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NOUN AND VERB IN A SALISHIAN LANGUAGE

Yvonne M. Shapter
University of British Columbia

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: (1) the necessity and utility of Predicate as a grammatical relation is shown to be relevant to linguistic studies of languages of Northwestern America, and (11) 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, Ezel 1939, Kupers 1968, Newman 1969, Thompson 1976, 1979; for Nakkanan languages, see Sapir 1921, Swadesh 1939). This view is supported by two apparent facts: (i) that various affixes, which mark notions commonly marked on verbs in other languages, occur freely, with few restrictions, i.e., on nouns, verbs, and adjectives alike, and (11) 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, an Interior Salishan language spoken in Interior British Columbia and Washington State.

Kamea Working Papers in Linguistics, 1988, Volume 5/9, Pages 51-81
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 rules, 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 1a and 1b below show nominals as arguments and c shows a clause as an argument.

(1a) predicate argument

Ko'jya? 'i xir'im.
listen the girl

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

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 ci stratum to Subject in the ci stratum and the Subject in a ci stratum is conversantly denoted to Chémur in the ci stratum. The Passive of \(1b\) is given in \(2\) below:

\[
(2) \quad \text{listen-REL/2-PPV-PASS} \quad \text{the man} \quad \text{boy}
\]

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

\[
(3a) \quad \text{'The boy is listening to the man.'}
\]

\[
(3b) \quad \text{'The man is listened to by the boy.'}
\]
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 predicates 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 ‘i (or its predictable allomorph ‘a) ‘Specific’ or t ‘Non-specific’, as illustrated below in (4a):

(4a)  Det Head

\[
\text{títítít } \text{ùmix} \text{ i } \text{smimay}. \\
\text{very } \text{true } \text{the story}
\]

‘The story is very true.’

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.

(4b)  Det Head

\[
\text{títítít } \text{ùmix} \text{ t } \text{smimay}. \\
\text{very true some/a story/report}
\]

‘Some stories are very true./A story is very true.’

(4c)  Det Head

\[
\text{‘i } \text{stotimina} \text{ cut} \\
\text{the grandmother tell-3p}
\]

\[
\text{‘i } \text{q’q’ch’nya? } \text{náp’ } \text{t } \text{siya}. \\
\text{the chipmunk steal-3s some saskatoon.berry.}
\]

‘The grandmother said (that) the chipmunk stole some saskatoons.’

(4d)  Det Head

\[
\text{‘i } \text{limix’m } \text{q’o’q’q’il } \text{s } \text{t } \text{s} \text{ i } \text{sx’-t’q’q’un.} \\
\text{the chief talk-INF-t-s} \text{ the dancer}
\]

‘The chief is talking to the dancer.’
The chief is talking to the lively dancer.

The frozen berries are beginning to thaw.

The head of a nominal argument is distinguishable from its modifier not only by linear order, but also by the ability of the head, and not the modifier, to take possessive affixes:

The chief is talking to his lively dancer.

The woman works.
Det Head - Poss

$q\i y\text{\`am-}a? - s.
the basket - her

'The woman fixed her old basket.'

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

$a \i t\text{\`am}fix\text{\`a} k\text{\`ar}a\text{\`a} q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}x - s \i y\text{\`am-}a? ( - s ).

(7c) Det Mod - Poss

$a \i t\text{\`am}fix\text{\`a} k\text{\`ar}a\text{\`a} q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}x - s.

The $ sentences illustrate the basic pattern of Possessive Affixation. The 2 sentences above are ungrammatical with the modifier taking a possessive affix, regardless of its presence on the head. The 3 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) \i t\text{\`am}fix\text{\`a} k\text{\`ar}a\text{\`a} ( - n - t ) - s \i q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}x \i y\text{\`am-}a?.
the woman work - FFTV-t-3 TRANS the old the basket

'The woman fixed the old basket.'

(8b) \i t\text{\`am}fix\text{\`a} k\text{\`ar}a\text{\`a} q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}x \i y\text{\`am-}a?.

PL - old PL - basket.

'The old woman fixed the old baskets.'

(8c) \i t\text{\`am}fix\text{\`a} k\text{\`ar}a\text{\`a} q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}x \i y\text{\`am-}a?.

PL - basket

(8d) \i t\text{\`am}fix\text{\`a} k\text{\`ar}a\text{\`a} q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}x \i y\text{\`am-}a?.

the PL-old the basket

(9a) naaqs t $\text{\`a}q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}t t n\text{\`a}lm\text{\`a}n $\text{\`a}q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}t t n\text{\`a}lm\text{\`a}n
one a short a knife and one a wide-blade a knife

'one short knife and one wide-blade knife'

(9b) $\text{\`a}q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}t t n\text{\`a}lm\text{\`a}n $\text{\`a}q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}q\text{\`a}l\text{\`a}t t n\text{\`a}lm\text{\`a}n
two a PL-short a PL-knife and two a PL-wide.blade
t nilk-nilkm
a PL-knife

'two short knives and two wide-blade knives'

(9c) a naq.t t ti'qat t nilk-nilkm ?uyt naq.t ti'qus t nilk-nilkm
one a short a PL-knife and one a wide-blade a PL-knife

(9d) a tasil t ti'qat t nilkm ?uyt tasil t ti'qus t nilkm
two a short a knife and two a wide-blade a knife

(9e) a tasil t ti'qat t nilkm ?uyt tasil t nyl-k-nilus t nilkm
two a PL-short a knife and two a PL-wide-blade a knife

(9f) a tasil t ti'qat t nilk-nilkm ?uyt tasil t ti'qus t nilk-nilkm
two a short a PL-knife and two a wide-blade a PL-knife

The 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.

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

(10a) (naq.t) ti'qat yysma? t ym'nx-a? ?uyt (naq.t) sflx-a? t ym'nx-a?
(one) a small a basket and (one) a big a basket
'(one) small basket and (one) big basket'

(10b) (m'mus) ti'qat ym-yamx-a? ?uyt (m'mus) t sfakat t ym-yamx-a?
(four) a small a PL-basket and (four) a big a PL-basket
'(four) small baskets and (four) big baskets'

(10c) a (naq.t) ti'qat ym'nx-a? ?uyt (naq.t) t sfakat t ym'nx-a?
(one) a small a basket and (one) a big a basket

(10d) a (m'mus) ti'qat ym-yamx-a? ?uyt (m'mus) t sfakat
(four) a small a PL-basket and (four) a big a PL-basket

a PL-basket
(10e) a (naqs) t ʰ²kʰ-yáːmaʔ, t ym-yáːmacʔ? ʰ²ut (naqs) t sílːxʷaʔ, 
small, a PL-basket and (one) a big, a PL-basket 
t ym-yáːmacʔ?

