TRANSLITIVITY IN (NICOLA LAKE) OKANAGAN

by

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This dissertation is a study of certain clause-level constructions in the Okanagan language and an exploration of the adequacy of Relational Grammar for describing these constructions. Four major issues are addressed: (i) the nature of transitivity in Okanagan; (ii) the identity of the grammatical relations which are necessary to the syntactic analysis of Okanagan; (iii) the occurrence of re-evaluations of these grammatical relations in this language; and (iv) the nature of the Middle voice in this language.

Arguments and language data are brought to bear on these issues, providing evidence to support (i) the characterization of transitivity as a property of strata or level rather than of clause or of verb; (ii) the necessity in Relational Grammar of the grammatical relations: Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Dative, Instrumental, Locative, Topic, and Chômeur for the syntactic analysis of the language; and (iii) the occurrence of the following re-evaluations: 2 \rightarrow 1 Advancement and 1 \rightarrow \hat{1} Demotion in Passive constructions; Phantom Advancement of a non-nuclear object, non-distinct with the initial subject; Unaccusative Advancement; Dative, Locative, Relational and Instrumental Advancements, with concomitant Demotions of the nominal previously bearing the target relation; and Possessor Ascension; and (iv) a Phantom Arc solution for the syntactic analysis of the Middle voice construction in this language.

It is concluded (a) that the analyses presented contribute in an explanatory way to the study of Salishan linguistics; (b) that these analyses attest to the productivity of the theoretical model, Relational
Grammar, with respect to certain clause-level constructions of Okanagan; (c) that some rules referring to transitivity require reference to non-distinctiveness as well as to 1 and to 2; (d) that one of the principles of Relational Grammar, the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law, must be modified to allow language-particular conditions on its applicability; and (e) that the theory of Relational Grammar needs further elaboration to deal with the mapping of thematic relations onto grammatical relations.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Abstract ii

## Acknowledgements ix

## Dedication xi

### I INTRODUCTION 1

0 Identifying the Language 1

1 Orthography 3

2 Posing the Problem 5

3 Organization of this Study 8

4 Theoretical Framework 8

Footnotes 15

### II BASIC FACTS ABOUT OKANAGAN 16

0 Introduction 16

1 Basic Data 16

1.1 Word Order 16

1.2 Form of Nominals 17

1.3 Form of Predicate 18

1.3.1 Subject and Object Markers 18

1.3.2 Verbal Paradigms 20

1.4 Complementizers and Determiners 26

1.5 Animacy Hierarchy 29

1.6 Case Marking 32

1.7 Aspect and Transitivity Marking 32

1.7.1 A Rule for Perfective and Imperfective Aspect 32

1.7.2 Rule for -t Marking 39
Tests for Grammatical Relations

2.1 Tests for Final Grammatical Relations

2.1.1 Subject and Object Marking

2.1.2 Question Formation

2.1.3 Relativization and Cleft Constructions

2.1.4 Topicalization

2.1.5 Quantifier Float

2.2 Tests for Non-final Grammatical Relations

2.2.1 Moving Glottalization

2.2.2 Clefts with \textit{\textipa{?inca?/\textipa{?inca?kn}}}

Footnotes

III INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE IN OKANAGAN

1 Introduction

1.1 Passive Clauses

1.2 Person and Number Marking

1.3 Word Order

1.4 Relative Clause Formation

1.5 Instrumental Case Marking: A Job is Lost

1.6 Aspect and Transitivity Marking

1.7 Thematic Relations

1.8 Question Formation

2 Unaccusative Clauses

2.1 The Basic Claim

2.2 The Proposal for Okanagan

2.3 Supporting Evidence
2.3.1 Choice of *inca?/ *inca?kn  
2.3.2 Moving Glottalization  
2.4 Representation of Unaccusative Clauses

3 Middle Clauses
3.1 Four Possible Analyses
3.2 Selection of *inca?/*inca?kn
3.3 Quantifier Ban
3.4 Lexical Incorporation
3.5 A Phantom to the Rescue
3.6 Consequences for the -m Morphology

Footnotes

IV TRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN OKANAGAN

0 Introduction

1 Dative Advancement: Benefactive and Indirective Constructions
1.1 Case Marking
1.2 Question Formation
1.3 Quantifier Float
1.4 Relative Clause Formation
1.5 Passivization

2 Relational Clauses
2.1 Three Classes
2.2 Evidence for Initial Intransitivity
2.3 Evidence for Final Transitivity
2.3.1 Passivization
2.3.2 Quantifier Float
2 Relevance to Relational Grammar

2.1 The Definition of Transitivity

2.2 The Relational Class B verbs and the 1AEX

2.3 The Mapping of Thematic and Grammatical Relations

Appendix I: Consultants

Appendix II: Abbreviations

Appendix III: The Middle and Relational Constructions Revisited

References
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For their continuing hospitality, understanding and companionship, I thank the people of Nicola Valley, for they added the dimension of human experience and compassion to my work.

For their pride and keen interest in their native language and for their faith in me, I thank the native speakers of Okanagan, especially those who served as language consultants: Joseph Albert Michel, Joe Pete Saddleman, Sharon Lindley, Johnny Archachan, Nellie Quiterrez, Louisa Roper, Rosie Tom, all of Quilchena (Nicola Valley dialect); Clara Jack and Adam Eneas, both of the Penticton dialect and area; Teresa Terbasket of Keremeos; and Tillie George of Colville, Washington.

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For his gentle patience and his valuable insights into his language, for the many long hours of tedious work, for the warmth of his affection, for the shared excitement and satisfactions as the work progressed, I thank Joseph Albert Michel, the main language consultant, affectionately known as Uncle. This work is in many ways his and forms part of his legacy to his people.
In dedication

Qwíymólst, Joseph Albert Michel, November 1978.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Identifying the Language

Okanagan is an Interior Salishan language spoken in Interior British Columbia and Washington State. The following tree structure shows the proposed genetic relationship of Okanagan to the other languages in the Salishan language family:

```
Proto-Salish
  /         \
 /             \
Tsamosan       Coast Salish
   /     \     /     \
  Maritime   InlandHalkomelem
     /     \   /     \    Northern Straits
    Lower Chehalis SecheltChial (Klam)    Northern Shuswap
       Upper Chehalis ComoxLushootseed (Puget Sound)
          Bella CoolaTillamook
          Quinault
```

(Kinkade 1976-77)
Okanagan is spoken in Nicola Valley at the end of Lake Nicola, in Okanagan Valley in an area extending south of Kamloops, all in British Columbia, and in Washington State on the Colville Reservation as far south as Inchelem. Two dialects may be distinguished: Northern and Southern. Colville-Okanagan (Mattina 1973) falls within the southern dialect and (Nicola Lake) Okanagan falls within the northern dialect.

The bulk of the data presented herein is from Joseph Albert Michel of Quilchena, in Nicola Valley, British Columbia. Some syntactic phenomena have been contributed by other speakers; these are noted in footnotes. (See also Appendix I: Consultants.) Variations in languages, including Okanagan, due to individual differences such as age, sex or schooling, due to geographical differences, or due to language obsolescence, may lead to different data and different interpretations.

Other major works on this language are doctoral dissertations by Mattina (1973) and Watkins (1970), a masters thesis by Paterson (1978), as well as papers by Thompson (1979), Mattina (1982), and Hébert (1982a,b).

Okanagan is an obsolescing language (Miller 1972). Its most fluent speakers are elders in their seventies and eighties, and most of these are fluently bilingual English-Okanagan. Very few children are learning the language at home in its natural context. According to data compiled by Levine (1981), Okanagan has approximately 200 speakers, with a minimum age of 40-50 years. Language retention programs are presently being initiated by speakers in their twenties thru early sixties in an effort to maintain the language in its present-day form.
Orthography

Some of the major challenges facing a student of Salishan languages are phonological in nature, such as stress placement, schwa epenthesis, syllabiciry, and for the Interior Salishan languages, pharyngealization and retraction. The orthography described below is used as a practical measure and should not be taken as a starting point for phonological analysis.

In the orthography used here, word stress is indicated by means of ′ as primary stress marker and ″ as secondary stress marker. Epenthetic schwas are generally excluded from the orthography. Exceptions to this practice are few, but when they occur, forms with and without an epenthetic schwa are given. For example, the agentive prefix is səxʷ-/sxʷ-. The former is used when the preceding article is i, i.e., is vowel-final; the latter is used when the preceding article is t, i.e., is consonant-final, in which case an epenthetic schwa occurs between the article and the first consonant of the prefix. The net result is a different assignment of syllabiciry. Epenthetic vowels do not take stress and are generally audible as light, passing vowels. For a statement of the conditioned schwa variation, see Mattina (1973).

To account for the pharyngealization and retraction, two abstract segments are used in this orthography: ˀ and ˀ. Both of these indicate that the following segment is retracted and is the locus of the pharyngealization which also generally spreads to the immediately neighbouring segments from the loci of the retraction. The ˀ symbol also indicates that the following segment, always a vowel, is glottalized. This accounts for the twelve phonetic vowels with primary stress charted
below, where indicates tongue root retraction. The \( V?V \) notation represents a glottalized vowel. These are characterizable for Okanagan:

(i) as receiving one stress;
(ii) as having two energy peaks, clearly interrupted by a glottal stop;
(iii) as functioning as one unit with respect to vowel reduction to schwa;
(iv) as occurring only as retracted, pharyngealized vowels; and
(v) as having low, falling pitch.

