

Okanagan Wh-Questions

by

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I. Abstract

This thesis is the first work devoted specifically to the syntax of wh-questions in a Southern Interior Salish language. As such, it provides a descriptive foundation for future work on the syntax of Okanagan, as well as forming the basis for comparative investigation of wh-questions both within the Southern Interior branch of the Salish family and between the Southern Interior and other better known branches.

Chapter 2 examines the basic word order patterns for clauses and describes the distribution of determiners and complementizers in cleft constructions.

Chapter 3 compares three potential analyses of wh-questions for Okanagan: a wh-in-situ analysis, a wh-movement analysis, and a cleft analysis. I show that a wh-in-situ analysis was not viable for Okanagan on the basis of a comparison of word order possibilities in non-wh sentences and wh-questions. I then turned to the other two possible analyses, a wh-movement analysis along the lines of English, and a cleft analysis, as suggested for other Salish languages by Davis et al (1993) and Kroeber (1991, 1999). Choosing between these analyses proved much more difficult: evidence exists both for and against each analysis, and I was unable to choose between them.

Chapter 4 examines multiple wh-questions in Okanagan. It appeared possible for at least some speakers to produce multiple wh-questions with either two argument wh-phrases or an argument and an adjunct wh-phrase. The latter type of multiple wh-question showed an interesting type of reverse superiority effect: speakers consistently preferred to place the argument wh-phrase in pre-verbal position and the adjunct wh-phrase in post-verbal position. If this really is a superiority effect, it implies that the relative structural positions of adjuncts and arguments are the opposite of those found in English.

Chapter 5 investigates long-range wh-dependencies. First of all, I established that such dependencies are indeed possible. I show that long-range dependencies are sensitive to at least three standard island constraints: the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint, the Wh-Island Constraint and the Adjunct Island Constraint.

Though I was unable to choose between a wh-movement and a wh-cleft analysis for wh-questions, my research unequivocally establishes the existence of A-bar movement dependencies in Okanagan. This is demonstrated by the existence of long-range movement asymmetries as shown by superiority effects in multiple wh-questions and by the existence of adjunct island effects which argue strongly that there must be a configurational basis for the argument/adjunct distinction contra the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (see Jelinek and Demers 1994 on Northern Straits Salish).

Another important consequence of this work is the distinction between two types of focus structure in Okanagan. On the one hand, as in other Salish languages, a nominal predicate (including a wh-predicate based on the argument wh-words *swit* and *stim*) may occur with a relative clause introduced by the determiner *iʔ*; on the other hand both adjunct and argument DP's (including wh-adjuncts) may occur in cleft structures introduced by one of the complementizers *kiʔ* and *ʔaʔ*. Though this distinction corresponds in some ways to that between 'bare' and 'introduced' clefts in other Salish languages (see Kroeber 1999, pg. 370-373), the details of the introduced cleft construction in particular differ in significant ways from the rest of Salish. It remains to be seen how other Southern Interior languages behave in this respect.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents.	iv
List of Figures	vi
List of Abbreviations	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.0 Goals of Thesis	1
1.1 Summary of Thesis	2
1.1.1 Chapter 2	2
1.1.2 Chapter 3	2
1.1.3 Chapter 4	2
1.1.4 Chapter 5	2
1.1.5 Chapter 6	2
Chapter 2 Basic Relevant Structural Properties of Okanagan	3
2.1 Phonological Structure	3
2.1.1. Morphophonemic Processes	5
2.2 Morphological Structure	6
2.2.1 Stem-forming Affixes	6
2.2.2 Transitivity and Intransitivity	7
2.2.3 Pronominal Paradigms	8
2.2.3.1 The Absolutive Paradigm	9
2.2.3.2 The Possessive Paradigm	9
2.2.3.3 The Ergative Paradigm	10
2.2.3.4 The Accusative Paradigms	11
2.3 Syntactic Structure	12
2.3.1 Predicates and Arguments	12
2.3.2 The Determiner	13
2.3.3 Oblique	14
2.3.4 The Complementizers <i>kiʔ</i> and <i>ʔaʔ</i>	15
2.3.5 The Distribution of DP's	17
2.3.5.1 The Interpretation of a Single DP	17
2.3.6 Word Order and Interpretation Effects with Two Direct DP's	19
2.3.6.1 Pre-predicative Word Order	19
2.3.6.2 Post-Predicative Word Order	20
2.3.6.3 Ordering of Oblique DP's	21
2.3.7 Word Order Possibilities in Complex Structures	21
Chapter 3 The Structure of Wh-questions in Okanagan	24
3.1 Previous Work on Wh-questions in Salish	24

3.2 Morphology of Wh-words	24
3.3 The Basic Syntax of Wh-questions	25
3.3.1 The Wh-in-situ Analysis	25
3.3.2 The Wh-movement Analysis	27
3.3.3 The Cleft Analysis	29
3.4 Conclusion	34
Chapter 4 Multiple Wh-questions in Okanagan	37
4.1 Multiple Wh-questions in Okanagan	37
4.2 Multiple Wh-questions with Argument Wh-phrases	38
4.3 Multiple Wh-questions with Adjunct Wh-phrases	39
Chapter 5 Long Range Wh-questions and Island effects	43
5.1 Introduction	43
5.2 Long-range Wh-questions	43
5.3 The Complex Noun Phrase Constraint	45
5.4 The Wh-Island Constraint	46
5.5 Adjunct Islands	47
5.6 Conclusion	48
Chapter 6 Conclusion	49
6.1 Introduction	49
6.2 Summary of Findings	49
6.3 Implications	50
6.4 Future Research	51
References	53
Appendix: Language and Culture Lesson Plan: Acquiring Information	56

List of Figures

Figure 1: Okanagan Consonants and Vowels	4
Figure 2: Formative Order in the Verb stem	7
Figure 3: The Absolutive Paradigm	9
Figure 4: The Possessive Paradigm	9
Figure 5: The Ergative Paradigm	11
Figure 6: The Accusative Paradigm: with -n-t- and -t-t-	11
Figure 7: The Accusative Paradigm: with -tu-t-t-	11
Figure 8: The Accusative Paradigm: with -s-t- and -x(i)-t-	12
Figure 9: The Basic Morphology of Wh-words	25
Figure 10: The Syntax of Wh-words within the Three Analyses	35
Figure 11: The Distribution of i [?] , ki [?] , and ta [?] in Wh-questions	35

List of Abbreviations

1s	first person singular
2s	second person singular
3s	third person singular
1sgposs	first person singular possessive
2sgposs	second person singular possessive
3sgposs	third person singular possessive
abs	absolutive
act	actual
comp	complementizer
cust	customary
CVCred	CVC plural reduplicant
det	determiner
dim	diminutive
dir	directive/directional
DP's	determiner phrases
erg	ergative
fut	future
Ffather	female's father
hab	habitual
imp	imperative
incep	inceptive
inch	inchoative
intr	intransitive
mid	middle
nom	nominalizer
numcla	numeral classifier
obl	oblique
oocred	out of control reduplication
perf	perfective
Plred	plural reduplicant
pperf	past perfective
prep	preposition
Q	question particle
refl	reflexive
sta	stative
tran	transitive

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For Bernice Squakin 1950-2001

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Goals of the Thesis

The goal of this thesis is to examine Wh-Questions in Okanagan Salish. Okanagan is a Southern Interior Salishan language spoken along the waterways and confluences of Okanagan Lake, Okanagan River, Upper Nicola Lake, Douglas Lake, the Similkameen River as far west as Princeton BC, along the Columbia River in Washington State as far south as Chelan Wash., and northeast to the Kettle River and Arrow Lakes in B.C. A. Mattina (1973) distinguishes two dialects, Northern Okanagan, spoken in BC, and Colville/Okanagan, spoken in Washington state. Northern Okanagan has pronunciation differences between three geographical areas: Nicola Lake, the Similkameen area, and Okanagan Lake. There has been a concentrated and consistent effort by fluent speakers and interested parties on both sides of the border to preserve the Okanagan language over the past three decades, both through documentation and education. There are currently approximately 500-1000 speakers of varying fluency (N. Mattina 1996).

Previous work on Okanagan has been in the form of dissertations by Donald Watkins (1970), Anthony Mattina (1973), Yvonne Hebert (1982), and Nancy Mattina (1996), a text by A. Mattina and Pete Seymour (1985), and an Okanagan Language Dictionary (1987), also by A. Mattina. There are also numerous journal articles published by A. Mattina and N. Mattina (A. Mattina 1982, 1993, 1994; N. Mattina 1994a, 1994b).

The majority of the data presented here are from the Okanagan Lake area, spoken around Penticton BC and were collected from 1997-1999 through original fieldwork. The main consultants were two fluent speakers in their sixties, one from Oliver and one from Penticton. I

also consulted with a number of other speakers from Penticton, Keremeos, and Douglas Lake (one of whom has since passed away).

1.1 Summary of the Thesis

1.1.1 Chapter 2

In Chapter 2, the basic properties of Okanagan are examined including relevant phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties of the language. Affixation, in/transitivity, pronominal paradigms, predicate/argument status, the distribution of overt DP's, and word order are necessary prerequisites for the study of wh-questions

1.1.2 Chapter 3

Chapter 3 discusses the structure of Okanagan wh-questions in the light of three potential analyses: a wh-in situ analysis, a cleft analysis, and a wh-movement analysis.

1.1.3 Chapter 4

Chapter 4 briefly examines multiple wh-questions in Okanagan, including superiority effects.

1.1.4 Chapter 5

Chapter 5 examines long range movement in wh-questions, and investigates three island effects found in Okanagan: complex NP effects, wh-island effects, and adjunct island effects.

1.1.5 Chapter 6

Chapter 6 gives an overview of the facts, findings, and conclusions, giving a brief discussion of further issues and future research.

Chapter 2

Basic Relevant Structural Properties of Okanagan

2.1 Phonological Structure

The phonemic inventory of Okanagan (OK) contains 49 sounds, of which 44 are consonants and 5 are vowels. OK full vowels are [i], [a], and [u]; [ə] is the unstressed variant of all full vowels and can also be epenthetic in certain environments due to phonotactic constraints. There is only one stress on OK words and it falls on full vowels; schwa is never stressed. The vowel [o] is found in borrowed words only. The chart in Figure 1 shows the phonemes and gives sample words.

Figure 1: Okanagan Consonants and Vowels:

Symbol	Sample word	Symbol	Sample word
p	pus 'cat'	c'	c'arís 'kingfisher'
t	tupl' 'spider'	k'	k'tənk'míp 'door'
k	kilx 'hand'	k ^w	k ^w six ^w 'goose'
s	stunx 'beaver'	q'	q'a'xán 'shoe'
h	hiw't 'rat'	q ^w	q ^w ətmín 'wolverine'
m	mus 'four'	λ'	λ'a'k'íl x 'Indian doctor'
n	ník'mən 'knife'	m'	m'istəm 'woman's father'
l	lawán 'oats'	n'	n'in'k'mən 'little knife'
r	syriwa'xən 'snowshoes'	r'	sw'ar'ák'xən 'frog'
w	wanx 'war dance'	w'	hiw't 'rat'
y	yútəlx 'raven'	y'	y'ay'ák ^w a' 'stingy'
c	cilkst 'five'	γ	γípən 'I stood it up'
k ^w	k ^w əl'k'íl x ^w 'calf'	a	anwí 'you'
q	qəpqíntn 'hair'	i	incá 'I, me'
q ^w	q ^w íl cən 'evergreen bough'	u	unix ^w 'truly'
ʔ	ʔúmən 'spoon'	ə	əcwíx 'he lived there'
x	xíxu' təm 'girl'	o	lmoto 'sheep'
x ^w	x ^w a' lápa' 'spinning top'	ʔ	ʔasíl 'two'
ǰ	ǰlíwa' 'onion'	ʕ	ʕá' tmən 'yellowbell'
ǰ ^w	ǰ ^w nám ǰ ^w nam 'hummingbird'	ʕ'	kla'ʕ' mín 'button'
p'	p'ína' 'birch basket'	h	hápá' 'grampa'
t'	t'ína' 'ear'	h	hiw't 'rat'

2.1.1 Morphophonemic Processes

I give a brief outline of relevant morphophonemic processes here: see A.Mattina (1973) for details.

a) The /n/ of possessive pronouns *in-* and *an-* is lost before /s-/ “nominalizer” and before *kʰ-* “to have”; and more generally before any occurrence of word initial /t/, and /n/.

(1) isx^wuytn
 in- s- x^wuy-tən
 1sgposs-nom-go- inst
 “They are my tracks.”

(2) akʰtkʰmɪlx^w
 an- kʰ- tkʰmɪlx^w
 2sgposs-to be-woman
 “She is your wife to be.”

(3) itətax^w
 in- tətax^w
 1sgposs-dress
 “my dress”

(4) anik'mən
 an- nik'mən
 2sgposs-knife
 “your knife”

b) The /t/ of *kʰ-* “to have” and of *kʰ-* “unrealized aspect” is lost before /s/

(5) kstatəm
 kʰ- s- tətm
 to have-nom-boat
 “he has a boat”

(6) kstatəms
 kʰ- s- tətm-s
 to be-nom-boat- 3sgposs
 “It’s going to be his boat”

c) The /i/ of *kiʔ* “complementizer,” and *iʔ* “determiner” is changed to /a/ before /c/

- (7) iʔ scəcm'álaʔ aʔ cq'əy'ám
 iʔ scəcm'álaʔ iʔ c- q'əy'- ám
 det children det act-write-middle
 "The children that go to school."

- (8) tə sx^waʔspintk kaʔ cmriməlx
 tə s- x^waʔ spintk kiʔ c- mrim- əlx
 obl nom-lots- year comp act-marry-3pl
 "They were married many years ago."

d) The /k/ of *k-* "directive" and *k-* "numeral classifier" dissimilate to /t/ before a following velar.

- (9) tkic
 k- kic
 dir-arrive
 "He met (someone)."

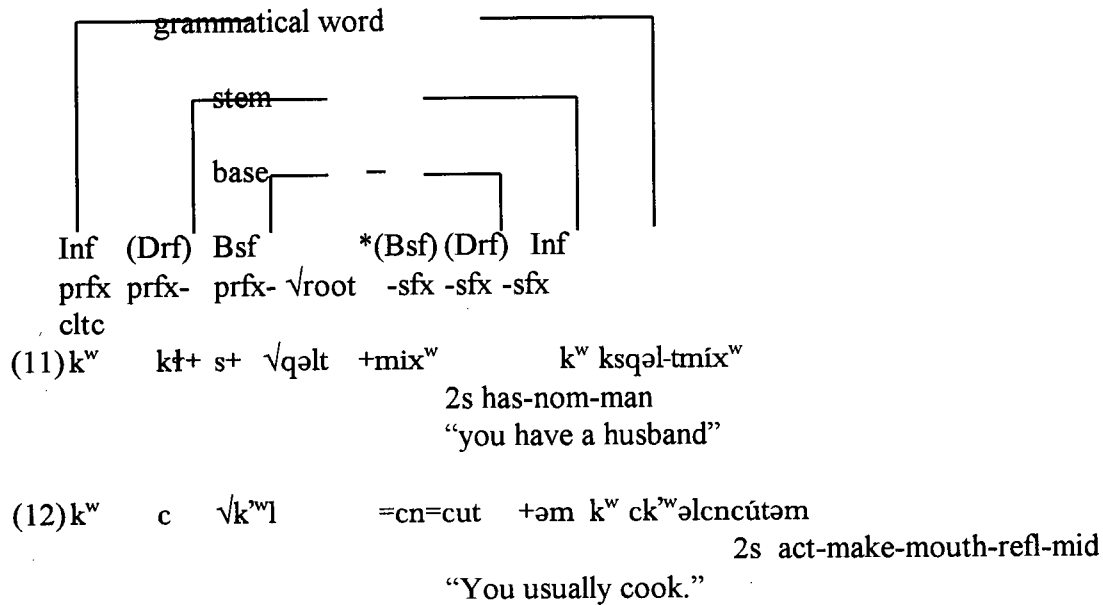
- (10) tkaʔkaʔtis
 k- kaʔ- kaʔtis
 numcl-plred-three
 "There are three people."

2.2 Morphological Structure

2.2.1 Stem-forming Affixes

Okanagan is a head-marking language, where most grammatical information is encoded directly on the predicate by affixes and clitics. Derivational and inflectional suffixes and prefixes are added to a stem to form words, as schematized in the following diagram from N. Mattina (1996, p 52):

Figure 2: Formative Order in the Verb Stem



In this diagram *Inf* stands for inflectional formative, *Drf* stands for derivational formative, and *Bsf* stands for base formative. See N. Mattina (1996) for a detailed description of word formation rules and inflectional and derivational affixes as they pertain to roots. In this section, I will discuss only affixation which pertain directly to the subject matter of this thesis. In particular, I will outline in/transitivity in 2.2.2 and pronominal affixation in 2.2.3.

