x pit *Pete has been sleeping.*

kn<sub>sc</sub>-qʹyʹ-mix *I have been writing.*

inceptive forms (kn<sub>ks</sub>+verb-(mi)xaʔx)

kn<sub>ks</sub>-ǵʹaʔ + ǵʹaʔ-míxaʔx *I'm going to look for something.*

kn<sub>ks</sub>-xʷúy-aʔx *I'm going (away).*

past perfect forms (kn<sub>ksc</sub>+verb)<sup>2</sup>

kn<sub>ksc</sub>-kʷulʹ ta<sub>nc</sub>'aqkʷ

*I have some sour dough bread made / I have made some sour dough bread.*

kn<sub>ksc</sub>-nikʹ *I have some cut / I have cut some.*

## 2.2. i(n)- PARADIGMS

durative / intent forms (i+s+verb)

s-qʹsápiʔ-s ilfʔ i-s-ilfʔ *I lived there a long time. (root ilfʔ there, lit. long-time there I-there).*

perfective forms (i+sc+verb)

in-ǵást i-sc-ʔítx *I slept well (my-good my-having-slept).*

future forms (i+ks+verb)

lut a-ks-xʷúy *Don't go.*

kʷj-ks-(s)íw-m *I'll ask you.*

future imperative forms (i+kc+verb)

lut a-kc-náqʷ *You will not steal.*

ǵást a-kc-kʷúlʹ-m *You will work well.*

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<sup>2</sup>These forms can also be analyzed as kt- have forms.

future applicative forms (a-ks-verb-t-m)

k<sup>w</sup> j-ks-may'-xít-m ... *I am going to tell you ...*

### 2.3. -(f)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 -ít, -x(í)t, -túít.

-nt is the transitivizer that accompanies most stems:

wik-nt-x<sup>w</sup> *You saw it.*<sup>3</sup>

λ'a<sup>?</sup>-nt-ín *I fetched it.*

One verb takes -t, ʔam-t-ín *I fed him.* Several verbs take -st:

pul-st-n *I beat him up.*

q<sup>w</sup>l+q<sup>w</sup>il-st-m-s *He talks to you.*

The causative is -st:

ʔayx<sup>w</sup>t-st-m-n *I made you tired* (Cf. k<sup>w</sup> ʔayx<sup>w</sup>t *You are tired*).

Customary transitive forms are marked with the circumfix c-...-st:

c-wik-st-n *I always see it.*

Three suffixes prepare stems for transitivization:

-nu(n)<sup>4</sup> *manage to* (most common added to stems with -C<sub>2</sub> reduplication)

taít iʔ ʃs+s+nu-nt-x<sup>w</sup> *You did well* (ʃast *good*).

talíʔ ʃast iʔ k<sup>w</sup>l'+l'+nu-nt-x<sup>w</sup> *You did / got it done very well.*

taít ʃast iʔ k<sup>w</sup>l'+nu-nt-x<sup>w</sup> *You did very well.* (Cf. k<sup>w</sup>ul'-nt-x<sup>w</sup> *You fixed it.*)

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<sup>3</sup>Scholars have argued that Salishan languages are pronominal argument languages: a form like wik-nt-x<sup>w</sup> *You saw it.* is a full sentence with a third person object (Ø), and second person subject (-x<sup>w</sup>). 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<sup>w</sup>u tq-ít-is in-kflx. *He touched my hand.*

the noun phrase in-kflx *my hand* functions as one of the arguments of the possessor applicative verb form k<sup>w</sup>u tq-ít-is *He touched my ...* and this argument is not, and cannot be, referenced in pronominal form on the verb.

<sup>4</sup>The underlying form -nun is confirmed by such forms as k<sup>w</sup> j-ks-λ'l-nún-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<sup>w</sup>uy+mn-(n)t-s-n** *I went up to you.* (Cf. **kn\_x<sup>w</sup>uy** *I went*; **x<sup>w</sup>uy-st** *take st to*).