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

(11a) (naqs) ʰ³tʰ³qʰ-ʃim ʰ³t kʰsʔáp
    one the WHiny the dog
    'one WHiny dog'

(11b) (?asíl) ʰ³tʰ³qʰ-ʃim ʰ³t kʰsʔáp
    two the WHiny the PL-dog
    'two WHiny dogs'

(11i) In the case of a head with a suppletive form for plural, the modifier still agrees in number with the head:

(12a) knaqs ʰ³tʰ³kʰ-ʃimólth
    one the good the child
    'one good child'

(12b) tkʰʔasíl ʰ³tʰ³kʰ-ʃimólth
    two the PL-good the child
    'two good children'

(12c) ʰ³tʰ³kʰ-ʃimólth
    the good the child

(12d) ʰ³tʰ³kʰ-ʃimólth
    the PL-good the child

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

(13a) ʰ³tʰ³kʰ-ʃimólth
    the one lively child and the one WHiny child'
(13b) ak'asasíi .require, the lively the child.PL and two human the whiny child.PL

'two lively children and two whiny children'

(14) In the case of a head with a plural form for 'pair of', such as q'amütya? 'moccasin' and sifikín '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 sifikín
one a new a pant/legging

'one new pant/legging'

(14b) sàsíí t sc-síc t sifikín
two a PL-new a pant

'two new pants/leggings'

(14c) sàsíí t síc t sifikín
two a new a pant

'two new pants/leggings'

(15a) naqs t síc t q'amütya?
one a new a mocassin

'one new mocassin'

(15b) sàsíí t sc-síc t q'amütya?
two a PL-new a mocassin

'two new mocassins'

(15c) kásísí t síc t q'amütya?
three a new a mocassin

'three new mocassins'

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

(16a) sàsíí t sc-síc t sàmx sifikín
two a PL-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 - sqlix - ni - sc-sic - ti - xin-q'oxultiya?
human-one-man the PL-new the new mocassins and
ni - n - t - n.
miss-LTDQ-PFTY - t - STN

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

(17b) a k - nq - sqlix - ni - sc-sic - ti - xin-q'oxultiya?
human-one-man the new the new mocassins

(17c) a t - qtli - sqlix - ni - sc-sic - ti - xin-xixom
human-three-man the PL-new the new mocassins

'three pairs of new pants'

(17d) a t - qtli - sqlix - ni - sc-sic - ti - xin-xixom
human-three-man the PL-new the new mocassins

'three pairs of new pants'

(18a) tk asil sqlix - ni - sc-sic - ti - xin-q'oxultiya?
human-two-man the PL-new the new mocassins

'two pairs of new mocassins'

(18b) tk asil sqlix - ni - sc-sic - ti - xin-q'oxultiya?
human-two-man the PL-new the new mocassins

'two pairs of new mocassins'

(18c) tk asil sqlix - ni - sc-sic - ti - xin-q'oxultiya?
human-two-man the new the new mocassins

'two pairs of new mocassins'
In the case of a head with no plural form, such as patāk 'potato' and sīmisānum '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) ʔasīl ʔi ʔi-sc ʔi patāk ʔu-ik ʔasīl ʔi qʷi-ak ʔi patāk ʔu-ik
two the new the potato and two the old the potato and
ʔasīl ʔi qʷi-alāp ʔi patāk
two the old potato
two new potatoes and two old potatoes and two moldy potatoes

(20b) ʔasīl t sc-sc t patāk ʔu-ik ʔasīl t qʷo-w-ʔi-ak t patāk
two the PL-new a potato and two a PL-old a potato
‘two new potatoes and two old potatoes’

(20c) ʔi-sc ʔi ʔi patāk ʔu-ik qʷo-w-ʔi-ak ʔi patāk.
‘the new potato and the old 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) ʔi Sc ʔasīl ʔi sc-sc ʔi patāk
PL-two the PL-new the potato
‘two sacks of new potatoes’

(21b) ʔi Sc ʔasīl ʔi sc-sc ʔi patāk
PL-two the new the potato
‘two sacks of new potatoes’

Members of other putative lexical categories such as Adjective-adm 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 kʷo-m (n - n - t ) - n ʔi ʔi-kāst ʔi sīmisānum
store-Π-Π-Π t -DIKANG the good the socks
ʔi sāk qʷo-ʔi-ak t -DI 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 - 2 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 "T"arsık" 'Turtle' and Sklań "Beaver". The 2 sentences establishes a reference to potatoes in this discourse. The 1 sentence is then felicitous, with an head of a nominal argument, a putative Adjective, showing plural reduplication in agreement with the deleted Noun of sub-class (v):

(23a) Sklań: ččaman - s - t - fn ti síc ści patář. ?túk q'aw-?wóx separate-PPTV-t-TRANS the new the potato and PL-old
ści patář.
the potato

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

(23b) T"arsık": k'úx ści úl ti - n - t - om ści síc

EVIDENTIAL and eat-PPTV-t-PASS the new

?úl ti - s - t - om ści q'aw-?wóx

and discard-PPTV-t-PASS the PL-old

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

Examples 28 thru 26 also illustrate discourse felicitous sequences, with plural reduplication in agreement with a deleted Noun, on the putative Adjective:

(24) (PEN) t'úq'ú - n - t - om y'aw'úl t'úq'úmsís't'úm. Ti xást,

wash - PPTV-t-PASS all the socks the good
k'úm - n - t - om. Ti qa-q'ast, ks - ččam - n - t - om.
store-PPTV-t-PASS the PL-old, UNR-patch-PPTV-t-PASS

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

(25) (NL) ti xást ti yu'mx'a?, k'úm (· n · t ) - n ?úl

the good the basket store-PPTV-t-TRANS and

?úl ti q'aw-?wóx, ččam (· n · t ) - n, and PL-old burn-PPTV-t-TRANS

'The good basket, I put away and the old ones, I burned.'
(26)  i̞ škast i̞ nuwam-aʔ, kAwm ʔut i̞ qox̄al’ix, klwstn.

'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 26 and I previously:

(27)  kAwm ( -n - t ) - n i̞ nwaq i̞ škast i̞ fi̞ n - qox̄al’ixiyaʔ
      store -PPTY-l-S1 TRANS the one the good the my-monsasin

      ʔut i̞ nwaq i̞ ckl’ix-
      and the one the 1ST-EM-holey

      'I put away my one good mosasin 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: tom/-tim (see Hébert 1956a,b for discussion of chain of being hierarchy):

(28a)  i̞ tiñ( ) - skik’by’ 1lr - n - t - tm ʔi( ) t skik’yaʔ.
      the my-male’s.nom rigid-PPTY-t-PASS INSTR bee

      'My mother was stung by a bee.'

(28b)  i̞ skiʔ( ) - skik’by’  t - q’ - sk’a - n ( - n - t ) - s
      the my-male’s.nom DIST-bad-skim-NEL/2-PPTY-t-S1 TRANS

      ʔi( ) 1lr - n - t - tm ʔi( ) t skik’yaʔ.3
      the right-PPTY-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 chéseau 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 context. Because of the possibility of distinguishing such clauses and Adjectives from nouns, the fact that they may occur in some of the same functions as nouns 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 nouns. A class of verbs optionally reduplicates for plural number, in agreement with the initial subject, as demonstrated below. Members of this verb class include ‘?int- / ?s?fin-’ (eat, SG/PL) and ‘?ifc?- / ?ifc?n-’ (play, SG/PL), but not ?t ?t ‘kick/kick iteratively’ and ‘?umist / ?um?umist’ (buy/buy iteratively). The plural agreement data is given below, with the relevant subject and verb underlined.