2.2.2 Transitivity and Intransitivity

As in other Salish languages in/transitivity is overtly marked in Okanagan. Transitive verbs are marked with transitivizers. Transitivizers consist of the suffix *-t-* preceded by one of five pre-transitivizers: */-n-/* “active,” */-s-/* “causative,” */-t-/* “expressed goal,” */-x(i)-/* “benefactive,” */-tuł-/* “ditransitive” (see A. Mattina 1994), and */-nun-/* “success” (A. Mattina, 1973). The structure of a transitive verb is depicted schematically using *-n-t-* in (13).

(13) verb-*n-t*-patient-agent

Okanagan verbs must be formally marked with transitivizers in order to license a direct object,

indirect object, recipient, goal, or benefactee. *-n-*, *-s-*, and *-nun-* entail two arguments,

-t-, *-x(i)-* and *tu-* entail three arguments (A. Mattina 1982). However, a maximum of two arguments (subject and object) are marked by pronominal markers on the predicate.

Intransitive verbs may be marked with intransitivizers, including the suffix */-m-/* “middle” (14 – 15), the suffix */-t/* “stative” (16) and the suffix */-p/* “non-control” (17) (A. Mattina, 1973).

- (14) k'ram
k'ra- m
swim-mid
“He goes swimming.”

- (15) kən q^wacqənəm (A. Mattina, 1993a, pg. 5)
kən q^wacqən-əm
I hat- mid
“I put my hat on.”

- (16) c'ar-t
c'ar- t
sour-stat
“It's sour.”

- (17) ca[?]-áp
ca[?]-áp
hit-oocred
“He is hit (and can't help it).”

Some intransitive and middle verbs may occur with objects, in which case the object is marked with */t/* “oblique.”

- (18) kən wikəm t q^wacqən
kən wik -əm t q^wacqən
I saw-intr obl hat
“I saw a hat”

2.2.3 Pronominal Paradigms

There are four basic pronominal paradigms in Okanagan: the absolutive, the possessive, the ergative, and the accusative. I will present each of these below.

2.2.3.1 The Absolutive Paradigm

The absolutive paradigm is used with intransitive predicates, including nouns, adjectives and intransitive verbs, either with or without an intransitivizer. In figure (3) I illustrate the absolutive paradigm with the middle marked intransitive verb *c'k-am* “to count.” All of the absolutive pronominal forms are proclitics, with the exception of the third person plural form, which is a suffix and the third person singular absolutive which is null.

Figure (3) Absolutive Paradigm

	(Okanagan Colouring Book, <i>En'owkin</i> , 1993)	
1sg	kən c'k-am	I count
2sg	k ^w c'k-am	You count
3sg	c'k-am	S/he counts
1p	k ^w u c'k-am	We count
2p	p c'k-am	You pl count
3p	c'k-ám-əlx	They count

2.2.3.2 The Possessive Paradigm

The possessive paradigm is shown in figure (4) with the noun *kilx* “hand.” First and second singular forms are prefixes, and the other forms are suffixes.

Figure (4) Possessive Paradigm

	Subject	
1sg	in-kilx	My hand
2sg	an-kilx	Your hand
3sg	i ^ʔ kilx-s	His/her hand
1p	i ^ʔ kilx-tət	Our hand
2p	i ^ʔ kilx-əmp	Your pl hand
3p	i ^ʔ kilx-səlx	Their hand

Aside from its use in cases of simple possession, as shown in figure (4), the possessive paradigm is also used in a number of complex aspectual forms which have developed in Southern Interior Salish from nominalized subordinate clauses, but are now also used in main clause environments

(Kroeber 1986, 1999). In Okanagan, these include three types: *-s-* forms glossed by A. Mattina (1993a) as “completive” and by N. Mattina (1996) as “neutral,” which are mainly but not exclusively employed in subordinate clauses (19-20); irrealis forms with the prefix *ks-* (21-22); and customary forms with the prefix combination *ks- sc-* which is realized as *ksc-* (23-24).

(19) *isλəʔam iʔ kʷəkʷrʔit iʔ tkəʔmilxʷ* (A. Mattina, 1985, p. 144)

i- s- λəʔ- am iʔ kʷəkʷrʔit iʔ tkəʔmilxʷ
 1sgposs neut- fetch-mid det golden art woman
 “....to get the Golden woman”

(20) *wayʔ ixíʔ isʔitən* (A. Mattina, 1993a, pg. 17)

wayʔ ixíʔ i- s- ʔitən
 affirm this 1sgposs-compl- eat
 “I am going to eat.”

(21) *lut kʷ iksənsəsʷinaʔm* (En’owkin Centre Colouring Book, 1993)

lut kʷ i- ks- ən- səsʷinaʔ- m
 neg. you 1sgposs.- irr.-loc-whisper- middle
 “I won’t whisper in your ear.”

(22) *lut kʷu aksənsəsʷinaʔm* (En’owkin Centre Colouring Book, 1993)

lut kʷu a- ks- ən- səsʷinaʔ- m
 not me 2sgposs- irr- loc-whisper- middle
 “You won’t whisper in my ear.”

(23) *kʷu kənxtu-ʔt iksəqʔayʔ* (A. Mattina 1993a, pg. 21)

kʷu kənxtu-ʔt i- k- sc- qʔayʔ
 me help-tuʔt 1sgposs- irr- perf-write
 “Help me with what I am going to write.”

(24) *ixíʔ iksəktaʔqinaʔ* (A. Mattina 1993a, pg. 22)

ixíʔ i- k- sc- ktaʔqinaʔ
 this 1sgposs- irr-perf- type
 “This is what I am going to type.”

2.2.3.3 The Ergative Paradigm

The ergative paradigm is used for the subjects of transitivized verbs. The paradigm is given in figure (5), with the verb *cʔk* “count” and the transitivizing combination *-n-t-*. Ergative forms are all suffixal.

Figure (5) Ergative Paradigm

	(OCB 1993)	
1sg	c'k-ən-t-ín	I count it
2sg	c'k-ən-t-ix ^w	You count it
3sg	c'k-ən-t-is	S/he counts it
1p	c'k-ən-t-ím	We count it
2p	c'k-ən-t-íp	You pl count it
3p	c'k-ən-t-isəlx	They count it

2.2.3.4 The Accusative Paradigms

There are two accusative paradigms, one used with *-n-t-* and *-t-t-*, shown in figure (6), and the other with *-s-t-* and *-xi-t-*, shown in figure (7). The object markers are given with first person singular ergative subjects, except for first person objects, which are given with second person singular ergative subjects. The accusative paradigm is used to mark the objects of transitivized predicates as shown in figures (6), (7), and (8).

Figure (6) The Accusative Paradigm: *-n-t-* and *-t-t-*

	Object with <i>-n-t-</i>		with <i>-t-t-</i>	
1sg	k ^w u wik-n-t-x ^w	You saw me.	k ^w u ka ^ʔ kíc-t-t-x ^w	You found it for me.
2sg	wik-n-t-s-ən	I saw you.	ka ^ʔ kíc-t-t-s-ən	I found it for you.
3sg	wik-n-t-x ^w	You saw him.	ka ^ʔ kíc-t-t-x ^w	You found it for him.
1p	k ^w u wik-(n-t)-əm	You saw us.	k ^w u ka ^ʔ kíc-t-t-əm	They/S/he found it for us.
2p	wik-(n-t)-t-m-ən	I saw you.	ka ^ʔ kíc-t-t-m-ən	I found it for you.
3p	wik-n-t-m-əlx	We saw them.	ka ^ʔ kíc-t-t-m-əlx	We found it for them.

Figure (7) The Accusative Paradigm: *-tu-t-t-*

	Object with <i>-tu-t-t-</i>	
1sg	k ^w u c-k ^w ən-x-tu-t-t-x ^w	You showed it to me.
2sg	ck ^w ən-x-tu-t-t-s-ən	I showed it to you.
3sg	c-k ^w ən-x-tu-t-t-ən	I showed it to him.
1pl	k ^w u c-k ^w ən-x-tu-t-t-əm	They showed it to us
2pl	c-k ^w ən-x-tu-t-t-m-ən	I showed it to you.
3pl	c-k ^w ən-x-tu-t-t-m-əlx	I showed it to them.

Figure (8) The Accusative Paradigm: *-s-t-* and *-x(i)-t*

	With <i>-s-t-</i>		With <i>-x(i)-t</i>	
1sg	k ^w u n-ǰil-s-t-x ^w	You scared me.	k ^w u m'ay'xí-t-s	He tells me a story.
2sg	n-ǰil-s-t-m-ən	I scared you.	m'ay'xí-t-m-ən	I told you a story.
3sg	n-ǰil-s-t-x ^w	You scared him.	m'ay'xí-t-x ^w	You told him a story.
1p	k ^w u n-ǰil-s-t-əm	They/S/He scared us.	k ^w u m'ay'xí-t-əm	They/S/He told us a story.
2p	n-ǰil-(s-t)-ǰm-ən	I scared you.	m'ay'xí-(t)-ǰm-ən	I told you a story.
3p	n-ǰil-s-t-m-əlx	I scared them.	m'ay'xí-t-m-əlx	I told them a story.

2.3 Syntactic Structure

In this section, I will introduce aspects of syntactic structure relevant to the analysis of Wh-questions. In 2.3.1, I will introduce the basic division of an Okanagan clause into an inflected predicate and one or more optional arguments. In 2.3.2, I will discuss the Okanagan determiner system. In 2.3.3, I will discuss oblique marked nominals. Section 2.3.4 will be devoted to the complementizers *ʔaʔ* and *kiʔ*. Finally, sections 2.3.5 to 2.3.9 will be concerned with the distribution of overt DP's, including the One Nominal effect, post-predicative word order possibilities and pre-predicative positions.

2.3.1 Predicates and Arguments

The Okanagan clause is divided into two main parts: an inflected predicate, the only obligatory constituent of a sentence, and a series of optional arguments, each marked obligatorily by an initial determiner (with the exception of proper names, which are not preceded by a determiner). Predicates may be of any lexical category, including nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Examples of simple clauses with the transitive predicate *wik-n-t-* “to see” are given in (25) to (27).

- (25) wik(n-t)-0-s
 wik(n-t)- 0-s
 see-(n-t) -0-3sg
 “S/he saw him/her/it.”

(26) wiks Pete
 wik-(n-t)-0-3s Pete
 saw-(n-t) 0-3sg Pete
 "He saw Pete/Pete saw him."

(27) Pete wik-(n-t)-0-s iʔ kəkwap
 Pete wik-(n-t)-0-s iʔ kəkwap
 Pete saw-(n-t)-0-3sg det dog
 "Pete saw the dog."

2.3.2 The Determiner

Okanagan has a single direct determiner *iʔ* which introduces argument DP's, including subjects

(28), objects (29), possessors (30) and prepositional objects (31).

(28) iʔ sqəłtmixʷ kʷu wiks
iʔ sqəłtmixʷ kʷu wik-(n-t)-0-s
 det man me saw-(n-t)-0-3sg
 "The man saw me."

(29) wikən iʔ sqəłtmixʷ
 wik-(n-t)-0-ən iʔ sqəłtmixʷ
 saw-(n-t)-0-1sg det man
 "I saw the man."

(30) wikən iʔ sqəłtmixʷ iʔ kəkwap
 wik-(n-t)-0-ən iʔ sqəłtmixʷ iʔ kəkwap-s
 saw-(n-t)-0-1sg det man det dog- 3sgposs
 "I saw the man's dog."

(31) kʷin iʔ təl sqəłtmixʷ
 kʷi(n)(n-t)-0-ən iʔ təl sqəłtmixʷ
 take- n-t- 0-1sg det from(preposition) man
 "I took it from the man."¹

The determiner is also used to introduce relative clauses, as in (32-34), and clefts as in (35-

37).²

¹ Note that the determiner precedes prepositions and the oblique marker in Okanagan, as in other Southern Interior languages but in contrast to the rest of the Salish family, where prepositions precede determiners.

² The determiner has the allomorphs *y* and *yə* in the Colville dialect of Okanagan, as seen in examples (33, 34, and 36).

- (32) mi k^w x^wuy i[?] k'əl kmal̥x̥a[?]nts (Kroeber 1999, pg. 305)
 mi k^w x^wuy i[?] k'əl k- mal̥x̥a[?]-n-(t)-0- s
 fut you go det to pers-lie- n-(t)- 0-3sg
 "You will go to the one who lied to you."
- (33) way' axá[?] y ascənq'əmscín (A. Mattina 1985, pg. 122)
 way' axá[?] y a- sc ənq'əmscín
 affirm this det 2sgposs perf wish-for
 "This is what you have been wishing for."
- (34) way' ixí[?] k^w iksm'áya[?]ttəm y aksəntq^wu(t)n (A. Mattina 1985, pg. 188)
 way' ixí[?] k^w i- ks- m'áya[?]- tt-əm y a- ks- əntq^wu(t)n
 affirm that you 1sgposs fut tell- tt- middle det 2sgposs-fut-bed
 "I'll show you where you are going to sleep."
- (35) incá i[?] kən ksq^wən'q^wanta[?]x (A. Mattina 1987, pg. 162)
 incá i[?] kən ks-q^wən'q^want-a[?]x
 I det I fut-pitiful -fut
 "It s I who will be hard up."
- (36) kmix i[?] stk'masq'ət yə[?] cwiksts (A. Mattina 1985, p. 86)
 kmix i[?] stk'masq'ət yə[?] c- wik-s-t-0-s
 onlydet sky det cust-see-s-t-0-3sg
 "Only the sky he sees."
- (37) sɬ'a[?]cínəm i[?] wikəntx^w
 sɬ'a[?]cínəm i[?] wik -n-t-0-x^w
 deer det saw-n-t-0-2sg
 "A deer is what you saw."

2.3.3 Oblique

In Okanagan, the oblique marker *t* has the following functions:

(a) *t* marks the object of an intransitive verb (with an indefinite interpretation):

- (38) kən ʔitən t stiq^{w3} (A. Mattina 1993a, pg. 8)
 kən ʔitən t stiq^w
 I eat obl meat
 "I ate (some) meat."
- (39) kən λ'x^wup t sɬlaw' (A. Mattina 1993a pg. 8)
 kən λ'x^wupt sɬlaw'
 I wonobl money
 "I won some money."

³ Note that oblique marked nominals may appear with or without determiners, unlike direct arguments. There appears to be a semantic difference between these two possibilities; however, a precise characterization of this difference must await future work.

(b) *t* marks the oblique agent in a passive construction. (Passive predicates are based on transitivity verbs suffixed with the passive marker *-m* which replaces ergative inflection.)

- (40) *cuntəm iʔ t sl'aʔts* (En'owkin Centre Class Notes, 1994)
 cu- n-t- əm iʔ t sl'aʔt- s
 tell-n-t-pass det obl friend-3sgposs
 "He was told by his friend."

(c) *t* optionally marks the (ergative) agent of an ordinary transitivity verb.

- (41) *cus iʔ t λ'aʔəʔλ'xáps* (N. Mattina 1996, pg. 41)
 cu(n-t) -0 -s iʔ t λ'aʔəʔλ'xáp-s
 cun-(n-t)-0-3sg det obl elders- 3sgposs
 "His elders told him..."

- (42) *uʔ n'in'w'is cem' ixíʔ wahəntsís iʔ t kəkəw'apaʔ* (A. Mattina 1985, pg. 87)
 uʔ n'in'w'is cem' ixíʔ wahə-n-t -s -ís iʔ t kəkəw'apaʔ
 and perhaps maybe that bark-n-t -2sg-3sg det obl dim-dog
 "...and maybe the little dog will bark at you."

(d) *t* marks a number of oblique functions, including time (43) and instrument (44):

- (43) *way' t'i cuntšan tə sp'iʔsc'ítt way' wikntsən*
 way' t'i cu(n)-n-t-s-ən tə sp'iʔsc'ítt way' wikntsən
 affirmemph tell -n-t-2sg-1sg obl yesterday affirm saw-n-t-2sg-1sg
 "I told you I saw you yesterday."

- (44) *kən txam t sʔəʔc'iʔ* (A. Mattina 1994, pg. 14)
 kən txam t sʔəʔc'iʔ
 I comb obl stick
 "I combed my hair with a stick."

2.3.4 The Complementizers *kiʔ* and *ʔaʔ*

Unlike most other Salish languages, Okanagan has two complementizers that are clearly distinct from determiners, since they always introduce clauses rather than phrases. The two complementizers are *kiʔ* and *ʔaʔ* (N. Mattina 1996, Kroeber 1999). *ʔaʔ* usually introduces adverbial clauses, as in examples (45-47), but may also occur in clefts, as in (48 -49).