**taŋt ʔayx<sup>w</sup>t+mn-(n)t-s-n** *I am tired of you.* (Cf. **kn\_ʔayx<sup>w</sup>t** *I am tired*;  
**ʔayx<sup>w</sup>t-st-n** *I made him tired.*)

else with some change in the meaning of the stem:

**c'q'-nt-ix<sup>w</sup>** *You hit it*; **c'q'+mi-nt-x<sup>w</sup>** *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<sup>w</sup>ŋn+xixm-st-x<sup>w</sup>** *You lent it out to her.* (Cf. **k<sup>w</sup>uŋ-nt-x<sup>w</sup>** *You borrowed it.*)

**-ŋt** is the *possessor applicative*:

**uc k<sup>w</sup>u\_wik-ŋt-x<sup>w</sup> i-sq<sup>w</sup>siʔ** *Did you see my son?* (Cf. **uc k<sup>w</sup>u\_wik-nt-x<sup>w</sup>** *Did you see me?*)

**-x(i)t** is the *benefactive applicative*:

**k<sup>w</sup>u\_q'y'-xit-s ŋi-ks...** *He wrote the X for me.* (Cf. **q'y'-nt-is** *He wrote it.*)

**-tuŋt** with changes to the roles of the arguments:

**k<sup>w</sup>u\_ʔam-tuŋt-x<sup>w</sup> iʔ\_spaɸáʔtaʔ** *You fed me to the monster.* (Cf.

**k<sup>w</sup>u\_ʔam-t-ix<sup>w</sup>** *You fed me*; **k<sup>w</sup>u\_ʔam-ŋt-ŋs i-sq<sup>w</sup>siʔ** *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 iʔ sqilx<sup>w</sup>**  
*lived the people*  
*There were some people.*

SF14. ʔ'ayncút q'wəq'w'c'w'fya?  
*laughed Chipmunk*  
*Chipmunk laughed.*

In the stream of discourse the nominal subject, recoverable from context, is often omitted<sup>5</sup>:

SF7. x'ú·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.*

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<sup>5</sup>Intransitive forms are most often also analyzed as fully predicative.

kn x'uy. *I went.*

k' jilmíx'm *You are a boss.*

k' xast *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  $\emptyset$  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 *ixf' sql'tmix'* *That's a man*, or *sql'tmix' ya'xí's* *That one over there is a man*; that is, by juxtaposing (in either order) the stem *sql'tmix'* and a deictic stem (*ixf'*, *ya'xí's*). 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* (*ixf'*) (*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 ixf'* *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. ciyá<sup>o</sup> i<sup>o</sup> stim' xítmi<sup>o</sup>stəlx  
Every creature ran (ciyá<sup>o</sup> i<sup>o</sup> stim' lit. *every the thing, everything*)
- SF123. ʔix<sup>w</sup>ptlx ixí<sup>o</sup> hʔ+sʔ'a<sup>o</sup>cínəm  
*run\_out these deer*  
*The deer ran out (lit. these deer).*
- SF50. x<sup>w</sup>ət'pəncú<sup>o</sup>t *He ran.*
- SF64, SF65, SF66, SF69, SF78, SF96, SF109. cut *He said.*
- SF75. ʔatxílxəlx<sup>o</sup> *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<sup>w</sup>t  
*I tired*  
*I am tired.*

Several such occur in SF:

- SF116, SF116, SF121, SF121. kən cx<sup>w</sup>uyax<sup>w</sup>ú<sup>o</sup>y *I came down*; SF121. kən cyayúx<sup>w</sup>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'lí<sup>o</sup>, ilí<sup>o</sup>, occur on either side of the verb:

- SF4. p ksx<sup>w</sup>úya<sup>o</sup>x k'əl cər'túps  
*you pl will go to Fisher*  
*You'll go to Fisher.*

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<sup>6</sup>The same structure obtains in SF98. x<sup>w</sup>u<sup>o</sup>y *He went*; SF117. p'əlk'məncút *he turned around*; SF124. yilyáltəlx *they ran away*; SF131. nstils *he thought*; SF117. ta<sup>o</sup>xfləm *he did that*; SF127. nxuxupáqs *the air went in his nose*.



