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Studies in Native American Languages II

Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics

Volume 8, number 2, 1983

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NOUN AND VERB IN A SALISHAN LANGUAGE

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Abstract

This paper examines the widely known view that the noun/verb distinction is meaningless for languages of Northwestern America. First, it is demonstrated that at least eleven lexical categories, including Noun and Verb, may be distinguished in Okanagan, an Interior Salishan language of this area. Using evidence from distribution and co-occurrence, Noun and Verb are characterized and from this, the other lexical categories are developed. Secondly, Predicate as a grammatical relation is distinguished from Verb as a lexical category. Then it is demonstrated that the Predicate relation may be borne by members of various lexical categories, including Verb, Adjective, Adverbial, Noun, Demonstrative, Preposition, Indefinite and Interrogative Pronoun, with evidence from four tests based on word order and markings.

The significance of this paper is two-fold: (i) the necessity and utility of Predicate as a grammatical relation is shown to be relevant to linguistic studies of languages of Northwestern America, and (ii) the putative universality of the noun/verb distinction is maintained.

0 Introduction

The existence of the lexical categories Noun and Verb is relevant to studies of languages of Northwestern America and to linguistic theory. It has been stated that the noun/verb distinction is meaningless for the languages of the Northwestern area (for Salishan languages, see Reichard 1938, Edel 1939, Kuipers 1968, Newman 1969, Thompson 1976, 1979; for Wakashan languages, see Sapir 1921, Swadesh 1939). This view is supported by two apparent facts:

- (i) that various affixes, which mark notions commonly marked on verbals in other languages, occur freely, with few restrictions, i.e., on nouns, verbs, and adjectives alike; and
- (ii) that reduplication processes occur freely, with few restrictions, i.e., to nouns, verbs, and adjectives alike.

Hence there appear to be only two word classes: predicates which are inflected and particles which are uninflected. Additionally, common tests for category, such as case marking and gender agreement, are inapplicable to these languages. However, using different tests to establish lexical categories and distinguishing between *relation*, e.g., Predicate and *category*, e.g., Verb, permits me to maintain the putative universality of the noun/verb distinction, with data from Okanagan,¹ an Interior Salishan language spoken in interior British Columbia and Washington State.

This paper is organized in two parts. First, it is demonstrated that eleven lexical categories, such as Noun, Verb, Adjective, Adverbial, Conjunction, Complementizer, Determiner, Demonstrative, Preposition, Indefinite and Interrogative Pronoun, may be distinguished. To do so, the following tests are used: Distribution and Co-occurrence, Reduplication, Affixation, and Question Formation. Secondly, it is demonstrated that members of various lexical categories: Noun, Verb, Adjective, Adverbial, Demonstrative, Preposition, and Indefinite/Interrogative Pronoun may all bear the grammatical relation Predicate. Four arguments are given to support this proposal: one from Basic Word Order, another based on Subject Marking, a third based on Aspectual Marking and a fourth based on Topicalized Word Order in a cleft construction.

1 Lexical Categories in Okanagan

In establishing lexical categories in Okanagan, it is assumed that there may be cases of multiple category membership, of sporadic occurrence in atypical roles, and especially of lexicalization, i.e., of internally verbal formations used as nouns, as does Jacobson (1979:107). Moreover, this is not intended as a complete analysis of possible lexical categories in Okanagan; however, it will suffice to make the general point: that lexical categories, including Noun and Verb, may be distinguished for the grammar of Okanagan.

At least eleven lexical categories may be distinguished in this language. Section 1.1 deals with defining criteria for the lexical category Noun, 1.2 with establishing the lexical categories Verb, Adjective, and Adverbial, 1.3 with the categories Conjunction, Complementizer, and Determiner, 1.4 with Demonstrative and two classes of Preposition, and section 1.5 with the categories of Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun.

1.1 Defining Criteria for the Lexical Category Noun. Several tests are available to establish a lexical category: Noun. An utterance in Okanagan may consist of more than one clause, and in terms of *logical argument structure*, a clause in Okanagan consists of two main parts: logical predicate and logical argument(s). The potentiality of occurrence as an argument characterizes nouns and clauses, distinguishing Noun from Verb. Sentences a and b below show nominals as arguments and c shows a clause as an argument.

(1a) predicate argument

knʃiyaʔ ʃi xixʷtm̓.
listen the girl

'The girl listens.'

- (1b) predicate _____ argument _____ argument _____
 kʰsʰiya - m - s - t - s ʰi ttwʰit ʰi sqəl'tmíxʷ.
 listen-REL/2-IMPF-t-S3_{TR} the boy the man
 'The boy is listening to the man.'
- (1c) argument _____ predicate _____
 ʰi ʰi(n) - stəmtímaʔ nʰunxʷína - m (- n - t) - s
 the my - grandmother believe-REL/2-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS}
argument _____
 ks - ʰast - wílʰ - s.
 UNR-good-INCREMENT-S3_{TRANS}
 'My grandmother believes that he/she is getting better.'

Nominal arguments are also characterized by their ability to bear the grammatical relations: Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Chômeur, and this yields another criterion for a nominal category.²

Syntactic rules which refer to grammatical relations borne by nominal arguments provide further support for a nominal category. A rule of Passive, as formulated within the theory of Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1977), advances a Direct Object in a c_i stratum to Subject in the c_{i+1} stratum and the Subject in a c_i stratum is concomitantly demoted to Chômeur in the c_{i+1} stratum. The Passive of 1b is given in 2 below:

- (2) kʰsʰiyaʔ - m - n - təm ʰi sqəl'tmíxʷ ʰi t ttwʰit.
 listen-REL/2-PFTV-PASS the man INSTR boy
 'The man is listened to by the boy.'

A rule of Topicalization in Okanagan permutes a final subject to clause-initial position from the basic unmarked order illustrated above in 1 and 2. A final subject is topicalized to indicate theme/rheme distinctions: when it has already been mentioned, referred to, or is old/known information. Topicalized versions of 1b and 2 are given below as 3a,b:

- (3a) ʰi ttwʰit kʰsʰiyamsɿ ʰi sqəl'tmíxʷ.
 'The boy is listening to the man.'
- (3b) ʰi sqəl'tmíxʷ kʰsʰiyamtəm ʰi t ttwʰit.
 'The man is listened to by the boy.'

Thus, these two rules of the grammar of Okanagan refer to grammatical relations borne by nominal arguments, providing support for the establishment of a lexical category Noun.

The distinction between predicate and nominal argument is supported further by the distributional pattern of Determiners. It is only nominal arguments, and not predicates, which are marked with a Determiner, either ʔi (or its predictable allomorph ʔə) 'Specific' or t 'Non-specific', as illustrated below in 4a-c:

(4a)

Det	Head
ʔi	smʔinʔayʔ

 tʔtʔtʔt ʔunix^w ʔi smʔinʔayʔ .
 very true the story

'The story is very true.'

(4b)

Det	Head
t	smʔinʔayʔ

 tʔtʔtʔt ʔunix^w t smʔinʔayʔ .
 very true some/a story/report

'Some stories are very true./A story is very true.'

(4c)

Det	Head
ʔi	stəmtímaʔ

 cut
 the grandmother tell-S3_{INTR}

Det	Head		Det	Head
ʔi	qʔqʔcwíyaʔ	naq^w	t	síyaʔ

 the chipmunk steal-S3_{INTR} some saskatoon.berry.

 'The grandmother said (that) the chipmunks stole some saskatoons.'

Within a nominal argument, more than one category may be distinguished. The head of a nominal argument may be modified, with the modifier preceding the head. Both head and modifier are qualified by a Determiner.

(5a)

Det	Head		Det	Head
ʔi	$\text{ʔilmíx}^w\text{m}$	$\text{q}^w\text{əʔlq}^w\text{ʔs1}$	ʔi	$\text{səx}^w\text{trqám}$

 the chief talk - IMPF - t - S3_{TRANS} the dancer

 'The chief is talking to the dancer.'

Det Head - Poss

ʕi yámxwa? - s.
the basket - her

'The woman fixed her old basket.'

(7b) Det Mod - Poss Det Head (- Poss)

* ʕi tkámílxw k'wúl's ʕi q'íwíx - s ʕi yámxwa? (- s).

(7c) Det Mod - Poss

* ʕi tkámílxw k'wúl's ʕi q'íwíx - s.

The a sentences illustrate the basic pattern of Possessive Affixation. The b sentences above are ungrammatical with the modifier taking a possessive affix, regardless of its presence on the head. The c sentences show that, even under deletion of the head, the modifier still does not take possessive affixes.

A rule of Reduplication to show Plural Number provides an additional distinction between modifier and head, with the modifier agreeing in number with the head as the basic pattern:

(8a) ʕi tkámílxw k'wúl' (- n - t) - s ʕi q'íwíx ʕi yámxwa?.
the woman work - PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS} the old the basket

'The woman fixed the old basket.'

(8b) ʕi tkámílxw k'wúl's ʕi q-ʔəw-ʔíwíx ʕi ym - yámxwa?.
PL --old PL - basket.

'The old woman fixed the old baskets.'

(8c) *ʕi tkámílxw k'wúl's ʕi q'íwíx ʕi ym - yámxwa?.
PL - basket

(8d) *ʕi tkámílxw k'wúl's ʕi q-ʔəw-ʔíwíx ʕi yámxwa?.
the PL-old the basket

(9a) naqs t t'áqat t níkmn ʔsuʔ naqs t ʔk'wús t níkmn
one a short a knife and one a wide-blade a knife

'one short knife and one wide-blade knife'

(9b) ʔasíl t t'q-táqat t ník-níkmn ʔsuʔ ʔasíl t ʔk'-ʔk'wús
two a PL-short a PL-knife and two a PL-wide.blade

t nîk'-nîkîm
a PL-knife

'two short knives and two wide-blade knives'

- (9c) * naqs t t'âqat t nîk'-nîkîm ?su? naqs t t'k'ús t nîk'-nîkîm
one a short a PL-knife and one a wide.blade a PL-knife
- (9d) * ?asîl t t'âqat t nîkîm ?su? ?asîl t t'k'ús t nîkîm
two a short a knife and two a wide-blade a knife
- (9e) * ?asîl t t'q-t'âqat t nîkîm ?su? ?asîl t t'k'-t'k'ús t nîkîm
two a PL-short a knife and two a PL-wide.blade a knife
- (9f) * ?asîl t t'âqat t nîk'-nîkîm ?su? ?asîl t t'k'ús t nîk'-nîkîm
two a short a PL- knife and two a wide.blade a PL-knife

This phenomenon of Plural Agreement of the modifier with the head of a nominal argument distinguishes five sub-cases:

- (i) a modifier with a suppletive form for plural;
- (ii) a modifier with no plural form;
- (iii) a head with a suppletive form for plural;
- (iv) a head with a plural form for 'pair of';
- (v) a head with no plural form.

Each is illustrated in turn.