- (45) kən⁴ c'ayx^wt kən t̥aʔ cmaʔyám (A. Mattina 1993a, g.10)
 kən c' ayx^wt kən t̥aʔ c- maʔyá-m
 I act-tire I when act-tell-intr
 "I get tired when I tell stories."
- (46) isəc'amt̥úm iʔ sq^wəsq^wasiyaʔs t̥aʔ ck'aw (En'owkin Centre Class Notes, 1994)
 i- səc' - am -t̥-t-ím iʔ s- q^wəs- q^wasiyaʔ-s t̥aʔ c- k'aw
 1sgposs-perf-feed-t̥-t-intr det nom-Plred- child- 3sgposs while act-gone
 "I am feeding his children while he is gone."
- (47) t̥aʔ t̥kicx cuntx^w mi k^wu t̥cq^wəlq^wilsts (En'owkin Centre Class Notes, 1994)
 t̥aʔ t̥ kicx cu n-t -0-x^w mi k^wu t̥ c q^wəlq^wil s-t -0-s
 when dir-arrive tell-n-t-0-2sg future me dir-cust- plred- talk-s-t-0-3sg
 "When she comes back tell her to call me back."
- (48) axáʔ atwán t̥aʔ kscq'áy (A. Mattina 1993a, pg. 6)
 axáʔ atwán t̥aʔ k- sc q'áy
 this Tony that poss past.perf- write
 "It was Tony that wrote it."
- (49) way' ixíʔ axáʔ iʔ tət̥wít t̥aʔ kscq'áy (A. Mattina 1985, p. 126)
 way' ixíʔ axáʔ iʔ tət̥wít t̥aʔ k(t̥)-sc- q'áy
 affirm this that det boy that poss-perf-write
 "It's the boy that writes them."

The complementizer *kiʔ* is used to derive clefts. It may be used to focus arguments, as in (50-1), as well as expressions of time, place and manner as in examples (52), (53) and (54) respectively.

- (50) t incá kiʔ ck^win (A. Mattina 1985, p. 231)
 t incá kiʔ c- k^wi(n)-(n-t)-0-n
 obl I comp dir-take- (n-t)-0-1sg
 "It was I who took it."
- (51) iʔ s̥aʔaʔcínəm kiʔ wiks
 iʔ s̥aʔaʔcínəm kiʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s
 det deer that saw-(n-t)-0-3sg
 "It's the deer that he saw."

⁴There are two distinguishable morphemes /c-/ in Okanagan. One morpheme *c-* is the actual prefix. The actual morpheme "refers to an action, entity or state obtaining at a particular main time or situation of reference. *c-nstils* - 'he actually thinks that..' (A. Mattina, 1973, p.88) The other *c-* morpheme is the *c-* customary or habitually "which adds to Okanagan state words a notion of 'get, become.' With action words it signals progressive or habitual action. With noun stems it translates as 'be with, have (on). (a)c- occurs with verbs of motion that are not cislocative (without *c-* 'cislocative.')" (A. Mattina, 1993a, p.9.) (For discussion of *c-* cislocative allomorph see (A. Mattina 1993a))

(52) iʔ l nəqslúp kaʔ cʔatʔpməncút
 iʔ l nəqslúp kaʔ c ʔatʔpmən cút
 det prep one-place comp act-jump- refl
 He jumped up and down in one spot."
 (literally: "it was in one place that he jumped up and down.")

(53) qʔsápiʔ kaʔ cwíkstmən
 qʔsápiʔ kaʔ c wík-s-t-m- ən
 long-time that cust-see-s-t-2sg-1sg-I
 "It's been a long time since I've seen you."

(54) yaʔyáʔt stim' ʔw'aw' kaʔ ckʷúmstsəlɬ
 yaʔyáʔt stim' ʔ-w'-aw' kaʔ c kʷúm-s-t-0-səlɬ
 all what oocred-drywhen cust-putaway-s-t-3pl
 "All has to be dried before they put it away."
 (literally: "Everythi, dry is what they put away.")

2.3.5 The Distribution of DP's

Predicates in Okanagan may occur with up to two direct (non-oblique marked) DP's. (A variety of oblique marked adjuncts may also be present.) Most sentences contain only a single direct DP, particularly in narrative contexts, though speakers readily accept two direct DP's in elicited contexts. In the following sections, I will examine the interpretation of direct DP's in both pre- and post predicative positions. It is important to establish basic word order facts before examining Wh-questions in Chapter 3.

2.3.5.1 The Interpretation of a Single DP

In Okanagan, a single direct DP may occur either before or after the main predicate. Examples with intransitive predicates are given in (55) and (56).

(55) iʔ kəkwap wəham (N. Mattina 1994, p. 95)
 iʔ kəkwap wəham
 det dog barked
 "The dog barked."

(56) wəham iʔ kəkwap (N. Mattina 1994, p. 95)
 wəham iʔ kəkwap
 barked det dog
 "The dog barked."

In transitive sentences, a single direct DP may also precede or follow the predicate. When it precedes, the DP is always interpreted as the subject. When it follows, the DP may be interpreted either as the subject or object.

(57) Pete wiks

Pete wik-(n-t)-0-3s

Pete saw-(n-t)-0-3sg

"Pete saw him."

(58) wiks Pete

wik-(n-t)-0-3s Pete

saw-(n-t)-0-3sg Pete

"He saw Pete." *or* "Pete saw him."

These cases are of interest in that they seem to show that Okanagan lacks the One Nominal Interpretation Effect. The One Nominal Effect (Gerdt, 1988) states that "in the absence of other persons, a single (post-verbal) 3rd person nominal is interpreted as the absolutive." The One Nominal Effect is characteristic of Salish languages from both the Central (Coast) and Northern Interior branches of the family. Its absence in Okanagan constitutes a potential significant syntactic difference between these languages and those of the Southern Interior.

Interestingly, there does appear to be a kind of One Nominal effect in passive sentences in Okanagan, as shown by the following examples from N. Mattina (1994), where a single DP must be interpreted as (an oblique) agent (59-60); examples with a single (non-oblique) patient are ungrammatical (61-2). Note also this effect holds both for pre-predicative and post-predicative DP's

(59) ^sacəntim i[?] t sqəltmíx^w

(N. Mattina, 1994)

^sacə-n-t-ím i[?] t sqəltmíx^w

tie- n-t- passive det obl man

"It was tied up by the man."

(60) i[?] t sqəltmíx^w ^sacəntim

i[?] t sqəltmíx^w ^sacə-n-t-ím

det obl man tie- n-t- passive

"The man tied it up."

- (62) *iʔ snkʰtʰaʔsqáxaʔ ʰacəntim
iʔ snkʰtʰaʔsqáxaʔ ʰacə-n-t-im
det horse tie-n-t-passive
“The horse was tied up.”

- (66) #iʔ sp'iʔqáʔq ʔiʔs iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt t sp'iʔsc'íʔt
 iʔ sp'iʔqáʔq ʔiʔ-(n-t)-0-s iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt t sp'iʔsc'íʔt
 det berry ate-(n-t)-0-3sg det child obl yesterday
 "The berry ate the child yesterday." *not* "The child ate the berry yesterday."

- (67) *iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt iʔ sp'iʔqáʔq ʔiʔs t sp'iʔsc'íʔt

N. Mattina (1994 p, 96) reports that for two of her four speakers, OVS sentences were acceptable if there was no possible ambiguity, as in example (68).

- (68) iʔ sqlaw' wikʷs intum' (N. Mattina 1994)
 iʔ sqlaw' wikʷ-(n-t)-0-s in- tum'
 det money hide-(n-t)-0-3sg 1sgposs-woman's-mother
 "My mother hid the money."

However, the speakers I have worked with judge sentences like this to be ungrammatical.

2.3.6.2 Post-predicative Word Order

The strongly preferred word order for my consultants with two direct post-predicative DP's is VSO, as shown in the examples in (69-70)

- (69) ʔiʔs iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt iʔ spiʔqáʔq t sp'isc'íʔt
 ʔiʔ-(n-t)- 0-s iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt iʔ spiʔqáʔq t sp'isc'íʔt
 eat-(n-t)-0-3sg det child det berry obl yesterday
 "The child ate the berry yesterday." *not* "The berry ate the child yesterday."

- (70) #ʔiʔs iʔ spiʔqáʔq iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt t sp'isc'íʔt
 ʔiʔ-(n-t)-0-s iʔ spiʔqáʔq iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt t sp'isc'íʔt
 eat-(n-t)-0-3sg det berry det child obl yesterday
 "The berry ate the child yesterday." *not* "The child ate the berry yesterday."

These findings contrast with those of N. Mattina (1994), two out of four of whose consultants accepted both VSO and VOS orders, as long as no ambiguity was created (71-72).

- (71) kt'əntís iʔ sp'ic'ən Mary
 kt'ə-n-t-0-is iʔ sp'ic'ən Mary
 cut-n-t-0-3sg det rope Mary
 "Mary cut the rope."

- (72) kt'əntís Mary iʔ sp'ic'ən
 kt'ə-n-t-0-is Mary iʔ sp'ic'ən
 cut-n-t-0-3sg Mary det rope
 "Mary cut the rope."

This variability may be either idiolectal or dialectal; for example, in the long Colville text in Mattina (1985) both VSO and VOS word orders are present.

2.3.6.3 Ordering of Oblique DP's

It is possible to place a temporal adjunct DP in front of the predicate, as in (73-74).

- (73) t sp'i?sc'iŋt wikən i? sqłtmix^w
 t sp'i?sc'iŋt wik-(n-t)-0-ən i? sqłtmix^w
 obl yesterday saw-(n-t)-0-1sg det man
 "Yesterday I saw the man."
- (74) t sk'k'lax^w kən k^wəlcnút t sŋiq^w
 t sk'k'lax^w kən k^wəl-cn- cútt sŋiq^w
 obl night I cook-mouth-refl obl meat
 "Last night I cooked some meat."

N. Mattina (1994) reports that oblique marked passive agent DP's may also occur pre-predicatively as in (75).

- (75) i? t sqłtmix^w wikəntəm i? tətwi't (N. Mattina 1994, eg. 18c)
 i? t sqłtmix^w wikə-n-t-əm i? tətwi't
 det obl man saw-n-t- passive det boy
 "The boy was seen by the man."

Post-predicatively, oblique DP's, including both temporal adjuncts and passive agents, may be freely ordered with respect to direct DP's (76-80).

- (76) ?iŋs i? sk^wək^wiməlt i? sp'iqaŋq t sp'i?sc'iŋt
- (77) ?iŋs i? sk^wək^wiməlt t sp'i?sc'iŋt i? sp'iqaŋq
- (78) ?iŋs t sp'i?sc'iŋt i? sk^wək^wiməlt i? sp'iqaŋq
- (79) wikəntəm i? tətwi't i? t sqłtmix^w
- (80) wikəntəm i? sqłtmix^w i? t tətwi't

2.3.7 Word Order Possibilities in Complex Structures

So far, we have looked at word order in simple (mono-clausal) sentences. In this section, we will examine more complex structures formed by focusing a DP. For my consultants, by far the

most favoured strategy for focusing a DP is to form a cleft using the complementizer *kiʔ*. Clefts are constructed by placing the focused DP in initial position followed by a clause introduced by *kiʔ*.

Subject, object, and adjunct DP's may all be clefted as in examples (81-83) respectively.

- (81) *iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt kiʔ ʔits iʔ spiʔqatq t sp'isc'itt*
iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt kiʔ ʔit-(n-t)- 0-s iʔ spiʔqatq t sp'isc'itt
 the child that eat-(n-t)-0-3sg det berry obl yesterday
 "It was the child that ate the berry yesterday."

- (82) *iʔ spiʔqatq kiʔ ʔits t sp'isc'itt iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt*
iʔ spiʔqatq kiʔ ʔit-(n-t)-0- s t sp'isc'itt iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt
 det berry that eat-(n-t)-0-3sg obl yesterday the child
 "It was the berry that ate the child yesterday."

- (83) *t sp'isc'itt kiʔ ʔits iʔ spiʔqatq iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt*
t sp'isc'itt kiʔ ʔit-(n-t)- 0-s iʔ spiʔqatq iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt
 obl yesterday that eat-(n-t)-0-3sg det berry det child
 "It was yesterday that the child ate the berry."

In contrast, the consultants rejected clefted structures using the determiner *iʔ*, as shown in

(84-86).

- (84) **iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt iʔ ʔits iʔ spiʔqatq t sp'isc'itt*
iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt iʔ ʔit-(n-t)- 0-s iʔ spiʔqatq t sp'isc'itt
 det child det eat-(n-t)-0-3sg det berry obl yesterday
 "It was the child that ate the berry yesterday."

- (85) **iʔ spiʔqatq iʔ ʔits t sp'isc'itt iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt*
iʔ spiʔqatq iʔ ʔit-(n-t)- 0- s t sp'isc'itt iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt
 det berry det eat-(n-t)-0-3sg obl yesterday the child
 "It was the berry that ate the child yesterday."

- (86) **t sp'isc'itt iʔ ʔits iʔ spiʔqatq iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt*
t sp'isc'itt iʔ ʔit-(n-t)- 0- s iʔ spiʔqatq iʔ skʷəkʷiməlt
 obl yesterday det eat-(n-t)-0-3sg det berry det child
 "It was the child that ate the berry yesterday."

Notice that these cleft structures with *kiʔ* all involve a fronted DP. In contrast, in clefts with *iʔ*, the initial nominal invariably occurs without a determiner (see examples (35-37) in section 2.3.2).

These latter structures resemble ordinary cases of predicate nominals with a relative clause in argument position, as in (37) repeated here as (87).

- (87) sʰaʰcínəm iʰ wikəntxʷ
 sʰaʰcínəm iʰ wik -n-t-0-xʷ
 deer det saw-n-t-0-2sg
 "A deer is what you saw."

- (88) kən aʰ cxʷuy
 kənaʰc- xʷuy
 I art dir-go
 "I am the one going."

In order to cleft an object DP using *kiʰ*, the predicate must be nominalized, as shown in (89).

(Note that when nominalized, intransitive predicates appear with possessor subjects.)

- (89) iʰ spiʰqaʰtq kiʰ scʰiʰəns iʰ skʷəkʷiməlt t spʰiscʰiʰt
 iʰ spiʰqaʰtq kiʰ scʰ iʰən-(n-t)-0-s iʰ skʷəkʷiməlt t spʰiscʰiʰt
 det berry that nom-eat-(n-t)-0-3sposs. det child obl yesterday
 "The child ate the berry yesterday."

I assume that nominalization in this structure induces a function changing operation which demotes the original subject to possessor, and promotes the original direct object to subject. Thus though (89) appears to involve object focus, in fact, it is a case of subject focus. This analysis follows that of Hukari (1977) for Coast Salish; see also Kroeber (1999 p. 313-315). Unusually in Salish, nominalization of this type is used in Okanagan where a direct object is being extracted; elsewhere, this strategy is typically employed for extraction of adjuncts or oblique objects. We shall see more examples of this nominalization strategy when we turn to *wh*-questions in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

The Structure of Wh-questions in Okanagan

3.1 Previous Work on Wh-questions in Salish

There is no published work explicitly devoted to wh-questions in Okanagan, though N. Mattina has kindly made available a copy of her field notes on the topic. Previous work on wh-questions in Salish is contained in Kroeber (1991, 1999) who takes a cross-Salishan perspective, Davis et al (1993), who focus on the Northern Interior Salish languages, and Jelinek (1998) who examines wh-clefts in the Lummi dialect of Straits Salish. There is a consensus that in Coast Salish and in Northern Interior Salish wh-questions take the form of clefts. However, no such consensus exists for the Southern Interior, partly because of the lack of work on the issue, and partly because the Southern Interior languages diverge significantly from the other branches of the family, for example with respect to the distribution and function of pronominal inflection (see Kroeber 1999, p. 223-226).

In this chapter, I will describe the basic morphology and syntax of wh-questions in Okanagan. In 3.2, I will focus on the morphological form of wh-words. In 3.3, I will turn to the syntax, comparing three different potential analyses: a wh-in-situ analysis, a wh-movement analysis and a cleft analysis.

3.2 Morphology of Wh-words

There are two basic forms for wh-words in Okanagan, one of which characterizes adjuncts (including locative, temporal, reason and manner expressions) and the other arguments (including subjects, objects, and oblique marked DP's). Adjunct wh-words are based on the morpheme

‘-ʔkin’, with locative prefixes added to form wh-words, as shown in Figure 8 (A. Mattina, 1973). Argument wh-words are based on the independent stems ‘stim’-what, and ‘swit’- who.

Figure 9: Basic Morphology of Wh-words

Question Words			
swit	who	səc'kinx	why
stim'	what	səxkinx	what's the matter
k'aʔkin	where	əc'kin	how
laʔkin	where	ta ck'aʔkin	how
tlaʔkin	where from	əc'kistx ^w	how did you
taʔkin	where	pən'kin	when
sk'aʔkinx	where is s.o.	kinəm	where is s.o.
k'aʔkin mat	where is s.o.		which one

As in other Salish languages, all wh-words in Okanagan may be used in two distinct ways: to form wh-questions, and as polarity sensitive indefinites. We will be focusing exclusively on the former usage. The syntax of wh-indefinites remains a topic for future research.