- SF7. uʃ iʔʰápəlx ikʰlʰʔ  
*and arrive there*  
*And they got there.*
- SF16. uʃ ilʰʔ kʰkʰlʰwtəlx  
*and there they sat under*  
*They were sitting under there.*
- SF20. uʃ kʰwəlkʰlwís ilʰʔ  
*and he rolled around there*  
*And he rolled around there.*
- SF28. ixʰʔ ʃlap  
*then morning*  
*Then it was morning.*
- SF93. ixʰʔ ckmʰám iʔ t stʰʔiʔ  
*then took art obj\_itr grass*  
*Then he took some grass. (The oblique t marks the object of the intransitive ckmʰám).*
- SF97. ikʰlʰʔ xʰuy  
*there went*  
*He went there.*
- SF130. ixʰʔ ylyáltəlx  
*then run away*  
*Then they ran away.*

Several other sentences also show the same pattern: SF26. uʃ ʔaʔʰifn *And they ate.* SF31. uʃ nis *And he was gone.* SF57. uʃ nkʰlutʰʰtkʰ *And they lived in the water.* SF120. məʃ kʰlaʔ xəlkʰməncút *And he turned this way.* SF121. məʃ cut *And she said.* SF103. uʃ nqʰʰicʰtəlx *And they were packed there.* SF50. kʰliʔ ʰkicx *He got back there.* SF51. uʃ cyaʰʰ uláp *And it all burned.* SF57. ilʰʔ ntʰəpqsám *He tipped his head to drink.* SF43. ʔácəcqaʔlx kʰəl tkʰəmknʰfʰxʰ *They went outside.* SF46. wayʰ qilt kʰaʔáʔ {kʰəl} *He was already on the top.* SF61. niʰʰíp λʰlal *He's still dead.* SF56. qʰsápiʔ scutx *Long time ago, they said.*

The locative *ilʰʔ*, 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. ilʰʔ cəʰtúps kʰəʔmuʰt  
*a\_while Fisher sit*  
*Fisher sat there.*
- SF72. ilʰʔ uʃ ʔitx  
*a\_while and sleep*  
*... a while, and he slept.*

SF125. ilí·ʔ ck'ətt'ák<sup>w</sup> yútəlx<sup>w</sup>  
*a\_while lie Raven*  
*Time went by, Raven is laying there.*

### 3.4. CONJUNCTIONS, INTERJECTIONS, PARTICLES

Intransitive sentences may further be introduced by conjunctions, interjections, or evidential particles:

SF27. uʔ aʔíʔ knaqsmísaʔt  
*and so alone*  
*He was alone.*

SF19. nt'aʔ uʔ ʔ'ayncút  
*gee and he laughed*  
*And, gee, he laughed.*

SF127. nt'a· ck'ətt'ak'<sup>w</sup>  
*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 (ixíʔ, axáʔ), beside having their basic function, double up as particles, and the description of each of these two functions remains to be refined:

SF20. uʔ ʔhoy cut  
*and well said*  
*and ptcl pred*  
*Then he said.*

SF80. uʔ t'iʔ k'aw iʔ smamʔim  
*and evid gone the women*  
*conj ptcl pred subj ...*  
*And the women are gone.*

SF23. məʔ axáʔ ʔckicx cəʔtúps  
*and then came\_back Fisher*  
*conj ptcl pred subj*  
*And then Fisher came back home.*

- SF26. ixíʔ uʔ ilíʔ kʷəlʔcəncút cərʔtúps  
*then and there cooked Fisher*  
 ptcl conj loc pred subj  
*And then Fisher cooked.*
- SF34. ilíʔʔ ʔayncúʔt  
*there laugh*  
 loc<sup>7</sup> pred  
*He laughed and laughed.*
- SF12. uʔ kskʔəʔppílʔxaʔxəlʔ  
*and icptv\_crawl\_under*  
 conj pred  
*And they were going to crawl under.*
- SF83. məʔ kʔaʔxís ixíʔ c -ʃ+ʃáq  
*and there that hab hole\_dim*  
 conj loc ptcl pred ...  
*And there was a little hole there.*
- SF20. wayʔ kən ʔayʃʔt  
*yes I tired*  
*I am tired.*
- SF46. náʔkʷəm kʔatáʔ sənʔkstíyaʔ  
*ah on that side Skunk*  
*Ah, Skunk was on that side.*
- SF96. wayʔ ikʔlíʔ stərʔqmíx kʔəl skʔawílaʔx  
*yes there they\_are\_dancing at skʔawílaʔx*  
*They are dancing at Addy.*
- SF11. uʔ iʔ naqs wayʔ qʔyaxʷ, uʔ iʔ naqs náxəmʔ lut<sup>8</sup>  
*and art one yes stink and art one but no*  
*And one stinks, but the other not.*
- SF58. náʔkʷəm iʔ kʔəl xʔʔut ilíʔ tkʷlutí[sxən]  
*evid art to rock there sit\_on\_rock*  
*They were sitting on the rock.*
- SF36. náʔkʷəm iʔ l tkʔəmknʔíʔxʷ ilíʔ {tʔə} cwfkʷmiʔst cərʔtúps *Fisher was hiding*  
*outside the door.*
- SF35, SF128. uʔ ixíʔ cut *And then he said.*
- SF71. ikʔlíʔ uʔ wayʔ tʔiʔ kʔəʔpəpílxəlʔ *They had just gone in there.*
- SF92. tʔi cənʔxʷíʔcʔaʔ *There is a hole in the ground.*