(29a) 3i ?t ?s?fin(n - n - t ) - s ‘3i naqg ‘3i ssk?aka?, 
the boy eat-PPV-t-3PRGNS the one the bird
‘The boy eat one bird.’

(29b) 3i ?t ?s?fin(n - n - t ) - s ‘3i k?hsam ‘3i ssk?aka?, 
the 3.diff.kind the bird
‘The boy eat three different kinds of bird.’

(29c) 3i ?t ?s?fin(n - n - t ) - s 3i naqg ‘3i ssk?aka?, 
the PL-boy REDUP-eat - PPV-L-3PRGNS the one the bird
3i ?s?fin(n - n - t ) - s 3i naqg ‘3i ssk?aka?, 
the 3.diff.kind the bird
‘The boys eat one bird.’

(29d) 3i ?t ?s?fin(n - n - t ) - s 3i k?hsam ‘3i ssk?aka?, 
the PL-boy REDUP-eat - PPV-L-3PRGNS the 3.diff.kind the bird
3i ?s?fin(n - n - t ) - s 3i k?hsam ‘3i ssk?aka?, 
the 3.diff.kind the bird
‘The boys eat three different kinds of bird.

(29e) 3 ‘3i ?t ?s?fi ‘3i k?hsam ‘3i ssk?aka?, 
the boy REDUP-eat the 3.diff.kind the bird
‘The boy REDUP-eat the 3.diff.kind the bird

(29f) naqg ‘3i ssk?aka? ‘?ifn ( n - n ) - t - s ‘3i t ?t ?t ?t
one the bird eat-PPV - t - TRANS the bird the boy
‘One bird was eaten by the boy.’
Sentences S29.a,b,c,d,e,f,g demonstrate that a plural initial subject triggers the plural reduplication of the verbal root and S29.a,b,c,d,e,f,g demonstrate that the number of the initial object does not affect this plural agreement reduplication. Sentence S29.a,b,c,d,e,f,g demonstrates that if the verb is reduplicated for plural agreement while the initial subject is singular, the sentence is ungrammatical. Sentences S29.a,b,c,d,e,f,g 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 'Nominaliser':

(30a) bə kʷ ʔəsə qəyə

*Have you been dreaming?*

(30b) c - kələxʷ, kʷə kəc - n - t - xʷ ʕίl ʔί(ə) - s - qəyə

*Last night, you came to me in my dreams.*
(31) wi(t ( • n - t ) - n \( ^{3} i \) s - wi(t - y\( ^{3} t \).  
see - FTV - t - \( ^{2} I t \) the \( ^{3} s \) see - ? (with DIMINUTIVE glottalization)
' I see the lightning. '

The patterns particular to the head of a nominal argument distinguish a lexical category, which I shall term 'Noun'. A noun serves as head of a nominal argument and bears a grammatical relation such as Subject and Object, which are referred to by syntactic rules such as Topicalization for Old Information and Passive. In addition, a common Noun occurs with a Determiner. Some other nouns may be modified, may take possessive affixes, may show plural replication, and may take the s- 'Nominalizer'. Moreover, a Noun triggers plural agreement of a modifier.

Further evidence for the lexical category 'Noun' is available from the affixation of the prefix sax\( ^{-} / s\( ^{-} x \). 'habitual agent' and of the two suffixes \(- t h \) and \(- m n / - m h i n \), both 'instrumental ending'. Lexical items resulting from the affixation of these three function as heads of nominal arguments: they take a determiner, may receive possessive marking, may be modified, and are subject to the rules of Topicalization and Passivization. Since the roots and stems to which these affixes are attached may also serve in the formation of lexical elements that satisfy the criteria for 'Verb', to be stated below, no claim is being made here as to the nominal or verbal nature of the roots and stems themselves.

The a sentences below illustrate the prefix sax\( ^{-} / s\( ^{-} x \). 'one who habitually... on a lexical item serving as head of a nominal argument. By comparison, in the b sentences, this prefix does not appear on the identical lexical root, not serving as a head of nominal argument.

(32a) \( ^{3} i \) li\( ^{3} i m f \) \( ^{3} m q \) a\( ^{-} i q f i l \) - s - t - s \( ^{3} i \) p\( ^{3} p y \) syt \( ^{3} i \) sax\( ^{-} \). the chief talk - IMPF - t - \( ^{2} z \) 'STANDS the lively the Habit-
tr\( ^{3} q i m - s . \) dance - his
'The chief is talking to his lively dancer.'

(32b) kn p\( ^{3} p y \) syt \( ^{3} k \) a kn t - tr\( ^{3} q i m . \) Intra lively when Intr PTDance
'I'm lively when I dance. / I'm a lively dancer.'

(33a) \( ^{3} i \) sk\( ^{-} l i d a \) ? \( ^{3} k a - n - t - s m \) \( ^{3} i \) t sax\( ^{-} - n \) 'a\( ^{3} s \) \( ^{-} d u m \) the beaver-skin count-FTV-t-PASS Intr Habit wrap

'The beaver pelts are counted by the trapper.'

(33a) kn m'ac'wa - m t k'ik'a:xna?.
SI_ENTR trap-MIDDLE some house
'I true nice.'

(33b) 'i sin - kik'wa? xas't t sx' - m'ay' - ŋm.
the my-grandfather good a Habit-tell.story-MIDDLE
'My grandfather is a good storyteller.'

(33b) 'i sin - kik'wa? m'ay' - xi - t - s
the my-grandfather tell.story-ENG-lt=OR
'sis - ŋm - c'ap?c'at - s t x'asat t s - m'yn'ay'.
the s-CONT-FL-grandchild-his a funny 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 3.2 below exemplify this -tn suffix.

(35a) 'i s - ŋn - kspòlq - tn c'ño:n.
the s-CONT-phone-ENG ring.ly.itself
'The phone's ringing.'

(35b) fa s'ap(n) - stoo'ma: s - c - kspòlq' - x.
the your-grandmother s - PF - phone - ENG
'Your grandma's on the phone! Your grandma is phoning.'

(36a) 'i ba:n - cn - c'ut - tn 'n - p'us - m t cïka.
the cook-mouth-ENG-cont-bill-MIDDLE some chicken
'The cook boil some chicken.'

(36b) Lisa ffa:n - n - t - is 'i cïka.
Lisa cook - ENG-lt=OR the chicken
Lisa cooked the chicken.

(36c) 'i s - c - ba:n - cn - c'ut - tn - s t'ì m'ay'
the s-PF cook-mouth-ENG-cont-bill-MFORM multi-coloured
Her cooking is colourful and so very delicious.'
(lit., just good its eating.)

'My grandfather is sending me to cook food.'

'My eyes must be getting bad.'