2a phonetic  b  orthographic

| i  | i | ?i  | i  | ?i  |
|ε  | æ | æ?æ | ε  | æ  | æ  |
|a  | o | o?o  | a  | o  | o  |
|u  | o | o?o  | u  | o  | o  |

In terms of graphemes, the dual symbols of the two right-most columns of 2b may be termed *digraphs*, as are the *th, sh* symbols of the English orthography. For this dialect, no phonetic sequences of *?* and *V* are found.

The gammas of (Nicola Lake) Okanagan are considered here to be phonetic since they are the only voiced fricatives in the system, since they function as resonants, for example, with respect to Diminuative Glottalization, and since they always occur pharyngealized, with some of them retracted as well. The orthography makes use of the digraph *Sr* and *R* for \([γ]\) and \([γ]\) respectively. There is no other known instance of a single *r* occurring retracted or pharyngealized.

Although limited in distribution, the *h*s of Okanagan are 'heavy' and have a similar effect on the following segments as do the abstract segments; *h* precedes only retracted vowels and *h* precedes only retracted glottalized vowels.
The inventory of orthographic symbols or graphemes used here for (Nicola Lake) Okanagan is given in 3 below. The C is an alveopalatal affricate, ' indicates a glottalized segment, $ is a glottalized lateral affricate, and X is a uvular fricative.

3 Consonant graphemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>k'</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>q'</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>q'</td>
<td>q'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m'</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>y'</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>r'</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td>h'</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel graphemes:

i u
e a

(Michel and Hébert 1979:1).

2 Posing the Problem

This dissertation is a study of certain clause-level constructions in Okanagan. It attempts to determine the syntactic constructions in which the verbal affixes listed in 4 below occur. In the listing below, the traditional terms used in Salishan linguistics are contrasted with those used herein:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFIX</th>
<th>TRADITIONAL TERM</th>
<th>TERM USED HEREIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>1. Transitive -t</td>
<td>-t marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Stative -t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tím/-təm</td>
<td>Passive ending</td>
<td>Passive ending</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In order to focus this study of the syntax of the Okanagan language, four major questions were formulated:

(1) **What is the nature of transitivity in Okanagan?**

This question subsumes more than one point:

- (i) the definition of transitivity as a characteristic of verbs, clauses, or of something else;
- (ii) the relationship of transitivity to distinctiveness of subject and direct object nominals, as illustrated in this transitive reflexive, with 'intransitive' morphology: (See Chapter 2, section 1.1, on word order.)

5  *námti *trq - n - cút - Ø .

The boy kicked himself.

(iii) the accurate statement of a generalization for morphological markers, for example, of the 'transitive' -t, present in 6(a) below but absent in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concatenation</th>
<th>Non-Control</th>
<th>Unaccusative ending, for naturally occurring states</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-p</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>Agentive Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cút</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>Unaccusative Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-myst</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ám/-m</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-x</td>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>Benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-l</td>
<td>Indirective</td>
<td>Indirective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mí</td>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(í)na</td>
<td>(Unidentified)</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nú</td>
<td>Limited Control</td>
<td>Limited Control</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table lists various morphological markers used in the Okanagan language with their corresponding functions and meanings.
6b. below; and

(iv) types of intransitive clauses such as Middle voice constructions as well as stative and non-stative intransitives.

(2) What grammatical relations are necessary to the syntactic analysis of Okanagan?

Traditionally, the Salishan languages have been analyzed as having subjects, direct objects, and oblique objects but not indirect objects.

(3) What re-evaluations of these grammatical relations may occur in this language?

More specifically, what advancements, demotions and ascensions may occur at the clause level of this language?

(iv.) What is the nature of the Middle voice of Okanagan?

Also, what is its relationship, if any, to its counterpart active voice?

The sentences in b illustrate counterpart constructions:

ACTIVE

6a. ści xīxʷtm ίkm ( - n - t ) - s ści qəəxʷutiya?.

the girl sew-PFTV-t-S3_TRANS the mocassin

The girl sewed the mocassins.

MIDDLE

b. ści xīxʷtm ίkm - m - Ø t qəəxʷutiya?.

the girl sew-MIDDLE-S3_INTR some mocassin

The girl sews mocassins.
The Organization of this study

The difficulty in approaching these questions is that they are not independent of one another. Okanagan syntax is complex and multi-dimensional. One thread cannot be unraveled without being aware of the weave of the entire fabric. Cross-referencing is the device used most frequently to facilitate the task.

This study is organized around the major question of transitivity. Chapter Two provides basic facts about Okanagan as necessary background information on the language. Chapter Three examines clause-level constructions which are finally intransitive: the Passive, Unaccusative and Middle constructions. Chapter Four examines clause-level constructions which are finally transitive: the Dative, Relational, Locative, and Possessor Ascension constructions. Chapter Five discusses the relevance of the analysis for Salishan linguistics and for Relational Grammar, the theoretical framework in which the analyses are cast.

Theoretical Framework

This study is an exploration of the adequacy of Relational Grammar for describing the clause-level syntax of Okanagan. Only those parts of Relational Grammar of general importance are discussed in this section; other concepts are introduced throughout as they are needed. The theory of Relational Grammar is discussed in Perlmutter and Postal (1974, 1978a), Johnson (1974) and in other works cited.
4.1 Some Principles of Relational Grammar

The central claim of Relational Grammar is that the syntactic processes of human languages are best expressed by rules referring to grammatical relations rather than by rules referring to strings of ordered elements, to cases, or to constituent-structure trees. Grammatical relations are considered to be the most appropriate basis for stating syntactic generalizations, both for universal rule-types and principles, and for language-particular data. To exemplify, the following sentences may be considered:

7a Grannie gave a basket to the girl.

b Grannie gave the girl a basket.

The underlined nominal in the a sentence is considered an indirect object in English, and may also be referred to as a Dative object, or in Relational Grammar, as a 3. In the approach taken here, the difference between a and b in 7 above is best expressed universally as a rule that promotes an indirect object to direct objecthood, termed 3 \rightarrow 2 Advancement, rather than as a rule of Dative Movement permuting the second NP after the verb to immediate post-verbal position. See Perlmutter and Postal (1977) for a discussion of this central claim vis à vis Passivization.

Another fundamental principle of this theory is that the structure of a clause is the set of grammatical relations obtaining between the elements of a clause. The predicate bears the Predicate relation to its clause. The chart below illustrates the types of nominal-to-clause relations. Of these, the ones that figure the most in this work are:

i) the term vs non-term relations,

ii) the oblique relations,

iii) the retirement relation of chômeur, and
iv) the nuclear relations.

8 Classification of nominal-to-clause relations

(adapted from Perlmutter and Postal 1978):

Grammatical relations

Nominal relations

Central relations

Core relations

Term relations

Nuclear term relations

Object relations

Retirement relations

Chômeur Emeritus

Overlay relations

Oblique relations

Q', REL', TOP, OW ....

BENE INSTR TEMP LOC

.....
Predicates and nominals are said to be dependents of the clause to which they bear grammatical relations. The Predicate relation, Term relations and Oblique relations are held to be undefined primitives of the theory; retirement relations are defined by the theory.

The grammatical relations which elements bear to the clause are illustrated here, informally, for English:

9 The girl tanned the hide for her grandmother.

The girl bears the Subject relation to the clause and is labelled 1;
tanned bears the Predicate relation to the clause and is labelled P;
the hide bears the Direct Object relation to the clause and is labelled 2;
for her grandmother bears one of the Oblique relations, the Benefactive one, to the clause and is labelled BENE. More formally, the grammatical relations which elements bear to the clause are represented notationally in relational networks. In the diagram 10 below, the primitive linguistic element b bears the relation whose name is GR\textsubscript{X} to the primitive linguistic element a:

![Diagram 10](image)

If, for example, GR\textsubscript{X} is labelled 1, the name of the Subject relation, then b bears the Subject relation to a, the clause node. If, for example, GR\textsubscript{X} is labelled 2, the name of the Direct Object relation, then b bears the Direct Object relation to a, the clause node. The formal arcs for the English example in 9 are:
The diagram in 10 is however incomplete. To represent the notion of linguistic levels notationally, sequences of numbers called coordinates are associated with the incomplete arc in 10 to yield arcs, as diagrammed in 12:

In 12 above, the element b bears the Subject relation to the clausal node a at both the first and second levels of a. Thus it is possible for b to bear the Subject relation at one level, c\textsubscript{i}, while a distinct element c might be the Subject of a at the c\textsubscript{ii} level:

This is illustrated for English with a Passive which may be analyzed as consisting of two levels of clausal structure:
The boy was kissed by the grandmother.

One further observation may be made about how the coordinates on arcs permit a characterization of level for a fixed node. This is done by defining the notion stratum. The $c_k$th-stratum of a node $b$ is the set of all arcs with tail $a$ which have the coordinate $c_k$. In 10 and 11 above, all of the arcs are in a single stratum. In other cases, there is more than one stratum. This may be represented for the English example 14a in relational network as in 14b or in terms of a stratal diagram as in 14c:

This may be represented for an Okanagan example in a relational network as in 15b below or in terms of a stratal diagram as in 15c below:

The boy was kissed by the grandmother.
Pairs like 14b and 14c, 15b and 15c, are entirely equivalent notations for the same linguistic object, i.e., a graphic representation of the structure of 14a and 15a respectively.