3.3 The Basic Syntax of Wh-questions

In this section, we will be examining the syntax of Okanagan wh-questions in the light of three potential analyses: a wh-in-situ analysis as employed for languages such as Chinese, Japanese, and Korean (see Huang 1981); a wh-movement analysis as standardly proposed for languages like English (see Chomsky 1977); and a wh-cleft analysis as suggested for languages like Arabic, Indonesian, and Palauan by Cheng (1990).

3.3.1 The Wh-in-situ Analysis

The wh-in-situ analysis makes the straightforward prediction that wh-phrases will occupy exactly the same positions as ordinary non-focused DPs with a question interpretation rather than an indefinite one.

Are there positions where a wh-word is ungrammatical but an ordinary DP is grammatical?

Yes: an ordinary object DP is grammatical in post-verbal position, as in example (90), but the corresponding wh-word in the same position is not, as in example (91)⁷. The wh-word cannot remain in-situ and be grammatical as shown in (91); instead it must be fronted, as seen in (92).

- (90) wikəntx^w i[?] sɬ'acínəm
wikə-n-t-0-x^w i[?] sɬ'acínəm
saw- n-t-0-2sg det deer
"You saw a deer."

- (91) *wikəntx^w stim'
*wikə-n-t-0-x^w stim'
saw- n-t-0-2sg what
"You saw what."

- (92) stim' i[?] wikəntx^w
stim' i[?] wikə-n-t-0-x^w
what det saw-n-t-0-2sg
"What did you see?"

Similarly, though as we have seen, a non-wh subject is perfectly grammatical in a pre-predicative position without the need for a following determiner, a wh- subject cannot occur in this position. Compare (93) and (95) with the ungrammatical example in (94):

- (93) Mary k^wu wiks
Mary k^wu wik-(n-t)-0-s
Mary me wik-(n-t)-0-3sg
"Mary saw me."

- (94) *swit k^wu wiks
swit k^wu wik-(n-t)-0-s
who me saw-(n-t)-0-3sg
"Who saw me?"

- (95) swit i[?] k^wu wiks
swit i[?] k^wu wik-(n-t)-0-s
who det me saw-(n-t)-0-3sg
"Who saw me?"

⁷ As in English, an in-situ wh-phrase in Okanagan can be construed as an echo question, as in (i) below:

(i) Mary wiks swit
Mary wik-(n-t)-0-3sg who
"Mary saw WHO?"

I conclude that an in-situ analysis is not viable for wh-questions in Okanagan.

3.3.2 The Wh-movement Analysis

The second analysis that we will consider for wh-questions in Okanagan involves the process of wh-movement, as exemplified in analyses of European languages such as English, French, and Bulgarian.

There are two basic types of wh-movement: either all the wh-phrases move to sentence initial position into SPEC of CP (as in Bulgarian) or only one moves into SPEC of CP (as in English). An example of multiple wh-movement in Bulgarian is given in (96) and an English example in (97)

- (96) koj kogo vizda (Rudin 1988, 472-473)
who whom sees
“Who saw who?”

- (97) Who saw what where?

It is easy to show that Okanagan wh-questions do not resemble those of a multiple wh-movement language like Bulgarian. Two wh-phrases may not appear sentence initially, as shown in (98-99):

- (98) *swit səc'kinx kaʔ tcaʔntix^w
swit səc'kinx kaʔ t- caʔ-n-t-0-ix^w
who why that dir-hit-n-t-0-2sg
“Who why did you hit?”
- (99) *t spənkin k'aʔkin kiʔ wiks
t spənkin k'aʔkin kiʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s
obl when where that saw-(n-t)-0-3sg
“When where did he see it?”

In order to convey the meanings of sentences like (98-99), Okanagan coordinates the two wh-phrases with the conjunction *ut*, the coordinated wh-phrases appear in a *kiʔ* type cleft (see 2.3.7 above).⁸

⁸ Note that it is ungrammatical to coordinate two wh-phrases in SPEC CP in English. This constitutes an additional difference between English and Okanagan.

- (100) swit uʔ səc'kinx kaʔ ʔcaʔntix^w
 swit uʔ səc'kinx kaʔ ʔ- caʔ-n-t-0-ix^w
 who and why that dir-hit-n-t-0-2sg
 "Who and why did you hit?"

- (101) t spənkin uʔ k'aʔkin kiʔ wiks
 t spənkin uʔ k'aʔkin kiʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s
 obl when and where that saw-(n-t)-0-3sg
 "t When and where did he see it?"

It is much less easy to establish whether or not Okanagan has overt wh-movement like English, where one wh-phrase moves to clause initial position and any other wh-phrase remains in-situ. Unlike in languages of the Central (Coast) and Northern Interior branches of the Salish family, Southern Interior languages lack special subordinate subject pronoun morphology (see Kroeber 1999, p. 223-226). This means in Okanagan, it is impossible to tell simply by inspecting pronominal inflection whether wh-questions are mono-clausal, as we would expect under a wh-movement analysis, or bi-clausal, as we would expect under a cleft analysis. To be sure, it is impossible to produce wh-questions without an introductory particle, either the determiner *iʔ* or one of the complementizers *kiʔ* or *ʔaʔ*. This is shown in the questions in examples (102-103), see also (94) above.

- (102) *stim' wikəntx^w (N. Mattina, field notes)
 stim' wikə-n-t-0-x^w
 what saw- n-t-0-2sg
 "What did you see?"

- (103) stim' iʔ wikəntx^w
 stim' iʔ wik-ən-t-0-x^w
 what det saw-n-t-0-2sg
 "What did you see?"

However, the obligatory presence of a determiner or complementizer is compatible with either a direct movement analysis or a cleft analysis, so it cannot be used as evidence either way.

One possible argument for a direct movement analysis along the lines of English comes from

the distribution of *wh-in-situ*. Since a cleft analysis involves the base generation of a *wh*-predicate in initial position and movement is of an empty operator in an associated relative clause, we do not expect under the cleft analysis to find cases of *wh-in-situ*. On the other hand, under an English type direct movement analysis, we should find cases of *wh-in-situ* in multiple *wh*-questions. Since data on multiple *wh*-structures in Okanagan is complicated, I will defer discussion of this issue till Chapter 4.⁹

3.3.3 The Cleft Analysis

In section 2.3.7 we saw two strategies for forming clefts in Okanagan. The first involved a predicate nominal with a relative clause in argument position, introduced by the determiner *iʔ*. The second involved a clefted constituent DP followed by a clause introduced by *kiʔ*. If *wh*-questions are identical to cleft structures, we should find *wh*-words occurring in exactly the same positions as clefted constituents.

This prediction is largely borne out by the distribution of *wh*-words in Okanagan. The *wh*-words *swit* and *stim'* occur most frequently as predicate nominals followed by an *iʔ* clause. Example (104) shows the normal pattern of an object *wh*-question, with the *wh*-phrase *stim'* in predicate position, a relative clause introduced by an *iʔ* determiner, and no special morphology on the embedded predicate.

- (104) *swit iʔ wiks*
 swit iʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s
 who that saw-(n-t)-0-3sg
 ‘Who did he see?’

This is identical to the *iʔ* cleft strategy described in 2.3.7; see example (37), repeated below in (105):

⁹ The existence of *wh-in-situ* in echo questions (see footnote 8) provides additional potential evidence along these

- (105) sɬ'aʔcinəm iʔ wikntx^w
 sɬ'aʔcinəm iʔ wik-n-t-0-x^w
 deer det saw-n-t-0-2sg
 "What you saw was a deer."

Example (106) below also shows an object wh-phrase in predicate position.

- (106) stim' Mary iʔ wiks
 stim' Mary iʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s
 what Mary that saw-(n-t)-0-3sg
 "What did Mary see?"

This time however, we find the subject DP 'Mary' in a fronted position preceding the clause introduced by *iʔ*. This is the preferred strategy for forming object wh-questions when both subject and object are animate. The fronted DP, which must correspond to the subject, disambiguates the question, which would otherwise be ambiguous between a subject and an object wh-question. Normally, the proclitic determiner *iʔ* may not be separated from the predicate it introduces by anything except another proclitic (for example, a subject pronominal) or a prefix. This accounts for the relative position of the subject DP "Mary" and the determiner: However, it remains an open question whether the DP has been syntactically extracted from the subordinate clause introduced by *iʔ* or whether its position is prosodically conditioned. I leave this issue open for future research.

(107) shows the standard way of forming a subject question with *swit*:

- (107) swit iʔ wiks Mary
 swit iʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s Mary
 who that saw-(n-t)-0-3sg Mary
 "Who saw Mary?"

Again, the wh-word acts as a predicate with a subordinate clause introduced by *iʔ*. This time the object DP 'Mary' remains in post-verbal position, as we would expect given that objects may not occupy pre-verbal positions in simple clauses in Okanagan (see section 2.3.6).

(108) shows another common strategy for forming object wh-questions in Okanagan.

- (108) stim' ascwik¹⁰
stim' a- sc- wik
what 2sgposs-perf-saw
"What did you see?"

Here the predicate of the relative clause introduced by *i'* has been nominalized. Adopting the analysis proposed in 2.3.7 (see example (89)), I assume that nominalization demotes the original subject to the status of a possessor, and promotes the original direct object to the status of subject. Hence, (86) actually involves subject extraction of a theme. Note that, unlike in non-wh-*ki'* cleft structures (see 2.3.7) nominalization is not obligatory for the extraction of objects in wh-questions. This may constitute one significant difference between *i'* cleft and *ki'* cleft structures.

It is worth emphasizing that the pattern shown in (104-06) resembles the syntax of ordinary nominal predicates, as shown in (109).

- (109) taras iskwist (Mattina 1996, 30)
taras i- skwist
Theresa 1sgposs-name
"Theresa is my name."

It is also worth noting that wh-predicates may appear with ordinary subject pronominals, like any other nominal predicate, as shown in (110):

- (110) k^w swit
k^w swit
you who
"Who are you?"

See Jelinek (1998) for similar observations on Northern Straits Salish. If wh-phrases in questions with *i'* determiners are ordinary nominal predicates, then we have evidence for a cleft analysis, since nominal predicates are generally assumed to be base generated rather than moved to initial position.

It appears to be ungrammatical to use an *iʔ* cleft with an oblique marked nominal, as shown in (111-12), though judgements are somewhat variable here.

- (111) *t stim John iʔ sp'əntis Mary
 t stim John iʔ sp'an-t-0-is Mary
 obl what John det hit-n-t-0-3s Mary
 "What did John hit Mary with?"

- (112) *t stim' iʔ sp'ap'
 t stim' iʔ s-p'-ap'
 obl what det hit-oocred
 "What did he get hit with?"

The second type of cleft discussed in 2.3.7 above, the *kiʔ* cleft, is also commonly used to form wh-questions in Okanagan, more specifically those which involve adjunct extraction. Examples are given in (113-14):

- (113) k'aʔkin kiʔ wiks
 k'aʔkin kiʔ wik- (n-t)-0-s
 where comp saw-(n-t)-0-3sg
 "Where did he see it?"

- (114) pən'kin kiʔ kʷ ʔitən
 pən'kin kiʔ kʷ ʔitən
 when comp you eat
 "When did you eat?"

- (115) səc'kinx kiʔ kʷ ʃiləm itíʔ
 səc'kinx kiʔ kʷ ʃil- əm itíʔ
 why comp you dolike-intr that
 "Why did you do that?"

- (116) c'kin kiʔ kʷu siwəntxʷ
 c'kin kiʔ kʷu siwə-n-t-0-xʷ
 how comp me ask-n-t-0-2sg
 "How did you ask me?"

Oblique marked DP's are also standardly questioned using a *kiʔ* - type cleft, as seen in (117-19):

¹⁰ Note that there is no determiner overtly present in this example. However, this is due to a morpho-phonological process whereby *iʔ* is standardly deleted before the first and second person possessive pronouns *in-* and *an-* therefore I assume a determiner is underlyingly present.

- (117) t stim' ki? sp'əntís
 t stim' ki? sp'ən-t-0-ís
 obl what comp hit-ən-t-0-3sg
 “What did he hit it with?”
- (118) t stim John ki? sp'əntís Mary
 t stim John ki? sp'ən-t-0-ís Mary
 obl what John comp hit- n-t-0-3sg Mary
 “What did John hit Mary with?”
- (119) t stim' ki? sp'ap'
 t stim' ki? sp'ap'
 obl what comp hit-oocred
 “What did he get hit with?”

It is also sometimes possible, though definitely dispreferred, to form questions with argument wh-words using a *ki?* cleft. Grammatical examples are given in (120-21); ungrammatical cases are given in (122-23).

- (120) swit ki? kwis i? pupa?k^w
 swit ki? kwi(n)-(n-t)-0-sg i? pupa?k^w
 who comp took- (n-t)-0-sg det book
 “Who took the book?”
- (121) swit ki? x^wic'ɬtx^w i? sqlaw' (N. Mattina field notes)
 swit ki? x^wic'-ɬ-t-0-x^w i? sqlaw'
 who comp give- ɬ-t-0-2sg det money
 “Who did you give the money to?”
- (122) *swit ki? k^wis (N. Mattina field notes)
 swit ki? k^wi(n)-(n-t)-0-s
 who comp took-(nt)-0-3sg
 “Who took it?”
- (123) *swit ki? k^wu ʕacɬús inkəwap (N. Mattina field notes)
 swit ki? k^wu ʕac-ɬ-t-0-ís in- kəwap
 who comp me tie-ɬ-t-0-3sg 1sgposs-horse
 “Who tied my horse for me?”

Note particularly the contrast between (120), which is ungrammatical, and (122) which is identical to (120) except for having an overt object and is fully grammatical. Here we seem to find a One Nominal Effect, where an object must be present post-verbally if the subject is fronted in a

*ki*² cleft. More work is clearly needed here.

Finally, adjunct wh-questions may sometimes also be formed using the complementizer

*ʔa*², which is frequently shortened to *ʔə*, as in (124):

- (124) *k'a*²*kin* *Mary ʔə x*^w*uy*
 *k'a*²*kin* *Mary ʔə x*^w*uy*
 where Mary comp go
 “Where did Mary go?” (lit: “Where is it that Mary went?”)

*ʔa*² also shows up in N. Mattina’s field notes as the preferred way of questioning a possessor.

Examples are given in (125-26):

- (125) *swit ix*ⁱ*ʔ ʔa*² *kʔsisənc'a*² *i*² *ʔacant*ⁱ
 *swit ix*ⁱ*ʔ ʔa*² *kʔ-* (*ʔ*)*sisənc'a*² *i*² *ʔac-an-t-0-is*
 who that comp have-younger brother det tie-n-t-0-3sg
 “Whose younger brother tied it?”
 (lit: “Who is it that has a younger brother who tied it?”)

- (126) *swit ax*^a*ʔ ʔa*² *kʔkəwəp*
 swit ax^a*ʔ ʔa*² *kʔ-* *kəwəp*
 who this comp have-horse
 “Whose horse it this?” (lit: “Who is this who has a horse?”)

I have not reelicited examples of this type. This is another area for further research.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have compared three analyses of wh-questions to see which is most compatible with the Okanagan facts. I was able to eliminate the wh-in-situ analysis straightforwardly on the basis of a comparison between word order in non-wh and wh- sentences. However it is much more difficult to tell whether wh-questions in Okanagan are derived by direct wh-movement to SPEC of CP, as in English, or are base generated structured with a wh-word in predicate position and an associated relative clause containing empty operator movement, as argued for other Salish languages. There appears to be evidence – some of it conflicting – for

both analyses, as summarized in the following table.

Figure 10: The Syntax of Wh-words within the Three Analyses

	Wh-in-situ	Direct wh-movement	Wh-cleft
Wh may occur in argument position	Yes	Yes	No
Wh must occur in fronted position	No	Yes	Yes
Obligatory presence of complementizer/determiner	No	Yes	Yes
Wh word may occur with pronominal clitics	No	No	Yes

I conclude that though there is convincing evidence for some kind of A-bar movement in the derivation of wh-questions in Okanagan (and more evidence supporting this conclusion will be presented in Chapter 5), it is at this point unclear whether a direct movement analysis or a cleft analysis is most appropriate for Okanagan wh-questions.

Furthermore, there is an asymmetry between *iʔ* type clefts and *kiʔ* type clefts: the former are overwhelmingly preferred for argument wh-questions, and the latter for adjunct wh-questions. The picture is further complicated by the existence of wh-questions with a *ʔaʔ* complementizer, which are used to extract possessors. The distribution of *iʔ*, *kiʔ* and *ʔaʔ* in wh-questions is summarized in Figure (11) below.