- (i) In the case of a modifier with a suppletive form for plural, the modifier must still agree with the head in number:

- (10a) (naqs) t k'k'wysûma? t yâmx'wa? ?su? (naqs) t sîlx'wa? t yâmx'wa?
(one) a small_{SG} a basket and (one) a big_{PL} a basket
'(one) small basket and (one) big basket'
- (10b) (m'ús) t c'âma? t ym-yâmx'wa? ?su? (m'ús) t p'is'at t ym-yâmx'wa?
(four) a small_{PL} a PL-basket and (four) a big_{PL} a PL-basket
'(four) small baskets and (four) big baskets'
- (10c) * (naqs) t c'âma? t yâmx'wa? ?su? (naqs) t p'is'at t yâmx'wa?
(one) a small_{PL} a basket and (one) a big_{SG} a basket
- (10d) * (m'ús) t k'k'wysûma? t ym-yâmx'wa? ?su? (m'ús) t sîlx'wa?
(four) a small_{SG} a PL-basket and (four) a big_{PL}
t ym-yâmx'wa?
a PL-basket

- (10e) * (naqs) t k^wk^wy^súma? t ym-yámxwa? ?^su^t (naqs) t sílxwa?
 (one) a small_{SG} a PL-basket and (one) a big_{PL}
 t ym-yámxwa?
 a PL-basket

(ii) In the case of a modifier with no plural form, the head shows plural number:

- (11a) (naqs) ^si c^qq^wímm ^si kkw^wáp
 one the whiny the dog
 '(one) whiny dog'
- (11b) (?asíl) ^si c^qq^wímm ^si kkw^wáp
 (two) the whiny the PL-dog
 'two whiny dogs'

(iii) In the case of a head with a suppletive form for plural, the modifier still agrees in number with the head:

- (12a) knaqs ^si x^ást ^si sk^wq^wíməlt
 one_{human} the good the child_{SG}
 'one good child'
- (12b) tk[?]asasíl ^si x^s-x^ást ^si sc^čmála?
 two_{human} the PL-good the child_{PL}
 'two good children'
- (12c) * ^si x^ást ^si sc^čmála?
 the good the child_{PL}
- (12d) * ^si x^s-x^ást ^si sk^wq^wíməlt
 the PL-good the child_{SG}

Having modifiers with no plural form does not affect the appropriate use of suppletive forms for a head:

- (13a) ^si knaqs ^si pypáy^t ^si sk^wq^wíməlt ?^su^t ^si knaqs
 the one_{human} the lively the child_{SG} and the one_{human}
^si c^qq^wímm ^si sk^wq^wíməlt
 the whiny the child_{SG}
 'the one lively child and the one whiny child'

- (13b) tkʔasasíl ʕi pypáyʔ ʕi scǎmálaʔ ʔʕuʔ tkʔasasíl ʕi cǎqʷqʷimn
 two_{human} the lively the child_{PL} and two_{human} the whiny
 ʕi scǎmálaʔ
 the child_{PL}
 'two lively children and two whiny children'

(iv) In the case of a head with a plural form for 'pair of', such as qʕǎxnútiyaʔ 'mocassin' and sǎxíʔxn 'pant/legging', the pattern is more complex. With individual unpaired items, the modifier optionally reduplicates in agreement with the number of items:

- (14a) naqs t síc t sǎxíʔxn
 one a new a pant/legging
 'one new pant/legging'
- (14b) ʔasíl t sc-síc t sǎxíʔxn
 two a PL-new a pant
 'two new pants/leggings'
- (14c) ʔasíl t síc t sǎxíʔxn
 two a new a pant
 'two new pants/leggings'
- (15a) naqs t síc t qʕǎxnútiyaʔ
 one a new a mocassin
 'one new mocassin'
- (15b) ʔasíl t sc-síc t qʕǎxnútiyaʔ
 two a PL-new a mocassin
 'two new mocassins'
- (15c) kʔaʔís t síc t qʕǎxnútiyaʔ
 three a new a mocassin
 'three new mocassins'

If the head reduplicates to indicate 'pair of', the modifier must reduplicate:

- (16a) ʔasíl t sc-síc t sǎxʔ-xíʔxn
 two a PL-new a pair-pant

'two new pairs of pants'

- (16b) * ʔasíl t síc t sǎǎ'-ǎíǎǎn
two a new a pair.pant

If the numeral indicates 'pair of', the head need not reduplicate to indicate 'pair of' but the modifier must show plural number:

- (17a) k - nq - sqílɣ^w ʔi sc-síc ʔi ʔin-qʰəxǎútiya? ʔsuɬ
human-one-man the PL-new the my-mocassin and

ʔsʔ - nú (- n - t) - n.
miss-LTDC-PFTV - t - S1_{TRANS}

'My new mocassins are one pair and I miss it./ I got a pair of new mocassins and I miss it.'

- (17b) * k - nq - sqílɣ^w ʔi síc ʔi ʔin-qʰəxǎútiya?
human-one-man the new the my-mocassin

- (18a) t - kǎl - sqílɣ^w ʔi sc-síc ʔi sǎǎ'-ǎíǎǎn
human-three-man the PL-new the pair.pant

'three pairs of new pants'

- (18b) t - kǎl - sqílɣ^w ʔi sc-síc ʔi sǎíǎǎn
human-three-man the PL-new the pant

'three pairs of new pants'

- (18c) * t-kǎl - sqílɣ^w ʔi síc ʔi sǎíǎǎn
human-3- man the new the pant

- (19a) tkʔasílsqílɣ^w ʔi sc-síc ʔi qʰəqʰəxǎútiya?
human-2-man the PL-new the pair.mocassin

'two pairs of new mocassins'

- (19b) tkʔasílsqílɣ^w ʔi scsíc ʔi qʰəxǎútiya?
human-two-man the PL-new the mocassin

'two pairs of new mocassins'

- (19c) * tkʔasílsqílɣ^w ʔi síc ʔi qʰəxǎútiya?
human-2-man the new the mocassin

(v) In the case of a head with no plural form, such as *paták* 'potato' and *sʰnsisʰúxn* 'socks', the nominal argument may be interpreted as either individual potatoes or sacks of potatoes and similarly either as individual socks or pairs. The modifier optionally reduplicates when the head is semantically plural:

- (20a) *ʔasíl ʰi síc ʰi paták ʔʰuʔ ʔasíl ʰi qʰíwłx ʰi paták ʔʰuʔ*
 two the new the potato and two the old the potato and
ʔasíl ʰi qʰʰaláp ʰi paták
 two the moldy the potato
 'two new potatoes and two old potatoes and two moldy potatoes'
- (20b) *ʔasíl t sc-síc t paták ʔʰuʔ ʔasíl t qʰəw-ʔíwłx t paták*
 two a PL-new a potato and two a PL-old a potato
 'two new potatoes and two old potatoes'
- (20c) *tʰkɬam - s - t - ín ʰi síc ʰi paták ʔʰuʔ qʰəwʔíwłx ʰi paták.*
 separate-IMPF-t-Sl_{TR} the new the potato and PL-old the potato
 'I'm sorting out the new potatoes and the old potatoes.'

If the numeral is specified as being a 'sack of', the modifier still optionally reduplicates to show number:

- (21a) *kɬ - ʔasíl ʰi sc-síc ʰi paták*
 DIR-two the PL-new the potato
 'two sacks of new potatoes'
- (21b) *kɬ - ʔasíl ʰi síc ʰi paták*
 DIR-two the new the potato
 'two sacks of new potatoes'

Members of other putative lexical categories such as Adjective and Verb may also serve as heads of nominal arguments, but under different conditions. A putative Adjective may serve as head of a nominal argument but only if appropriate reference has been made to the deleted Noun, either previously in the discourse or simultaneously with a gesture, such as pointing.

- (22) (PEN) *kʰúm (- n - t) - n ʰi ʰást ʰi sʰnsisʰúxn*
 store-PFTV - t -Sl_{TRANS} the good the socks
ʰi naʔ qs-qást _____ ʰi l sʰnkʰúm.
 the with PL-bad the LOC storage.place

'I put away the good socks with the ugly ones in the storage place.'

The Rule of Plural Agreement of Adjective with Noun provides additional evidence illustrating that a Noun has been deleted. Sentences 8 - 9 illustrated the basic rule: that the modifier agrees in number with the head of a nominal argument. Sentences 23a, b exemplify a brief conversation between two males *ʔʔarsíkʷ* 'Turtle' and *Sklawʔ* 'Beaver'. The a sentences establishes a reference to potatoes in this discourse. The b sentence is then felicitous, with as head of a nominal argument, a putative Adjective, showing plural reduplication in agreement with the deleted Noun of sub-class (v):

(23a) *Sklawʔ: t̥k̥lam - s - t - ín ʔi síc ʔi paták ʔʔuʔ qʔəw-ʔíwl̥x*
 separate-IMPF-t-Sl_{TR} the new the potato and PL-old

ʔi paták.
 the potato

'I'm sorting out the new potatoes and the old potatoes.'

(23b) *ʔʔarsíkʷ: kwʔə ʔʔuʔ ʔíʔ - n - t - əm ʔi síc _____*
 EVIDENTIAL and eat-PFTV-t-PASS the new _____

ʔʔuʔ ʃwíl - s - t - əm ʔi qʔəw-ʔíwl̥x _____.
 and discard-IMPF-t-PASS the PL-old _____

'Okay, and we eat the new and we throw away the old.'

Examples 24 thru 26 also illustrate discourse felicitous sequences, with plural reduplication in agreement with a deleted Noun, on the putative Adjective:

(24) (PEN) *ʔnqʷí - n - t - əm yʔəyʔʔt ʔi sʔnsisʔúxm. ʔi ʃəst,*
 wash - PFTV-t-PASS all the socks the good

kʔúm - n - t - əm. ʔi qs-qəst, ks - t̥aqʷ - n - t - əm.
 store-PFTV-t-PASS the PL-bad, UNR-patch-PFTV-t-PASS

'We washed all the socks. The good ones, we put away. The bad ones, we'll patch up.'

(25) (NL) *ʔi ʃəst ʔi yamxʷaʔ, kʔum (- n - t) - n ʔʔuʔ*
 the good the basket store-PFTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} and

ʔi qʔəw-ʔíwl̥x, c̥ík (- n - t) - n.
 and PL-old burn-PFTV-t-Sl_{TRANS}

'The good basket, I put away and the old ones, I burned.'

(26) ʔi ʔsʔast ʔi ymyámwáʔ, kʔumm ʔʔuʔ ʔi qʔəwʔíʔ, ʔwílstn.

'The good baskets, I put away and the old ones, I throw away.'

However, under deletion, the modifier, a putative Adjective, does not take Possessive Affixation, as illustrated in 6 and 7 previously:

(27) kʔúm (- n - t) - n ʔi naqs ʔi ʔást ʔi ʔin - qʔəxnútiyaʔ
store -PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} the one the good the my-mocassin

ʔʔuʔ ʔi naqs ʔi cʔʔw-ʔíxw _____
and the one the ITER-hole

'I put away my one good mocassin and my one holey one.'
(i.e., it has several holes).

Hence, a putative Adjective may occur as head of a nominal argument but under different conditions than a putative Noun.

A putative Verb may also serve as head of a nominal argument, as illustrated in 28a,b. The first person, plural transitive subject marker is homophonous with the passive verbal morphology: -təm/-tím (see Hébert 1982a,b for discussion of chain of being hierarchy):

(28a) ʔi ʔi(n) - skʔúyʔ lʔr - n - t - ím ʔi t skʔúʔʔ.
the my-male's.mom rigid-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR bee

'My mother was stung by a bee.'

(28b) ʔi ʔi(n) - skʔúyʔ t - qʔs - íca - m (- n - t) - s
the my-male's.mom DIST-bad-skin-REL/2-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS}

ʔi lʔr - n - t - ím ʔi t skʔúʔʔ.³
the rigid-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR bee

'My mother is allergic to bee stings.'

However, a putative Verb may occur as head of a nominal argument only as part of a sentence. Putative verbs occur with subject markers and, where appropriate, with objects. In 28b, a putative Verb serving as head of a nominal argument has an initial subject which bears the chômeur relation in the final stratum. The subject marker is a zero morpheme for third person singular intransitive.

The point here is that constituents other than Nouns may serve as nominal arguments, such as clauses, with a putative Verb as head, or putative Adjectives under restricted discourse contexts. Because of the possibility of distinguishing such clauses and Adjectives from nominals, the fact that they may occur in some of the same functions as nominals does not detract from using the form and function of nominal

arguments as part of the defining criteria for establishing a putative lexical category Noun distinct from Verb and Adjective.

Plural reduplication, observed in words in isolation, is insufficient in itself to distinguish Noun and Verb. However, within a clause, it can be seen that this reduplication is an agreement phenomenon for verbs. A class of verbs optionally reduplicates for plural number, in agreement with the initial subject, as demonstrated below. Members of this verb class include ʔiʔn- / ʔəʔʔiʔn- 'eat, SG/PL' and ʔʔiʔckn- / ʔʔiʔckn- 'play, SG/PL', but not tʔq- / tʔtʔq- 'kick/kick iteratively' and $\text{tʔumist/tʔutʔumist}$ 'buy/buy iteratively'. The plural agreement data is given below, with the relevant subject and verb underlined.