Transitivity is characterized in Relational Grammar as a property, not of clauses or of verbs, but of strata:

16 **Transitivity in Relational Grammar**

A stratum is considered transitive if it has a 1 and a 2; otherwise it is intransitive.
1 Sharon Lindley, née Michel, of the Upper Nicola Band, estimates that the number of fluent speakers of Okanagan is more than 200 and feels that an examination of the band lists is necessary to accurately establish the number of remaining fluent speakers and their ages.

2 The orthographic conventions used throughout this work reflect the phonological speech system of the primary language consultant. The retracted segments, are all clearly audible in the speech of the main language consultant and have been verified by him. He is respected in his community as a particularly knowledgeable speaker with very clear articulation and with an ability to describe to others how to articulate the sounds. Retraction and pharyngealization is also clearly audible in the speech of the oldest members of the community. Some of the other elders have also been able to confirm the existence and frequency of these sounds.

3 The traditional terms are generally from Mattina (1973).

4 This may also be written in another type of notation: \([GR_x(b,a)c_i]\) which is read as the primitive linguistic element \(b\) bears the relation \(GR_x\) to the primitive linguistic element \(a\) in coordinate \(c_i\).
CHAPTER TWO

BASIC FACTS ABOUT OKANAGAN

Introduction

This chapter, in which necessary preliminaries about the Okanagan language are presented, is organized as follows. Section 1 gives basic data, section 2 gives tests for grammatical relations, with tests for final grammatical relations in 2.1 and tests for non-final grammatical relations in 2.2.

Basic Data

Data on word order (1.1), the form of nominals (1.2), the form of predicates (1.3), complementizers and determiners (1.4), an animacy hierarchy (1.5), case-marking prepositions (1.6), aspect and transitivity marking (1.7) are presented in this section, in the order indicated.

1.1 Word Order

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

la  qkwạ-s-t-is  sítwít  sì  qwólx.
   chew-IMPF-t-S3  the boy  the fish.

The boy is chewing the fish.

The boy is chewing the fish.
My grandmother is going to start to fry some bread for herself.

I poured some coffee in the cups.

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

Boil some water for our tea!

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

2 BASIC WORD ORDER: P 1 2 3 Obl, at the surface stratum.

1.2 Form of Nominals

Nominals in Okanagan may be charted in their fullest expansion as:

3 directional. Preposition Demonstrative Determiner

1 2 3


4 5 6 7
This is exemplified below:

\[ \text{wik ( - n - t ) - n } \quad \text{see-PFTV-t-S1 TRANS} \quad \text{the - dog} \quad \text{underneath} \quad \text{this invisible, proximate} \]

\[ \text{ki kwâp kâ'ixvms } \quad \text{êlâ?} \]

\[ \text{Si l sic } \quad \text{Si citx'}. \]

I saw the dog underneath the new house.

Nominals are characterized by their ability to occur as logical arguments and by their ability to bear grammatical relations: Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Oblique, Chômeur, and Topic. The head of a nominal argument is distinguishable by its linear position, by its ability to take possessive affixes, to trigger plural agreement of the modifier and of certain classes of verbs.

1.3 Form of Predicates

Members of diverse lexical categories, such as Adjective, Verb, Adverb, Demonstrative, Noun, may bear the Predicate relation. The discussion here is limited to clauses with Predicates that take the affixes under study.

1.3.1 Subject and Object Markers

The verbal paradigms vary according to the person and number of the subject and direct object. There are three sets of subject markers. These are charted and labelled below. The abbreviations S1, S2, and S3 refer to first, second and third person singular, and P1, P2 and P3 to first, second and third person plural.
## Subject Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IRREALIS MOOD</th>
<th>REALIS MOOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intransitive/Transitive</strong></td>
<td><strong>Intransitive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1 (sin-\cdots)</td>
<td>(kn) ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2 (san-\cdots)</td>
<td>(kw) ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3 (\cdots-s)</td>
<td>(\cdots-i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1 (\cdots-tot/-t)</td>
<td>(k)w ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2 (\cdots-mp/-p)</td>
<td>(\cdots-p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3 (\cdots-s\ lx)</td>
<td>(\cdots-lx)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The direct object markers may be either affixes or clitics:

### Direct Object Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>as Clitics</th>
<th>as suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in the (-n) paradigm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>(k)w ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>(k)w ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>(\cdots)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>(k)w ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>(\cdots)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>(\cdots)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the two charts above, the lack of an entry indicates that there is no overt markers for that person, number and mood. For example, there is no marker for third person intransitive realis subject.
The irreals subject markers are similar to the possesive markers:

7  Possessive Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>P1</th>
<th>P2</th>
<th>P3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>⁵in-</td>
<td>⁶on-</td>
<td>...-s</td>
<td>...-tæt</td>
<td>...-mp</td>
<td>...-sælx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3.2  Verbal Paradigms

Full conjugations are presented of two verbal roots: txt'-'look after' and s⁹ iw- 'ask', the former being a verbal root with which the suffixes are stressed and the latter being a verbal root which is stressed itself. Three paradigms are presented for each verb. These are conjugated in the -n transitive realis paradigm, in the ks- 'Unrealized Action' paradigm and in the sœc- 'Past Perfect' paradigm.

The parentheses ( ) enclose paradigmatic information which is absent in the surface manifestation of the particular example. The brackets [ ] enclose combinations which show Passive morphology; a discussion of these follow the charts.

The charts are to be read as follows. For example, the entry 'Subject S1 and Object S3' is read as

txt' - n - t - ïn "I look after him." in the -n 'Perfective' paradigm, as ⁵i(n)-ks-txt'-âm "I'm going to look after him." in the ks- 'Unrealized Action' paradigm, and as ⁵i(n)-sœc-txt'-âm "I've been looking after him." in the 'Past Perfect' paradigm. The verb s⁹ iw- 'ask' follows the charts of the verb txt'-'look after'. It should be noted that when the subject and object markers are both suffixes, the object marker comes first.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Singular Subject and Singular Object</th>
<th>Plural Subject and Singular Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-In</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-s-in</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-s-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>(n)-ks-txt'-an</td>
<td>ks-txt'-n'-t-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>(n)-ks-txt'-am</td>
<td>ks-txt'-n'-t-s-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>(n)-ks-txt'-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sac-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>(n)-sac-txt'-an</td>
<td>sac-txt'-n'-t-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>(n)-sac-txt'-am</td>
<td>sac-txt'-n'-t-s-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>(n)-sac-txt'-an</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plural Subject and Singular Object</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>P1</td>
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<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-ip</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-s-it</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-s-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>[txt'-n-t-im]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>ks-txt'-n'-t-ip</td>
<td>ks-txt'-n'-t-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>ks-txt'-n'-t-s-it</td>
<td>ks-txt'-n'-t-s-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>[ks-txt'-n'-t-im']</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sac-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>k' sac-txt'-am-tat</td>
<td>k' sac-txt'-am-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>k' sac-txt'-am-tat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular Subject and Plural Object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-Ím lx</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-Íp lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>txt(-n-t)-kûlm-n</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks-</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>ʕi(n)-ks-txt'-ám lx</td>
<td>ʕa(n)-ks-txt'-ám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>p ʕi(n)-ks-txt'-ám</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sac-</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>ʕi(n)-sac-txt'-ám</td>
<td>ʕa(n)-sac-txt'-ám lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>p ʕi(n)-sac-txt'-ám</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural Subject and Plural Object</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>P2</td>
<td>P3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>[txt'-n-t-Ím lx]</td>
<td>txt'-n-t-Íp lx</td>
<td>[txt'-n-t-Ím lx]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>txt(-n-t)-kûlm-t</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>txt(-n-t)-kûlm-s lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks-</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>P2</td>
<td>P3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>[ks-txt'-n-t-Ímf lx]</td>
<td>ks-txt'-n-t-Ípf lx</td>
<td>[ks-txt'-n-t-Ímf lx]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>ks-txt(-n-t)-kûlm-t</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>ks-txt(-n-t)-kûlm-s lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sac-</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>P2</td>
<td>P3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>sac-txt'-ám lx</td>
<td>sac-txt'-ám-p lx</td>
<td>sac-txt'-ám lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>sac-txt'-kûlm-t</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>sac-txt'-kûlm-s lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k'u sac-txt'-ám</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Verb: s'iw- 'ask'