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

<sup>8</sup>This form can function as an inflectable verb root, as a negative particle in negative sentences, and as a reply.

SF133. *ixíʔ ut way' nc'ayxʷápəlqs* *That's it, the end of the story* (the force of *ixíʔ ut way'* is *that's it, that's all.*).

SF70. *ixíʔ ut npəpəlxúlaʔxʷəlx* *And they crawled into the ground.*

SF15. *ut ik'liʔ {k'ətqc'fkstəm}ʔ iʔ k'əl ʔlínaʔ* *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:

SF110. *cəm' xuxwáp ism'aʔm'áy'*  
*might deflate my\_story*  
*The air might go out of my story.*

SF111. *cəm' itíʔ xuxəwáp*  
*might from\_that deflate*  
*It might ooze out from there.*

SF114. *cəm' xuxəwáp* *It might ooze out.*

### 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:

SF2. *ixíʔ iʔ pəptwínaʔxʷ* *That's the old lady.*<sup>10</sup>

SF67. *ixíʔ stətáq* *That's Squirrel.*

SF9. *ut ilíʔ iʔ ʔəlínaʔ, ʔasíl iʔ ʔəlínaʔ* *And there are the caches, two caches.*

SF10. *k'aʔʔís iʔ ʔəlínaʔ* *The cache is over there.*

SF79. *aʔíʔ xk'ut ilíʔ* *There is a rock there.*

SF103. *həʔstím' ilíʔ* *There is everything there.*

SF114. *taʔliʔ ʔast iksm'aʔm'áy'* *My story is very good.*

SF126. *aʔíʔ sílxʷaʔ iʔ sənp'sáqstəns* *His nose is big.*

SF69. *ik'liʔ way'* *Over there is OK.*

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<sup>9</sup>The word in unintelligible in the tape—this is a possible inference.

<sup>10</sup>Because the language has no copula, the phrase *ixíʔ iʔ pəptwínaʔxʷ* ... *that old lady* ... and the sentence *ixíʔ iʔ pəptwínaʔxʷ*. *That's the old lady.* coincide.

Note, in the last sentence, the predicative use of **way'**, a form that doubles as a verb (**wi'stín** *I finished it*; **way'stn** *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' myaʔ k'wək'wúmaʔ** *It's too small.*

### 3.6. **kʔ-** PREDICATES

The language has a prefix **kʔ-** (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. **uʔ ksənʔamʔím·aʔt stətáq laʔʔ q'wəq'w'c'w'fyaʔ** *She had granddaughters, Squirrel and Chipmunk.*

SF110. **kən ksm'aʔm'áy'** *I have a story.*

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

SF56. **ilʔ iʔ ksiwʔkʷ** *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'aʔkín'**, and one with **stim'** *what*:

SF62. **anwí k'aʔkín' ancítxʷ** *Where is your house?*

For the moment I analyze **anwí** as a sort of apposition to **ancítxʷ**, which can also occur next to the possessed referent:

SF65. **k'aʔkín' anwí ancítxʷ** *Where is your house?*

SF86. **stim's ixíʔ, ha sw'ar'íps** *What is that (of his ?), Stink Bug?*

### 3.8. COMPLEX INTRANSITIVE SENTENCES

The text has few of these. Three include **kiʔ**, a relativizing conjunction:

SF60. **ixíʔ kiʔ cyaxʷt uʔ λ'lal**  
*then rel fall and die*  
*That's when he fell down and died.*

SF98. u† taʔlɪ mat q'q'sápiʔ ki kicx  
*and much maybe little\_while rel arrive*  
*It was quite a little while before he arrived.*