(29a) $\text{ʔi ttwiʔt ʔiʔ(n - n - t) - s}$ $\text{ʔi naqs ʔi skkʔákaʔ.}$
 the boy eat-PFTV-t-S3 TRANS the one the bird

'The boy eat one bird.'

(29b) $\text{ʔi ttwiʔt ʔiʔ(n - n - t) - s}$ $\text{ʔi káʔusm ʔi skkʔákaʔ.}$
 the 3.diff.kind the bird

'The boy eat three different kinds of bird.'

(29c) $\text{ʔi ttwiʔt (ʔəʔ - ʔiʔ(n - n - t) - s lx}$ $\text{ʔi naqs ʔi skkʔákaʔ.}$
 the PL-boy REDUP-eat - PFTV-t-P3 TRANS the one the bird
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ʔiʔ(n - n - t) - s lx} \\ \text{eat - PFTV-t-P3 TRANS} \end{array} \right\}$

'The boys eat one bird.'

(29d) $\text{ʔi ttwiʔt (ʔəʔ - ʔiʔ(n - n - t) - s lx}$ $\text{ʔi káʔusm ʔi skkʔákaʔ.}$
 the PL-boy REDUP-eat - PFTV-t-P3 TRANS the 3.diff.kind the bird
 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ʔiʔ(n - n - t) - s lx} \\ \text{eat - PFTV - t P3 TRANS} \end{array} \right\}$

'The boys eat three different kinds of bird.'

(29e) * ʔi ttwiʔt ʔəʔʔiʔs $\text{ʔi káʔusm ʔi skkʔákaʔ.}$
 the boy REDUP-eat the 3.diff.kind the bird

(29f) $\text{naqs ʔi skkʔákaʔ ʔiʔn (- n) - t - əm}$ ʔi t ttwiʔt.
 one the bird eat-PFTV - t - PASS INSTR boy

'One bird was eaten by the boy.'

- (29g) $\text{Ka}^{\text{h}}\text{usm} \text{ } \text{ʃi} \text{ skk}^{\text{h}}\text{áka}^{\text{h}} \text{ } \frac{\text{ʔíɬn} (-n) - t - \text{əm} \text{ } \text{ʃi} \text{ t} \text{ twt}^{\text{h}}\text{ít.}}{3.\text{diff.kind the bird eat - PFTV} - t - \text{PASS INSTR boy}}$

'Three different kinds of bird were eaten by the boy.'

- (29h) $\text{naqs} \text{ } \text{ʃi} \text{ skk}^{\text{h}}\text{áka}^{\text{h}} \text{ } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{\text{ʃəɬ} - \text{ʔíɬn} (-n) - t - \text{əm} \text{ } \text{ʃi} \text{ t} \text{ twt}^{\text{h}}\text{ít.}}{\text{REDUP-eat - PFTV} - t - \text{PASS INSTR PL-boy}} \\ \frac{\text{ʔíɬn} (-n) - t - \text{əm} \text{ } \text{ʃi} \text{ t} \text{ twt}^{\text{h}}\text{ít.}}{\text{eat - PFTV} - t - \text{PASS INSTR PL-boy}} \end{array} \right.$

'One bird was eaten by the boys.'

- (29i) $\text{Ka}^{\text{h}}\text{usm} \text{ } \text{ʃi} \text{ skk}^{\text{h}}\text{áka}^{\text{h}} \text{ } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{\text{ʃəɬ} - \text{ʔíɬn} (-n) - t - \text{əm} \text{ } \text{ʃi} \text{ t} \text{ twt}^{\text{h}}\text{ít.}}{\text{REDUP-eat - PFTV} - t - \text{PASS INSTR PL-boy}} \\ \frac{\text{ʔíɬn} (-n) - t - \text{əm.}}{\text{eat - PFTV} - t - \text{PASS}} \end{array} \right.$

'Three different kinds of bird were eaten by the boys.'

Sentences 29c,d,h,i demonstrate that a plural initial subject triggers the plural reduplication of the verbal root and 29a,b,f,g demonstrate that the number of the initial object does not affect this plural agreement reduplication. Sentence 29e demonstrates that if the verb is reduplicated for plural agreement while the initial subject is singular, the sentence is ungrammatical. Sentences 29c,d,h,i show the direction of the agreement: that the initial subject triggers the verb agreement and not the other way around. Thus, plural reduplication for Noun and Verb remain distinct: plural reduplication in a Verb of this class is an agreement phenomenon with respect to the initial subject, whereas plural reduplication in a Noun is not.

Some, but not all, nouns are apparently derived from verbs; these nouns show an S- prefix, known in Salishan linguistics as 'Nominalizer':

- (30a) $\text{hə} \quad \text{k}^{\text{w}} \quad \text{səc} - \text{qí}'\text{s} \quad ?$
 $\text{QU}_{\text{yes/no}} \quad \text{S}^2_{\text{INTR}} \quad \text{PPF} - \text{dream}$
 confirm

'Have you been dreaming?'

- (30b) $\text{c} - \text{kkla}^{\text{h}}\text{x}^{\text{w}}, \text{ } \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{u} \text{ } \text{kíç} - \text{n} - \text{t} - \text{x}^{\text{w}} \text{ } \text{ʃi} \text{ l} \text{ } \text{ʃi}(\text{n}) - \text{s} - \text{qí}'\text{s.}$
 $\text{PF-night,} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{meet-PFTV-t-S}^2_{\text{TRANS}} \quad \text{the LOC my - s - dream}$

'Last night, you come to me in my dreams.'

'The beaver pelts are counted by the trapper.'

- (33b) kn n^ʔacús - m t k^wʔík^wxna?
 S1_{INTR} trap-MIDDLE some mouse

'I trap mice.'

- (34a) ʔi ʔin - kík^wwa? ʔást t sx^w - m^ʔay' - ám.
 the my-grandfather good a Habit-tell.story-MIDDLE

'My grandfather is a good storyteller.'

- (34b) ʔi ʔin - kík^wwa? m^ʔay' - xí - t - s
 the my-grandfather tell.story-BENE-t-S3_{TR}

ʔi s - ʔn - ʔəm^ʔʔímat - s t ʔxásat t s - m^ʔym^ʔáy'.
 the s-CONT-PL-grandchild-his a funny a s-story

'My grandfather told his grandchildren a funny story.'

The suffix **-tn**, often co-occurring with **s-** 'Nominalizer', also results in a lexical item which functions like the head of a nominal argument, i.e., a Noun. Sentences a,c below exemplify this **-tn** suffix.

- (35a) ʔi s - ʔn - kspólq^w - tn c^ʔn^ʔán.
 the s-CONT-phone-INSTR ring.by.itself

'The phone's ringing.'

- (35b) ʔə ʔə(n) - stəmtíma? s - c - kspólq^w - x.
 the your-grandmother s - PF - phone - PROG

'Your grandma's on the phone! / Your grandma is phoning.'

- (36a) ʔi p^ʔq' - cn - cút - tn ʔn - p^ʔús - m t cíkn.
 the cook-mouth-REFL-INSTR CONT-boil-MIDDLE some chicken

'The cook boil some chicken.'

- (36b) Lisa p^ʔq' - n - t - ís ʔi cíkn.
 L. cook - PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS} the chicken

Lisa cooked the chicken.

- (36c) ʔi s - c - p^ʔq' - cn - cút - tn - s t^ʔi k^ʔay'
 the s-PF- cook-mouth-REFL-INSTR-her EMPH multi-coloured

ʔsúʔ síc ǰást ʔi s - ʔíʔn - s.
and just good the s -eating- its

'Her cooking is colourful and so very delicious.'
(lit., just good its eating.)

(36d) ʔi ʔin - kíkʷaʔ kʷu kʷsúl - s - t - s
the my-grandfather me send-IMPF - t - S3_{TRANS}

ʔi(n) - ks - pýq' - cn - cút.
S1_{IRR}-UNR-cook-mouth-REFL

'My grandfather is sending me to cook food.'

(37) ʔi ʔi(n) - s - ʔn - kʷt - kʷtʔús - tn mʔət qʔst - wílǰ.
the my- s - CONT - PL - face - INSTR must bad-INCREMENTAL

'My eyes must be getting bad.'

The affixation of the suffix *-mm/-mín* 'Instrumental' also results in a lexical item functioning as head of a nominal argument, i.e., by the criteria, a member of the lexical category Noun:

(38a) kn tʔumíst t sic t s - ʔn - sʔúl' - mm kʔ
S1_{INTR} buy a new a s-CONT-freeze-Instr to

s - ʔn - tʔumíst - tn.
s-CONT - .buy - Instr

'I bought a new freezer from the store.'

(38b) sʔúl' - n - t - xʷ ʔə ʔə(n) - sʔíqʷ.
freeze-PFTV-t-S2_{INTR} the your-meat

'You froze your meat.'

(39a) Sklaw' sp' - n - t - ís ʔi pʔw - mín.
Beaver beat-PFTV-t-S3_{TR} the rap-Instr

'Beaver beat the drum.'

(39b) ʔi tkámílxʷ kʔ - ʔn - pʔw - áp - m.
the woman DIR-CONT-rap-door-MIDDLE

'The woman rapped at the door.'

(40a) ʔn - xʷítk - m - s - t - n ʔi ʔi(n) - mʔúl - mm
CONT-drop-REL/2-IMPf-t-S1_{TR} the my-dipnet-Instr

ʃi l ɕɕs'wíxa?
the LOC small.stream

'I dropped my dipnet in the creek.'

(40b) ʃi scwʃín mʃul - n - t - əm ʃi t sqəl'tmíxʷ.
the salmon cipnet-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR man

'The salmon was dipnetted by the man.'

(41a) ʃi sqəl'tmíxʷ pʃulʃ (- s) - t - s ʃi ʃəʃəʃə ʃi t ník' - mn.
the man kill-IMPV-t-S3_{TRANS} the crow INSTR cut-Instr

'The man killed the crow with a knife.'

(41b) ník' - k' - nú - n (- t) - n ʃi ʃi(n) - sk'wtáus.
cut-UNACCUS-LTDC-PFTV-t-S1_{TR} the my - face

'I cut my face unintentionally.'

(41c) ʃi ʃin - l'íw ʃnínk - ʃ - t - s ʃə ʃən - ʃəlkw's - tn
the my-male's.dad want-INDIR-t-S3_{TR} the your-sharpen-Instr

ks - ʃəlkw's - y' (- t) - s ʃi ník' - mn - s.
UNR-sharpen-PFTV-t-S3_{IRR} the cut-Instr-his

'My dad wants your stone to sharpen his knife.'

Thus, lexical items formed as a result of the affixation of one of these three affixes function as heads of hominal arguments and are members of the lexical category 'Noun'.

1.2 Establishing the Lexical Categories Verb, Adjective, and Adverbial.

A lexical category 'Verb' may also be established at this point. In contrast with 'Noun', a verb does not occur with a Determiner, may not take possessive affixes, may show plural reduplication (but in agreement with the initial subject), does not bear the grammatical relations of Subject, Object, etc.⁴ and serves as predicate in terms of logical argument structure. A Verb may bear the Predicate relation, taking subject markers, aspect marking and occurring in clause-initial position in the basic unmarked order. That a Verb takes subject markers is illustrated for the transitive paradigm in sentences 39, 38b, 37b, 36b,d, 34b, 32a, 30b, 7a, 6a, 3, 1b. These same examples also illustrate that in the transitive paradigm, a Verb is marked for either Perfective or Imperfective aspect.

Additionally, a Verb occurs in clause-initial position in the basic unmarked order, as already shown in 1a,b and 2.