The affixation of the suffix -mn/-min '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.
I dropped my dipnet in the creek.'

'I cut my face unintentionally.'

'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 nominal 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. 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 35, 36a, 36b, 37, 38b, 38c, 39, 40a, 40b, 41a, 41b, 42. 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 'Adverbal' may now also be distinguished from each other. An Adverbal occurs clause-finally and may be preposed to pre-verbal positions, before or after a topicalized subject:

(42a) ‘i sq1lx\w_ k(t) - s\_ns\_\~u\~h\_m ‘\~ama?.
      the people own - freezer today,now
      'The people got freezers now.'

(42b) ‘\~ama? k(t) - s\_ns\_\~u\~h\_m ‘i sq1lx\w_.
      today own-freezer the people
      'Today, the people got freezers.'

(42c) ‘i sq1lx\w_ ‘\~ama k(t)s\_ns\_\~u\~h\_m.
      'The people now got freezers.'

(42d) ‘\~ama?, ‘i sq1lx\w_ k(t)s\_ns\_\~u\~h\_m.
      'Today, people got freezers.'

(43a) ‘i tin - K\K\_wa? m\_ay\_ - \~am q\~as\~pi?.
      the my-grandfather tell.stories-MIDDLE long,ago.
      'My grandfather told stories long ago.'

(43b) ‘i tin - K\K\_wa? q\~as\~pi? m\_ay\_\~am.
      'My grandfather long ago told stories.'

(43c) q\~as\~pi?, ‘i tin - K\K\_wa? m\_ay\_\~am.
      'Long ago, my grandfather told stories.'

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

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

(44a) a w\_k ( - n - t ) - n ‘i q\~as\~pi? ‘i c\_f\~tx\w_.
      see-FPVT-1.3\_TRANS the long,ago the house

(44b) w\_k ( - n - t ) - n ‘i q\_\_w\_k \_i c\_f\~tx\w_.
      see-FPVT-1.3\_TRANS the old the house
      'I saw the old house.'
Hence, an Adverbial occurs clause finally and may be proposed 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 2-27.

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

(45a) sdpfix' 'old house, still inhabited'
(45b) sq'wH1'ap fix' 'older house, still inhabited'
(45c) s'nychpfix'tn 'old house, abandoned'
(45d) sq'qW'ap fix'tn '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'.

3.3 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) ?'ut 'and' nám?at 'but'
'or' t'í' 'reason, because'
'id 'whereas'.

(47a) Míla? c'úk' qmpús - m t sìiq? ?'ut Susæp c'úk'
Amelia should boil-MIDDLE some meat and Joseph should
qmpús - m t sč'én, boil-MIDDLE some salmon
'Amelia should boil some meat and Joseph should boil some salmon,'
"The boy snare rabbits and track deer."

(47b) ttu'it ćn - yr - ń̓s - m  t sp̓eñna? t̕w̓i
the boy CONT-circle-face-MIDDLE some rabbit and
ćn - ?uq - x̱n  t sx̌əc̓inəm.
CONT-track-feet some deer

"The boy snare rabbits and track deer."

(47c) tk̕łam  s - t - In ći sic ći patak t̕w̓i q̓aw̓sux̱ ći patak.
sort.out-1SG-CONT-3PL the new the p. and PL-old the potato

The boy takes the new potatoes and the new potatoes.'

(48a) ćinish s - s̕w̓ - m - t̕at ći K̕ˈkwəʔ - t̕at k̕u
Let's s-ask-REL/3-PL the grandfather-our us
m̕əy̓ - x̱ - t̕a̱ - b̕əl ći stəmətəm̕aʔ - t̕at k̕u
tell-REX-PASS OR the grandmother-our us

"Listen to me, I'm separating the old potatoes and the new potatoes."

(48b) t̕e̱lə̱kʷaʔ, cə̱qə̱ k̕u m̕əy̓ - x̱ - t - p b̕əl k̕u
grandfather should us tell-REX-PASS OR us

"Grandfather, you should tell us a story or sing us a song."

(48c) cə̱qə̱ k̕u ʔə̱p̕ə̱s - m t s̕k̕ʷə̱l̕ b̕əl t sə̱w̓ə̱m̕.n.
should 3MIR say-BILL-MIDDLE some meat OR some salmon

you should say some meat or some salmon.

(48d) sə̱swə̱l̕  tk̕łam  b̕əl Sk̕ʷə̱l̕  s̕j - n - t - iś  ći pə̱mən.
P. kick-M whereas B. beat-PPV-CONT the drum

"Porcupine dance whereas Beaver beat the drum."

(49a) cə̱qə̱qə̱x  ći stuyt b̕əl q̓aw̓sux̱ ći sx̌əc̓inəm  - c.
swim the boy whereas pick,berries-MID the sister-his

"The boy swims whereas his sister picks berries."

(49b) cə̱qə̱qə̱x  ći stuyt b̕əl q̓aw̓sux̱ ći sx̌əc̓inəm  - c.
swim the boy whereas pick,berries-MID the sister-his

"The boy swims whereas his sister picks berries."

(49c) cə̱qə̱qə̱x  ći stuyt b̕əl q̓aw̓sux̱ ći sx̌əc̓inəm  - c.
swim the boy whereas pick,berries-MID the sister-his

"The boy swims whereas his sister picks berries."

(49d) cə̱qə̱qə̱x  ći stuyt b̕əl q̓aw̓sux̱ ći sx̌əc̓inəm  - c.
swim the boy whereas pick,berries-MID the sister-his

"The boy swims whereas his sister picks berries."
(49c) 3ayq's2? sit 3as - k'q'il - m ni 3am2i?.
all somebody go-work-MIDDLE whereas you

l3t 3an - 3mnk 3a(n) - ks - k'q'il - n.
MS 2IRR - want 2IRR - U3R - work-MIDDLE

'Everybody went to work but you. You don't want to work.'

(49d) 3'um ( - n - t ) - n ri ks-fast 3q'um 3'umitiya? k'i
sore-PPTV-1-3TRANS

the 1q-good pair-mocassin whereas

3i 3q'um 3'um, 3m - sm ( - n - t ) - n 3in - y'mac'a?
the PL-old, put-REL/2-PPTV-1-3TRANS LOC wp-basket

'I put away the good pairs of mocassins and the old ones
I put in my basket.'

(49e) 3euc 3'um k'i k't - 1k'api ?

QI yes/no whereas 3Q INTR own-coffee info

'Is it that you have coffee? Do you have any more coffee?'

(50) m'at lut k'a(u) 3a(n) - ks - 3aypi - n - m naxna?
might NEG me 32IRR - U3R-2Scol-1 - PPtv-Middle but

3i 3i(n) - stantima? k'u ks - 3aypa ( - n - t ) - s.
the my-grandmother me 2IRR-2Scol-2PPTV-1-3TRANS

'You might not bawl me out but my grandmother is going to
bawl me out.'

(51a) 3i 3i(n) - stantima? ks - p'ma t'tl - ks - xí - t - n.
the my-grandmother good-heart reason help-ENKE-1-3TRANS

'My grandmother's glad because I help her.'