Figure 11: The Distribution of *iʔ*, *kiʔ* and *ʔaʔ* in Wh-questions

	Argument wh	Adjunct wh	Possessor wh
<i>iʔ</i>	Yes	No	??
<i>kiʔ</i>	Yes	Yes	??
<i>ʔaʔ</i>	??	??	Yes

Given that *iʔ* clefts seem to involve a nominal predicate (without a determiner) whereas *kiʔ* clefts involve DP's (with an obligatory determiner) it seems plausible that both strategies are employed in Okanagan, but for different structures: direct movement is used to derive *kiʔ*

structures, and clefting to derive i^2 structures. Much less is known about fa^2 clefts: this is a topic for future work.

Chapter 4

Multiple Wh-questions in Okanagan

4.1 Multiple Wh-questions in Okanagan

In this chapter, I will examine multiple wh-questions in Okanagan. It should be emphasized that the data here are highly variable both between speakers and sometimes even for a single speaker. Moreover, no speakers are comfortable with multiple wh-questions given in isolation since their interpretation is highly dependent on particular discourse contexts. It follows that the analysis and conclusions in this chapter are very preliminary and tentative. The chapter is organized as follows: in 4.2, I will look at multiple wh-questions involving the argument wh-phrases *swit* and *stim*, and in 4.3, I will turn to multiple Wh-questions involving adjunct wh-phrases.

It is important to eliminate two potential sources of confusion before we begin. First of all, as pointed out in Chapter 2, wh-phrases may be interpreted as indefinites when in the scope of a polarity licenser such as a question particle as in (127) or negation as in (128):

- (127) uc stim' wikəntx^w (N. Mattina field notes)
uc stim' wik-ən-t-0-x^w
Q-part what saw-n-t-0-2sg
"Did you see anything?"

- (128) lut kən t'ə ksx^wuya[?]x k'a[?]kín
lut kən t'ə ks-x^wuy-a[?]x k'a[?]kín
neg I emph. irr-go -irr where
"I am not going anywhere."

In some cases, it also appears to be possible for a wh-in-situ to get an indefinite interpretation in multiple wh- structures. In particular, oblique marked wh-objects of middle intransitive and unergative verbs are interpreted as indefinites in multiple wh-structures, as can be seen in (129-

30):

- (129) swit iʔ wikəm t stim'
swit iʔ wik-əm t stim'
who det saw-middle obl what
"Who saw anything?"

- (130) pən'kin kiʔ kʷ ʔitən t stim'
pən'kin kiʔ kʷ ʔitən t stim'
when that you eat obl what
"When did you eat something?"

These cases, though interesting in themselves, are not directly relevant to the aims of this chapter, which is exclusively concerned with multiple wh-questions.

Second, in-situ wh-phrases in Okanagan may be interpreted emphatically as echo questions, as in English. An example was given in footnote 8 in Chapter 3; another is given below in (131):

- (131) kʷ ikskʷnixtəm t stim'
kʷ i- ks-kʷni-x-t-əm t stim'
you 1sgposs-fut-get-x-t-mid obl what
"Buy you what?!" (lit: "What am I going to buy for you?")

4.2 Multiple Wh-questions with Argument Wh-phrases

It appears to be marginally possible to get non-echo multiple wh-questions with the argument wh-phrases *swit* and *stim'*. Speakers who accept these structures seem to prefer to nominalize the predicate when producing multiple wh-questions: compare (132) with (133) and (134) with (135):

- (132) swit iʔ scwiks swit
swit iʔ sc- wik-(n-t)-0-s swit
who det perf-saw-(n-t)-0-3sg who
"Who saw who?" (lit: "Who was whose seeing?")

- (133) *swit iʔ wiks swit
swit iʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s swit
who det saw-(n-t)-0-3sg who
"Who saw who?"

- (134) *stim' iʔ scnaq^ws swit*
stim' iʔ sc- naq^w-(n-t)-0-s swit
 what det perf-steal-(n-t)-0-3sg who
 "Who stole what?"

- (135) **stim' iʔ naq^ws swit*
stim' iʔ naq^w-(n-t)-0-s swit
 what det steal-(n-t)0-3sg who
 "What stole who?"

It is possible that nominalization here is used as a disambiguation strategy. When the predicate is nominalized the fronted *wh*-phrase is identified unambiguously as the object (see sections 2.3.7 and 3.3.3). However, note that nominalization is not absolutely obligatory in multiple *wh*-questions: the following sentence without nominalization was also accepted:

- (136) *swit iʔ wiks stim'*
swit iʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s stim'
 who det saw-(n-t)-0-3sg what
 "Who saw what?" (lit: "Who is the one that saw what?")

It is unclear whether any of these multiple *wh*-questions have the canonical pair-list interpretation associated with 'true' multiple *wh*-quantifiers in English. When I attempted to elicit a pair-list interpretation, my speakers volunteered reduplicated *wh*- forms, which are typically used in plural contexts.

- (137) *suswit ascwkwik t sp'ənkín*
su- swit a- sc- wk wik t spənkín
 plred-swit 2sgposs.-perf-plred-saw obl. when
 "Who did you see when?"

Notice that the verb *wik* "to see" is also reduplicated here, indicating distributivity.

4.3 Multiple Wh-questions with Adjunct Wh-phrases

Multiple *Wh*-questions with an argument and an adjunct *wh*-phrase also appear to be possible for at least some speakers. Examples are given in (138-40):

- (138) stim' asc'itən k'aʔkin
 stim' a sc'itən k'aʔkin
 what 2sgposs-nom-eat where
 "What did you eat where?"
- (139) stim' iʔ ʔitəntxʷ k'aʔkin
 stim' iʔ ʔitən-t-0-xʷ k'aʔkin
 what det eat-n-t-0-2sg where
 "What did you eat where?"
- (140) swit iʔ wiks t spənkin
 swit iʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s t spənkin
 who det saw-(n-t)-0-3sg obl when
 "Who saw it when?"
- (141) stim' kaʔ tcaʔntixʷ səc'kinx
 stim' kaʔ t- caʔ-n-t-0-ixʷ səc'kinx
 what comp dir-hit-n-t-0-2sg why
 "What did you hit why?"

In these cases a relatively clear superiority-like effect emerges, as the preferred order of multiple wh-elements is for the argument wh-DP to be fronted and the adjunct wh-DP to be in-situ.

Thus, compare (136-139) with the questionable examples in (142-144)

- (142) ?? k'aʔkin kiʔ kʷ ʔitən t stim'¹¹
 k'aʔkin kiʔ kʷ ʔitən t stim'
 where comp you eat obl what
 "Where did you eat what?"
- (143) ??t spən'kin kiʔ wiks swit
 t spən'kin kiʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s swit
 obl when comp saw-(n-t)-0-3sg who
 "When did he see who?"
- (144) ??səc'kinx kaʔ tcaʔntixʷ t stim'
 səc'kinx kaʔ t- caʔ-n-t-0-ixʷ t stim'
 how is it, what's the matter comp dir-hit-n-t-0-2sg obl what
 "How is it that you hit what or something?"
 "What's the matter that you hit what or something?"

¹¹ ʔitən is intransitive in this construction.

Note, however that the superiority effect seen here is exactly the opposite of that which is standardly reported for English, where in multiple wh- cases with an argument and an adjunct, the adjunct typically fronts and the argument remains in-situ. This is shown in (145-147)

(145) a. ??What did you eat where?

b. Where did you eat what?

(146) a. ??Who did he see when?

b. When did he see who?

(147) a. *What did you hit how?

b. ??How did you hit what?

The Superiority Condition is usually conceived as a constraint on the order of extracting, wh-elements in sentences containing more than one wh-element. The condition says that if A is superior to B then any movement affecting A must take place on a lower cycle than that affecting B. Superiority is a structural notion defined in terms of c-command as in the definition in (148) from Chomsky (1973):

(148) XP is superior to YP if XP and YP are in the same IP and XP c-commands YP

This means that if Okanagan prefers to move argument wh-phrases rather than adjunct wh-phrases in multiple wh-structures, but English prefers to do the reverse, the relative structural positions of adjuncts and arguments in the two languages must also be reversed, with far reaching consequences for the analyses of clause structure in Okanagan. Obviously, this is an important area for future research.

It does not appear to be possible to produce multiple wh-questions containing two or more adjunct wh- phrases. When such questions are elicited, speakers tend to produce coordinated structures such as those in (100-01), repeated below as (149-50)

- (149) swit uʔ səc'kinx kaʔ tcaʔntix^w
 swit uʔ səc'kinx kaʔ t- caʔ-n-t-0-ix^w
 who and why comp dir-hit-n-t-0-2sg
 "Who and why did you hit?"

- (150) t spənkin uʔ k'aʔkin kiʔ wiks
 t spənkin uʔ k'aʔkin kiʔ wik-(n-t)-0-s
 obl when and where comp saw-(n-t)-0-3sg
 "When and where did he see it?"

The absence of multiple wh-questions with adjunct wh-phrases in-situ is a part of the larger generalization that adjunct wh-phrases are never found anywhere except in fronted positions in Okanagan. This suggests that a cleft analysis might be appropriate for adjuncts, whereas the presence of argument wh-phrases in-situ in multiple wh-structures argues for a direct movement analysis. This is puzzling, however, in the light of the data presented in Chapter 3, where a direct movement analysis appeared more promising for adjuncts in *kiʔ* clauses than for arguments in *iʔ* clauses. Clearly, further research is necessary to resolve this issue.

Chapter 5

Long Range Wh-questions and Island effects

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine long-range wh-questions and island constraints in Okanagan. I will concentrate on the following island effects: the Complex NP Constraint (CNPC), the Wh-Island Constraint, and the Adjunct Island Constraint, also known as the Condition on Extraction Domains (CED). First however, I will show in 5.2 that long-range wh-dependencies are indeed possible in Okanagan.

5.2 Long-range Wh-questions

Long range extraction out of a complement clause is possible in Okanagan, as examples (151-161) show. Examples (151-154) show argument extraction and examples (155-161) show adjunct extraction. Note that in (157-161) the adjunct wh-phrase maybe interpreted as modifying either the main clause or the embedded clause.

- (151) stim' Paul i? scwiks a? ck'wul'sts Sam.¹²
stim' Paul i? sc -wik-(n-t)- 0-s a? c k'wul's-t-0-s Sam
what Paul det perf saw-(n-t)-0-3sg det cust- make-s-t-0-3sg Sam
"What did Paul see Sam making?"

- (152) swit k'w nstils Paul i? scwiks a? ck'wul'sts i? p'ina?
swit k'w nstils Paul i? sc- wik- (n-t)-0-s a? c -k'wul's-t-0-s i? p'ina?
who 2s think Paul det perf -saw-(n-t)-0-3sg det cust-make-s-t-0-3sg det basket
"Who do you think Paul saw making a basket?"

- (153) swit i? k'w u cuntx'w i? k'wul's i? p'ina?
swit i? k'w u cu(n)-n-t-0-x'w i? k'wul'(n-t)-0-s i? p'ina?
who det me tell- n-t-0-2sg det made-(nt)-0-3sg det basket
"Who did you tell me that fixed the basket?"

¹² Note that the determiner is realized here and in (140) is a? rather than i? due to a morphophonological rule: see 2.1.1 for details.

- (154) *stim' i? k^wu cuntx^w John i? sck^wul's*
stim' i? k^wu cu(n)-n-t-0-x^w John i? sc- k^wul'(n-t)-0-s
what det me tell- n-t-0-2sg John det pperf-fix- (n-t)-0-3sg
 "What did you tell me John fixed?"
- (155) *?akin k^w scutx John i? p'ina? i? sck^wul's*
?akin k^w sc-(c)ut-x John i? p'ina? i? sc- k^wul'(n-t)-0-s
which you perf-tell-imp John det basket det pperf-fix- (n-t)-0-3sg
 "Which basket did you say John fixed?"
- (156) *?akin i? sqəltmix^w k^wu cuntx^w i? p'ina? i? sck^wul's*
?akin i? sqəltmix^w k^wu cu(n)-n-t-0-x^w i? p'ina? i? sc- k^wul'(n-t)-0-s
which det man me tell- n-t-0-2sg det basket det pperf-fix- (n-t)-0-3sg
 "Which man did you tell me fixed the basket?"
- (157) *k'a?kin ki? k^wu cuntx^w John ʔa? k^wul's i? p'ina?*
k'a?kin ki? k^wu cu(n)-n-t-0-x^w John ʔa? k^wul'(n-t)-0-s i? p'ina?
where comp me tell- n-t-0-2sg John comp make-(nt)-0-3sg det basket
 "Where did you tell me John fixed the basket?"
- (158) *t spən'kin ki? k^wu cuntx^w John ʔa? k^wul's i? p'ina?*
t spən'kin ki? k^wu cu(n)-n-t-0-x^w John ʔa? k^wul'(n-t)-0-s i? p'ina?
obl when comp you tell- n-t-0-2sg John comp fix- (n-t)-0-3sg det basket
 "When did you tell me John fixed the basket?"
- (159) *t spən'kin ki? cuntsən cani k^wul's i? p'ina?*
t spən'kin ki? cu(n)-n-t- s-ən cani k^wul'-(n-t)-0-s i? p'ina?
obl when comp tell- n-t-3s-1s John make-(n-t)-0-3sg det basket
 "When did I tell you John fixed the basket?"
- (160) *c'kin' ki? k^wu cuntx^w John ʔa? sck^wul' i? p'ina?*
c'kin' ki? k^wu cu(n)-n-t-0-x^w John ʔa? sc- k^wul' i? p'ina?
how comp me tell- n-t-0-2sg John comp pperf-fix det basket
 "How did you tell me John fixed the basket?"
- (161) *səc'kinx ki? k^wu cuntx^w John i? k^wul's i? p'ina?*
səc'kinx ki? k^wu cu(n)-n-t-0-x^w John i? k^wul'(n-t)-0-s i? p'ina?
why comp me tell- n-t-0-2sg John det fix- (n-t)-0-3sg det basket
 "Why did you tell me John fixed the basket?"

Note that the embedded predicate in these examples is frequently but not automatically nominalized: compare for example (160) with nominalization of the predicate *sck^wul'* with (161) where the same predicate is not nominalized and surfaces as *k^wul's*. The difference cannot be due to the status of the wh-phrase, since in both cases an adjunct is being extracted.

5.3 The Complex Noun Phrase Constraint

The Complex Noun Phrase Constraint (CNPC: Ross 1967) can be stated as in (162)

(Culicover, 1995):

(162) No element contained in a sentence dominated by an NP may be extracted from that NP.

The English declarative sentences in (163) to (164) and the related questions in (165) to (167) illustrate this constraint.

(162) I believe that Stefan saw something.

(163) I believe the claim that Stefan saw something.

(164) I know the man who saw something.

(165) *What do you believe that Stefan saw ____?

(166) *What do you believe the claim that Stefan saw ____?

(167) *What do you know the man who saw ____?

The CNPC holds in Okanagan, as shown by the contrast between the examples in (168) which contains a relative clause, and (169) where the wh-word **stim'** has been extracted from inside a relative clause.

(168) wikən iʔ sqəltmix^w iʔ sck^wul's iʔ p'inaʔ
 wik-(n-t)-0-ən iʔ sqəltmix^w iʔ sc- k^wul'(n-t)-0-s iʔ p'inaʔ
 saw-(n-t)-0-1sg det man det pperf-fix- (n-t)-0-3sg det basket
 "I saw [the man that fixed the basket]."

(169) *stim' kiʔ wikəntx^w iʔ sqəltmix^w iʔ sck^wuls^{'13}
 stim' kiʔ wikən-t-0-x^w iʔ sqəltmix^w iʔ sc-k^wul'(n-t)-0-s
 what comp saw-n-t-0-2sg det man comp pperf-fix-(n-t)-0-3sg
 "What did you see [the man that fixed]?"

The consultant commented: "You can't question what the man was fixing, if you want to question what the man was fixing then you need two sentences. You can say:

- (170) wikən iʔ sqłtmixʷ. stim' aʔ sck'wulsts?
 wik-(n-t)-0-ən iʔ sqłtmixʷ. stim' aʔ sc- kʷul'(n-t)-0-s-
 saw-(n-t)-0-1sg det man. what det perf-make-(n-t)-0-3sg
 "I saw the man. What is he fixing?"

5.4 The Wh-Island Constraint

The Wh-Island Constraint states that:

- (171) A wh dependency cannot cross the boundary of a subordinate wh-question.

This constraint is illustrated in the declarative sentence (172) and the related question in (173) (Borsley, 1991).

- (172) I wonder what he did to her.

- (173) *Who do you wonder what he did to ____?

Okanagan exhibits Wh-Island Effects as shown by the contrast between example (174), containing an embedded question, and examples (175-176) where a wh-phrase has been extracted from a wh-complement clause.

- (174) kʷu siwəntxʷ k'aʔkin kiʔ kʷul's John iʔ p'inaʔ
 kʷu siw-n-t-0-xʷ k'aʔkin kiʔ kʷul'(n-t)-0-s John iʔ p'inaʔ
 me ask-n-t-0-2sg where comp fix- (n-t)-0-3sg John det basket
 "You ask me where John fixed the basket."