The three lexical categories 'Verb', 'Adjective', and 'Adverbial' may now also be distinguished from each other. An Adverbial occurs clause-finally and may be preposed to pre-verbal position, before or after a topicalized subject:

- (42a) $\text{ʕi sqilx}^w \text{ k}(ʔ) - \text{s}^{\text{ns}}\text{ʕul}^{\text{m}} \text{ ʕapna}^?$
 the people own - freezer today,now
 'The people got freezers now.'
- (42b) $\text{ʕapna}^? \text{ k}(ʔ) - \text{s}^{\text{ns}}\text{ʕul}^{\text{m}} \text{ ʕi sqilx}^w$
 today own-freezer the people
 'Today, the people got freezers.'
- (42c) $\text{ʕi sqilx}^w \text{ ʕapna}^? \text{ k}(ʔ)\text{s}^{\text{ns}}\text{ʕul}^{\text{m}}$
 'The people now got freezers.'
- (42d) $\text{ʕapna}^?, \text{ ʕi sqilx}^w \text{ k}(ʔ)\text{s}^{\text{ns}}\text{ʕul}^{\text{m}}$
 'Today, people got freezers.'
- (43a) $\text{ʕi ʕin} - \text{Kik}^w\text{wa}^? \text{ m}^{\text{ʕay}} - \text{ʕm} \text{ ʕsapi}^?$
 the my-grandfather tell.stories-MIDDLE long.ago.
 'My grandfather told stories long ago.'
- (43b) $\text{ʕi ʕin} - \text{Kik}^w\text{wa}^? \text{ ʕsapi}^? \text{ m}^{\text{ʕay}}\text{ʕm}$
 'My grandfather long ago told stories.'
- (43c) $\text{ʕsapi}^?, \text{ ʕi ʕin} - \text{Kik}^w\text{wa}^? \text{ m}^{\text{ʕay}}\text{ʕm}$
 'Long ago, my grandfather told stories.'

Neither 'Verb' nor 'Adjective' exhibit this multiplicity of position.

An 'Adverbial' may not occur as modifier to the head of a nominal argument:

- (44a) * $\text{w}^{\text{ik}} (- n - t) - n \text{ ʕi ʕsapi}^? \text{ ʕi c}^{\text{itx}}^w$
 see-PFTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} the long.ago the house
- (44b) $\text{w}^{\text{ik}} (- n - t) - n \text{ ʕi q}^{\text{ʕiw}}\text{l}^{\text{x}} \text{ ʕi c}^{\text{itx}}^w$
 see-PFTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} the old the house
 'I saw the old house.'

Hence, an Adverbial occurs clause finally and may be preposed to pre-verbal position or to precede a topicalized subject, does not take a Determiner and does not serve as modifier to the head of a nominal argument.

An Adjective may serve as modifier, taking a Determiner, is not permutable in position, agrees in number with the head Noun, and does not take possessive marking, as was illustrated in sentences 5-27.

Members of both categories may be utilized in the formation of compound nouns:

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|
| (45a) | <u>sq̣spífx̣w</u> | (45b) | <u>sq̣włxífx̣w</u> |
| | 'old house, still inhabited' | | 'older house, still inhabited' |
| (45c) | ṣnq̣spífx̣wtn | (45d) | ṣnq̣włxífx̣wtn |
| | 'old house, abandoned' | | 'older house, abandoned' |

Thus, although Adverbial and Adjective share some similarities, there are sufficient differences to warrant establishing two separate lexical categories. Four lexical categories have now been distinguished: 'Noun', 'Verb', 'Adjective', and 'Adverbial'.

1.3 Distinguishing Three More Lexical Categories. The lexical categories 'Conjunction', 'Complementizer', and 'Determiner' may be clearly distinguished from each other, on a distributional basis.

A Conjunction links two similar structures such as two clauses, predicate phrases or noun phrases. The members of the putative lexical category 'Conjunction' exemplified below are:

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------------|--------|-------------------|
| (46) | ʔ̣uɬ | 'and' | náxməɬ | 'but' |
| | kṃ | 'or' | ṭl | 'reason, because' |
| | ḳṃ | 'whereas'. | | |

- (47a) Mílaʔ c̣ə́ḳẉ ʔ̣np̣ʔ̣ús - m t ṣṭíq̣ẉ ʔ̣uɬ Susəp c̣ə́ḳẉ
 Amelia should boil-MIDDLE some meat and Joseph should
 ʔ̣np̣ʔ̣ús - m t ṣẉʔ̣ín.
 boil-MIDDLE some salmon
 'Amelia should boil some meat and Joseph should boil some salmon.'

- (47b) $\text{ʔi ttwít ʔn - yr - ús - m t spplína? ʔʔuɹ}$
 the boy CONT-circle-face-MIDDLE some rabbit and
 $\text{ʔn - ʔʔuc - xn t sʔacínəm.}$
 CONT-track-feet some deer
 'The boy snare rabbits and track deer.'
- (47c) $\text{tʔáám - s - t - ín ʔi sic ʔi patak ʔʔuɹ qʔəwʔíwlɿ ʔi patak.}$
 sort.out-IMPF-t-S1_{TR} the new the p. and PL-old the potato
 'I'm separating the old potatoes and the new potatoes.'
- (48a) $\text{ʔhuhuy s - síw - m - tət ʔi kíkʔwa? - tət kwu}$
 Let's s-ask-REL/2-P1_{IRR} the grandfather-our us
 $\text{mʔayʔ - xí - tm kúʔ ʔi stəmtíma? - tət kwu}$
 tell-BENE-PASS or the grandmother-our us
 ʔnqʔəní - x - tm.
 sing-BENE-PASS
 ' "Let's ask (that) our grandfather tell us a story or our grandmother sing us a song." '
- (48b) $\text{ʔkʔíkʔwa?, cʔəkʔ kwu mʔayʔ - xí - t - p kúʔ kwu}$
 grandfather should us tell-BENE-t-P2_{TR} or us
 $\text{ʔnqʔəní - x - t - p.}$ polite form
 sing-BENE-t-P2_{TRANS}
 polite form
 ' "Grandfather, you should tell us a story or sing us a song." '
- (48c) $\text{cʔəkʔ kw ʔnpʔús - m t sʔíqʔ kúʔ t scwʔín.}$
 should S2_{INTR} boil-MIDDLE some meat or some salmon
 You should boil some meat or some salmon.
- (49a) $\text{Skʔəʔlʔ trʔám kúʔ Skláwʔ slʔ - n - t - ís ʔi pʔwmín.}$
 P. kick-M whereas B. beat-PFTV-t-S3_{TR} the drum
 'Porcupine dance whereas Beaver beat the drum.'
- (49b) $\text{cʔəcʔəʔlɿ ʔi ttwít kúʔ qʔliw - m ʔi tʔcciwps - c.}$
 swim the boy whereas pick.berries-MID the sister-his
 'The boy swims whereas his sister picks berries.'

- (49c) yʃəyʃəʔt swít qʷs - kʷúl' - m kɪ́ ʃənwíʔ.
 all somebody go-work-MIDDLE whereas you
 lut ʃən - ʃmínk ʃə(n) - ks - kʷúl' - m.
 NEG S2_{IRR} - want S2_{IRR} - UNR - work-MIDDLE
 'Everybody went to work but you. You don't want to work.'
- (49d) kʷum (- n - t) - n ʃi ʃs-ʃást qʷəqʷəxɪ́tiya? kɪ́
 sotre-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} the PL-good pair.mocassin whereas
 ʃi qʷəwʔíwlʃ, nq - mí (- n - t) - n l ʃin - yámxʷaʔ.
 the PL-old, put-REL/2-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} LOC my-basket
 'I put away the good pairs of mocassins and the old ones
 I put in my basket.'
- (49e) ʔʃuc kɪ́ kw kɪ́ - lkʃapi ?
 QU_{yes/no} whereas S2_{INTR} own-coffee
 info
 'Is it that you have coffee? / Do you have any more coffee?'
- (50) mʃət lut kw(u) ʃə(n) - ks - ʃaypmí - n - m náxməʔ
 might NEG me S2_{IRR} - UNR-scold - PFTV-MIDDLE but
 ʃi ʃi(n) - stəmtíma? kw ks - ʃaypmí (- n - t) - s.
 the my-grandmother me UNR-scold-PFTV-t- S3_{IRR}
 'You might not bawl me out but my grandmother is going to
 bawl me out.'
- (51a) ʃi ʃi(n) - stəmtíma? ʃs - pʃús tʃl kr' - xí - t - n.
 the my-grandmother good-heart reason help-BENE-t-S1_{TRANS}
 'My grandmother's glad because I help her.'
- (51b) ʃi ʃi(n) - stəmtíma? ʃaymt tʃl ʃi(n) - s - ʔíctm.
 the my-grandmother mad reason S1_{IRR} -s - late
 'My grandmother's mad because I come home late.'
- (51c) ʃást ʃi ʃi(n) - spʃús tʃl wík - n - t - s - n.
 good the my-heart reason see-PFTV-t-you-S1_{TRANS}
 'My heart is glad to see you.'

In addition to the conjunctions which link similar structures, Okanagan has eight lexical items which introduce subordinate clauses and which carry its temporal reference with respect to the matrix clause or to the speech event:

- (52a) mʕi 'future'
 (52b) kʕi 'non-future, present'
 (52c) kʕə 'non-future, past'
 (52d) ʕə 'past'
 (52e) ʕi 'non-past, specific'
 (52f) t 'non-past, non-specific'
 (52g) ʔʕə 'simultaneous'
 (52h) s- 'untensed'.

Sentences 53-60 exemplify these lexical items.

- (53a) kn ks - nʕəcúš - aʔx mʕi kʕəʕnú - n (-t) - n ʕi
 Sl_{INTR} UNR-trap-INCEP COMP catch-PFTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} the
 kʕíkʕxna?
 mouse
 'I'm going to start to set a trap to catch a mouse.'
- (53b) swít ʔʕəkʔ yámxwa? mʕi qʕ - n - t - íxʕ ?
 who belong basket COMP weave-PFTV-t-S2_{TRANS}
 'Whose basket will you weave?'
- (53c) ʔuxʕ kn ʔ ʕilí? ʔʕukʕʕást, mʕi kʕnʕ (-n) - t - s - ín.
 if Sl_{INTR} COND there morning COMP accompany-PFTV-t-you-Sl_{TR}
 'If I'm there in the morning, I'll accompany you.'
- (54a) kn s - c - mʕúl - x kʕi kʕu mʕíkst - m (- n - t) -
 Sl_{INTR} s-PF-dipnet-PROG COMP me bother-REL/2-PFTV- t -
 -s lx ʕi sqílʕ.
 -P3_{TRANS} the people
 'I'm dipnetting and people bother me.'

- (54b) swít ɬə̀kɬ́ yámxʷa? kʰi q̄c - n - t - íxʷ ?
 who belong basket COMP weave-PFTV-t-S2_{TRANS}
 'Whose basket did you weave?/Whose basket are you weaving?'
- (54c) tʰikʷmíɬ kʰi qʷə̀p lɛ.
 suddenly COMP slide/slip P3_{INTR}
 'All of a sudden, they slide/slip.'
- (55a) sčkínɬ kʰə̀ ɬ xʷúy' ʃi ttwít kɬ tə̀wn ?
 why COMP COND go the boy to town
 'Why has the boy gone to town?' (could be awhile ago)
- (55b) sčkínɬ kʰi xʷúy' ʃi ttwít kɬ tə̀wn ?
 why COMP go the boy to town
 'Why is the boy going to town? /Why did the boy go to town?' (just recently)
- (56a) ʃixí? ʃə̀ ʃən-kwə̀p ʃə̀ naqʷ - qʷ - m - nú - ɬ - t - s - ín.
 that the your-horse COMP steal-UNACCUS-REL/2-INDIR-t-you-S1_{TR}
 'That's your horse that I stole accidentally.'
- (56b) swít ɬə̀kɬ́ yámxʷa? ʃə̀ ʃə̀(n) - s - c - q̄ac ?
 who belong basket COMP S2_{IRR}-s-PF-weave
 'Whose basket have you been weaving?'
- (56c) t - kíc (- n - t) - n ʃi skɬ́xíst ʃə̀
 DIST-meet-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} the blackbear COMP PF-weave-REL/2
 c - qy's - m - s - t - n.
 PF-weave-REL/2-IMPF-t-S1_{TRANS}
 'I met the blackbear that I dreamed about.'
- (57a) c - mʃy - s - t - ín ʃi sqə̀l'tmíxʷ ʃi
 PF-know-IMPF-t-S1_{TRANS} the man COMP
 t - qʷə̀ʃlqʷíʃl - t - m - s - t - s lɛ.
 DIST-talk - t - REL/2-IMPF-t-P3_{TRANS}
 'I know the man that they're talking about.'