(51b) 3i 3i(n) - stantima? 3aypi t'tl 3i(n) - s .?ictm.
the my-grandmother mad reason 3IRR-2Scol-1 - late

'My grandmother's mad because I come home late.'

(51c) k'at 3i 3i(n) - sp'us t'tl - wík - n - t - s - n.
good the my-heart reason see-PPTV-1-you-3TRANS

'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:

\[(53a)\] mǐ' i 'future'
\[(53b)\] k'ì' i 'non-future, present'
\[(53c)\] k'ö 'non-future, past'
\[(53d)\] t 'past'
\[(53e)\] tì 'non-past, specific'
\[(53f)\] tì 'non-past, non-specific'
\[(53g)\] k'ö 'simultaneous'
\[(53h)\] n 'unmarked'.

Sentences 53-60 exemplify these lexical items.

\[(53a)\] kn ks - n'ùcùs - a'k mǐ' i k'ö' nù - n ( - t ) - n tì S1 INTR UNB-trap-INCER COM& catch-FVTV-p-SL-TRANS the k'ö-kù-kù-sùn.'
mouse
'I'm going to start to set a trap to catch a mouse,'

\[(53b)\] swìt tì'ìk' tì'ìcùz n mǐ' i qù - n - t - ix'ì? who belong basket COM& weave-FVTV-l-SEE-TRANS
'Whose basket will you weave?'

\[(53c)\] tì'ìx'ì kn ñ tì'ì? tì'ìk'ùsù kù, mǐ' i kùñ - n - t - s - ín. if S1 INTR COND there morning COM& accompany-FVTV-t-you-SL-FINAL
'If I'm there in the morning, I'll accompany you.'

\[(54a)\] kn s - c - n'ùx - n kì ñ kù mìk'sù - n ( - n - t ) - S1 INTR s-FV-dipnet-PROG COM& me bother-REL/2-FVTV-p - t - s ix tì sqìlx'.
-3-TRANS the people
'I'm dipnetting and people bother me.'
(54b) swīt te-kā kī yām-cara kī’i qe - n - t - fiv’i
who belong basket COMP weave/FPVV-1-3SG TRANS
‘Whose basket did you weave?/Whose basket are you weaving?’

(54c) tik-āma kī’i q′e’Sp lx.
suddenly COMP slide/slip F3 LITHE
‘All of a sudden, they slide/slip.’

(55a) sōkiz kī’i i xq′y’i’i ttwít kī’i town ?
why COMP COND go the boy to town
‘Why has the boy gone to town?’ (could be awhile ago)

(55b) sōkiz kī’i xq′y’i’i ttwít kī’i town ?
why COMP go the boy to town
‘Why is the boy going to town?/Why did the boy go to town?’ (just recently)

(56a) tix? x a yam-kwâp yaa naq’i’i - q′e’ - m - mū - t - s - fën.
that your-horse COMP steal/UNACCOMP-BEL/2-MPIR-t-you-3SG
‘That’s your horse that I stole accidentally.’

(56b) swīt te-kā yām-cara kī’i xā(n) - s - c - qac’i
who belong basket COMP S2REL-s-PP-weave
‘Whose basket have you been weaving?’

(56c) t - kic ( - n - t ) - n i skamāist yo DIST-meet/FPVV-1-3SG TRANS
the blackbear COMP FF-weave-BEL/2
c - qy’s - m - s - t - n.
FF-weave-BEL/2-IMPF-t-S1 TRANS
‘I met the blackbear that I dreamed about.’

(57a) c - mīy - s - t - fn i spoq’imfī’i’i
FF-know-IMPF-t-3SG TRANS the man COMP
t - qv’iq’iy’i - t - m - s - t - s lx.
DIST-talk - t - REL/2-IMPF-t-F3 TRANS
‘I know the man that they’re talking about.’
(57a) sañt -a-x ka yáma'at? Cì qì - n - t - fù' ?
who belong basket PP-NNV-t-S2 TRANS
Whose basket are you weaving?

(57c) kùm - x - t lx t sòwìn stick ks - c - ?ìm (-n - t) -
store-INDIR-t-S2 IMP then some salmon COMP UNR-PP-ent-PPNV-t-
- S lx ñ ?ìstìn.
P3 INRR COND winter
'Put away some salmon for them to eat this winter.'
(i.e., just for them to eat)

(57d) kùm - x - t lx t sòwìn stick ('ùj) ks - c - ?ìm -
store-REPAIR-T-S2 IMP then some salmon COMP opt UNR-PP-ent-
(-n - t) - tat ñ ?ìstìn.
-PPNV-t-P1 INRR COND winter
'Put away some salmon for us to eat this winter.'
(i.e., just for us to eat)

(58a) kùmút lx t sòwìn stick ksùdús sx ñ ?ìstìn.
'Put away some salmon for us to eat this winter.'
(i.e., them and anybody who's around to eat - the cultural norm)

(58b) kùmút t sòwìn stick CÚMVSINTAT t ksùdús sx ñ ?ìstìn.
for us CONP
'Put away some salmon for us to eat this winter.'
(i.e., us and anybody who's around to eat - the cultural norm)

(59a) kù nù - n - cùt 4ù kù c - ?ìyàqù - s - m.
P1 IMPR cut-PPNV-REFL COMP P1 IMPF PP-scrape-face-MIDDLE
'We cut ourselves while we were shaving.'

(59b) c - ksùsúwañt - s - t - a - n ?alà? ñ PP- wish - IMPF-t-you-S1 TRANS have COND
'I wish you were here when the lilac was in full bloom.'
(60) \[ \text{kn} \quad s - c - m'af - x \quad t \quad sw'ín. \]
\[ \text{SI} \quad \text{INTR} \quad \text{s-PP-dipnet-FROG} \quad \text{some salmon} \]
'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': 'i' and its predictable allomorph 'a' for 'Specific' and 't' 'Non-specific'.

As members of the category 'Determiner', these lexical items do not carry tense. The allomorph 'a' occurs predictably before 'on' 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-Falling-Stressed Vowel, in that order or in the reverse order (cf. Michel and Robert 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 'ima' '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) \[ \text{kn} \quad qíc̓alx \quad ima. \]
\[ \text{SI} \quad \text{INTR} \quad \text{run} \]
'I run.'

(61b) \[ \text{ima} \quad \text{kn} \quad qíc̓alx. \]
\[ \text{ME} \quad \text{run} \]
'I run.'

(61c) \[ \text{kn} \quad qíc̓alx. \]
\[ \text{SI} \quad \text{INTR} \quad \text{run} \]
'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) 'ixi
that; visible, non-proximate;

(62b) 'axa
this; visible, proximate;

(62c) 'ili
that, there; invisible, non-proximate;

(62d) 'ili
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) njis佚 - m  ( - n - t ) - n 'ixi
bear-REL/2-PPTV-t-S1 TRANS that the
tall
ku
k - 'synkut - m - n - t - om.
dist-rel/laugh-REL/2-PPTV-PANS
'I hear that tall man laughing at us.'