#### Singular Subject and Singular Object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Singular Subject and Singular Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>s'iw(-n-t)-n</td>
<td>s'iw-n-t-x'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>s'iw-n-t-s-n</td>
<td>k'u s'iw-n-t-x'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>k'u s'iw-n-t-x'</td>
<td>k'u s'iw(-n-t)-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks-</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>fi(n)-ks-s'iw-m</td>
<td>a(n)-ks-s'iw-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>k'u fi(n)-ks-s'iw-m</td>
<td>k'u a(n)-ks-s'iw-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>k'u a(n)-ks-s'iw-m</td>
<td>k'u ks-s'iw-y(-t)-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sac-</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>fi(n)-sac-s'iw-m</td>
<td>a(n)-sac-s'iw-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>k'u fi(n)-sac-s'iw-m</td>
<td>k'u a(n)-sac-s'iw-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>k'u a(n)-sac-s'iw-m</td>
<td>k'u ks-s'iw-y(-t)-s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Plural Subject and Singular Object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Plural Subject and Singular Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>P2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>[s'iw-n-t-am ]</td>
<td>s'iw-n-t-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>s'iw-n-t-s-t</td>
<td>k'u s'iw-n-t-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>k'u s'iw-n-t-p</td>
<td>k'u s'iw(-n-t)-s lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks-</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>P2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>[ks-s'iw-n-t-am' ]</td>
<td>ks-s'iw-n-t-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>ks-s'iw-n-t-s-t</td>
<td>k'u ks-s'iw-n-t-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>k'u ks-s'iw-n-t-p</td>
<td>k'u ks-s'iw-y(-t)-s lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sac-</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>P2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>sac-s'iw-m-tat</td>
<td>sac-s'iw-m-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>k'u sac-s'iw-m-tat</td>
<td>k'u sac-s'iw-m-s lx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>k'u sac-s'iw-m-p</td>
<td>k'u sac-s'iw-m-s lx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Singular Subject and Plural Object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-n$</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)x$</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t-am)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$s</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t-am)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-p$</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-p$s</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t-am)$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural Subject and Plural Object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P1</th>
<th>P2</th>
<th>P3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>[ $s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$ ]</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-p$</td>
<td>[ $s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$-t</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$s-</td>
<td>[ $s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$-s ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$s-</td>
<td>[ $s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$-s ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P1</th>
<th>P2</th>
<th>P3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>[ $s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-o$ ]</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-o$p</td>
<td>[ $s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-o$ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-o$-t</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-o$m-s</td>
<td>[ $s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-o$m-s ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-o$</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-o$m-s</td>
<td>[ $s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-o$m-s ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P1</th>
<th>P2</th>
<th>P3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)$</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)p$</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$s</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)$</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)-m$s</td>
<td>$s^i\text{fw}(-n-t)$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the preceding charts, there are certain gaps, i.e., certain combinations of affixes do not occur. These are summarized below:

10  S2 Subject and P1 Object: You V us.
P2 Subject and P1 Object: You-guys V us.

These were indicated in the charts with an asterisk.

In addition, the subject affixes are not mentioned in certain other combinations and, in the -n and ks- paradigms, Passive morphology -im/-am is used. These are summarized below:

11  S3 Subject and P3 Object: He/She V them.
S3 Subject and P1 Object: He/She V us.
P3 Subject and P3 Object: They V them.
P3 Subject and P1 Object: They V us.
P1 Subject and P3 Object: We V them.
P1 Subject and S3 Object: We V him/her.

These were indicated on the charts with square brackets.

For Okanagan, two statements need to be formulated to account for the gaps in the verbal paradigms:

(i) a statement of which combinations of subject and object markings absolutely may not occur; and

(ii) a statement of which combinations of subject and object markings prohibit mention of the subject's person and number.

These statements follow.

12  **Absolute Prohibition of Combination**

    P1 outranks 2.

This rule states that first person plural outranks second person singular or plural, i.e., that the combination of second person subject and first person plural object is absolutely prohibited. The combination
you • • Pl V us is outlawed and hence non-existent.

### Partial Prohibition of Mention of Subject Marker

P1, P3 outrank 3 which outranks Pl.

This rule states that first and third person plural outrank third person, either singular or plural, which outranks first person plural. In these combinations, we V him/them and he/they V us/them, the subject marker is prohibited. This partial prohibition on certain combinations is circumvented by the use of 'intransitive' morphology with an object clitic, as follows:¹

1. In the realis transitive paradigm, either the -n or -s 'Perfective' or 'Imperfective' paradigms, and in the realis paradigm with prefix ks- 'Unrealized Action', a Passive with -im/-om is used.

2. In the sac- 'Past Perfect' paradigm, the subject is omitted and the intransitive -m marker is used.

The Partial Prohibition does not outlaw mention of the direct object's person and number, and in each of these cases, an object clitic is used.

### Complementizers and Determiners

The words 'i and t occur as members of both lexical categories: Complementizer and Determiner. However these are distinguishable since the complementizers carry tense whereas the Determiners do not, as detailed below:

**Complementizers**

Okanagan has eight lexical items which introduce subordinate clauses and which carry its temporal reference with respect to the matrix clause or to the speech event:
These eight lexical items can be categorized together as introducers of subordinate clauses and the lexical category is termed 'Complementizer', abbreviated as COMP.

Determiners

Two of these complementizers are also members of the category 'Determiner':

15a. dë and its predictable allomorph të for 'Specific';
   b. t 'Non-specific'.

Sentences 16a-i exemplify some of the lexical items which occur as Complementizers:

16a. kn ks - nëcùs - a?x mëi këënù - n ( - t) - n di këkõxna?.
   Sl Intr UNR-trap-INCEP COMP catch-PFTV-t-Sl Trans the mouse
   I'm going to start to set a trap to catch a mouse.

b. tik-nù këi qësùp lx.
   suddenly COMP slide/slip P3 Intr
   All of a sudden, they slide/feel.
I wish you were here when the lilac was in full bloom.

That's your horse that I stole accidentally.

Put away some salmon for them to eat this winter (i.e., just for them to eat).}

Put away some salmon for them to eat this winter (i.e., them and anybody who's around to eat - the cultural norm).

Why has the boy gone to town? (could be awhile ago)

Why is the boy going to town? / Why did the boy go to town? (just recently)
I'm not dipnetting some salmon.

Sentences 17a-c exemplify the lexical items which occur as Determiners:

17a  títáit  túníx? sí  smí̕mā?°

very true the story

The story is very true.

b  títáit  túníx° t  smí̕mā?°.

very true some/a story

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

c  sí  stántíma?  cút  sí  q̓ʷq̓ʷí̕yá?°  naq°  t  siya?.

the grandmother tell-S3 the chipmunk steal-S3 some saskatoon.berry

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

As members of the category 'Determiner', these lexical items do not carry tense. The allomorph s occurs predictably before the possessive prefix sən- 'your' and before nouns or adjectives containing the sequence: resonant-Pharyngeal-Stressed Vowel, in that order or in the reverse (cf. Michel and Hébert, 1978, for examples.) A member of the lexical category 'Determiner' marks a nominal argument, preceding and marking both modifier and head, with the exception of a personal name or a full independent pronominal.

1.5 Animacy Hierarchy

Languages frequently recognize a hierarchy of animacy:

18 Animacy Hierarchy for Common Nominals

Animate, Human > Animate, Non-human > Inanimate.

On such a hierarchy, those nominals which are closer to the top are most
likely to serve as subject, whereas those nominals which are furthest from the top are least likely.

Okanagan permits animate beings, but not inanimate beings, as subject in clauses with transitive strata. The class of animate beings includes humans and animals, as in 19, acts of nature as in 20, and cultural items that are marked as possessed by an animate being, as in 21-22.

19a  si tkamildn xaq - n - t - is  si sqol'mix\*  si t x̌̂mit.
the woman hit-PFTV-t-S\*3 TRANS the man INSTR rock
The woman hit the man with a rock.

b  si sqol'mix\*  xaq - 0  si t x̌̂mit.
the man hit-UNACCUS-S3 INTR INSTR rock
The man was hit with the rock.

c  * si x̌̂mit xaq - n - t - is  si sqol'mix\*.
the rock hit-PFTV-t-S\*3 TRANS the man
The rock hit the man.

d  si smina? q'q - n - t - is  si sk'qimol t.
the owl bite-PFTV-t-S\*3 TRANS the baby
The owl bit the baby.

20a  si sqit k'u  caw - i - t - s  si  kim - kar.
the rain me wash-INDIR-t-S\*3 TRANS the my-car
The rain washed me my car.

21a  cq' - mi ( - n - t ) - n  si p'uk'la? ?sul
throw-REL/2-PFTV-t-S\*1 TRANS the ball and
I threw the ball and I unintentionally hit the boy.

cq' - q' - nu ( - n - t ) - n  si ttwit.
hit-UNACCUS-LTDC-PFTV-t-S\*1 TRANS the boy

I threw the ball and I unintentionally hit the boy.
I threw the ball and it accidentally hit the boy.

My ball hit the rock / the dog.

The ball hit the rock.

Your mocassin hit the rock.

His beaver pelt was stretched by the man.

The beaver pelt was stretched by the man.
1.6 Prepositional Case-Marking

Non-term objects, i.e., oblique objects, are marked by one of the set of case-marking prepositions:

23a  \text{tl}^* \quad \text{from, source;}

b  \text{kl} \quad \text{to, at, goal, recipient, dative;}

c  \text{k} \quad \text{for, benefactive;}

d  \text{l} \quad \text{on, locative;}

e  \text{n\&i} \quad \text{with, comitative;}

f  \text{gi \&it} \quad \text{with, by, instrumental.}

The prepositions listed in a-e may optionally be preceded by a determiner, usually \text{i}, whereas the preposition given in f must occur in the form listed, with no additional determiner.

1.7 Aspect and Transitivity Marking

Rules are given for the occurrence of the markers:

- \text{n} \quad \text{"Perfective",}

- \text{s} \quad \text{"Imperfective", and}

- \text{t} \quad \text{"Transitive".}

The \text{-n/-s} are exemplified in sentences 25c,e, 26b-c, 28b-c, and 29a-b.
The \text{-t} is exemplified in these examples as well as in 25b-e, 32b-c, 33b, 34b, and 36-39.