SF88. ki t'i t'uxʔt yútəlxʔ  
*rel evid fly Raven*  
*That's when Raven flew.*

Two include †ə, a relative pronoun or article that can be rendered as *the one(s) that*.<sup>11</sup>

SF40. k' anwɪ kʔu †ə scxʔuyx  
*to you we rel were\_coming*  
*We were coming for you.*

or that remains unclear,

SF132. u† way' †ə ksqiʔxʔnúy's {iʔ}  
*and yes if? will\_be\_able\_to\_smell*  
*If he'll be able to smell*

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

SF99. u† axáʔ {iʔ} kʔlɪwt iʔ siyaʔmɪx ilʔ  
*and these sat those\_who were\_gathered there*  
*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.

SF118. k cənlp'xʔúps ixɪʔ iʔ t sútən [iʔ t] sw'ar'íps  
*? be\_stuck\_in\_anus that the by thing Stink\_Bug*  
*That thing, Stink Bug, was stuck in his anus (Lit. he was anus-stuck by...)*

<sup>11</sup>Compare: p'ínaʔ axáʔ / axáʔ p'ínaʔ *This is a basket.*  
 axáʔ iʔ p'ínaʔ *This is the basket.*  
 axáʔ †ə p'ínaʔ *This is the one that is a p'ína.*

- SF42. *ixiʔ uʔ iʔ k'əiʔáçəcqaʔlx {uʔ}*<sup>12</sup>  
*then ? ? come\_out*  
*Then they came out.*
- SF75. *uʔ ʃlap iʔ qiʔt*  
*and morning ? wake\_up*  
*In the morning he woke up. (Possibly iʔ for kiʔ).*
- SF22. *kəm' ʃəsʃəsqiŋxən*  
*or good\_knees*  
*He was good-kneed. (The problem here is the context).*
- SF76. *uʔ aláʔ ck'ip' {iʔ} iʔ xʃ'ut aʔiʔ*  
*and here be\_pinched the rock so*  
*He was pinched in the rock. The problem here is the lack of the expected oblique marker, iʔ t xʃ'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.<sup>13</sup> 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. *ixiʔ<sup>14</sup> s<sup>15</sup> -n+ʔuc+xn -s*  
*then dur track ʒi*  
*Then he tracked them (started / wanted to track them).*

The following sentences all show the same basic structure, SF22. *ixiʔ sc'əl'c'əl'qinxnəms* *He put their legs up.* SF38. *ixiʔ scxʷuys* *He came.* SF52. *ixiʔ sc'qʷaqʷs* *He cried.* SF80. *ixiʔ sʃ'aʔk'ʔúsəms* *He looked around.* SF90. *ixiʔ snisc*

<sup>12</sup>The problem is to discern between the sequence *uʔ iʔ* and the form *útiʔ* and *then*.

<sup>13</sup>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.

<sup>14</sup>Here and elsewhere the function of *ixiʔ* can be analyzed in different ways--see above.

<sup>15</sup>Forms I label *durative* can be translated as: *start to X, intend to X, do some Xing*.

He left. SF95. *ixíʔ sənʔúcxəns* *He started tracking them.* SF116. *ixíʔ scuts* *He said.*  
 SF108. *ixíʔ skicx* *He came*, while the following sentences include additional material  
 (locatives, conjunctions, particles),

SF6. *ixíʔ itlʔ sxʷúyʹysəlɣ*  
*then from\_there they\_went*  
 ptcl loc pred  
*Then they went.*

SF29. *wayʹ ixíʔ itəʔpíxəm*  
*well then I\_again\_hunt*  
 pcl pcl pred  
*I'm going back hunting.*

SF12. *ixíʔ ikʹlʔ sxʷúysəlɣ*  
*then there they\_went*  
 ptcl loc pred  
*Then they went there.*

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

SF14. *ixíʔ uʔ sʰʰayncúts axáʔ qʷəqʷcʷíyaʔ*  
*then and laughed this Chipmunk*  
 ptcl conj pred subj ...  
*Then Chipmunk laughed.*

SF13. *ixíʔ scxʷuys sənksʔíyaʔ*  
*then come\_back Skunk*  
 ptcl pred subj  
*Then Skunk came back.*

The following sentences exhibit the patterns just described,

SF37. *ixíʔ sənksáms sənʔúcxəns sənksʔíyaʔ*  
*then followed tracked Skunk*  
*He followed Skunk's tracks* (with two parallel durative forms).