(63b) 'ki
-n - t - f
in
'i
fin
lakl
lkins
'soxa
't
lppt.
put-PPTV-t-S1 TRANS the my-key close.to this
'some
cup
'I put my keys close to this cup.'

(63c) 'jipt
-m
( - n - t ) - n
'ili
lpt
'ili
'soxa
't
1
forget-REL/2-PPTV-t-S1 TRANS the my-cup that
the
loc
qiwix
t
'uk-x-cds
e
uk-x-miks
old
some
stump
to
outside.'

(63d) kxwsp
-n - t - f
'soxin
'soxa
'ili
l qiwix
't
hang-PPTV-t-S1 TRANS the rope that
the
loc
old
some
'sox-x-cds
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

sklisims
'on this side of;
Kβ7fx-tms  'under, underneath;'  
Kμ4ə?ams  'on the other side of;'  
Kμ4əp  'right behind;'  
TÅ?c  'towards;'  
Kμams  'close to;'  
Kμeq²us  'across.'

(65) CASE-MARKING PREPOSITIONS

t'  'from, source;'  
Kl  'to, at, goal, recipient;'  
K  'for;'  
l  'on, locative;'  
N³α+  'with, comitative;'  
Sì 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) WIK ( - n - t ) - n Sì kβ54əp skKalams Sì (1) sic see-FPTV-t-3L TRANS the dog on. this. side. of the LOC new Sì cftx'.

the house

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

(66b) WIK ( - n - t ) - n Sì kβ54əp Kβ7fx-tms Sìa? Sì see-FPTV-t-3L TRANS the dog under. mark this. P the L sic Sì cftx'.

LOC new the house

'I saw the dog underneath the new house.'

(66c) WIK ( - n - t ) - n Sì kβ54əp Kμ4ə?ams Sìxǐ Sì sic see-FPTV-t-3L TRANS the dog beyond that. P new the new
'I saw the dog beyond that new house.'

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

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

'I put my keys close to the cup.'

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

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

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

'snink - t - s - n k’ s - k’ w’ - a’ x k’ s'incâ?.
want -FFTV-l-you-61_TRANS s-work-INCEP"for me
'I want you to work for me.'

(67a) kn  s - n°oçus - x  t k'ëëFk'õna? (ti)  jàn - cifxv.
Sn_INTR s-trap-PROG some mice the DOC your-house

'I'm trapping mice in your house.'

(67b) S - k'är'y - 'sqf  x't'y' 1x  ki  s - 'tn - t'umist - tn
s-open-sky/day go P3_INTR to s-CUMT-buy-Instr
n'wit Käptn.
with K.

'Your went to the store with Gene.'

(67c) 'ti t'khiMlx- c'djv- (- n - t) - s  'ti sqacnom  t t
the woman skin-FTTV-t-BS_TRANS the deer INST
n'k- mm.
cut = Instr

'The woman skinned the deer with a knife.'

(67d) 'ti s'kkišqka? ?fiH (- n) - t - am  'ti t ts'vlt.
the bird eat = FTTV - t - PASS LMPs 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) directional.Prep   Demonstrative   Determiner

(69) case-marking.Prep   Adjective   Determiner   Noun.

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-occurrence patterns differ, although the lexical items in question are identical:

(69a) INTERROGATIVE   INDEFINITE PRONOUN

swif  'who, whose'

stif  'what'

'someone, somebody'

'something'
"Which", "where", 'somewhere, anywhere'?

"why"

"when"

"how many"

'the 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) swit ti p'ulix' xalix? 
who comp comp-qSR INTR here, p

'Who camped here?'

(70b) swit ti nixol' m - n - t - x' k' tk'umnitix'?
who comp hear-REL/2-IMPVT-1-32, INTR to outside

'Who do you hear outside?'

(70c) swit ti nixol' qo'omuliya? ti tk'umnitix'?
who comp belong mocassin comp belong mocassin comp hear-REL/2-IMPVT-1-32, TRANS

'Whose mocassins did you see?'

(70d) ki swit ti ts'iwit k'í qícolix? 
who the boy comp run

'To whom did the boy run?'

(71a) stif ti c - k'í - s - t - x' ñikh? 
what comp PP-3Q-IMPVT-1-32, INTR over, there

'What have you been doing over there? /What are you doing over there?'

(71b) stif ti nixol' m - n - t - x' k' tk'umnitix'?
what comp near-REL/2-IMPVT-1-32, INTR to outside

'What do you hear outside?'

(71c) stif ti c - k - s'wolix' m - s - t - p? 
what comp PP-DIST-whisper-REL/2-IMPVT-1-32, TRANS

'What are you guys whispering about?'
(72c) Sakin' t twiit s'il qicolx ?
Which a boy COMP run

'Which boy ran?'

(72b) Sakin' t s'mimiat s'il q'alq'g'il - s - t - s s'il stoomis ?
Which a grandchild COMP talk-IMPF-1-3s TRANS the grandmother

'Which grandchild talk to the grandmother?'

(73a) K'sakin' k'i wàk - n - t - x' s'il lakil ?
For where COMP hide-PPTV-t-2s TRANS the key

'Where did you hide the key?'

(73b) Sakin' sà wà(n) - s - nà'na ?
Where COMP 32-_INR s-hurt child language

'Where's your hurt?' (parent-to-child language)

(73a) sakink k'o + x'uy' lx kl town ?
who COMP COND go P3_INTR to town

'Why are they going to town? Why did they go to town?'
(could be awhile ago)

(73b) sakink k'o + x'uy' - s - t - it' lx ?
COMP COND let-IMPF-2 s TRANS them

'Why did you let them?'

(74c) sakink s'il twiit k'i x'uy' kl town ?
Why the boy COMP go to town

'Why did the boy go to town?' (just recently)

(74d) sakink q'a? k'o k'+ q'wus - q'iw - m ?
Why Evidential COMP 2s_INTR COMP go-pick-berrries-MIDDLE

'Why did you go berry-picking?'

(75a) ponkin' sà wà(n) - s'latx m'i c - kícx ?
when the your-friend COMP Cloac-arrive

'When is your friend to arrive?'

(75b) ponkin' k'i k' c - kícx ?
Where COMP 2s_INTR Cloac-arrive

'When did you arrive?'
(75c) &ir̃̄k’ i tr̃̄k’ k’i ck - n - t - is ‘i sq̃̄nac’is - c? when the boy COMP set-LTV-t-S3 TRANS the true-his
When did the boy set his trap?

(76a) kʷaλ̓ n̓ k t y̓ aλ̓ n̓ guʔ? s’i s - c - kʷaλ̓ ( - n - t ) - tot? how many some basket COMP s-PF-work-LTV-t-P1GR
'How many baskets did we make?'

(76b) tkʷaλ̓ n̓ k t səλ̓ n̓ l̓ x’s i kəl̓ sɪt - n - t - am? how many PLH some people COMP call-LTV-t-PASS
'How many people were invited?'