1.7.1 A Rule for Perfective and Imperfective Aspect

Perfective or Imperfective aspect is marked on the head of a predicate phrase of a clause, where '"head' is taken to be the verbal root:

24 \text{optionally (1) if there is an initial 2-arc which is a 1-arc in the final stratum with no other nuclear term arc in the final stratum; or otherwise,}

\text{obligatorily (2) if there is an initial or advancee 2-arc which is a nuclear term arc in the final stratum;}
(3) if there is no Dative or Phantom arc, i.e., if there is no register of an initial oblique object as in a Dative clause (the Indirective and Benefactive constructions) or if the clause is a Middle construction under a Phantom analysis.

The clauses which this rule statement encapsulates are illustrated and exemplified below. However, the discussion and motivation of these particular relational networks is undertaken in Chapters Three and Four.

Part (i) of the rule refers to the class of Unaccusative clauses ending in -t where an aspectual marking is possible. Only the -s 'Imperfective' marker is attested in these clauses. Other classes of Unaccusative predicates end in -p for naturally occurring action, in a reduplicated consonant (the final one of the root), or show no distinctive ending. Inchoative clauses are also considered Unaccusative; these are marked either by glottalization of a resonant in second position or by the ending -wiłk. None of these other classes of Unaccusatives are attested with an aspectual marker of Perfective or Imperfective aspect.

Unaccusative clauses are discussed in Chapter Three, section 2. Part (i) of the rule covers the following case:

25 in an Unaccusative clause, of the -t class:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{S1 INTR} & \quad \text{warm-t} \\
\text{kn} & \quad \text{q'wəl' - t.} \\
\text{(-s)-t} & \quad \text{I'm warm.}
\end{align*} \]
I'm warming (myself). I'm keeping warm.

It is stretched (like a beaver pelt).

We are stretching.

Part (2) of the rule covers the following cases, where there is an initial 2-arc and a final nuclear arc:

- in an active clause with a transitive stratum:

a

```
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (P) at (0,0) {P};
  \node (1) at (1,1) {1};
  \node (2) at (2,1) {2};
  \draw[->] (P) to (1);
  \draw[->] (P) to (2);
  \draw[->] (1) to (2);
\end{tikzpicture}
```

-\( \cdot \) or -\( s \)

b \( \text{The bee rigid-PFTV-t-S}_3\text{TRANS the my-male's mom} \)

The bee stung my mother.

c \( \text{yell.at - IMPT-t-S}_2\text{TRANS the man} \)

You are yelling at the man.
in a passive clause with finally intransitive stratum:

a

\[ \text{P} \rightarrow 1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 1 \]

\(-n \text{ or } -s\)

b şi \(\text{i(n)}\) - sk\(\text{'}\)uy 1?r - n - t\(\text{ǐm}\) şi t sk\(\text{'n}\)u?\(\text{i}\).

the my-male's.mom rigid-PPTV-PASS INSTR bee

My mother was stung by a bee.

c şi sqo\(\text{ɪ}\)m\(\text{ɪ}\)x\(\text{ɪ}\) am\(\text{\text{\text{'}}}\) - s - t\(\text{w}\)m şi t st\(\text{ə}\)mt\(\text{ɪ}\)\(\text{ɪ}\)m\(\text{\text{'}}}\) - s.

the man yell.at-IMPF-PASS INSTR grandmother-his

The man was yelled at by his grandmother.

in a reflexive clause:

\[ \text{P} \rightarrow 1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 1 \]

\(-n \text{ or } -s\)

\(-\text{cùt}\)

b şi tw\(\text{ɪ}\)t q\(\text{ʊ}\)e - n - cùt å\(\text{e}\) r c - p\(\text{f}\)uk\(\text{\text{\text{\text{'}}}\) - åm.

the boy slide-PPTV-REFL COMP PP-ball-MIDDLE

The boy slid himself while playing ball.

c şi tw\(\text{ɪ}\)t x\(\text{n}\)ì\(\text{m}\) - s - cùt.

the boy hurt-IMPF-REFL

The boy is hurring himself.
in a reciprocal clause:

a) \( \text{kʷu kʷən - } \text{n (} - \text{t} \text{) - wíx'}. \)

\( \text{Pl} \text{ INTR catch-PPTV-t-RECIP} \)

We caught each other.

b) \( \text{si scə'mala? ũnum - } \text{s - t - wíx'}. \)

\( \text{the children hurt-IMPF-t-RECIP P3 INTR} \)

The children are hurting each other.

The following are correctly excluded by part (2) of the rule formulation:

in a MIDDLE voice clause: (The rule satisfies the first three possibilities for an analysis. Chapters Three and Four provide evidence in support of the fourth (iv), the Phantom Arc solution.)

a) 

-\( \text{ám/-m} \)

(i) Antipassive (ii) Spontaneous (iii) 2 \( \rightarrow \) 3 Retreat (iv) Phantom Arc Demotion Solution

b) \( \text{si } \text{(i)}(n) - k̓i̓kʷwa? \text{ c - mánxʷ - m t q̓əł̓s - i - məl̓x q̓sapí?}. \)

\( \text{the my-grandfather PF-smoke-MIDDLE some kinnick-link-plant long.ago} \)

My grandfather smokes kinnickkinnick long ago.

c) \( \text{si } \text{(i)}(n) - k̓i̓kʷwa? \text{ m̓əyə-} \text{ám q̓sapí?}. \)

\( \text{the my-grandfather tell.stories-MIDDLE long.ago} \)

My grandfather tell stories long ago.
in an Unergative clause, i.e., a clause with an intransitive stratum with an initial 1-arc:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{p} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{-Ø}
\end{array} \]

b \( \text{ti ttwit qícəlx.} \)
the boy run
The boy runs.

Part (3) of the rule formulation excludes Middle clauses under a Phantom Arc solution, illustrated above in 30a, in which there is an advancee 2-arc non-distinct from the initial 1-arc. It also excludes Dative clauses in which there is a morpheme registering 'Benefactive' or 'Indirective' object, regardless of any possible advancements to 3, 2, or 1 (cf., Chapter Four, section 1 for discussion of these clauses):

32 in a Dative clause:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{P} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{DATIVE} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{-x or} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{-t}
\end{array} \]

b \( \text{sin - n\text{iw} x\text{wic} - x - t - s} \text{ si s\text{nk\text{c}}\text{q}\text{áxa?} kl ttwit.} \)
the my-father give-BENE-t S\text{TRANS the horse to boy}
My father gave the horse to the boy.
However, an advancee 2 in a 'Relational' or Locative clause triggers the aspectual marking, as stated in part (2) of the rule formulation:
(c.f., Chapter Four, section 2,3 respectively for discussion of these clauses):

33 in a Relational clause with obligatory advancement, where NN refers to a Non-nuclear term:

34 in a Locative clause with advancee to 2 in a, b, but not with advancee LOC to 1 in c, d:
Rule for -t Marking

The following rule is proposed to account for the -t marking on predicates:

- The morpheme -t marks the presence of an initial or advancee 2 in some stratum $S_i$ which remains a distinct nuclear term in the same and in successive final strata, including the final stratum, $S_{i+1}$.

Where $S_i$ is intransitive, the marking is limited to Unaccusative Class B predicates. Moreover, in the subclass of Unaccusative Class B predicates, when two nominals meet the conditions above, two -ts are possible (see section 2.1, Chapter Four, Class B vs Class A3 Relational verbs).

This rule covers the following cases:

a) finally transitive, active clause, with or without an initial oblique object, with final 1 and 2:
a a Regular Transitive clause:

i

\[ P \rightarrow l \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow -t \]

ii \( \text{wik} - n - t - x \^\text{m} \)

\( \text{see-PTV-t-S2}_{\text{TRANS}} \text{ the girl} \)

You see the girl.

b a Dative construction (cf. Chapter Four, section 1):

i

\[ P \rightarrow l \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow \text{DAT} \rightarrow -t \]

ii \( \text{sqel'tmix} - x'ic - x - t - s \rightarrow t \rightarrow \text{scw'fn} \rightarrow \text{trk'milx} \)

The man \( \text{give-BENE-t-S3}_{\text{TRANS}} \) some salmon to the woman.

The man give some salmon to the woman.

iii \( \text{ttwit} \rightarrow \text{xw' - 1 - t - is} \rightarrow \text{ciq'sx'nl} \rightarrow \text{trk'milx} \)

The boy \( \text{put.out-INDIR-t-S3}_{\text{TR}} \) the light to the girl.

The boy put out the light on the girl.

c a Relational construction (cf. Chapter Four, section 2):

i

\[ P \rightarrow l \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow -t \]

\( \text{NN} \)
Uncle is thinking/pondering about the language.

You like your food.

The boy was asked by the woman.

The man is straight, trustable, true.

The girls told each other to hurry up.
This rule formulation correctly excludes the following cases:

a a finally intransitive Middle clause (cf. Chapter Three, section 3 and Chapter Four, section 4.4):

\[1+2\]

\[\text{ The old woman makes baskets.}\]

b an Unergative clause, initially and finally intransitive:

\[\text{ The rabbit runs.}\]

c a Reflexive clause, transitive but with non-distinct final 1 and final 2:

\[\text{ The rabbit runs.}\]
The girls see themselves.

The discussion and motivation of these particular relational networks follow in sections 2-4 of Chapter Three and in sections 1-3 of Chapter Four.