SF77. *ixíʔ uʔ scuts* *And he said...*

SF55. *[s]xʷuʷys uʔ iʔ kʹəl stʹaʔtʹáʔpuʔstn* *He went as far as stʹaʔtʹáʔpuʔstn* (the  
 import of *uʔ iʔ kʹəl* is *as far as*).

SF48. *ntʹa [i]xíʔ[ʔ] sucklʹípəms* *Gee, he ran down the hill.*

SF122. *ntʹaʰ ixíʔ sxítmiʔstsəlɣ {iʔ}* *Gee, they ran, the ...*

#### 4.2. NON-THIRD PERSON *i*- PREDICATES

The following example has a first person form:



SF35. way' i -ks+nʔúç+xn+m i- sl'áxt  
 well I will track my friend  
*I'll track my friend.*

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.<sup>16</sup>

## 5. TRANSITIVE PREDICATES

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

SF24. cus iʔ sl'aʔts  
 he\_told art his\_friend  
*He told his friend.*

SF 32, SF39, SF61, SF61. (ixiʔ uʔ) kəm'əntʃs iʔ sm'amʔims  
 then and he\_took art his\_women  
*(Then) he took his women.*

SF82. xifʔ təlntʃs iʔ sc'uxáns  
 then he\_broke art his\_foot  
*Then he broke his foot.*

SF91. aʔ ʔá·cqaʔsts iʔ sqiltks  
 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 -ft, the so-called *possessor applicative*, as in the following sentence:

SF131. n'in'w'iʔ k'əʔnɪk'ʔtsəlx iʔ 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. uʔ xifʔ ʔ'aʔk'ʔúsəms iʔ s+xʷuy+tn *And then he looked for tracks.*

SF89. nwaʔlɪlsəms stim' {aʔ} *He wondered what.*

<sup>16</sup>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.

- SF106. *ixf? k'wənk'w'insəlx ixf? i? sw'ar'fp They examined this Stink Bug.*  
 SF44. *ki? k'ətk'w'ipc'a?səlx ixf? i? citx' That's when they burned the house.*  
 SF30. *nák'wəm<sup>17</sup> k'is i? xλ'ut k<sup>18</sup> c'əq'mís He took the rock and threw it.*

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

- SF53. *i? t q'əlmín uť npq'w'úsəs ixf? i? sx'úytən*  
*art obl ashes and he\_sprinkled these the tracks*  
*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:

- SF107. *t'i? knaqs ʔk'i·s*  
*evd one\_person takes\_it\_again*  
*Another person takes it back...*

- SF81. *k'ip's i? xλ'ut The rock pinched it.*

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*:

- SF3. *ixf? cúntəm ixf? t stəmtíma?s They were told by their grandmother / Their grandmother told them.*  
 SF17. *ixf? kəm'əntíməlx t sənksíya? Skunk took them / They were taken by Skunk.*  
 SF28. *uť cúntəm i? t sl'aχts His partner told him.*

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

- SF21. *ik'lí? i? k'əl ʔlína? sk'əlcnítc k'ʔpəpílxsts*  
*there art to cache its\_side he\_put\_them\_under*  
*He put them there under the side of the cache.*  
 SF84. *ilí? uť ik'lí? k'ətc'əq'mís k'əl tk'əmkn'íx' He threw it there outside.* SF87,  
 SF88. *ixf? ik'lí? c'q'mís ixf? Then he threw it there.* SF62. *cus He told him.* SF40.  
*cúsəlx They told him.* SF72. *ʔay'áyunksəlx They tickled him.* SF71. *məť ixf?*  
*ʔay'áyunksəlx,* SF18. *ixf? uť ʔay'áyunksəlx,* SF19. *ʔəy'á·ynksəlx,* SF33. *ixf?*

<sup>17</sup> *nák'wəm* is a particle the force of which can be translated, "Oh, that's what / how it is!"