- (57b) swít ɬsəkʰá yámxwa? ʃi q̣c - n - t - íxʷ ?
 who belong basket COMP weave-PFTV-t-S2_{TRANS}
 'Whose basket are you weave?/are you weaving?'
- (57c) kʃúm - ɬ - t lx t scwʃín ʃi ks - c - ʔíɬn (-n -t) -
 store-INDIR-t-S2_{IMP} them some salmon COMP UNR-PF-eat-PFTV-t-
 -s lx ɬ ʔístkm̩.
 P3_{IRR} COND winter
 'Put away some salmon for them to eat this winter.'
 (i.e., just for them to eat)
- (57d) kʃum - x - t lx t scwʃín (ʃi) ks - c - ʔíɬn -
 store-BENE-T-S2_{IMP} them some salmon COMP_{opt} UNR-PF-eat-
 (-n - t) - tət ɬ ʔístkm̩.
 -PFTV-t-P1_{IRR} COND winter
 'Put away some salmon for us to eat this winter.'
 (i.e., just for us to eat)
- (58a) kʃumɬt lx t scwʃín t kscíɬns lx ɬ ʔístkm̩.
 'Put away some salmon for them to eat this winter.'
 (i.e., them and anybody who's around to eat - the cultural norm)
- (58b) kʃumxt t scwʃín kʰ ʃəmɬm̩tət t kscíɬntət ɬ ʔístkm̩.
 for us COMP
 'Put away some salmon for us to eat this winter.'
 (i.e., us and anybody who's around to eat - the cultural norm)
- (59a) kʷu nkʰ - n - cút ɬsə kʷu c - ʔsəqʰ - s - m.
 P1_{INTR} cut-PFTV-REFL COMP P1_{INTR} PF-scrape-face-MIDDLE
 'We cut ourselves while we were shaving.'
- (59b) c - kʰsʃuswáʔt - s - t - m - n ʃəláʔ ɬ
 PF-wish - IMPF-t-you-S1_{TRANS} here COND
 ʃə(n) - ks - cʰaluwís ɬsə cʰəkʰ - m ʃi cʰəkʰ.
 S2_{IRR} - UNR - present COMP bloom-MIDDLE the flower
 'I wish you were here when the lilac was in full bloom.'

- (60) kn s - c - mʃúl - x t scwʃín.
 Sl_{INTR} s-PF-dipnet-PROG some salmon
 'I'm dipnetting some salmon.'

These eight lexical items can be categorized together as introducers of subordinate clauses and the lexical category termed 'Complementizer', abbreviated as COMP. At the onset of this discussion of lexical categories in Okanagan, it was stated that the possibility of multiple membership was not excluded. It can be noted that some of these complementizers are also members of the category 'Determiner': ʃi and its predictable allomorph ʃə for 'Specific' and t 'Non-specific'.

As members of the category 'Determiner', these lexical items do not carry tense. The allomorph ʃə occurs predictably before ʃən- which marks second person possessive or second person singular subject in the Irrealis mood (see examples 38b, 41c, 56a), before nouns or adjectives containing the sequence: Resonant-Pharyngeal-Stressed Vowel, in that order or in the reverse order (cf. Michel and Hébert 1978 for examples), of before nouns or adjectives starting with c- Present Perfect marker (see sentence 5c). A member of the lexical category 'Determiner' marks a nominal argument, preceding and marking both modifier and head, with the exception of a personal name or full independent pronoun, as in 49a above and 61 below. In sentence 61, the full independent pronoun ʃinca? 'me, myself, I' is present for an emphatic reading, in the basic order in a, in topicalized subject order in b. Sentence c is without the full independent pronoun, only with the person marker, for a non-emphatic reading.

- (61a) kn qícəlx ʃinca?
 Sl_{INTR} run ME
 'I run.'
- (61b) ʃinca? kn qícəlx.
 ME Sl_{INTR} run
 'I run.'
- (61c) kn qícəlx.
 Sl_{INTR} run
 'I run.'

1.4 Distinguishing Demonstrative and two classes of Preposition. The lexical category 'Determiner' has already been amply illustrated. However, of relevance here is the fact that this category is distinct from a set of lexical items, which shall be termed: 'Demonstrative':

- (62a) ʃixíʔ 'that; visible, non-proximate;'
 (62b) ʃəxáʔ 'this; visible, proximate;'
 (62c) ʃilíʔ 'that, there; invisible, non-proximate;'
 (62d) ʃəláʔ 'this, here; invisible, proximate.'

As can be noted in 63a-d below, a Demonstrative precedes a Determiner and unlike the latter, is not repeated for both modifier and head of a nominal argument.

- (63a) níxəl' - m (- n - t) - n ʃixíʔ ʃi tík'wɫq'w ʃi sqəɫ'tmíx'w
 hear-REL/2-PF'TV-t-S1_{TRANS} that_{v,n} the tall the man
 k'w u k - ʃayncút - m - n - t - əm.
 us DIST-laugh-REL/2-PF'TV-PASS
 'I hear that tall man laughing at us.'
- (63b) tk'w - n - t - ín ʃi ʃin - laklí k'áms ʃəxáʔ t lpút.
 put-PF'TV-t-S1_{TRANS} the my-key close.to this_{v,p} some cup
 'I put my keys close to this cup.'
- (63c) ʃnǎípt - m (- n - t) - n ʃi ʃin - lpút ʃilíʔ ʃi l
 forget-REL/2-PF'TV-t-S1_{TRANS} the my-cup that_{i,n} the LOC
 q'íwɫx t ʃənǎ'ǎ'w'cús kɫ tk'mkníǎx'w.
 old some stump to outside
 'I forgot my cup on that old stump outside.'
- (63d) k'á'uxp - n - t - ín ʃi sp'íc'ǎn ʃəláʔ ʃi l q'íwɫx t
 hang-PF'TV-t-S1_{TRANS} the rope that_{i,p} the LOC old some
 ʃənǎ'ǎ'w'cús.
 stump
 'I hung the rope on this stump.'

The Demonstratives are also distinct from two classes of lexical items which shall be termed 'Preposition': a class of directional Prepositions and a class of case-marking Prepositions:

- (64) DIRECTIONAL PREPOSITIONS
 skláʔams 'on this side of;'

kʰʔixʷtms	'under, underneath;'
kʰáʔams	'on the other side of;'
kʰíp	'right behind;'
tʰəc	'towards;'
kʰáms	'close to;'
kʰəndʰus	'across.'

(65) CASE-MARKING PREPOSITIONS

tʰ	'from, source;'
kʰ	'to, at, goal, recipient;'
kʰ	'for;'
l	'on, locative;'
nʰəʔ	'with, comitative;'
ʃi t	'with/by, instrumental.'

The directional Prepositions are exemplified in sentences 66a-g and the case-marking Prepositions in 67a-g, with 66a,b,e exemplifying members of both sets of Prepositions:

- (66a) wík (- n - t) - n ʃi kkwʰáp skʰáʔams ʃi (l) sic
 see-PFʰTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} the dog on.this.side.of the LOC new

ʃi cítxʷ.
 the house

'I saw the dog on this side of the new house.'

- (66b) wík (- n - t) - n ʃi kkwʰáp kʰʔixʷtms ʃəláʔ ʃi
 see-PFʰTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} the dog underneath this_{i,p} the

l sic ʃi cítxʷ.
 LOC new the house

'I saw the dog underneath the new house.'

- (66c) wík (- n - t) - n ʃi kkwʰáp kʰáʔams ʃixíʔ ʃi sic
 see-PFʰTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} the dog beyond that_{v,n} the new

ʃi cítx^w.
the house

'I saw the dog beyond that new house.'

- (66d) tk^w - n - t - ín ʃi spíc^{ɔ̃}n káíps ʃi qʔíwíx ʃi cítx^w-tət.
put-PFTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} the rope right.behind the old the house-our

'I put the rope right behind our old house.'

- (66e) ʃi sqəl'tmíx^w ʃnkxʃə - m (ʃi) tɿ' síc ʃi cítx^ws tʃəc
the man walk-MIDDLE the from new the house-his towards

kɿ ʃn - sílxwáʃ ʃi sʃətítk^w.
to CONT-big the river

'The man walked from his new house towards the big river.'

- (66f) tk^w - n - t - ín ʃi ʃin - laklí kááms ʃi lput.
put-PFTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} the my-key close.to the cup

'I put my keys close to the cup.'

- (66g) təwníx^w tʃi wík (- n - t) - n ʃi ʃəʔísc k ʃiklíʔ
hardly EMPH see-PFTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} the squirrel over.there

kʔənsqʔús ʃi tík^wt.
across the lake

'I can hardly see the squirrel over there across the lake.'

- (67a) ʃi sqəl'tmíx^w ʃnkxʃə - m (ʃi) tɿ' síc ʃi cítx^w - s
the man walk-MIDDLE the from new the house-his

ʔʃuɿ (ʃi) kɿ sílxwáʃ ʃi sʃətítk^w.
and the to big the river

'The man walked from his new house and to the big river.'

- (67b) ʃi ʃi(n) - skʔúy' s - c - ɿkím' - x t qʔəxíútiyaʔ kɿ
the my-male's.mom s-PF- sew-PROF some mocassin to

ʃi(n) - stəmtímaʔ.
my -grandmother

'My mother is sewing some mocassins for my grandmother.'

- (67c) ʃmínk - n - t - s - n k^w s - kʔúl' - aʔx k' ʃincáʔ.
want -PFTV-t-you-Sl_{TRANS} Sl_{INTR} s-work-INCEP for me

'I want you to work for me.'

- (67d) kn s - n^əcúS - x t k^wík^wxna? (ʔi) l ʔən - cítx^w.
 Sl_{INTR} s-trap-PROG some mice the LOC your-house

'I'm trapping mice in your house.'

- (67e) S - k^wul'q - ásq^t x^wúy' lx k^l s - ʔn - t^ʔumíst - tn
 s-open-sky/day go P3_{INTR} to s-CONT-buy-Instr

n^əəʔ Káptn.
 with K.

'Brian went to the store with Gene.'

- (67f) ʔi tkámílx^w cíq^w (- n - t) - s ʔi s^wacínəm ʔi t
 the woman skin-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS} the deer INSTR

ník - mn.
 cut - Instr

'The woman skinned the deer with a knife.'

- (67g) ʔi skk^əáka? ʔíʔn (- n) - t - əm ʔi t ttwít.
 the bird eat - PFTV - t - PASS INSTR boy

'The bird was eaten by the boy.'