2 Tests for Grammatical Relations

These are presented here in two sub-sections: first, the tests for final grammatical relations and secondly, the tests for non-final grammatical relations. These tests are included here for organizational convenience and are utilized in the analyses presented in Chapters Three and Four.

2.1 Tests for Final Grammatical Relations

2.1.1 Subject Marking

The realis subject person and number markers are distinguished according to final transitivity and distinctiveness. The 'Transitive' set, as traditionally termed in Salishan linguistics, are used in realis clauses, where the final 1 and 2 are distinct from one another. The 'Intransitive' set is used elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1</th>
<th>kn</th>
<th>-(i)n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>-(i)x'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-(i)s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>k'u</td>
<td>-(i)t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>-(i)p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>lx</td>
<td>-(i)s  lx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These are exemplified below, for the first person singular (Sl):

42a  kn  q’Brienx.

Si  INTR  run
I run.

b  tk’a  -  n  -  t  -  in  ṣi  sp’ën  ḥíps  ṣi  cítx’.

put  -  PFTV-t-SI  TRANS  the  rope  right  behind  the  house
I put the rope right behind the house.

Combinations of subject and object markers in surface transitive clauses are subject to the Absolute and Partial Prohibitions, already discussed in section 1.3.2. of this Chapter.

2.1.2  Question Formation

Question Formation with swít distinguishes between final oblique and nuclear terms. When an initial oblique, non-chomeur object is being questioned, this interrogative is preceded by a case-marking preposition as in a, e below. If a nuclear term is being questioned, no case-marking preposition appears, as in a, b below. If the nominal being questioned is not the subject in the final stratum, the nominal subject of the lower clause is raised into the upper clause, as in b, c, e below.

43a  swít  ṣi  ks  -  ṣeq’  -  s  -  aʔx  níx’?

who  COMP  UNR-scrape-face-INCEP  again
Who's gonna shave next?

b  swít  ṣi  stmtíma?  ṣi  sʔíw  (-  n  -  t)  -  sʔ

who  the  _grandmother  COMP  ask-PFTV-t-S3  TRANS
Who did the grandmother ask?
Relative clauses in Okanagan may be characterized at least superficially as follows:

(i) the complementizer *i is usually used, although the other complementizers *e, t, *ki, *k*e, m*i, but not *i*e, are attested;
(ii) the complementizer *i may be optionally deleted;
(iii) a head nominal is present and precedes the relative clause;
(iv) relative clauses may be distinguished from other clauses by the presence of a head nominal;
(v) a subject marker is obligatorily present on the predicate of the downstairs clause and, if transitive, a direct object marker as well; i.e., no deletion of subject or object marking occurs;
(vi) a nonpronominal NP referring to the head is absent within the clause.

Okanagan permits relative clauses to be constructed on a downstairs final 1 or 2, but not on an oblique object:

On a downstairs 1:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{c - m'yi' s - t - in *i ttwit: } & \begin{cases}
\text{(i) } \text{?i(n) (- n - t) - s} & \text{PF-know-IMPF-t-S1}\text{ TRANS the boy COMP eat-PFTV-t-S3}\text{ TRANS}
\end{cases} \\
\text{y?ey?st } & \text{ *i *e?usa?}, \\
\text{all } & \text{ the egg} \\
\text{I know the boy who ate all the eggs.}
\end{align*}
\]
On a downstairs 2:

45) * c - m^y - s - t - in t sqal'tmixw (?i) ?i qilmix^{m}n
   PF-know-IMPF-t-S1_{TRANS} the man COMP the chief
   wík (- n - t) - s.
   see-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS}

I know the man that the chief saw.

Not on a downstairs oblique object:

46) * ?i ttwit wík (- n - t) - s ?i nikum (?i) ?i sqal'tmixw
   the boy see-PFTV-t-S3_{TRANS} the knife COMP the man
   p^u^ls (- s) - t - s ?i kaxa?e (?i t).
   kill- IMPF-t-S3_{TRANS} the crow INSTR

The boy saw the knife that the man killed the crow with.

47) * ?ixí? ?i latáp ?i ktkw^lís (- n - t) - n ?i pukw^{n}.
   that the table COMP put/place-PFTV-t-S1_{TRANS} the book
   That's the table that I put the book on.

48) * c - m^y - s - t - in t sqal'tmixw ?i ?i ttwit qicelx.
   PF-know-IMPF-t-S1_{TRANS} the man COMP the boy run
   I know the man that the boy run to/towards/from.

Cleft constructions on a downstairs nominal/pronominal are similarly
restricted to final 1s and 2s (see section 2.3, Chapter Three):

   that you COMP Cont-weigh-PFTV-t-S2_{TRANS} the potatoes
   That's you who weighed the potatoes.

   that I, me COMP me PF-kick-IMPF-t-S3_{TRANS} the policeman
   That's me that the policeman is kicking.
c * Sixí? cniic Si i twiít qicəlx.
that he/she COMP the boy run
That's him that the boy run to/towards/from.

d * Sixí? t sqeqtmix w Si i twiít qicəlx.
that a man COMP the boy run
That's the man that the boy run to/towards/from.

2.1.4 Topicalization

Only a final l may be topicalized in Okanagan. In the examples below, the final l is underlined.

50a tmüs - m si sqilx w t kkní?
trap-MIDDLE the people some kokanee
The people trap some kokanee.

b i sqilx w tmüs t kkní?.
The people trap some kokanee.

c * t kkní?: tmüs i sqilx w.
some kokanee trap the people

51a n - pus (- n - t) - s i tkəmílx w Si siq w.
Cont-boil-PFTV-t-S3_TRANS the woman the meat
The woman boiled the meat.

b i tkəmílx w spus - Si siq w.
The woman boiled the meat.

c * i siq w spus i tkəmílx w.
the meat boiled the woman

52a n - pus - n - tom i siq w i t tkəmílx w.
Cont-boil-PFTV-PASS the meat INSTR woman
The meat was boiled by the woman.
The meat was boiled by the woman.

The boy ran away from the man.

The children all are asleep.

2.1.5 Quantifier Float

The quantifier yейээт 'all' is permitted to float to pre-predicate position from a final 1 or 2 and not from an oblique object. This fact is exemplified below:

From a final 1:

55a yейээт ти сдамала? ??эtxiłx.
   all the children asleep
   All the children are asleep.

b ти сдамала? yейээт ??эtxiłx.
   The children all are asleep.

The quantifier yейээт 'all' is permitted to float to pre-predicate position from a final 1 or 2 and not from an oblique object. This fact is exemplified below:

From a final 1:

55a yейээт ти сдамала? ??эtxiłx.
   all the children asleep
   All the children are asleep.

b ти сдамала? yейээт ??эtxiłx.
   The children all are asleep.
From a final 2:

56a  wíkw' - n - t - ø  yə'ay's?t  fi  ña?ùsa?.
    hide-PFTV-t-S2TRANS all the egg
    IMP

    Hide all the eggs!

b  yə'ay's?t  wík'nt  fi  ña?ùsa?.
    Hide all the eggs!

Note: from ñān' oblique object:

57a  ši  ttwit  qícəlx  yə'ay's? t  kl  xxícxx'w'tm'.
    the boy run all to Pl-girl
    The boy runs to all the girls.

b  * ši  ttwit  yə'ay's? t  qícəlx  kl  xxícxx'w'tm'.
    the boy all run to Pl-girl

58a  kn  çx' - çx' - ám  t  1k'api  yə'ay's? t  1  lplp'sút.
    S1INTR ITER-pour-MIDDLE some coffee all LOC PL-cup
    I pour coffee in all the cups.

b  * yə'ay's? t  kn  çx' - çx' - ám  t  1k'api  1  lplp'sút.
    all S1INTR ITER-pour-MIDDLE some coffee LOC PL-cup

It should be noted with respect to Quantifier Float that,
in the case of a plural subject and a plural object, a floated quantifier
is preferentially interpreted as having come off the subject. This is
predicted by the Relational Hierarchy (Perlmutter and Postal 1978a) which
ranks Subject as the highest position.

59a  ši  sćdmála?  yə'ay's? t  wíkw' ( - n - t ) - s 1x  ši  ña?ùsa?.
    the children all hide-PFTV-t-P3TRANS the egg.
    The children all hid the eggs.

i.e., All the children hid the eggs./ * The children hid all the eggs.
2.2 Tests for Non-final Grammatical Relations

2.2.1 Moving Glottalization

Okanagan shows a glottalization pattern on the predicate phrase to indicate that the object moves or varies as a result of having undergone an action. For example, if a ball is kicked and it goes bouncing or flying, then the glottalization pattern appears. If a person hides himself and stays put, there is no glottalization, but if the person goes from hiding place to hiding place, then there is glottalization.

MOVING GLOTTALIZATION:

If the initial 2 of a clause moves or varies in response to the action or event, the resonants are glottalicized as follows:

a. in the 1st or 2nd person subject, the final resonant of the predicative phrase;
b. in the 3rd person subject, all the resonants of the verbal root and suffixes of the predicative phrase.

This is illustrated below, first with a physical object that moves, then with words that vary:

61a trqntín
   trqntíx
   trqntís
   trqntín
   trqntís 1x

b trqntín
   trqntíx
   trqntís

I kick something solid.
You$_sg$ kick something solid.
He kicks something solid.
We kick something solid.
You$_pl$ kick something solid.
They kick something solid.
I kick something that moves.
You$_sg$ kick something that moves.
He kicks something that moves.
That Moving Glottalization refers to the initial or non-final 2 of a clause, not necessarily a final 2, as shown in the Passive and Cleft constructions below:

62a *i kkwâp tr' - tar' - q - n' - tim.*
the dog  ITER-back&forth-kick-PFTV-PASS

The dog was kicked repeatedly back and forth.
The dog that they kicked repeatedly back and forth.