(76c) kʷaλ̓ n̓ k t səl̓ m̓ n̓ šɪt s’i qəl̓ ?i?l̓ t? 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) níswař’ - n̓ ( - n - t ) - n s̓ w̃ i t s’o c - s̓ w̃ as̓ w̃ l̓ x k̓ a hear-REL/L2-LTV-t-S1 TRANS who COMP PF-whisper to
naqs - l̓ f̓ x’u. one-house
'I hear somebody whispering in the next house.'

(77b) l̓ uł t’ c’ uł( - n - t ) - n s’i li(n) - stəm̓ t̓ s̓ m̓ a? p̓ urs̓ k̓ is̓ n̓ hear-REL/L2-LTV-t-S1 the my-grandmother when
m’i c - x'q̓ č’o. COMP Cisloc-go
'I didn’t tell my grandmother when to come.'

(77c) c - m̓ y - s - t - l̓ s c̓ k̓ t̓ n̓ k’ i tr̃̄k’ s’i H̓ (n - n - t ) - s PF-know-LTV-t-S1 TRANS the boy COMP eat-LTV-t-S3 TRANS
yəs̓ t̓ k̓ i H̓ ?i?u̓ s̓ n̓ a? all the egg
'I know why the boy ate all the eggs.'
I forget how many owsa got sick.

I know which one ower 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 null nominal argument. As such, these will be considered as members of the lexical category 'Indefinite Pronouns'.

I hear somebody outside.

My mother saw some moccasins for somebody.

My mother saw me something.

You hear something outside.

I hid the key somewhere and I forgot.
Thus, it has been shown that at least eleven lexical categories may be distinguished for Okangan: 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 Posnjak 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 Predicates 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 Okangan. Section 2.1 addresses the basic distinction between Verb and Predicate. Then four arguments are given in support of this proposal: one from Basic Word 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 Clipped 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 8(a-e) illustrate the basic word order.

(8a) \text{chew-MFP-1-S is-3b \text{the boy the fish}}

\text{The fish is chewing the fish.}

(8b) \text{UNR-COMF-fry-IRREFP is-3b stamtma-2 t ikalot

the my-grandmother some galette

ki cmłčk. to Sī}

\text{My grandmother is going to start to fry some bread for herself.}

(8c) \text{UNR-pour-MIDDLE some coffee LOC PL-up

\text{I poured coffee in the cups.}}

(8d) \text{UNR-work-MIDDLE-S the blackbear the talk-his a hook-his

\text{The blackbear was going to use his tail as his hook.}}

(8e) \text{UNR-boil-IMP, INTR some water some own-tea-our

\text{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 Oksanan, the basic word order would be expressed as:

\text{(8g) BASIC WORD ORDER: V 1 2 3 Obi, 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 3 0 Obi, 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) Xías - t ści ści(ın) - spWia.
    good-t the my- heart
    'My heart is good.'

(86b) x'ái - t ści stówalt - c.
    lots/many-t the cow-owl
    'His cows are many.'

(86c) koč'cę - t ści xin'twā.
    strong-t the girl
    'The girl is strong.'

(86d) čiš'lidč' ści tvtāčt.
    tail the boy
    'The boy is tall.'

(86e) li Xast.
    51_INTR good
    'I'm good.'

(86f) kw čiš'lidč'.
    52_INTR tail.
    '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 86c-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 Okangan. 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 Ébert (1982a,b). The set of intransitive markers is relevant to the argument. These are:

(87) E1 kn V Pl k\-u V
E2 k\- V P2 p V
E3 V P3 V li

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

(88) k\-u c - ñk\-up - f1s.
P2 INTR PP-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 spyp\-ina '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) ?\=uc q\-\=o a c - ñk\-up - f1s spyp\-ina ?
yes/no ESSENTIAL PP-lonesome-feel the rabbit
info

My\=ul k\-u spyp\-ina\?
\=i\=i k\-u c - ñk\-up - f1s.
too Pl rabbit COMPL Pl INTR PP-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 cite '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 'ki- prefix in 90a, also in 94e, means 'got, have; possession; ownership.'

(90a) c - kcafn ( - n ) - t  si phlkm - m  s1 satellite - b - s1 satellite - tat. *trumpet - s1 take - ptyv - t - so - tr IMP the nail the own-house - our

'Bring the nails for our house.'

(90b) kn  ki - city - s1

's1 INTR own-house

'I've got a house.'

In sentences 91a-c, two additional nouns serve as Predicates of their clauses. 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) s1  tilmx - x - qa - jk - p7 - s - t - s  s1  yxnc - cxjwm  the chief talk IMP - t - s TR the trapper

'the chief is talking to the trapper.'

(91b) kn  tilmx - m  s1  INTR chief

'I'm chief.'

(91c) kn  yxnc - cxjwm  t  khb - xnm  s1 INTR trapper some house

'I'm a mouse trapper.'

It was shown in section 1.2 that lexical items formed with the prefix sax°/sx° '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 'ili' 'that, there; invisible, non-proximate' appears with subject markers, kn 'first person singular, introspective' in its usual pre-verbal clitic position and s1 'third person plural, irrealis mood' in its usual post-verbal suffix position. Additionally, in sentence 92a, 'there' appears with the conditional marker 4 in its usual position, between preverbal subject clitic and verb.

(92a) fux  1st kn  5  ili  4huk - Sst  1st kn - u

if HIG 2 INTR SUPCOND there morning, HIG me
'If I'm not there in the morning, don't wait for me.'

(22b) kn x'ap' qwa - k - milt\(-\,n\,-\,t\) - n lx ʔaθi
SI:INTR so DIS-visit:FPTV-t-SI:TRANS then and
iθt s - ʔiθi - s - lx.
NEG s-there-F3:IRR

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

Another demonstrative ʔaθi 'here, this; invisible, proximate' appears with the subject marker kn 'first person singular, intransitive' in sentences 23a,b:

(23a) kn ʔaθi?
SI:INTR here\,p

'I'm here.'

(23b) kn ʔaθi? \[ \text{I'vi(n) - s'niθiθn.} \]
SI:INTR here\,p LOC my-bed

'I'm here on my bed.'

These may be compared with sentences 62a-d.

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

(94a) stuf\(\) ʕi ʔaθi\,l\,x\,k\,u\, c\,u\, \(-\,n\,-\,t\)\,-\, s
WHAT COMP the-woman me tell:FPTV-t-SI:TRANS

'What did the woman tell me to catch?'

(94b) m\,y\,-\,p - n\,u\, \(-\,n\,-\,t\) \,-\, a stuf\(\) ʕi sq\,ʔaθ\,l\,q\,-\,ʔi\,-\,s\,-\,t\,-\,lx.
know-UNACCUSE-IMPER-FPTV-t-SI\,IR\, WHAT COMP talk:IMPF-t-F3:IRR
"I found out what they are saying."

(94c) ?unc k'uv (u) ni(n) - SW - m t'stin'?
SL yes/no me SLINH - ask-MIDDLE a something
info

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

(94d) wəyə, k'ev (v) - st'in' K 'səndəi?.
APPLINh, SLINH own-something to you

'I've got something for you.'