The positioning of these two classes of lexical items, the directional Prepositions and the case-marking prepositions, can be charted in their fullest expansion, as:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| (68) | <i>directional.Preposition</i> | <i>Demonstrative</i> | <i>Determiner</i> | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| | <i>case-marking.Preposition</i> | <i>Adjective</i> | <i>Determiner</i> | <i>Noun.</i> |
| | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

1.5 Distinguishing Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun. A final set of lexical items will be examined for multiple memberships in two putative lexical categories: 'Interrogative' and 'Indefinite Pronoun'. The distributional and co-occurrences patterns differ, although the lexical items in question are identical:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------|---------------------|
| (69) | INTERROGATIVE | INDEFINITE PRONOUN |
| swít | 'who, whose' | 'someone, somebody' |
| stím' | 'what' | 'something' |

ʃəkínʹ	'where, which'	'somewhere, anywhere'
sckínx	'why'	
pənkínʹ	'when'	
kʷʃínx	'how many'	
tkʷʃínkʷʃínx	'how many (PL, for humans only)'	

In question construction, these lexical items must be sentence-initial, require a COMP and function as putative upper predicates. Sentences 70-76 illustrate these lexical items in question constructions:

- (70a) swít ʃi pʃulx ʃəlá? ?
 who COMP camp-S3_{INTR} here_{i,p}
 'Who camped here?'
- (70b) swít ʃi nixəl' - m - n - t - xʷ kl tkʃmkníxʷ?
 who COMP hear-REL/2-PFTV-t-S2_{INTR} to outside
 'Who do you hear outside?'
- (70c) swít ʃəkíʹ qʷəxnútiya? ʃi ʃkím' - n - t - xʷ ?
 who belong mocassin COMP sew-PFTV-t-S2_{TRANS}
 'Whose mocassins did you sew?'
- (70d) kl swít ʃi ttwít kʃi qícəlx ?
 to who the boy COMP run
 'To who did the boy run?'
- (71a) stím' ʃə c - ki - s - t - xʷ ʃiklí? ?
 what COMP PF-do?-IMPF-t-S2_{INTR} over.there
 'What have you been doing over there? /What are you doing over there?'
- (71b) stím' ʃi nixəl' - m - n - t - xʷ kl tkʃmkníxʷ ?
 what COMP near-REL/2-PFTV-t-S2_{TR} to outside
 'What do you hear outside?'
- (71c) stím' ʃə c - k - sʷsílx - m - s - t - p ?
 what COMP PF-DIST-whisper-REL/2-IMPF-t-P2_{TRANS}
 'What are you guys whispering about?'

- (72c) ʃəkín' t ttwít ʃi qícəlx ?
 which a boy COMP run
 'Which boy ran?'
- (72b) ʃəkín' t sʃnʔʃimat ʃi qwəʃlqwíʃl - s - t - s ʃi stəmtímaʔ ?
 which a grandchild COMP talk-IMPF-t-S3_{TRANS} the grandmother
 'Which grandchild talk to the grandmother?'
- (73a) K' ʃəkín' kʃi wíkʷ - n - t - xʷ ʃi laklíʃ ?
 for where COMP hide-PFTV-t-S2_{TRANS} the key
 'Where did you hide the key?'
- (73b) ʃəkín' ʃə ʃə(n) - s - náʔnaʔ ?
 where COMP S2_{IRR}-s-hurt child language
 'Where's your hurt?' (parent-to-child language)
- (74a) sckínx kʃə ʔ xʷuy' lx kɫ təwn ?
 who COMP COND go P3_{INTR} to town
 'Why are they going to town?/Why did they go to town?'
 (could be awhile ago)
- (74b) sckínx kʃə ʔ xyxy' - s - t - íxʷ lx ?
 why COMP COND let-IMPF-t-S2_{TRANS} them
 'Why did you let them?'
- (74c) sckínx ʃi ttwít kʃi xʷuy' kɫ təwn ?
 why the boy COMP go to town
 'Why did the boy go to town?' (just recently)
- (74d) sckínx qʷʃəʔ kʃə kʷ ʔ qʷus - qʷliw' - m ?
 why EVIDENTIAL COMP S2_{INTR} COND go-pick.berries-MIDDLE
 'Why did you go berry-pickin?'
- (75a) pənkín' ʃə ʃə(n) - sláxt mʃi c - kícx ?
 when the your-friend COMP Cisloc-arrive
 'When is your friend to arrive?'
- (75b) pənkín' kʃi kʷ c - kícx ?
 where COMP S2_{INTR} Cisloc-arrive
 'When did you arrive?'

- (75c) pənkín' si ttwít kʰi ck - n - t - ís si snʰəcús - c?
 when the boy COMP set-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS} the trap-his
 'When did the boy set his trap?'
- (76a) kʷʰínx t yámx^wa? si s - c - kʷúl' (- n - t) - tət?
 how.many some basket COMP s-PF-work-PFTV-t-Pl_{IRR}
 'How many baskets did we make?'
- (76b) tkʷʰínkʷʰínx t sqíl^w si xálít - n - t - əm?
 how.many_{PL,H} some people COMP call-PFTV-t-PASS
 'How many people were invited?'
- (76c) kʷʰínx t stmʰólt si qʰalʰílt?
 how.many some cow COMP PL-sick
 'How many cows got sick?'

These interrogatives also introduce embedded clauses, as illustrated in 77a-e. Again these lexical items require a bi-clausal construction and a complementizer.

- (77a) nixəl' - mí (- n - t) - n swít sə c - sʰswílx kɪ
 hear-REL/2-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} who COMP PF-whisper to
 naqs - íx^w.
 one-house
 'I hear somebody whispering in the next house.'
- (77b) lút t' cu(-n - t) - n si si(n) - stəmtíma? pənkín'
 NEG EMPH tell-PFTV-t-S1_{TR} the my-grandmother when
 mʰi c - xʷúy'.
 COMP Cisloc-go
 'I didn't gell my grandmother when to come.'
- (77c) c - mʰy - s - t - ín sckínx si ttwít si ʔíɬ(n - n - t) - s
 PF-know-IMPF-t-S1_{TRANS} why the boy COMP eat-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS}
 yʰəyʰəʔt si səʰʰúsa?
 all the egg
 'I know why the boy ate all the eggs.'

- (77d) $\text{ʕnɛ́ipt} - m(-n-t) - n$ kʷʕínx t stmʕólt ʕi qʔalʔílt .
 forget-REL/2-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} how.many some cow COMP PL-sick
 'I forget how many cows got sick.'
- (77e) $c - mʕy - s - t - ín$ ʕəkínʔ ʕiklʔ ʕi $\text{qʷəʕlqʷíʕl} - s -$
 PF-know-IMPf-t-S1_{TRANS} which over.there COMP talk-IMPf-
 - $t - s$ ʕi stəmtímaʔ .
 -t-S3_{TR} the grandmother
 'I know which one over there/which one of them talk to grandmother.'

Some of these interrogative markers occur in other constructions, as exemplified in 78-80. Here these lexical items need not be clause-initial, do not require a bi-clausal construction and a complementizer, and function like a head of a nominal argument. As such, these will be considered as members of the lexical category 'Indefinite Pronoun'.

- (78a) $\text{níxəlʔ} - m(-n-t) - n$ swít $kʔl$ tkʕmkníxʷ
 hear-REL/2-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} s.o. to outside
 'I hear somebody outside.'
- (78b) ʕi ʕi(n) - skʷuyʔ ʔkímʔ - $x - t - s$ t qʕəxnútiyaʔ $kʔl$ swít .
 the my-male's.mom sew-BENE-t-S3_{TRANS} some mocassin to s.o.
 'My mother sew some mocassins for somebody.'
- (79a) ʕi ʕi(n) - skʷúyʔ kʷu ʔkímʔ - $x - t - s$ t stímʔ .
 the my-male's.mom me sew-BENE-t-S3_{TRANS} some s.thing
 'My mother sew me something.'
- (79b) $\text{níxəlʔ} - m - n - t - xʷ$ t stímʔ $kʔl$ tkʕmkníxʷ .
 hear-REL/2-PFTV-t-S2_{TRANS} some s.th. to outside
 'You hear something outside.'
- (80a) $\text{wíkʷ}(-n-t) - n$ ʕi laklʔ ʕl ʕəkínʔ ʔʕuʔ
 hear-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} the key LOC s.where and
 $\text{ʕnɛ́ipt} - m(-n-t) - n$.
 forget-REL/2-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS}
 'I hid the key somewhere and I forgot.'

- (80b) səŋl' - mí (- n - t) - n ʃi ʃin - laklís t ʃəkín' ʃəlá?
 lose-REL/2-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} the my-key some s.where here_{i,p}
 'I lost my key somewhere around here.'
- (80c) myəʔ k^w k^wk^wyʃúma? ʔ ʃə(n) - ks - x^wúy' k' ʃəkín'.
 too S2_{INTR} small COND S2_{IRR}-UNR-go for s.where
 'You're too small to go anywhere.'

Thus, it has been shown that at least eleven lexical categories may be distinguished for Okanagan: Noun, Verb, Adjective, Adverbial, Conjunction, Complementizer, Determiner, Demonstrative, Directional and Case-Marking Prepositions, Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

2 The Grammatical Relation 'Predicate'

It has been proposed in the theoretical framework known as Relational Grammar that the notion 'Predicate' is a member of the set of primitive grammatical relations which elements may bear to the clause (Perlmutter and Postal 1977; Perlmutter 1979). If the notion Predicate is a grammatical relation rather than a lexical category, i.e., if it differs from the lexical category 'Verb', then it is possible that elements of various lexical categories may bear this Predicate relation. Thus, a demonstration that this is so would confirm the necessity and utility of the proposal that 'Predicate' is a member of the set of grammatical relations rather than a category. This is relevant to studies of languages of Northwestern America. As noted in the introduction, there exists a body of literature on these languages which recognizes only two lexical categories: predicates which are inflected and particles which are not. Distinguishing between Predicate as a grammatical relation and Verb as a lexical category, without having a predicate category, permits the maintenance of the putative universality of the Noun-Verb distinction.

It is proposed here that recognizing the relation Predicate simplifies the grammar of Okanagan. Section 2.1 addresses the basic distinction between Verb and Predicate. Then four arguments are given in support of this proposal: one from Basic Work Order in section 2.2, one based on Subject Marking in 2.3, a third based on Aspectual Marking in section 2.4, and a fourth based on Topicalized Word Order in a Cleft Construction in section 2.5.

2.1 Verb vs Predicate. The basic difference between the notions of relation and category can be explained as follows. A word can be assigned to a particular *category* such as Noun, Verb, Adjective, Preposition, etc., on the basis of certain properties, usually distribution and co-occurrence (Harris 1964). Moreover, its category membership does not vary from clause to clause. However, in contrast, the *grammatical relation* which a particular word bears to a given clause

can vary in different clauses or at different levels of the same clause (Perlmutter 1979). For example, a nominal can be the direct object of one clause and the subject of another, as illustrated in 81a,b respectively:

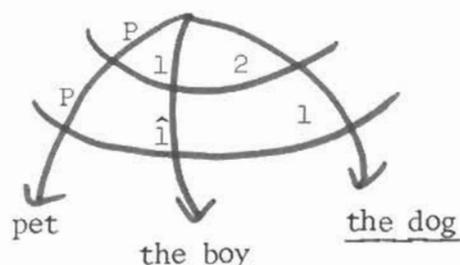
(81a) John closed the door.

(81b) The door closed.

Or again, a nominal can be a direct object at one level of a clause and a subject at another level of the same clause, as illustrated below:

(82a) The dog was petted by the boy.

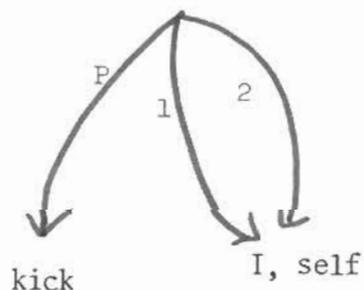
(82b)



This has been proposed as the universal characterization of the Passive construction (Perlmutter and Postal 1977). Or again, Perlmutter (1979) has proposed under the Multi-Attachment Hypothesis that a nominal can be both direct object and subject at the same level, as illustrated below:

(83a) I kicked myself.

(83b)



(See Hébert 1982a,b for analyses of Passive, Reflexive and other clauses of Okanagan syntax within a Relational Grammar framework.)

2.2 Word Order and the Predicate Relation. The basic word order of Okanagan is VSO, i.e., the language is verb-initial. In the basic order, the verb is followed by the subject (1) and in turn by 2s and oblique objects. However, subject and object markers, whether clitics or affixes, are not usually included in statements of basic word order since it is well known that clitics and affixes have different linear

order than other elements. Sentences 84a-e illustrate the basic word order.