Initial Is do not trigger this glottalization pattern, as exemplified below in an Unergative clause:

63a qículx lx.
run P3\text{INTR}

They run.

b * qículx lx.

They run here and there.

(See Chapter Three section 2 for characterization of Unergative clauses.)

This phenomenon of Moving Glottalization was discovered very late in the process of fieldwork and is utilized in only one analysis, to show that the final 1 of certain classes of Unaccusatives is a 2 in a non-final stratum, i.e., in the initial stratum since only two strata are posited (cf., Chapter Three, section 2.2.1).

2.2.2 Clefts with \textsl{Sinca}*/\textsl{Sinca}kn

In cleft constructions with first person pronouns, the choice of the form, either \textsl{Sinca} or \textsl{Sinca}kn, is sensitive to the relation borne by this pronoun in the downstairs clause. (See section 2.1.3, this chapter, for a more general discussion of clefts and relative clauses.) The form \textsl{Sinca} is selected if the pronoun bears the 1-relation downstairs:

64. \textit{\textsc{\textit{Si} k\text{	ext{\textasciitilde}}\text{	extasciitilde}p \text{return}}} \texttt{\textsc{\textit{Si} tr	extasciitilde} terr' - q - n\text{	extasciitilde} t - \textasciitilde} is lx. That's me who runs to the store.

that \textsl{me, I} COMP S1\text{INTR} run to store

\textcircled{\textit{\textasciitilde}'}

\textit{Si k\text{	extasciitilde}\text{	extasciitilde}p \text{return}} \texttt{\textsc{\textit{Si} tr	extasciitilde} terr' - q - n\text{	extasciitilde} t - \textasciitilde} is lx.

the dog COMP ITER-back\&\textasciitilde forth-kick-P\textasciitilde\textasciitilde TVP \textasciitilde t \textasciitilde P3\text{TRANS}

It's the dog that they kicked repeatedly back and forth.
The form \( \text{Sinca}^kn \) is selected if the first person pronominal bears the 2-relation downstairs:

\[
\text{i} \quad \text{me, I COMP me PF-kick-IMPF-TRANS}\ 
\text{the policeman}
\]

That's me that the policeman is kicking.

In a Passive where the pronominal bears the 2-relation initially and the 1-relation finally, either form may be selected:

\[
\text{i} \quad \text{me, I COMP kick-PPTV-PASS INSTR horse}
\]

That's me who was kicked by the horse.

Thus, \( \text{Sinca}^n/\text{Sinca}^kn \) is a test for 2-hood at some stratum \( S_i \), not necessarily the initial or final stratum.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER TWO

1. It should be noted that no claim is being made here that the clausal structure itself is intransitive, only that certain morphological markers are used under certain well-defined conditions on a clause with transitive final stratum. For example, 'we look after them' as in (i), represented graphically as in (ii),

(i) txt' - n - tǐm  lx
look.after-FFTV-PASS  P3_{obj}
We look after them.

will be realized with the object clitic lx and with the verbal morphology -tǐm without necessarily claiming that this is indeed a true Passive.

2. Other analyses for -n/-s are proposed by L. C. Thompson (1979) for the Thompson language and by A. Mattina (1973, 1978) for Colville-Okanagan. Thompson suggests that -n-t marks a control transitive, implying control by the subject, agent or implied agent, whereas the -s-t marks a causative. Mattina suggests that -st predicates always imply either purposeful or customary involvement on the part of the actor whereas -nt lacks this implication. Hébert (1982) discusses the applicability of these hypotheses to (NL) Okanagan, and proposes and defends the aspect hypothesis given in the text.

3. Reciprocals are like reflexives in that the sets containing subject and object are non-distinct. Reciprocals are unlike reflexives with respect to the direction of the action of members of the set. In reflexives, members of the set act upon themselves whereas in reciprocals the action takes place between members of the set.

Relational networks such as these two could be suggested for reciprocals on semantic grounds:
The relational network in a violates the Chomeur Condition as originally proposed, but satisfies the weakened Chomeur Condition (Perlmutter and Postal, 1978a, section 8) which allows a chomeur only under certain conditions but does not require that the nominal in question necessarily bear the Chomeur relation. The antecedent conditions under which a chômeur may arise are satisfiable in three known ways: when terms arise in strata via (i) re-evaluations (advancement and demotions), (ii) ascensions, and (iii) the existence of dummy nominals.

The relational network in b violates the Stratal Uniqueness Law which claims that no stratum can contain more than one 1-arc, one 2-arc, or one 3-arc (Perlmutter and Postal 1978a). To firmly establish a relational network for reciprocals would require syntactic evidence which is presently unavailable.

4 The suffix -cût is not being analyzed as -t-sût or -t-cût since there is no independent synchronic evidence or known test to support such a segmentation. Hale (external examiner's report, August 1982) notes that making this segmentation would result in the simplification of the rule statements for aspect and for -t marking, thus reducing the role of
argumental distinctiveness in the grammar of Okanagan. However, I do not consider rule simplification to be sufficient basis for morphological segmentation without other corroborating independent evidence, so I choose not to segment -cut further at this time.

5 For the Reflexive and Reciprocal constructions, the morphemes -cut and -wix respectively are being treated as verbal morphology that shows up under the appropriate conditions rather than as dependents of the clause.

6 This phenomenon of Moving Glottalization was first noticed in my field notes as an unexpected glottal stop in [-mist/-miʔst]. Mattina had also noticed this in his notes (personal conversation, August 1979). The hint that this might be more extensive and meaningful came from examples provided by Dave Parker, native speaker and language instructor, during an interview in Kelowna, July 11, 1981. One of his examples is presented as 57b, p. 84. It was in subsequent fine and detailed work with the main language consultant, Joseph A. Michel, that this phenomenon was elucidated. It would not be surprising if speakers of lesser age or of other dialects did not have exactly the same phenomenon.

7 Data are unavailable at the time of writing to show whether advancee 2s, 2-chômeurs, obliques and putative 3s could also trigger this glottalization pattern. It is clear however that a nominal that is a 2 at some level may trigger Moving Glottalization where felicitous.

8 This difficult pattern was obtained from the main language consultant and confirmed by slipping examples for judgment into other elicitation patterns. See also p. 82. As in English, clefts beginning with "It's me who/that..." are used infrequently.
CHAPTER THREE

INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN (NL) OKANAGAN

0. Introduction

This chapter discusses basic clauses which are finally intransitive in (NL) Okanagan. Chapter Four discusses basic clauses which are finally transitive in this language. Both chapters address three questions with respect to possible re-evaluations of grammatical relations of nominals:

i) What advancements, if any, are possible in Okanagan?

ii) What demotions, if any, are possible in Okanagan?

iii) What ascensions, if any, are possible in Okanagan?

These questions presume the existence of a Relational Hierarchy, with some grammatical relations ranked higher than others. Perlmutter and Postal (1978a) have proposed such a hierarchy, which ranks the grammatical relations borne by nominals:

1. Subject (1) > Direct Object (2) > Indirect Object (3) > Non-terms.

This hierarchy ranks the Subject relation as the highest. In the case of certain syntactic phenomena, languages draw a line at some point along the hierarchy, permitting these syntactic phenomena, such as Relativization, to interact with the grammatical relations above that line and not those below it.

It is proposed that Okanagan permits a number of advancements, demotions and ascensions along this hierarchy. This chapter discusses
advancements and demotions which result in clauses that are finally intransitive. Chapter Four discusses advancements and ascensions which result in clauses that are finally transitive.

This chapter proposes and argues for the following re-evaluations:

2a Passive clauses, with $2 \rightarrow 1$ Advancement and $1 \rightarrow \hat{1}$ Demotion and with $-(\hat{1})m$ as a marker of final intransitivity:

2b Unaccusative clauses, with $2 \rightarrow 1$ Unaccusative Advancement:

2c and a sub-class of Reflexive Unaccusatives, marked by $-\text{myst}$

2d Middle voice clauses, with Phantom Advancement to 2 to 1, and $2 \rightarrow \hat{2}$ Demotion, where NN abbreviates Non-Nuclear term, and with $-(\hat{a})m$
as a marker of final intransitivity:

The evidence for these re-evaluations is taken from Morphological Markings, Word Order, Relative Clause Formation, Logical Structure, Animacy and Relational Hierarchies, Question Formation, Choice of form *incaʔ/ *incaʔkn, Moving Glottalization, Lexical Incorporation and Quantifier Ban.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 1 deals with Passive clauses, arguing for a bi-stratal analysis of the Okanagan passive. In section 2, six sub-classes of Unaccusative clauses are distinguished and some supporting evidence for these is presented. In section 3, four analyses for Middle voice clauses are examined, arguing for a Phantom arc to deal with a serious problem.
Passive Clauses

Two universals of passivization have been claimed to be characteristic of passivization in every language manifesting this phenomenon (Perlmutter and Postal 1977). These are

i) A direct object of an active clause is the (superficial) subject of the 'corresponding' passive.

ii) The subject of an active clause is neither the (superficial) subject nor the (superficial) direct object of the 'corresponding' passive.