<sup>18</sup> 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...*

ʔayʔáyunksəlx *They tickled him.* SF89. aʔ wiks *He saw it.* SF90. ixíʔ c'əlxəntís *He grabbed it.* SF94. taʔxi·lsts *He did like that.* SF94. uʔ ixíʔ nəq'wəntís *He plugged it.* SF112, SF115. ixíʔ nq'wəmq'wú·səlx *They managed to plug it.* SF107. məʔ itlʔ x'íc'xəms *And then he passes it on.* SF107. uʔ nxʔ'pnúsəlx *They complete it.* SF115. xəc'mstísəlx *They made it tight.* SF59. ixíʔ p'əc'ntáʔs *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. uʔ aʔʔ k'u kəm'əntím *And so he took us. (k'u...-ím they-us).*  
SF113, SF113. (taʔlʔ) xəc'əmtíp *You get them (very) tight.*

and a sentence with a third person passive:

SF119. ixíʔ p'əc'əntáʔməlx *It was squirted out.*

## 6. OTHER SENTENCE TYPES

The text has two intransitive commands:

SF77. k'atáʔxaʔx way' *Move over;* SF78. k'atáʔx q'wəq'w'íyaʔ *Move over*  
*Chipmunk.*

and one transitive command:

SF109. nq'wəmq'wúsənt iʔ ciyáʔ cʔəqʔáq {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*.<sup>19</sup> I have labelled the function of the particle t' *factual negative*, and it differentiates such pairs of future sentences as

|                       |                                |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| lut aksənk'əwpíls.    | <i>Don't get lonesome.</i>     |
| and                   |                                |
| lut t' aksənk'əwpíls. | <i>You won't get lonesome.</i> |

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

<sup>19</sup>These are not predications--the way to express the proposition *it's nobody*, *it's not somebody* is with lut t'ə swit (where lut co-occurs (obligatorily) with t').

readings, and the way to say *Nobody spoke*.<sup>20</sup> is with the obligatory inclusion of the particle t': lut swit t'ə q'əlq'ílt. *Nobody spoke*.

SF5. lut t'a lk'ut itlf? *It's not far from there*. (intransitive, with kn marking)

SF24. uť lut k' t' k'w'əl'cəncút *You haven't cooked*. (intransitive, with kn marking)

SF129. ixí? uť lut t' q'a'ílsəmsəlx *Nobody paid attention to him*. (transitive, with -(l)n marking)

SF8. uť lut t'a kswit ilf? *There was nobody there*. (kť- predicate, with kn marking)

SF92. uť lut k'am t'a ksw'ar'íps *There was no Stink Bug*. (kť- predicate, with kn marking; the function of k'am is not clear).

SF81. {xi? s} lut xkínəm aťf? mi 'ácqa? *He can't do anything to get out*. (contrast lut t' xkínəm *He didn't do anything...*; intransitive with kn marking).

SF25. nak'w'á'<sup>21</sup> k'w' inilmíx'əm mi ck'w'a'k'w'úl'stmən  
indeed\_not you my\_boss fut I\_cust\_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 onomatopoeic sequences, the sound of Skunk arriving, SF13. uť t'i? piq'w, piq'w piq'w; the sound of a rolling rock, SF31. t'i? lu lu lu lu; and the sound of peeling or cutting off something, SF128. laq'ís· laq'ís·; several phrases (as responses to an interjected comment or question, or a simple naming, imprecation, or other utterance: SF73. sənksťíya? *Skunk*; SF104. t'əx'w\_mat həťs'c'án' *Maybe the Magpies*; SF103. həťc'əsqaqna? ití? *The Chickadees then*; SF101. i? kstər'qmíxa'x *Those who are going to dance*; SF50. lut\_stim' *Nothing*; SF100. ciyá' i? stim' *Everything*; SF79. uť lut *But no*; SF49. nákná t ism'am'ím, nákná t ism'am'ím *Goodness, my women! Goodness, my women!*; SF45. nt'a ki? uláp *Gee that it burned*; SF47. nt'a i suláps *Gee, the burning*; SF63. t'əx'w ya n'x'əx'w'c'úsa? *In that stump*; SF66. t'əx'w a? cənsq'íw's i? l xk'ut *The split in the rock*; SF85. ho'y uť i? kilxs uť i? sc'u'xáns *And then his hand and his foot*.

<sup>20</sup>This is a shortcut for "one way to express in Cv-Ok what in English might be expressed by the utterance *Nobody spoke*. is ..."

<sup>21</sup>The form is based on the evidential nak'w'm, see above. Another such pair is km' or. km'+a' nor, or not.

## 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 *kʔ*-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 -t 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-xʷ 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.

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