- (84a) k^wk^wʔa - s - t - ís ʔi ttwít ʔi qqwólx.
 chew-IMPF-t-S3_{TRANS} the boy the fish

'The fish is chewing the fish.'

- (84b) ks - ʔn - číx̣ - aʔx̣ ʔi ʔi(n) - stəmtímaʔ t lkálet
 UNR-CONT-fry-INCEP the my-grandmother some galette

kí cník.
 to S3

'My grandmother is going to start to fry some bread for herself.'

- (84c) kn čx^w - ám t lkʔápi l lplpʔát.
 S1_{INTR} pour-MIDDLE some coffee LOC PL-cup

'I poured coffee in the cups.'

- (84d) ks - k^wúl' - m - s ʔi skúxíst ʔi síwps - c t káqéqítum - s.
 UNR-work-MIDDLE-S3_{IRR} the blackbear the talk-his a hook-his

'The blackbear was going to use his tail as his hook.'

- (84e) kwíʔpʔús - x t siwłk^w t ká - ltʔí - tət
 boil-S2_{IMP, INTR} some water some own-tea-our

'Boil some water for our tea!'

In Relational Grammar, word order of individual languages is accounted for by means of the 'Linear Precedence' relations. Language particular LP rules, formulated in terms of grammatical relations, state which elements bear this relation with respect to which other elements, and at which level. For Okanagan, the basic word order would be expressed as:

- (85) BASIC WORD ORDER: P 1 2 3 Obl, at the surface stratum.

Two ways of stating the basic word order of a clause are available:

- (1) in terms of grammatical relations, e.g., Predicate-initial, as given above;
- (2) in terms of lexical category, e.g., Verb-initial: V S O Obl, at the surface level. If the rule is stated in terms of the relation 'Predicate', then it will predict that if members of lexical categories other than 'Verb' may be Predicates, then they may also be clause-

initial. This is not permitted if the rule is stated in terms of the lexical category 'Verb'. Sentences 86a-f show that members of the lexical category 'Adjective' occur in clause-initial position:

(86a) $\text{Xás} - t \text{ } \text{ʔi} \text{ } \text{ʔi(n)} - \text{sp}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{us.}$
good-t the my- heart

'My heart is good.'

(86b) $\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{ʔi} - t \text{ } \text{ʔi} \text{ } \text{st}^{\text{m}}\text{ʔəlt} - \text{c.}$
lots/many-t the cow-his

'His cows are many.'

(86c) $\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{ck}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{ʔc} - t \text{ } \text{ʔi} \text{ } \text{x}^{\text{i}}\text{x}^{\text{w}}\text{tm}^{\text{i}}.$
strong-t the girl

'The girl is strong.'

(86d) $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{lq}^{\text{w}} \text{ } \text{ʔi} \text{ } \text{ttw}^{\text{i}}\text{t.}$
tall the boy

'The boy is tall.'

(86e) $\text{kn} \text{ } \text{Xast.}$
 S^1_{INTR} good

'I'm good.'

(86f) $\text{k}^{\text{w}} \text{ } \text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{lq}^{\text{w}}.$
 S^2_{INTR} tall.

'You're tall.'

Sentences 84 and 86 show that members of both the lexical categories 'Verb' and 'Adjective' occur in clause-initial position. If the Adjectives are Predicates, as suggested by the subject marking in 86e,f, this is correctly predicted by a rule of linear precedence formulated in terms of grammatical relations whereas a rule formulated in terms of the lexical category Verb, i.e., as VSO cannot account for the data. Hence the necessity of treating the relation Predicate as a member of the class of grammatical relations is supported by the fact that it allows correct and succinct statement of linear precedence.

2.3 Subject Marking and the Predicate Relation. Another argument supporting the relation 'Predicate' can be based on the subject markers of Okanagan. The position of these three sets of subject markers is fixed, with respect to Verb or Predicate, whichever provides the correct generalization, and is not sensitive to clause-initial, -second or -final position. A complete chart of these subject markers is given

in Hébert (1982a,b). The set of intransitive markers is relevant to the argument. These are:

(87)	S1	kn	V	P1	k ^w u	V
	S2	k ^w	V	P2	p	V
	S3		V	P3		V lx

Sentence 88 illustrates the position of the subject marker k^wu 'first person plural' and c- 'Present Perfect' aspect marker:

(88)	k ^w u	c -	ʃnk ^w up -	íls.
	PL _{INTR}	PF-lonesome-feel		
	'We're lonesome.'			

The form of the argument remains the same as the one given previously based on word order. Two ways of stating the rules for subject markings are available:

- (1) in terms of the grammatical relation 'Predicate', or
- (2) in terms of the lexical category 'Verb'.

If the rules are stated in terms of the relation 'Predicate', then it will permit members of lexical categories other than Verb also to take subject markings. This is not permitted if the rules are stated in terms of the lexical category Verb.

Nouns, demonstratives, indefinite/interrogative pronouns, adjectives and prepositions may appear with a subject marker in a particular instance, as is illustrated in sentences 89-91. Sentence 89 shows that members of the lexical category 'Noun' may appear with subject markers. In this two-line song verse, the noun *spplína?* 'rabbit' occurs in line 1 with a Determiner, bearing the subject relation and in line 2 with subject marker, bearing the putative Predicate relation:

(89)	ʔʃuc	q ^w ʃə?	c -	ʃnk ^w up -	íls	ʃi	spplína?	?
	QU _{yes/no}	EVIDENTIAL	PF-lonesome-feel	the	rabbit			
		info						
	Myəɬ	k ^w u	spplína?	kʃi	k ^w u	c -	ʃnk ^w up -	íls.
	too	PL _{INTR}	rabbit	COMP	PL _{INTR}	PL-lonesome-feel		
	'Ever see a rabbit get lonesome?							
	'We're too much of a rabbit to get lonesome.'							

An additional example is provided in sentences 90a,b. The word *cítx^w* 'house', a member of the lexical category 'Noun' is modified by a Determiner and a possessive in 90a, and bears the indirect object relation whereas in 90b, 'house' appears with a subject marker and

functions like a Predicate. The $k\dot{x}$ - prefix in 90a, also in 84e, means 'got, have; possession; ownership.'

(90a) $c - k^w\dot{x}in (- n) - t \quad \dot{x}i \quad p\dot{i}tk^wmm \quad \dot{x}i \quad k\dot{x} - c\dot{i}tx^w - t\dot{a}t.$
 Cisloc-take-PFTV-t-S2_{TR,IMP} the nail the own-house-our

'Bring the nails for our house.'

(90b) $kn \quad k\dot{x} - c\dot{i}tx^w.$
 $S1_{INTR}$ own-house

'I've got a house.'

In sentences 91a-c, two additional nouns serve as Predicates of their clause. Sentence 91a illustrates these two as heads of nominal arguments, bearing the subject and direct object relations respectively. Sentences 91b,c show these two with subject marking:

(91a) $\dot{x}i \quad \dot{x}ilm\dot{x}^wm \quad q^w\dot{a}lq^w\dot{i}\dot{x}l - s - t - s \quad \dot{x}i \quad s\dot{a}x^wn\dot{a}c\dot{u}sm.$
 the chief talk - IMPF - t - S3_{TR} the trapper

'The chief is talking to the trapper.'

(91b) $kn \quad \dot{x}ilm\dot{x}^wm.$
 $S1_{INTR}$ chief

'I'm chief.'

(91c) $kn \quad s\dot{a}x^wn\dot{a}c\dot{u}sm \quad t \quad k^w\dot{i}k^wxna?$
 $S1_{INTR}$ trapper some mouse

'I'm a mouse trapper.'

It was shown in section 1.2 that lexical items formed with the prefix $s\dot{a}x^w-$ / sx^w- 'one who habitually...' are members of the lexical category 'Noun'.

Demonstratives, members of another lexical category, appear with subject markers in sentences 92a,b and 93. In sentences 92a,b, the demonstrative $\dot{x}il\dot{i}?$ 'that, there; invisible, non-proximate' appears with subject markers, kn 'first person singular, intransitive' in its usual pre-verbal clitic position and $-s \quad lx$ 'third person plural, irrealis mood' in its usual post-verbal suffix position. Additionally, in sentence 92a, 'there' appears with the conditional marker \dot{x} in its usual position, between preverbal subject clitic and verb.

(92a) $t^{\dot{x}}ux \quad l\dot{u}t \quad kn \quad \dot{x} \quad \dot{x}il\dot{i}?$ $\dot{x}uk^w\dot{a}st, \quad l\dot{u}t \quad k^w(u)$
 if NEG $S1_{INTR}$ COND there morning, NEG me

ʃə(n) - ks - kʰʔimʰ.
S2_{IRR} - UNR-wait

'If I'm not there in the morning, don't wait for me.'

- (92b) kn xʷuyʰ qʰws - k - mɪlʰt (- n - t) - n lx ʔʃuɪ
S1_{INTR} go go-DIST-visit-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} them and
lút s - ʃilíʔ - s lx.
NEG s-there-P3_{IRR}

'I went to visit them and they're not there.'

Another demonstrative ʃəláʔ 'here, this; invisible, proximate' appears with the subject marker kn 'first person singular, intransitive' in sentences 93a,b:

- (93a) kn ʃəláʔ.
S1_{INTR} here_{i,p}

'I'm here.'

- (93b) kn ʃəláʔ l ʃi(n) - sʰnɪqʰútn.
S1_{INTR} here_{i,p} LOC my- bed

'I'm here on my bed.'

These may be compared with sentences 63a-d.

Members of another lexical category, Indefinite/Interrogative Pronoun, may also appear with subject markers, as in 94d and 95a,b. Sentences 94a,b illustrate stímʰ 'what, something' in an interrogative construction, 94c as in indefinite, bearing the direct object relation and in 94d as indefinite with a subject marker, functioning as a predicate of the clause.

- (94a) stímʰ (ʃi) ʃi tkʰmɪlxʷ kwu cú (- n - t) - s
what COMP the woman me tell-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS}

ʃi(n) - ks - kwʰníʔ - s - tʔ
S1_{IRR} -UNR-catch-IMPF-t

'What did the woman tell me to catch?'

- (94b) mʃy - p - nú (- n - t) - n stímʰ ʃi sqwəʃlqʷəʃl-s-t-s lx.
know-UNACCUS-LTDC-PFTV-t-S1_{TR} what COMP talk-IMPF-t-P3_{IRR}

'I found out what they are saying.'

- (94c) ʔʉuc kw(u) ʃi(nʔ - síw - m t stímʔ ?
 QU_{yes/no} me S1_{IRR} - ask-MIDDLE a something
 info

'Let me ask you something? /May I ask you something?/
 Can I ask you something?'

- (94d) wʃəyʔ, kn k(ʔ) - stímʔ kʔ ʃənwíʔ.
 AFFIRM, S1_{INTR} own-something to you
 'I've got something for you.'

Sentences 95a,b illustrate ʃəkínʔ 'where' also functioning as predicate of a clause and marked with a subject person marker from the intransitive set:

- (95a) kwu l ʃəkínʔ ?
 P1_{INTR} LOC where
 'Where are we?'
- (95b) kw kʔ ʃəkínʔ ?
 S2_{INTR} for where
 'Where are you?'

These may be compared with sentences 80a and 73a.

A member of the lexical category Preposition may also appear with subject markers. Sentences 96a-c illustrate two directional prepositions, functioning as a predicate of the clause:

- (96a) kn kʔʔixʔtms ʃi ʃi(n) - sʃndqútn.
 S1_{INTR} under the my - bed
 'I'm under my bed.'
- (96b) kʔʔixʔtms lx ʃi sʃndqútn - səlx.
 under P3_{INTR} the bed-their
 'They are under their bed.'
- (96c) kn sckáʔtms ʃi ʃi(n) sʃndqútn.
 S1_{INTR} on.this.side the my-bed
 'I'm on this side of my bed.'