- (175) *stim' kiʔ kʷu siwəntxʷ k'aʔkin kiʔ kʷul's John?
 stim' kiʔ kʷu siw-ən-t-0-xʷ k'aʔkin kiʔ kʷul'(n-t)-0-s John?
 what comp me ask- nt-0-2sg where comp fix- (n-t)-0-3sg John
 "What did you ask me where John fixed?"

- (176) *swit kiʔ kʷu siwəntxʷ k'aʔkin kiʔ kʷul's iʔ p'inaʔ
 swit kiʔ kʷu siw-ən-t-0-xʷ k'aʔkin kiʔ kʷul'(n-t)-0-s iʔ p'inaʔ
 who comp me ask-n-t-0-2sg where comp fix- (n-t)-0-3sg det basket
 "Who did you ask me where fixed the basket?"

The following sentences show that wh-island effects can also be detected with adjunct extraction.

Though, as we saw in examples (159-161) adjuncts may be extracted from embedded complement

¹³ For one fluent speaker, this sentence is grammatical.

clauses, leading to an interpretation where the adjunct modifies the embedded predicate, this interpretation is impossible with a *wh*-complement clause, as shown in (167-169).

- (177) *pn'kin ki? k'u siwəntx^w k'a?kin ki? k'wul's John i? p'ina?*
pn'kin ki? k'u siw-ən-t-0-x^w k'a?kin ki? k'wul'(n-t)-0-s John i? p'ina?
 when comp me ask- n-t-0-2sg where comp fix- (n-t)-0-3sg John det basket
 "When did you ask me [where John fixed the basket]?"
 i.e. "When did you do the asking?" *not* "When did John fix the basket?"
- (178) *səc'kinx ki? k'u siwəntx^w k'a?kin ki? k'wul's John i? p'ina?*
səc'kinx ki? k'u siw-ən-t-0-x^w k'a?kin ki? k'wul'(n-t)-0-s John i? p'ina?
 why that you ask- n-t-0-2sg where comp fix- (n-t)-0-3sg John det basket
 "Why did you ask me [where John fixed the basket]?"
 i.e. "Why did you do the asking?" *not* "Why did John fix the basket?"
- (179) *c'kin ki k'u siwəntx^w k'a?kin ki? k'wul's i? p'ina? John*
c'kin ki k'u siw-ən-t-0-x^w k'a?kin ki? k'wul'(n-t)-0-s i? p'ina? John
 how comp me ask- n-t-0-2sg where comp fix- (n-t)-0-3sg det basket John
 "How did you ask me [where John fixed the basket]?"
 "How did you ask?" *not* "Where did John fix the basket?"
- (180) *k'a?kin ki? k'u siwəntx^w p'nkin ki? k'wul's John i? p'ina?*
k'a?kin ki? k'u siw-ən-t-0-x^w p'nkin ki? k'wul'(n-t)-0-s John i? p'ina?
 where comp me ask- n-t-0-2sg when comp fix- (n-t)-0-3sg John det basket
 "Where did you ask me [when John fixed the basket]?"
 "Where did you ask me?" *not* "When did John fix the basket?"

5.5 Adjunct Islands

The Adjunct Island Constraint states that:

- (181) A *wh* dependency cannot cross the boundary of an adverbial expression.

This constraint is illustrated in (182) and (183) (Borsley, 1991).

- (182) He criticized Chomsky without reading *Aspects*.

- (183) *What did he criticize Chomsky without reading ____?

Okanagan exhibits Adjunct Island effects, as illustrated in the contrast between the grammatical examples in (184-86) containing adjunct clauses, and their ungrammatical counterparts in (187-89), where a *wh*-phrase has been extracted from the adjunct clause.

- (184) John taʔliʔ ʕimt aʔiʔ Mari mʕas iʔ pʕinaʔ
 John taʔliʔ ʕimt aʔiʔ Mari mʕa- (n-t)-0-s iʔ pʕinaʔ
 John very angry because Mary broke-(n-t)-0-3sg det basket
 "John was angry because Mary broke the basket."
- (185) John cəmʔ taʔliʔ ʕimt Mari tɛ mʕas iʔ pʕinaʔs John
 John cəmʔ taʔliʔ ʕimt Mari tɛ mʕa- (n-t)-0-s iʔ pʕinaʔs John
 John may very angry Mary comp break-(n-t)-0-3sg det basket-3sgposs John
 "John may be angry if Mary broke John's basket."
- (186) Mari cəmʔ taʔliʔ limt tɛʔ kʷulʔs John iʔ pʕinaʔ
 Mari cəmʔ taʔliʔ limt tɛʔ kʷulʔ(n-t)-0-s John iʔ pʕinaʔ
 Mary may very happy comp fix- (n-t)-0-3sg John det basket
 "Mary may be happy when John fixes the basket."
- (187) *stimʔ kiʔ John ʕimt aʔiʔ Mari mʕas
 stimʔ kiʔ John ʕimt aʔiʔ Mari mʕa- (n-t)-0-s
 what comp John angry because Mary broke-(n-t)-0-3sg
 "What was John angry because Mary broke?"
- (188) *stimʔ kiʔ John cəmʔ ʕimt Mari tɛ mʕas
 *stimʔ kiʔ John cəmʔ ʕimt Mari tɛ mʕa- (n-t)-0-s
 what comp John may angry Mary comp break-(n-t)-0-3sg
 "What will John be angry if Mary broke?"
- (189) *stimʔ kiʔ Mari cəmʔ taʔliʔ limt tɛʔ kʷulʔs John
 *stimʔ kiʔ Mari cəmʔ taʔliʔ limt tɛʔ kʷulʔ(n-t)-0-s John
 what comp Mary may very happy comp fix- (n-t)-0-3sg John
 "What will Mary be happy if John fixes?"

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen that Okanagan allows long distance wh-dependencies which are sensitive to standard island constraints. This shows that there is syntactic movement in Okanagan wh-questions, though the facts are consistent with either a simple wh-movement analysis where the wh-phrase itself moves, or a cleft analysis where the wh-phrase is base generated in a pre-predicative focus position and linked to a gap via empty operator movement in an associated relative clause.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This thesis is the first work devoted specifically to the syntax of wh-questions in a Southern Interior Salish language. As such, it provides a descriptive foundation for future work on the syntax of Okanagan, as well as forming the basis for comparative investigation of wh-questions both within the Southern Interior branch of the Salish family and between the Southern Interior and other better known branches.

In this brief concluding chapter, I will summarize the major findings of this thesis (6.2), indicate some of the more important implications of the research reported here (6.3), and suggest some directions for future research (6.4).

6.2 Summary of Findings

After an introduction to the syntactic properties of Okanagan in Chapter 2, where I established the basic word patterns for clauses and described the distribution of determiners and complementizers in cleft constructions, the main findings of the thesis are contained in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

In Chapter 3, I compared three potential analyses of wh-questions, each of which is independently attested in a cross-linguistic context. I showed that a wh-in-situ analysis was not viable for Okanagan on the basis of a comparison of word order possibilities in non-wh sentences and wh-questions. I then turned to the other two possible analyses, a wh-movement analysis along the lines of English, and a cleft analysis, as suggested for other Salish languages by Davis et al

(1993) and Kroeber (1991, 1999). Choosing between these analyses proved much more difficult: evidence exists both for and against each analysis, and I was unable to choose between them.

In Chapter 4, I examined multiple wh-questions in Okanagan. Though grammaticality judgements were highly variable, it appears possible for at least some speakers to produce multiple wh-questions with either two argument wh-phrases or an argument and an adjunct wh-phrase. The latter type of multiple wh-question showed an interesting type of reverse superiority effect: speakers consistently preferred to place the argument wh-phrase in pre-verbal position and the adjunct wh-phrase in post-verbal position. If this really is a superiority effect, it implies that the relative structural positions of adjuncts and arguments are the opposite of those found in English.

In Chapter 5, I turned to the investigation of long-range wh-dependencies. First of all, I established that such dependencies are indeed possible: as far as I know, this is the first time this has been demonstrated for Okanagan or indeed for any Southern Interior Salish language. I went on to show that long-range dependencies are sensitive to at least three standard island constraints: the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint, the Wh-Island Constraint and the Adjunct Island Constraint.

6.3 Implications

Though I was unable to choose conclusively between a wh-movement and a wh-cleft analysis for wh-questions, in either case my research unequivocally establishes the existence of A-bar movement dependencies in Okanagan. This is particularly clearly demonstrated by the existence of long-range movement subject to island effects, as shown in Chapter 5. Moreover, the existence of adjunct/argument asymmetries, as shown in Chapter 4 by reverse superiority effects in multiple

wh-questions and in Chapter 5 by the existence of adjunct island effects, argues strongly that there must be a configurational basis for the argument/adjunct distinction, contrary to the claims of the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis (see e.g. Jelinek and Demers 1994 on Northern Straits Salish).

Another important consequence of this work is the distinction between two types of focus structure in Okanagan. On the one hand, as in other Salish languages, a nominal predicate (including a wh-predicate based on the argument wh-words *swit* and *stim* ') may occur with a relative clause introduced by the determiner *i*?; on the other hand both adjunct and argument DP's (including wh-adjuncts) may occur in cleft structures introduced by one of the complementizers *ki*? and *ʔa*?. Though this distinction corresponds in some ways to that between 'bare' and 'introduced' clefts in other Salish languages (see Kroeber 1999, pg. 370-373), the details of the introduced cleft construction in particular differ in significant ways from the rest of Salish. It remains to be seen how other Southern Interior languages behave in this respect.

6.4 Future Research

Due to limitations of time and space, there are a number of issues that I have not been able to cover here, which merit further investigation. To start with, I have deliberately set aside wh-indefinites: a thorough investigation of their distribution and licensing is clearly warranted at this point. Another area which needs more work concerns the use of nominalization in wh-extraction contexts; I have not undertaken a systematic examination of its distribution in this thesis. In addition, more systematic elicitation is necessary to solidify the tentative conclusions reached here on multiple wh- structures: in particular it will be important in the future to elicit such complex structures in appropriate discourse contexts rather than in isolation. There are many other areas which I have not even begun to investigate, including cross-over effects, and other island effects;

it is my hope that the work reported in this thesis will serve as a basis for further and more extensive investigation of the syntax of Okanagan.

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APPENDIX

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE PLAN

THEME TITLE: ACQUIRING INFORMATION

UNIT DEVELOPER(S): Maxine Baptiste LANGUAGE: Okanagan

GRADE LEVEL(S): 8-11 APPROXIMATE TIME: 4 – 6 weeks

INTRODUCTION TO THE UNIT:

This unit is designed to be taught at the high school level or to adult learners where the students have some background in Okanagan grammar. Wh-questions are an integral part of Okanagan language speaking. Therefore the lessons in this unit should be introduced after the students have had some practice and experience with introductions and greetings as well as basic conversation and asking simple questions such as "Where is the bathroom?" These lessons can be taught using experiential methods where the student experiences real-life situations where questions and answers are warranted. TPR can also be used as well as the communicative method where the students make requests, ask questions and give preferences. Each lesson is designed with practice activities and follow-up activities so that the student is not doing paper work for the entire class but is taking an active part in his/her learning.

PURPOSE AND THEME STATEMENT:

To provide a basis of communication where students will have the ability to acquire information using question words and demonstratives within dialogue, through story and within actual situations and contexts.

KEY CONCEPTS AND INTEGRATING IDEAS:

Appropriate use of question words to gain information, to interact with peers as to preferences and interests, to participate in dialogue, and to use the determiner *iʔ* and the complementizer *kiʔ* with the appropriate question word.

ACTIVITIES AND LEARNING EXPERIENCES

Objective: Through active communication of question answer forms, the student will become proficient in acquiring information.

Setting the Stage: The introductory lessons will introduce the student to the basic use of the wh-words *swit* and *stim*, the determiner *iʔ* and the complementizer *ʔaʔ* and the demonstratives *axáʔ* this, *ixíʔ* that, *ilíʔ* that there, *aláʔ* this here, *akʔláʔ* over here, *ikʔlíʔ* over there. The wh-words *kʔaʔkín* "where," *pnʔkín* "when," *ʔakín* "which," *səcʔkínx* "why," *tlaʔkín* "from where," with the complementizer *kiʔ* will be examined in succeeding lessons.

Comprehensive Input: The students will use pattern phrases to acquire information about objects, location, time, manner preferences and needs.

Guided Practice: The student will expand their knowledge base by using the vocabulary associated with question phrases through oral practice, story board sequencing, engaging in question/answer dialogues.

Practice Activity: the student will demonstrate concepts learned through basic conversation using common questions and answer phrases by role playing, and storytelling.

Follow-up Activity: The student will demonstrate proficiency by participating in language use and reproduction of the question/answer structures amongst peers through small group dialogues, dialogue with elders/fluent speakers, acquiring and understanding information conveyed through story, having needs/wants met.

ASSESSMENT STRATEGIES:

Observation of the students' active class participation and active language use within a variety of settings,

Observation of the students' ability to expand their knowledge base through practice and language use in a variety of formats.

Observation of the students' ability to communicate using vocabulary and phrases learned.

RESOURCES, TEXTS AND SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIALS:

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FIRST LESSON PLAN

TOPIC: ACQUIRING INFORMATION: *stim* "what," and *swit* "who," with demonstratives

GOAL OF WHOLE UNIT:

To provide a basis of communication where students will have the ability to acquire information using question words within dialogue situations through story and within actual situations and contexts. The student, through role-playing will be able to communicate effectively by asking questions and responding to same using the Okanagan language.

SET: Part 1: *stim* "what," and *swit* "who," are used together with the demonstratives ('pointing words') *axá* "this," *ixí* "that," *ilí* "that there," *alá* "this here," *ak'lá* "over here," *ik'lí* "over there."

Table 1: *stim*, *swit*, with demonstratives

<i>stim</i>		<i>swit</i>	
<i>stim' ixí</i>	What is that?	<i>swit ixí</i>	Who is that?
<i>stim' axá</i>	What is this?	<i>swit axá</i>	Who is this?
<i>stim' ilí</i>	What is that there?	<i>swit ilí</i>	Who is that there?
<i>stim' alá</i>	What is this here?	<i>swit alá</i>	Who is this here?
<i>stim' ak'lá</i>	What is this over here?	<i>swit ak'lá</i>	Who is this over here?
<i>stim' ik'lí</i>	What is that over there?	<i>swit ik'lí</i>	Who is that over there?

Table 2: Object list

Clothing		Kitchen Items		Animals		Stationary	
<i>q'a'xán</i>	shoe	<i>túmən</i>	spoon	<i>skəmxíst</i>	bear	<i>q'əy'mín</i>	paper
<i>tətax^w</i>	dress	<i>lp'ot</i>	cup	<i>sə'a'cínəm</i>	deer	<i>x^wuk^wmín</i>	eraser
<i>lasmíst</i>	shirt	<i>tkap</i>	pail	<i>kəkwáp</i>	dog	<i>púpa'k^w</i>	book
<i>lkapú</i>	coat	<i>ník'mən</i>	knife	<i>st'am'ált</i>	cow	<i>t'itmən</i>	glue
<i>q^wácqən</i>	hat	<i>snurislptən</i>	stove	<i>š^wilx^w</i>	fox	<i>sq'əy'xix</i>	letter

Method:

- Each student will use the question words *stim* and *swit* with demonstratives using Table 1.

- Using TPR and the objects in the room, the teacher can hold up or point to items and ask the question *stim' axá?* "What is this?" while also using the other demonstrative words as well.
- Using TPR and the persons in the room, the teacher can point to different persons and ask the question *swit axá?* "Who is this?" while also using the other demonstrative words as well.

Part 2: Answers

- Using Table 2 along with the objects in the room or pictures of the objects listed here in Table 3, the student can answer *axá? q'a'xán* "This is a shoe."

Table 3: Answers

<i>ixí? q'a'xán</i>	That is a <u>shoe</u> .
<i>axá? q'a'xán</i>	This is a <u>shoe</u> .
<i>ilí? _____</i>	That there is a _____
<i>alá? _____</i>	This here is a _____
<i>ik'lí? _____</i>	That over there is a _____
<i>ak'lá? _____</i>	This over here is a _____

COMPREHENSIVE INPUT: Each student repeats the sentences above in Parts 1 and 2.

- Practice demonstrative words with *stim* "what" and *swit* "who."
- Practice answering the questions in Table 1 with the objects in Table 2.
- Find other objects in the Okanagan Dictionary to use in the question/answer sequences.
- Using pictures in magazines, ask the questions *stim* "what" and *swit* "who."

PRACTICE ACTIVITY:

- Role play in pairs the question/answer dialogues with objects in the room.
- Each student can demonstrate their knowledge by asking questions about items that belong to other students such as items of clothing or stationary.

FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY:

- Play a proximity game where the students use the appropriate demonstrative and say "I see a _____, here, there, over there, etc. and ask "What is it?"

ASSESSMENT:

- Video the role-playing of the students in pairs or groups.
- Active participation, and willingness to exceed the activity to learn additional words or phrases.

SECOND LESSON PLAN

TOPIC: ACQUIRING INFORMATION: *k'aʔkín* "where," *ʔakín* "which," with the determiner *iʔ*

GOAL OF WHOLE UNIT:

To provide a basis of communication where students will have the ability to acquire information using question words within dialogue situations through story and within actual situations and contexts. The student, through role-playing will be able to communicate effectively by asking questions and responding to same using the Okanagan language.

SET: Part 1: The Determiner *iʔ*

In lesson one, we saw questions with demonstratives. In this lesson we will see questions with the determiner *iʔ*. In Okanagan, *iʔ* occurs before nouns, before adjectives, and before possessives. For example, in Okanagan you say: *iʔ lasmíst* "the shirt," and you also say *iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ lasmíst* "the yellow the shirt" and *iʔ lasmísts* "the his shirt." In Okanagan, *iʔ* is used where the English language would use "the" or "a."

Table 4 shows the differences between Okanagan and English determiners.

Table 4: Okanagan Determiner *iʔ*, English determiners "the" and "a"

	Okanagan <i>iʔ</i>	English "the"	English "a"
With nouns	<i>iʔ lasmíst</i> the shirt	The shirt	A shirt
With Adjective/noun sequence	<i>iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ lasmíst</i> the yellow shirt	*The yellow the shirt	*A yellow a shirt
Possessives	<i>iʔ lasmísts</i> his shirt	*The his shirt	*A his shirt

Table 5: Adjective List

Colors		Size	
<i>kʷriʔ</i>	-yellow	<i>kʷəkʷyúmaʔ</i>	small (sg)
<i>caḥ</i>	red	<i>sílɣʷaʔ</i>	big (sg)
<i>qʷcay</i>	blue	<i>cəcámaʔt</i>	small (pl.)
<i>yus</i>	purple	<i>p'ísł'aʔt</i>	big (pl.)
<i>piq</i>	white	<i>wísxən</i>	long

In Okanagan, the possessives *in-* “my” and *an-* “your” (sg.) are prefixes, that is, they are attached to the front of the possessed noun. The possessives *-s* “his/hers,” *-tət* “our”, *-əmp* “your” (pl.) and *-səlx* “their” are suffixes, that is, they are attached to the end of the possessed noun.

Table 6: Okanagan Possessives

	Possessives	Examples
1 st person singular	<i>in-</i> my	<i>inlasmíst</i> my shirt
2 nd person singular	<i>an-</i> your (sg.)	<i>anlasmíst</i> your shirt
3 rd person singular	<i>-s</i> his/her	<i>iʔ lasmísts</i> his shirt
1 st person plural	<i>-tət</i> our	<i>iʔ lasmístət</i> our shirt
2 nd person plural	<i>-əmp</i> your	<i>iʔ lasmístəmp</i> your shirts
3 rd person plural	<i>-səlx</i> their	<i>iʔ lasmístsəlx</i> their shirts

Table 7: Determiner *iʔ* with nouns, with adjectives and nouns and with possessives.

Determiner <i>iʔ</i> with nouns	Determiner <i>iʔ</i> with adjectives and nouns	Determiner <i>iʔ</i> with possessives
<i>iʔ q'aʔxán</i> the shoe	<i>iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ q'aʔxán</i> the yellow shoe	<i>iʔ kəkʷáps</i> his dog
<i>iʔ tətáxʷ</i> the dress	<i>iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ tətáxʷ</i> the yellow dress	<i>iʔ kəkʷáptət</i> our dog
<i>iʔ lasmíst</i> the shirt	<i>iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ lasmíst</i> the yellow shirt	<i>iʔ kəkʷápəmp</i> your dog (pl.)
<i>iʔ lkapú</i> the coat	<i>iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ lkapú</i> the yellow coat	<i>iʔ kəkʷápsəlx</i> their dog
<i>iʔ qʷácqən</i> the hat	<i>iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ qʷácqən</i> the yellow hat	

Method:

- Each student can choose objects or adjectives from Tables 2 and 5 and compile sentences using the determiner *iʔ*. For example:

iʔ caḡ iʔ q'aʔxán "the red shoe." or *iʔ sílxʷa iʔ q'aʔxán* "the big shoe."

Each student can choose objects, or adjectives from Tables 2 and 5 and possessives from Table 6 and compile sentences using the determiner. For example:

iʔ sílxʷa iʔ kəkʷáp "the big dog." or *iʔ sílxʷa iʔ q'aʔxáns* "his big shoe."

Part 2: *k'aʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which" with the determiner *iʔ*

The determiner *iʔ* occurs in questions with *k'aʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which." Here are some examples using *k'aʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which" with nouns, noun/adjective sequences and with possessives.

- 1) *k'aʔkín iʔ q'aʔxán*
Where is the shoe?

2) k'aʔkín iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ q'aʔxán
Where is the yellow shoe?

3) k'aʔkín inkəkʷáp
Where is my dog?

1) ʔakín iʔ q'aʔxán
Which shoe?

2) ʔakín iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ q'aʔxán
Which yellow shoe?

3) ʔakín inkəkʷáp
Which one is my dog?

Method:

- Using the object list in table 2 and the words *k'aʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which" formulate sentences similar to the ones in examples (1-6) above.

Part 3: Practice with *k'aʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which" in formulating sentences

Answers to "where" or "which" can be formulated using demonstratives or adjective/noun sequences such as the following examples in Table 8:

Table 8 Question/Answer sequences with demonstratives

Question: k'aʔkín iʔ q'aʔxán	Where is the shoe?
Answers	
ixíʔ iʔ q'aʔxán	That is the shoe.
axáʔ iʔ q'aʔxán	This is the shoe.
ixíʔ iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ q'aʔxán	That is the yellow shoe.
ik'líʔ iʔ q'aʔxáns	This over here is his shoe.

Table 9: *k'aʔkín* "where" with nouns, with adjective/noun sequences and with possessives.

k'aʔkín "where" with nouns	
k'aʔkín iʔ q'aʔxán	Where is the shoe?
k'aʔkín iʔ tətaxʷ	Where is the dress?
k'aʔkín iʔ lasmíst	Where is the shirt?
k'aʔkín iʔ lkapú	Where is the coat?
k'aʔkín iʔ qʷácqən	Where is the hat?
k'aʔkín "where" with adjectives and nouns	
k'aʔkín iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ q'aʔxán	Where is the yellow shoe?
k'aʔkín iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ tətaxʷ	Where is the yellow dress?
k'aʔkín iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ lasmíst	Where is the yellow shirt?
k'aʔkín iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ lkapú	Where is the yellow coat?
k'aʔkín iʔ kʷriʔ iʔ qʷácqən	Where is the yellow hat?

k'aʔkín "where" with possessives	
k'aʔkín inkəkʷáp	Where is my dog?
k'aʔkín ankəkʷáp	Where is your dog? (sg)
k'aʔkín iʔ kəkʷáps	Where is his dog?
k'aʔkín iʔ kəkʷáptət	Where is our dog?
k'aʔkín iʔ kəkʷápəmp	Where is your dog?(pl.)
k'aʔkín iʔ kəkʷápsəlx	Where is their dog?

Table 10: ʔakín "which" with nouns, with adjective/noun sequences and with possessives.

ʔakín "which" with nouns	
ʔakín iʔ q'aʔxán	Which shoe?
ʔakín iʔ tətáx ^w	Which dress?
ʔakín iʔ lasmíst	Which shirt?
ʔakín iʔ lkapú	Which coat?
ʔakín iʔ q ^w ácqən	Which hat?
ʔakín "which" with adjectives and nouns	
ʔakín iʔ k ^w riʔ iʔ q'aʔxán	Which yellow shoe?
ʔakín iʔ k ^w riʔ iʔ tətáx ^w	Which yellow dress?
ʔakín iʔ k ^w riʔ iʔ lasmíst	Which yellow shirt?
ʔakín iʔ k ^w riʔ iʔ lkapú	Which yellow coat?
ʔakín iʔ k ^w riʔ iʔ q ^w ácqən	Which yellow hat?
ʔakín "which" with possessives	
ʔakín inkəkʷáp	Which one is my dog?
ʔakín ankəkʷáp	Which one is your dog? (sg)
ʔakín iʔ kəkʷáps	Which one is his dog?
ʔakín iʔ kəkʷáptət	Which one is our dog?
ʔakín iʔ kəkʷápəmp	Which one is your dog?(pl.)
ʔakín iʔ kəkʷápsəlx	Which one is their dog?

Method:

- Each student will use the question words *k'aʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which" with nouns, noun/adjective sequences, and with possessives using Table 9 and 10.
- Using TPR and the objects in the room, the teacher can point to items and ask *k'aʔkín* "where," for example *k'aʔkín iʔ q'aʔxán* "Where is the shoe?"
- Using TPR and the objects in the room, the teacher can point to items and ask *aʔkín* "which," for example *aʔkín iʔ q'aʔxán* "Which shoe?"

- Using Table 2 along with the objects in the room or pictures of the objects listed here in Table 2, the student can answer *axáʔ q'aʔxán* "This is a shoe."
- Using Table 8 to formulate question/ answer sentences, the student can use *k'aʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which" while using demonstratives such as *ilíʔ iʔ q'aʔxán* "The shoe is over there."

COMPREHENSIBLE INPUT:

- Each student repeats the sentences in Parts 1-3
- Practice the question/answer sequences using the demonstratives, colors and adjectives.
- Add size sequences to the objects in Table 2. Ask *k'aʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which"

PRACTICE ACTIVITY:

- Role-play in pairs the question/answer dialogues with objects in the room or the clothing of the other students.
- In pairs, the students can use pictures of objects in the room such as kitchen items and ask color and size.

FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY:

- Play an "I spy" game where the students give clues about a number of items on a table of differing size and color and ask *k'aʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which" The students can answer with demonstratives.
- Tell a story and have the students ask *k'aʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which"

ASSESSMENT:

- Video the role-playing of students in pairs or groups
- Active participation and willingness to extend the activity to learn more words or phrases.
- Ability of the students to gain information about color, size, and proximity.

THIRD LESSON PLAN

TOPIC: ACQUIRING INFORMATION: *swit* "who" and *stim* "what" with the determiner *i?* and intransitive/transitive subject pronouns

GOAL OF WHOLE UNIT:

To provide a basis of communication where students will have the ability to acquire information using question words within dialogue situations through story and within actual situations and contexts. The student, through role-playing will be able to communicate effectively by asking questions and responding to same using the Okanagan language.

SET: Part 1: *swit* "who" and *stim* "what" with the determiner *i?*

The determiner *i?* can also introduce verbs, unlike determiners in English. The determiner occurs before verbs. In lesson two, we saw "where" and "which" questions with the determiner *i?*. In this lesson we will see "who" questions with the determiner *i?*. Here are some examples using *swit* "who" with demonstratives, with noun/possessives, noun/adjective/possessive sequences as in the following examples in Table :11

Table 11: *swit* "whose" with nouns, with adjective/noun sequences and with possessives.

swit "who" with possessed nouns and demonstratives	
swit i? q'a ² xáns alá?	Whose shoe is this?
swit i? tətáx ^w s alá?	Whose dress is this?
swit i? lasmísts alá?	Whose shirt is this?
swit i? lkapús alá?	Whose coat is this?
swit i? q ^w ácqəns alá?	Whose hat is this?
swit "who" with adjectives/nouns and demonstratives	
swit i? k ^w ri? i? q'a ² xáns alá?	Whose yellow shoe is this?
swit i? k ^w ri? i? tətáx ^w s alá?	Whose yellow dress is this?
swit i? k ^w ri? i? lasmísts alá?	Whose yellow shirt is this?
swit i? k ^w ri? i? lkapús alá?	Whose yellow coat is this?
swit i? k ^w ri? i? q ^w ácqəns alá?	Whose yellow hat is this?

Method:

- Each student can use the possessive pronouns and ask about items in the room such as “Whose cup is this.”
- Using the object list in Table 2, and using noun/adjective sequences the students can ask: “Whose yellow shirt is this?”

Part 2: Okanagan Intransitive Subject Pronouns.

Okanagan has intransitive subject pronouns and transitive subject pronouns. The intransitive pronoun set occurs with verbs which do not need or do not occur with a direct object, such as *ʔitx* “sleep,” *ʔitən* “eat,” *xʷaʔxʷist* “walk,” *qʷəlqʷilt* “talk,” *xʷuy* “go.”

Okanagan intransitive sentences have a subject and an intransitive verb. For example:

- 4) *kən ʔitən* I eat.
- 5) *kən ʔitx* I sleep.
- 6) *kən xʷaʔxʷist* I walk.
- 7) *kən xʷuy* I go.
- 8) *kən qʷəlqʷilt* I talk.

Table 12: Intransitive Subject Pronouns

Intransitive Subject Pronouns	
<i>kən</i>	I
<i>kʷ</i>	You (sg.)
<i>0</i>	He/She
<i>kʷu</i>	We
<i>p</i>	You (pl.)
<i>-səlx</i>	They

With intransitive subject questions, the question word corresponds to the subject pronoun in the answer as is shown in Table 13:

Table 13: Intransitive subject question/answer pairs

Subject question <i>swit</i> “who” with demonstratives	Subject answer
<i>swit iʔ ʔitən aláʔ</i> Who ate here?	<i>kən ʔitən aláʔ</i> I ate here?
<i>swit iʔ ʔitx aláʔ</i> Who slept here?	<i>kən ʔitx aláʔ</i> I slept here?
<i>swit iʔ xʷaʔxʷist aláʔ</i> Who walked here?	<i>kən xʷaʔxʷist aláʔ</i> I walked here?
<i>swit iʔ qʷəlqʷilt aláʔ</i> Who talked here?	<i>kən qʷəlqʷilt aláʔ</i> I talked here?

Method:

- Each student can practice using the intransitive pronouns with the intransitive verbs following the examples in sentences (1-5) using each verb in turn.
- Each student can use the question/answer pairs in Table 13 to practice using the intransitive subject pronouns and the demonstratives

Part 3: Transitive subject pronouns and objects

To be a transitive verb means that the verb requires both an object and a subject. For example, in the English sentence “You ate the meat.” the verb “ate” requires a subject “you” and a direct object “meat.” In Okanagan, all transitive verbs have a suffixed transitive marker, as in *ʔitənɬx^w iʔ stiq^w* “You ate the meat,” where the transitive marker is in italics. The direct object is *iʔ stiq^w*. Transitive subject pronouns are suffixes. The subject in this sentence is *-x^w*. The transitive subject markers are shown in Table 14:

Table 14: Transitive Subject Markers

Transitive Subject Markers	
-in	I
ix ^w	You (sg.)
is	He/She
im	We
ip	You (pl.)
isəlx	They

With object questions, the question word at the front corresponds to the object in the answer as is shown in Table 15:

Table 15: Transitive Subject Questions with Object Answers

Transitive Subject Questions		Object Answers	
<u>stim</u> ʔ iʔ scnaq ^w s	What did he steal?	scnaq ^w s iʔ qʔaʔxán	He stole the shoes.
<u>stim</u> ʔ iʔ cʔantís	What did he hit?	səpʔntís iʔ pumín	He hit the drim.
<u>stim</u> ʔ iʔ wíkəntx ^w	What did you see?	wíkəntx ^w iʔ sɬʔaʔcínəm	You saw a deer.

From the above examples, you can see that it looks like the transitive pronouns are different. The difference is stress. Okanagan verbs mark stress (whether one vowel is pronounced louder than another vowel in the same word) on the verb. When it is a strong verb (has its vowel stressed), Okanagan marks the stress on the verb vowel. When the

verb is weak the vowel of the verb is not stressed. Stress is on the subject pronoun suffix (or other strong suffix). When the verb is strong, the transitive marker –n-t- does not occur in the first person singular, the third person singular, or the third person plural. Strong and weak verbs with transitive subject pronouns are shown in Table 16.

Table 6: Strong and Weak Verbs with Transitive Subject Pronouns

Transitive verb “to eat” a strong verb. The stress is on the verb.		Transitive verb “to look for” a weak verb The stress is on the subject pronoun	
^ʔ itən	I eat.	λ'a ^ʔ λ'ántin	I looked for it.
^ʔ itəntx ^w	You eat.	λ'a ^ʔ λ'ántix ^w	You looked for it.
^ʔ its	He/She eats.	λ'a ^ʔ λ'ántis	He/She looked for it.
^ʔ itntəm	We eat.	λ'a ^ʔ λ'ántim	We looked for it.
^ʔ itntəp	You eat.	λ'a ^ʔ λ'ántip	You looked for it.
^ʔ itsəlx	They eat.	λ'a ^ʔ λ'ántisəlx	They looked for it.