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

(95a) l'ón əkin?
L1_INTH LOC where

'Where are we?'

(95b) k'ev əkin?
SL_INTH for where

'Where are you?'

These may be compared with sentences 90a 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 kəkə'x't'us ñi vi(n) - s'rákutfən.
SL_INTH under the my - bed

'I'm under my bed.'

(96b) kəkə'x't'us lək ñi s'rákutfən - sələx.
under L1_INTH the bed-their

'They are under their bed.'

(96c) kn sək'w'Hams ñi vi(n) s'rákutfən.
SL_INTH 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: ʃɨ'全能 'little', pɨ'pɨy 'full', and pɨ'pɨy 'lively'.

(97a) ʃɪp- kɨ'全能 - ʃɨ(ə) - ks - ʃɨ'全能 - naq. too S2. little S2. INTR -> UHR- travel to one
'You're too little to travel alone.'

(97b) kɨ pɨ'pɨy - t t qaqaK.5
S2. INTR full-t some fish
'You're full of fish.'

(97c) kɨn pɨ'pɨy - t t qaqaK.6
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 Aspects of 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 Hockett 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) ʃɨ yâya? c - ʃɨ'fiya?-
the gramcm TP-listen.
'Grammatically 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 'Present Perfect'.

The word meaning 'morning' may be a member of two lexical categories: the form a\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{\textdegree}uk-x\textsuperscript{\#}bst, a Noun, is illustrated in 99a below, while the form a\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{\textdegree}uk-x\textsuperscript{\#}bst, an Adverbial, is illustrated in 99b:

\[(99a)\] k\textsuperscript{\#} nth - n\textsuperscript{\#}m - k\textsuperscript{\#} - s - a\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{\textdegree}uk-x\textsuperscript{\#}bst. *We've been waiting since this morning.*

\[(99b)\] c\textsuperscript{\#} nth l\textsuperscript{\#}m kn k\textsuperscript{\#} - ?m\textsuperscript{\#} - a\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{\textdegree}uk-x\textsuperscript{\#}bst, l\textsuperscript{\#}g k\textsuperscript{\#}(u) i\textsuperscript{\#} if h\textsuperscript{\#} - s - fl\textsuperscript{\#}m. *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 - a\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{\textdegree}uk-x\textsuperscript{\#}bst, kn c - n\textsuperscript{\#}h\textsuperscript{\#}m - q\textsuperscript{\#}u/k - m\textsuperscript{\#} - ( - n - PP) - morning, s\textsuperscript{\#}m - enter and small-LTDC-PPV - t - n s - ?k\textsuperscript{\#}n\textsuperscript{\#}m - ?k\textsuperscript{\#}\textsuperscript{\#}m - ?k\textsuperscript{\#}m. *This morning, I can in and I smelled bacon and eggs.*

This same point is made with sentences 100a,b which illustrate the Adverbial pisc\textsuperscript{\#}itt 'yesterday' in clause-final position in 100a and in clause-initial position in 100b where it may optionally be marked with aspect:

\[(100a)\] m\textsuperscript{\#}m - p - n\textsuperscript{\#}m - ( - n - t - ) - x ?m\textsuperscript{\#}\textsuperscript{\#}m - ?k\textsuperscript{\#}l - ?k\textsuperscript{\#}m - ( - n - t - ) - s ?k\textsuperscript{\#}l. *I know today (that) the man caught the salmon yesterday.*

\[(100b)\] c - pisc\textsuperscript{\#}itt, ?k\textsuperscript{\#}l - m\textsuperscript{\#}m - ( - n - t - ) - s PP-yesterday, the man catch-LTDC-PPV - t - s?k\textsuperscript{\#}l 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 ʔokšinj 'where', illustrated in (10a), can take aspectual marking, as in (10b):

(10a) ʔokšinj k'xúx'xu'x? J'l?
    for where CONF go P3INTR

"Where did they go?"

(10b) J'xúx J'l ʔokšinj
    NGS CONF P3-INTERRO

"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 piščitj 'yesterday' obligatorily marked with C- for Perfect aspect, and according to the previous argument, bearing the Predicate relation:

(102) J'xúx ? piščitj (J'xúx) J'xúx piščitj k'xúx'x (x-n-t) J'xúx that PP-yesterday CONF the man catch-PTTV-t-35TRANS
    that J'xúx polaxn.
    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) sentence:

(103a) J'xúx? J'xúx polaxn J'xúx xi x-t-n.
    that J'xúx CONF help-SEHH-t-31TRANS

"That's the man that I helped."
(103b) 'ix? sãwí? 'i sâl - mî - n - t - xw 'i j'ëuk'la?,
that you COMP lose-REL/2-FPTV-4-82 TRANS the ball

'That's you who lost the ball.'

(103c) 'ix? kw 'i sâl - mî - n - t - xw 'i j'ëuk'la?.

An argument having a form similar to those previously given can be made for the cleft construction. A rule statement characterising 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 non-verb distinction is meaningless for the languages of this area (cf., Heitbard 1938, Eiel 1939, Newman 1969, Kupera 1963, Thompson 1970, 1979 for Salishan languages; Sapir 1921 and Swadesh 1939 for Wakashan languages.) This statement has been repeated in secondary sources (cf., e.g. Bohig 1952, 1965). Jacobson (1976) contains an excellent review of the literature on this topic.

This view, that the non-verb distinction is meaningless, is based on the apparent facts that various affixes, which mark notions commonly marked on verbs 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 1970, 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 Freilokas 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. Thus, this paper may be seen as a step towards resolving some of the problems of linguistic analysis of the languages of Northwestern America.
addition, the analyses proposed herein make it possible for the putative universality of the noun-verb distinction to be maintained.

NOTE

1 This paper is an abbreviated and revised form of Chapter Two 'The Predicate Relation' (Robert 1965a). An earlier version was presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Linguistics Association, Dalhousie University, Halifax, May 24-27, 1981.

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Thanks to my colleagues who helped me to talk and think about the analyses presented in this paper, especially Jessica Roberts, Gacian de Wolf, Tom Sakari, Sarah J. Beel, D. M. Perl意义, Carmen Westphal, and Sandra A. Thompson. Many thanks to the native speakers of Okanagan who patiently teach me or their language especially, for this paper, Clara and Joseph Albert Michel, the main language consultant (Nicola Lake dialect). The responsibility for this analysis remains mine alone.

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 'I' particle in 20b 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 '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 Perl意义 (1972) showed that Nouns, Verbs and Adjectives may bear the Predicate relation in diverse languages: Russian, English,
Cebusno, Paluma, 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>Nicola Lake dialect of Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEN</td>
<td>Penobscot dialect of Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR,TRANS</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>Intensive</td>
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<td>REL/REL</td>
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<td>UNR</td>
<td>Unrealized Action</td>
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<td>IRIR</td>
<td>Irrealis Mood</td>
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<td>PPTP</td>
<td>Perfective Aspect</td>
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<td>PF</td>
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<td>S</td>
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<td>one who habitually...</td>
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