It was previously shown that members of the lexical category Adjective could bear this putative relation 'Predicate', according to an argument based on basic word order. To this can be added an argument based on subject markers. Sentences 97a-c provide three examples of Adjectives modified by subject markers: *kʷyʷúmaʔ* 'little', *qʷʔícʔ* 'full' and *pʷypʷay* 'lively':

(97a) *myəʔ kʷ kʷyʷúmaʔ ʔə(n) - ks - xʷʷilwís kʷ naqs.*
 too S2_{INTR} little S2_{IRR} - UNR- travel to one

'You're too little to travel alone.'

(97b) *kʷ qʷʔícʔ - t t qqwəlx.⁵*
 S2_{INTR} full-t some fish

'You're full of fish.'

(97c) *kʷu pʷypʷay - t t sqílxʷ.*
 Pl_{INTR} lively-t some people

'We're lively people.'

This argument, based on subject marking, demonstrated that members of the lexical categories Noun, Demonstrative, Indefinite/ Interrogative Pronoun, Preposition and Adjective may all bear this Predicate relation. Thus, if the rule with respect to subject marking is stated in terms of the lexical category Verb, these facts are not accounted for, but if the rule is stated in terms of the relation 'Predicate', all facts are predicted and accounted for. Hence, the description is simplified if the Predicate relation is in the set of primitive grammatical relations.

2.4 Aspectual Marking and the Predicate Relation. Okanagan has a rich aspectual system, however the argument given here will be limited to the one marking *c-* for Present Perfect aspect (see Hébert 1982a for a description of the aspectual system). Sentence 88 above and sentence 98 below illustrate the marking of a Verb with the Perfect:

(98) *ʔi yáyaʔ c - kʷʷíyaʔ.*
 the grannie^{PF}-listen

'Grannie was/is listening.'

As before, the rule of aspectual marking could be stated in two ways:

- (1) in terms of the grammatical relation Predicate or
- (2) in terms of the lexical category Verb.

And again, the same prediction can be made: if the rule is stated in terms of Predicate, this permits members of the lexical categories other than Verb to be marked with aspect and thus bear the Predicate relation. But this is not permitted if the rule is stated in terms

of the lexical category Verb. It will be shown that members of the lexical categories Adverbial and Indefinite/Interrogative Pronoun may also be marked with C- 'Present Perfect'.

The word meaning 'morning' may be a member of two lexical categories: the form $s\dot{t}\dot{s}uk^wkw\dot{s}st$, a Noun, is illustrated in 99a below, while the form $\dot{s}uk^w\dot{s}st$, an Adverbial, is illustrated in 99b:

- (99a) $k^w\dot{s}ac - \dot{?}im' - x\ k\dot{l}\ s - \dot{s}uk^wkw\dot{s}st$.
 Pl_{INTR} PastPF-wait-PROG for s-morning

'We've been waiting since this morning.'

- (99b) $\dot{t}ux\ l\dot{u}t\ kn\ \dot{s}\ \dot{s}il\dot{i}\dot{?}\ \dot{s}uk^w\dot{s}st, l\dot{u}t\ kw(u)$
 if NEG Sl_{INTR} COND there morning NEG me

$\dot{s}\dot{o}(n) - ks - k\dot{s} - \dot{?}im'$.
 S2_{IRR}-UNR - DIR-wait

'If I'm not there in the morning, don't wait for me.'

In (99c) below, the Adverbial 'morning' is marked with Perfect aspect:

- (99c) $c - \dot{s}uk^w\dot{s}st, kn\ c - n\dot{?}ux^w\ \dot{?}ux\ q\dot{o}y\dot{x} - n\dot{u}\ (-n -$
 PF-morning, Sl_{INTR} Eiloc-enter and smell-LTDC-PFTV-
 -t) - n\ \dot{s}i\ p\dot{i}kn\ n\dot{s}\dot{o}\dot{s}\ \dot{s}\dot{o}\dot{?}\dot{s}\dot{u}sa\dot{?}.
 -t-Sl_{TRANS} the bacon with egg

'This morning, I came in and I smelled bacon and eggs.'

This same point is made with sentences 100a,b which illustrate the Adverbial $p\dot{i}sc\dot{i}\dot{s}t$ 'yesterday' in clause-final position in 100a and in clause-initial position in 100b where it may optionally be marked with aspect:

- (100a) $m\dot{s}y - p - n\dot{u}\ (-n - t) - n\ \dot{s}apna\dot{?}\ (\dot{s}i)\ \dot{s}i\ sq\dot{o}l'tm\dot{i}x^w$
 know-UNACCUS-LTDC-PFTV-t-Sl_{TRANS} today COMP the man
 $k^w\dot{s}n\dot{u}\ (-n - t) - s\ \dot{s}i\ sc\dot{w}\dot{s}in\ p\dot{i}sc\dot{i}\dot{s}t.$
 catch-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS} the salmon yesterday

'I know today (that) the man caught the salmon yesterday.'

- (100b) $c - p\dot{i}sc\dot{i}\dot{s}t, \dot{s}i\ sq\dot{o}l'tm\dot{i}x^w\ k^w\dot{s}n\dot{u}\ (-n - t) - s$
 PF-yesterday, the man catch-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS}
 $\dot{s}i\ sc\dot{w}\dot{s}in.$
 the salmon

'Yesterday, the man caught the salmon.'

It was shown previously that members of the lexical category Indefinite/Interrogative Pronoun could take subject marking, as can Verb. The next sentences show that the Interrogative Pronoun *ʕəkín'* 'where', illustrated in 101a, can take aspectual marking, as in 101b:

(101a) *k' ʕəkín' kʕi xʷuy' lx ?*
for where COMP go P3_{INTR}

'Where did they go?'

(101b) *lút tʕə c - k' - ʕəkín' !*
NEG EMPH PF-for-where

'No way!'

This argument, based on aspectual marking, has shown that members of the lexical categories Adverbial, Interrogative Pronoun as well as Verb may be marked with Perfect aspect. This supports the contention that this rule should be stated in terms of the relation Predicate instead of the lexical category Verb, so as to adequately account for these facts.

2.5 The Cleft Construction and the Predicate Relation. This argument, extending the previous one, is based on the cleft construction. Sentence 102 below illustrates the cleft construction, with the Adverbial *písciát* 'yesterday' obligatorily marked with *c-* for Perfect aspect, and according to the previous argument, bearing the Predicate relation:

(102) *ʕixí? c - písciát (ʕi) ʕi sqəl'tmíxʷ kʷʕnú (- n - t) : -s*
that_{v,n} PF-yesterday COMP the man catch-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS}
ʕi scwʕín'.
the salmon

'That's yesterday (that) the man caught the salmon.'

It follows, from this, that members of other lexical categories, occurring in the matrix clause following the topicalized subject 'that', will also bear the Predicate relation. Sentences 103a,b show that a Noun may so occur in a cleft construction, as well as a full, independent pronoun, but not a subject marker, as in the c sentences.

(103a) *ʕixí? t sqəl'tmíxʷ ʕi kn' - xí - t - n.*
that_{v,n} a man COMP help-BENE-t-S1_{TRANS}

'That's the man that I helped.'

(103b) ʔixíʔ ʔənwíʔ ʔi səl' - mí - n - t - xʷ ʔi pʔukʷlaʔ.
 that_{v,n} you COMP lose-REL/2-PFTV-t-S2_{TRANS} the ball

'That's you who lost the ball.'

(103c) * ʔixíʔ kw ʔi səl' - mí - n - t - xʷ ʔi pʔukʷlaʔ.
 S2_{INTR}

An argument having a form similar to those previously given can be made for the cleft construction. A rule statement characterizing the cleft construction in terms of lexical category Verb would not account for the data, whereas a rule statement in terms of the grammatical relation Predicate accounts for the data and moreover correctly predicts that members of various lexical categories may occur in the matrix clause with verbal marking and function.

3 Conclusions

The proposal addressed in section 2, of the necessity and utility of Predicate as a relation, has been shown to be of considerable interest to linguistic studies of languages of Northwestern America. As previously noted, it has been stated that the noun-verb distinction is meaningless for the languages of this area (cf., Reichard 1938, Edel 1939, Newman 1969, Kuipers 1968, Thompson 1976, 1979 for Salishan languages; Sapir 1921 and Swadesh 1939 for Wakashan languages.) This statement has been repeated in secondary sources (cf., e.g. Robins 1952, 1965). Jacobson (1976) contains an excellent review of the literature on this topic.

This view, that the noun-verb distinction is meaningless, is based on the apparent facts that various affixes, which mark notions commonly marked on verbals in other languages, are marked on nouns, verbs and adjectives alike, and that reduplications apply freely, with few restrictions, to nouns, verbs and adjectives alike. Hence, there appear to be only two lexical categories or word classes: predicates which are inflected and particles which are uninflected. This conclusion is expressed in statements that all full words, i.e., non-particles, in these languages 'feel' like predicates (cf. Thompson 1976, 1979).

These statements, forming part of the analytic tradition of Northwestern linguistics, are germane to the work undertaken in this paper. It has been shown that it is possible to distinguish at least eleven lexical categories in Okanagan, an Interior Salishan language of this area. Furthermore, by making explicit a distinction between a *relational* notion such as Predicate and a *categorical* notion such as Verb, it has been shown that members of various lexical categories other than Verb may bear the Predicate relation in Okanagan.⁶ Thus, this paper may be seen as a step towards resolving some of the problems of linguistic analysis of the languages of Northwestern America. In

addition, the analyses proposed herein make it possible for the putative universality of the noun-verb distinction to be maintained.

NOTES

1 This paper is an abbreviated and revised form of Chapter Two 'The Predicate Relation' (Hébert 1982a). An earlier version was presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Linguistics Association, Learned Societies Conference, at Dalhousie University, Halifax, May 24-27, 1981.

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2 I am assuming here that only nominals and clauses may bear grammatical relations such as Subject, Object, etc.

3 After reading section 1.3, one may question whether the $\hat{\sigma}i$ particle in 28b is a Determiner or a Complementizer, since this particle has dual category membership. Since none of the other Complementizers may substitute to form a grammatical sentence, it may be concluded that this instance of $\hat{\sigma}i$ is a Determiner and does not bear Tense.

4 It was shown earlier that a verb may serve as head of a nominal but only as part of a clause. See discussion of example 28a,b. Also see discussion in forthcoming section 2 which shows that members of other lexical categories may bear the grammatical relation Predicate.

5 It is not clear whether the nominals in 97b 'some fish' or in 97c 'some people' are part of the predicate or not. In any case, the point is made that something other than a Verb is serving as Predicate.

6 Perlmutter (1979) showed that Nouns, Verbs and Adjectives may bear the Predicate relation in diverse languages: Russian, English,

Cebuano, Paluan, Japanese. This paper adds Okanagan and extends the number of lexical categories which may bear the Predicate relation to include Adverbial, Demonstrative, Preposition, Indefinite and Interrogative Pronoun.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

NL	Nicola Lake dialect of Okanagan
PEN	Pentiction dialect of Okanagan
TR, TRANS	Transitive
INTR	Intransitive
REL/2	Relational-to-2 Advancement
UNR	Unrealized Action
IRR	Irrealis Mood
PFTV	Perfective Aspect
IMPF	Imperfective Aspect
PF	Present Perfect Aspect
S	Singular, as in S3, third person singular
P	Plural, as in P3, third person plural
INSTR	Instrumental
DET	Determiner
PASS	Passive
POSS	Possessive
INCEP	Inceptive Aspect
Mod	Modifier
PL	Plural Reduplication
LTDC	Limited Control
DIR	Directional
LOC	Locative
ITER	Iterative
confirm	yes/no marker for Confirmation
info	yes/no marker for Information
MIDDLE	Middle voice
Habit	one who habitually...
BENE	Benefactive
CONT	Contained
COND	Conditional Mood
REFL	Reflexive
PROG	Progressive Aspect
UNACCU	Unaccusative class
COMP	Complementizer
NEG	Negative
EMPH	Emphatic

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