Method:

- The student can use the Okanagan Dictionary to find, other strong or weak verbs and add to their database of verbs. They can also compile sentences with the verbs that they find.
- Each student can compile sentences using the transitive subject pronouns using Table 15 as a guide and using the object list in Table 2.
- Practice the transitive answer sequences using objects in the room or pictures in magazines.

COMPREHENSIBLE INPUT:

- Each student can use the transitive subject pronouns with new verbs found in the Okanagan Dictionary.
- Each new verb can be compiled with nouns, noun/adjective sequences, and with possessives.
- Question words *swit* "who" and *stim'* "what", *k'a^ʔkín* "where" and *ʔakín* "which" to form new sentences with the new verbs.

PRACTICE ACTIVITY:

- Tell a story to the class and answer questions *swit* "who," *stim'* "what," *k'a^ʔkín*

"where," and *ʔakín* "which."

- Compile a journal of new verbs and objects to practice compiling new sentences using demonstratives, adjectives, and colors.

FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY:

- Play a shopping game where the students can ask about items in the "store."
- Play a restaurant game where the students can come and order their favourite meal or item from the menu.
- Have fluent speakers of elders come into the classroom to take part in the activities and to answer questions

ASSESSMENT:

- Willingness to take risks and to learn new words and use them
- Active participation and willingness to extend their learning beyond the lessons presented here.
- Willingness to dialogue with fluent speakers and elders.
- Ability to present their questions to have their preferences met.

FOURTH LESSON PLAN

TOPIC: ACQUIRING INFORMATION: The complementizers *kiʔ* and *ʔaʔ*

GOAL OF WHOLE UNIT:

To provide a basis of communication where students will have the ability to acquire information using question words within dialogue situations through story and within actual situations and contexts. The student, through role-playing will be able to communicate effectively by asking questions and responding to same using the Okanagan language.

SET: Part 1 The complementizer *kiʔ*

In lesson two and three, we saw “where,” “which” and “who” questions with the determiner *iʔ*. In this lesson we will see questions with the complementizer *kiʔ*. A complementizer is an element that introduces a subordinate clause (a ‘sentence within a sentence’). The wh-elements *k’aʔkín* “where,” *pnʔkín* “when,” *ʔakín* “which,” *səc’kínx* “why,” *ʔlaʔkín* “from where” are adjunct question words. Adjuncts are phrases that add additional information to the verb phrase. In English you can say “I went to the store yesterday.” The word “yesterday” is the adjunct which adds the information “when” to the verb phrase “went to the store”. Here are some other examples of adjunct phrases:

- 9) I went to the store *in the mall*.
- 10) I went to the store *last night*.
- 11) I went to the *closest* store.
- 12) I went to the store *because I needed milk*.
- 13) I went to the store *from work*.

The adjuncts in the above sentences add information as to where, when, which, why, and from where the event denoted by the verb happened, respectively.

When Okanagan uses adjuncts in sentences the complementizer *kiʔ* is used.

Here are some examples:

- 14) *k’aʔkín kiʔ kaʔkícntxʷ anq’aʔxán*
Where did you find your shoes?

15) *pn'kín ki? k^w kicx*
When did you arrive

16) *?akín ki? cx^wumntx^w i? x^wit*
Which way did you come?

17) *sac'kínx ki? k^w cx^wuy*
Why did you come?

18) *tla'kín ki? k^w cx^wuy*
Where did you come from?

These questions are translated "It is X where/when/which/why/from where. These types of sentences are called clefts. Clefts are sentences that put important information to the front of the sentence. For example, from an English sentence like "I went to the store yesterday." we can produce the following cleft sentences by fronting the subject, object or adjunct, respectively:

19) It was I who went to the store yesterday.

20) It was to the store that I went yesterday.

21) It was yesterday that I went to the store.

The question words *swit* "who," and *stim* "what" occur with either an *i?* complementizer or a *ki?* complementizer. The interpretation is also cleft-like.

22) *stim' i? scnaq^ws*
What did he steal?

23) *stim' i? c?antís*
What did he hit?

24) *stim' i? wíkəntx^w*
What did you see?

25) *swit i? xnumt*
Who is hurt?

26) *stim' i? c?antís*
Who did he hit?

27) *swit i? ckxan*
Who came along?

28) *stim' ki? 'acantíx^w*
What was it that you tied?

- 28) *stim' ki? snaq^ws*
What was it that he stole?
- 29) *stim' ki? c[?]antís*
What was it that he hit?
- 30) *stim' ki? wikəntx^w*
What was it that you saw?
- 31) *swit ki? ʃnumt*
Who is it that is hurt?
- 32) *stim' ki? c[?]antís*
What was it that he hit?
- 33) *swit ki? ckxan*
Who was it that came along?

With argument wh-elements *swit* and *stim'*, the complementizers *i?* and *ki?* are interchangeable. In contrast, adjunct wh-elements such as *k'a[?]kín* "where," *pn[?]kín* "when," *?akín* "which," *səc[?]kínx* "why," *tla[?]kín* "from where" are not as the following examples show.

- 34) **k'a[?]kín i? ka[?]kícntx^w anq'a[?]xán*
Where did you find your shoes?
- 35) **pn[?]kín i? k^w kícx*
When did you arrive
- 36) **?akín i? k^w cx^wuy*
How did you come?
- 37) **səc[?]kínx i? k^w cx^wuy*
Why did you come?
- 38) **tla[?]kín i? k^w cx^wuy*
Where did you come from?

Method:

- Each student can practice using the complementizer with the question words *k'a[?]kín* "where," *pn[?]kín* "when," *?akín* "which," *səc[?]kínx* "why," *tla[?]kín* "from where"
- Each student can practice the use of the complementizers *i?* and *ki?* with the question words *stim'* "what" and *swit* "who."

- Each student can practice the question words with other objects in the room.
- Role-play the question dialogues with items such as clothing and new verbs.

Table 14: *k'aʔkín* "where" with the complementizer *kiʔ* and with nouns, *kiʔ* with adjectives and nouns, and with possessives

<i>k'aʔkín</i> "where" with the complementizer <i>kiʔ</i> and with nouns	
<i>k'aʔkín kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ q'aʔxán</i>	Where did you buy the shoes?
<i>k'aʔkín kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ tətáx^w</i>	Where did you buy the dress?
<i>k'aʔkín kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ lasmíst</i>	Where did you buy the shirt?
<i>k'aʔkín kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ lkapú</i>	Where did you buy the coat?
<i>k'aʔkín kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ q^wácqən</i>	Where did you buy the hat?
<i>k'aʔkín</i> "where" with the complementizer <i>kiʔ</i> and with adjectives and nouns	
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ q'aʔxán</i>	Where did you buy the yellow shoes?
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ tətáx^w</i>	Where did you buy the yellow dress?
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ lasmíst</i>	Where did you buy the yellow shirt?
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ lkapú</i>	Where did you buy the yellow coat?
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ q^wácqən</i>	Where did you buy the yellow hat?
<i>k'aʔkín</i> "where" with the complementizer <i>kiʔ</i> and with possessives	
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w inkəkwáp</i>	Where did you buy my dog?
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w ankəkwáp</i>	Where did you buy my dog? (sg)
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ kək wáps</i>	Where did you buy his dog?
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ kək wáptət</i>	Where did you buy our dog?
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ kək wápəmp</i>	Where did you buy your dog? (pl.)
<i>k'aʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ kək wápsəlx</i>	Where did you buy their dog?

Table 15: *tlaʔkín* "where from" with the complementizer *kiʔ* and with nouns, *kiʔ* with adjectives and nouns, and with possessives

<i>tlaʔkín</i> "where from" with the complementizer <i>kiʔ</i> and with nouns	
<i>tlaʔkín kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ q'aʔxán</i>	Where did you buy the shoes from?
<i>tlaʔkín kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ ʔəʔáx^w</i>	Where did you buy the dress from?
<i>tlaʔkín kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ lasmíst</i>	Where did you buy the shirt from?
<i>tlaʔkín kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ lkapú</i>	Where did you buy the coat from?
<i>tlaʔkín kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ q^wácqən</i>	Where did you buy the hat from?
<i>tlaʔkín</i> "where from" with the complementizer <i>kiʔ</i> and with adjectives and nouns	
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ q'aʔxán</i>	Where did you buy the yellow shoes from?
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ ʔəʔáx^w</i>	Where did you buy the yellow dress from?
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ lasmíst</i>	Where did you buy the yellow shirt from?
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ lkapú</i>	Where did you buy the yellow coat from?
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ q^wácqən</i>	Where did you buy the yellow hat from?
<i>tlaʔkín</i> "where from" with the complementizer <i>kiʔ</i> and with possessives	
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w inkəkṵáp</i>	Where did you buy my dog from?
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w ankəkṵáp</i>	Where did you buy my dog from? (sg)
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ kəkṵáps</i>	Where did you buy his dog from?
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ kəkṵáptət</i>	Where did you buy our dog from?
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ kəkṵápəmp</i>	Where did you buy your dog from? (pl.)
<i>tlaʔkín kaʔ niysntx^w iʔ kəkṵápsəlx</i>	Where did you buy their dog from?

Table 16: *pn'kín* "when" with the complementizer *ki'* and with nouns, *ki'* with adjectives and nouns, and with possessives

pn'kín "when" with the complementizer <i>ki'</i> and with nouns	
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' q'a'xán	When did you buy the shoes?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' tətáx ^w	When did you buy the dress?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' lasmíst	When did you buy the shirt?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' lkapú	When did you buy the coat?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' q'ácqən	When did you buy the hat?
pn'kín "when" with the complementizer <i>ki'</i> and with adjectives and nouns	
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' k ^w ri' i' q'a'xán	When did you buy the yellow shoes?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' k ^w ri' i' tətáx ^w	When did you buy the yellow dress?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' k ^w ri' i' lasmíst	When did you buy the yellow shirt?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' k ^w ri' i' lkapú	When did you buy the yellow coat?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' k ^w ri' i' q'ácqən	When did you buy the yellow hat?
pn'kín "when" with the complementizer <i>ki'</i> and with possessives	
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w inq'a'xán	When did you buy my shoes?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w anq'a'xán	When did you buy your shoes? (sg.)
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' q'a'xáns	When did you buy his shoes?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' q'a'xántət	When did you buy our shoes?
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' q'a'xánəmp	When did you buy your shoes? (pl.)
pn'kín <i>ki'</i> tiwntx ^w i' q'a'xánsəlx	When did you buy their shoes?

Table 17: *səc'kínx* "why" with the complementizer *kiʔ* and with nouns, *kiʔ* with adjectives and nouns, and with possessives

<i>səc'kínx</i> "why" with the complementizer <i>kiʔ</i> and with nouns	
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ q'aʔxán</i>	Why did you buy the shoes?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ tətáx^w</i>	Why did you buy the dress?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ lasmíst</i>	Why did you buy the shirt?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ lkapú</i>	Why did you buy the coat?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ q^wácqən</i>	Why did you buy the hat?
<i>səc'kínx</i> "why" with the complementizer <i>kiʔ</i> and with adjectives and nouns	
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ q'aʔxán</i>	Why did you buy the yellow shoes?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ tətáx^w</i>	Why did you buy the yellow dress?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ lasmíst</i>	Why did you buy the yellow shirt?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ lkapú</i>	Why did you buy the yellow coat?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ k^wriʔ iʔ q^wácqən</i>	Why did you buy the yellow hat?
<i>səc'kínx</i> "why" with the complementizer <i>kiʔ</i> and with possessives	
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w inq'aʔxán</i>	Why did you buy my shoes?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w anq'aʔxán</i>	Why did you buy your shoes? (sg.)
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ q'aʔxáns</i>	Why did you buy his shoes?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ q'aʔxántət</i>	Why did you buy our shoes?
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ q'aʔxánəmp</i>	Why did you buy your shoes? (pl.)
<i>səc'kínx kiʔ tiwntx^w iʔ q'aʔxánsəlx</i>	Why did you buy their shoes?

Method:

- Each student will use the question words *k'aʔkín* "where," *pn'kín* "when," *ʔakín* "which," *səc'kínx* "why," *tlaʔkín* "from where" with nouns, noun/adjective sequences, and with possessives.
- The teacher can point around the room and ask each student *k'aʔkín* "where," *pn'kín* "when," *tlaʔkín* "from where" and *səc'kínx* "why" they bought a particular item of clothing or stationary item.
- The student can select verbs from the set of verbs in their journal and combine them with subject pronouns, complementizers and possessives to form sentence combinations.

Part 2: Complementizer *ʔaʔ*

The complementizer *ʔaʔ* usually introduces adverbial clauses. Adverbial clauses are exactly what they sound like: subordinate clauses which act as adverbs. Just like other adverbs, adverbial clauses modify or add additional information to verb phrases. An adverbial clause tells such things as why, when, how and under what conditions an event occurs. English adverbial clauses begin with a subordinator such as *when* and *while*.

For example:

- 1) "The boy started to walk *when* he was only ten months old."
- 2) "*While* he was still under a year old, the boy walked."
- 3) "*When* he was ten months old, the boy began to walk."

Okanagan adverbial clauses:

- 4) *kən c'ayxʷt kən ʔaʔ cmaʔyám*
I get tired when I tell stories
- 5) *isəc'amtúm iʔ sqʷəsqʷasiyaʔs ʔaʔ ck'aw*
I am feeding his children while he is gone.
- 6) *ʔaʔ tkicx cuntxʷ mi kʷu tɕqʷəlqʷilsts*
When she comes back, tell her to call me back.

Like *iʔ*, the complementizer *ʔaʔ* can occur in clefts. However, it is more common to use the complementizers *iʔ* and *kiʔ* to cleft adjuncts.

ʔaʔ also has the meaning "the one that is" as the following table shows.

Table 8: Complementizer *ʔaʔ*

Complementizer <i>ʔaʔ</i> "the one that is..."	
<i>ixiʔ ʔa q'aʔxán</i>	That is <i>the one that is</i> a <u>shoe</u> .
<i>axáʔ ʔa q'aʔxán</i>	This is <i>the one that is</i> a <u>shoe</u> .
<i>ilíʔ ʔa q'aʔxán</i>	That there is <i>the one that is</i> a <u>shoe</u> .
<i>aláʔ ʔa q'aʔxán</i>	This here is <i>the one that is</i> a <u>shoe</u> .
<i>ik'líʔ ʔa q'aʔxán</i>	That over there is <i>the one that is</i> a <u>shoe</u> .
<i>ak'láʔ ʔa q'aʔxán</i>	This over here is <i>the one that is</i> a <u>shoe</u> .

Method:

- Using TPR and the objects in the room, the teacher can hold up or point to items and ask the question *stim' axáʔ* "What is this?" The student can then answer

axáʔ ʔa q'aʔxán "This is the one that is a shoe," as in Table 5, using the other demonstrative words as well.

- The instructor gives the students sentences where they can focus or cleft the elements or information in turn following the English examples in (12-14).

COMPREHENSIBLE INPUT: Each student repeats the sentences above in Parts 1 and 2.

- Practice determiner/noun sequences, determiner/adjectives/noun sequences,
- Practice determiner/possessive sequences
- Add size adjectives such as *sílχʷa* "big", *kʷəkʷyúmaʔ* "small" to nouns.
- Practice adverbial pronoun sentences using "when", "while," "where," and "if."
- Practice relative pronoun sentences using "which," "that," and "who."
- Practice complementizer verb sequences for both arguments and adjuncts to be able to differentiate between the two types of complementizers and the interpretations of clefts.
- Add possessive sequences, size adjectives, color adjectives to complementizer verb sequences to form sentences.
- Add subject pronouns to new verbs found from the Okanagan dictionary. Use these verbs to form sentences with complementizers, pronouns, and possessives.

PRACTICE ACTIVITY:

- Role-play in pairs the question/answer dialogues with objects in the room.
- In pairs, each student can use pictures of objects such as clothing items and ask questions about color and size.
- In pairs, each student can say a sentence and focus, or cleft different elements of the sentence.
- Each student compiles a booklet of their own sentences using the verbs in these lessons as well as new ones found in the Okanagan dictionary.
- Role play in pairs question/answer sequences using complementizers and subject pronouns.
- Role play in pairs question/answer sequences using argument and adjunct wh-questions using the two complementizers.

- Compile paragraphs about a shopping trip, a movie or other activity and have the students ask who, what, when, why, where from about the story.

FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES:

- Play a proximity game where students use the appropriate demonstrative and say “I see a _____ here, there, over there etc. and ask “What is it?”
- Tell a story and have the participants focus different elements or important information from the story in cleft sentences.

ASSESSMENT:

- Video the students in their role-playing activities using the vocabulary of the lessons.
- Active participation, and willingness to extend their learning to beyond the lessons presented here.
- Willingness to take risks and to learn new words and use them.
- Proficiency in speaking Okanagan.
- Willingness to dialogue with fluent speakers and elders.