Taken together, these have the following consequence:

iii) In the absence of another rule permitting some further nominal to be direct object of the clause, a passive clause is a (superficially) intransitive clause.

Examples of a passive and the 'corresponding' active in Okanagan are:

3a  "i s'inkac'esqa'axa? trq - n - t - is  "i sqal'tmixw.
    the horse kick-PFTV-t-S3_TRANS the man.
The horse kicked the man.

b  "i sqal'tmixw trq - n - t - im  "i t s'inkac'esqa'axa?.
    the man kick-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR horse
    The man was kicked by the horse.

4a  "i sk'w'imalt c'umqs ( - n - t ) - s  "i xixw'm.
    the baby kiss- PFTV-t-S3_TRANS the girl
    The baby kissed the girl.

b  "i xixw'm c'umqs - n - t - am  "i t sk'w'imalt.
    the girl kiss-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR baby
    The girl was kissed by the baby.
The claim made by the universal characterization of passivization is that a passive construction is finally intransitive. Two analyses of a passive construction are consistent with this claim: a monostratal analysis and a bistratal analysis, as diagrammed below:

Evidence is given first to the effect that a passive construction in Okanagan is finally intransitive and secondly that it is bistratal and initially transitive.

1.1 Person and Number Marking

Person and number marking show final -hood. If the Okanagan Passive is finally intransitive, then this predicts that the Intransitive set of subject markers would be used to mark person and number of the final subject. The third person singular marker is ø but the third person plural is lx. The sentences below demonstrate that this prediction is borne out:

6a  ʼi twtwt  qʼ-n-t-im  lx  ʼi t kkwʼáp.
   the PL-boy bite-FFTV-t-PASS P3_INTR INSTR dog
   The boys were bitten by the dog.

b  ʼi soxʼw- wʻí- wʻíqámm  trq-n-t-im  lx.
   the agentive-PF-policeman kick-FFTV-t-PASS P3_INTR
   The policeman were kicked.
1.2 Word Order

Only the final subject can be topicalized in Okanagan, as was shown in section 2.1.4, Chapter Two. This fact provides an additional means of identification of the final subject in a Passive construction:

7a  kʷsnúntəm  si  scw̓ín  si  t  sq̓e̓l̓tmíxʷ.
    The salmon was caught by the man.

7b  si  scw̓ín  kʷsnúntəm  si  t  sq̓e̓l̓tmíxʷ.
    The salmon was caught by the man.

7c  * si  t  sq̓e̓l̓tmíxʷ  kʷsnúntəm  si  scw̓ín.

These facts of word order provide evidence that the direct object of the 'corresponding' active is the final 1 in the Okanagan Passive and the subject of the 'corresponding' active is not the final subject in the Passive.

1.3 Relative Clause Formation

In Okanagan, relative clauses may only be formed on downstairs 1s and 2s, as was shown in section 2.1.3, Chapter Two. This fact provides evidence that a Passive construction is superficially intransitive, with the agentive nominal bearing neither a 1-relation nor a 2-relation in the final stratum:

8a  wik ( - n - t ) - n  si  scw̓ín  si  kʷsnú - n - t - ñəm
    see-PPTV-t-S1TRANS the salmon COMP:catch-PPTV-t-PASS
    si  t  sq̓e̓l̓tmíxʷ.
    INSTR man
    I saw the salmon that was caught by the man.

8b  * wik  si  sq̓e̓l̓tmíxʷ  si  kʷsnúntəm  si  scw̓ín.
    I saw the man that the salmon was caught by.
9a  t kkwap  s i  t tm  t tm  s i  t tm  t tm  t twit.
that a dog COMP kick-PASS INSTR boy
That's a dog that was kicked by the boy.

b  s i t twit  s i  t tm  t tm  s i  t twit  s i  t tm  t tm  t twit.
That's the boy that the dog was kicked by.

c  s i t twit  s i  t tm  t tm  s i  t twit  s i  t twit  s i  t tm  t tm  t twit.
That's by the boy that the dog was kicked by.

1.4 Instrumental Case Marking: A Job is Lost

The agentive nominal in a Passive in Okanagan is marked with
the instrumental case preposition: s i  t. It is not unusual for a
language to select this case to mark the agentive nominal in a Passive.

Russian, for example, does so:

10  Etot zavod byl postroen inostrannymi rabočimi.
This factory was build foreign workers
This factory was built by foreign workers.

Okanagan:

11a  s i  t kìmílx  s íw  s i  t twit.
the woman ask-PASS the boy
The woman asked the boy.

b  s i  t twit  s íw  s i  t twit  s i  t kìmílx.
the boy ask-PASS INSTR woman
The boy was asked by the woman.

That the agentive nominal is marked with one of the oblique cases is
consistent with the universal characterization of the Passive, in which
the initial 1 is demoted to non-term and is neither a 1 nor a 2 in the
final stratum. This nominal is termed a chômeur. Stated formally,

12 The Chomeur Condition: \( \text{(Perlmutter and Postal 1977)} \)

If some nominal \( N_a \) bears a given term relation in a given
stratum \( S_t \) and some other nominal \( N_b \) bears the same term relation
in the following stratum \( S_{i+1} \), then \( N_a \) bears the Chomeur relation
in \( S_{i+1} \).

Stated informally, the chômeur has lost his job and may not hold a position
as a term in any successive stratum.

1.5 Aspect and Transitivity Marking

The head of the predicate phrase in an Okanagan Passive is
marked by a -t, preceded by either an -n for Perfective aspect or
less frequently an -s for Imperfective aspect. These markings provide
an additional argument based on simplicity for a bistatal structure
for the Passive construction. These markings are exemplified below:

\[ \begin{align*}
13a \quad & kw^n'i - n - t - o'm \quad si scw^n'in \quad si t \quad sin - t^n'm. \\
& \text{take-PFTV-t-PASS the salmon INSTR my-male's.dad} \\
& \text{The salmon was taken by my father.}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
13b \quad & ?^n'ick(n) - s - t - o'm \quad si sk^n'q'malt \quad si t \quad xix^n't^l. \\
& \text{play - IMPF-t-PASS the baby INSTR girl} \\
& \text{The baby was being played with by the girl.}
\end{align*} \]

If the Passive is taken to be monostratal, there is no 2-arc
present in the relational network and the rule statements for both -t
marking and -n/ -s aspecual marking are complicated considerably.
Under a bistatal analysis, the rule of -t is as follows. (see section
1.7.2, Chapter Two, p. 38 for conditions on this rule):
-t marking:

The morpheme -t marks the presence of an initial or advancee 2 in some stratum S, which remains a distinct nuclear term in the same and in successive final stratum S_i+1.

Under a monostratal analysis, a statement such as the following one must be added to the above rule:

14. The morpheme -t is also present in a passive construction.

However, if the Passive is taken to be bistratal, no additional statement needs to be added to the rule for the -t marking.

Under a bistratal analysis, the rule for the obligatory marking of -n/-s is as follows: (from section 1.7.1, Chapter Two, page 31):

15. Perfective or Imperfective marking:

The morpheme -n 'Perfective' or -s 'Imperfective' is marked on the head of a predicate phrase of a clause, where 'head' is taken to be the verbal root:

optionally (i) if there is an initial 2-arc which is a 1-arc in the final stratum with no other nuclear term arc; or otherwise

obligatorily (ii) if there is an initial or advancee 2-arc which is a nuclear term arc in the final stratum; and

(iii) if there is no Dative or Phantom arc, i.e.,

Under a monostratal analysis, a statement such as the following one must be added to the above rule:

15. Perfective or Imperfective aspect is obligatorily marked on the head of a predicate phrase in a Passive construction, if there is no register of an initial Dative object.

However, if the Passive is taken to be bistratal, no additional statement
needs to be added to this rule statement. Thus, these markings and their rule statements provide support for a bistratal analysis for the Passive in Okanagan.

1.6 Thematic Relations

Both bistratal and monostratal analyses require a rule for the assignment of thematic roles. Consider an active transitive sentence below:

16 qwq - n - t - is ū twič pqwalx.
chew-PFTV-t-S\_TRANS the boy the fish.

The boy chewed the fish.

In the interpretation of 16, the boy must be interpreted as the chewer and the fish as the chewed. In the corresponding Passive below, the roles of the boy and the fish remain the same. In general, the participant roles (thematic relations) of the subject of the Active and the oblique in the Passive are the same, and so are the participant roles (thematic relations) of the direct object of the Active and the subject of the Passive.

17 qwq - n - t - im ū pqwalx ī t twič.
chew-PFTV-t--PASS the fish INSTR boy

The fish was chewed by the boy.

If thematic roles are assigned with the initial stratum, then a bistratal analysis for the Passive, with an initial transitive stratum, identical to the initial stratum of the corresponding active transitive stratum, adequately captures the interpretation facts, with only one assignment of thematic relations in the initial stratum. This avoids assigning the 'patient' role to the subject and the 'agent' role to the OBL of the Passive, which would be necessary under a monostratal analysis.
The Animacy Hierarchy (see Section 1.5, Chapter Two) provides evidence that the Passive of Okanagan is a bistratal construction, initially transitive.

The Animacy Hierarchy ranks common nouns, placing a limitation on what can bear the subject relation in a clause with a transitive stratum:

- Human > Animate > Inanimate.

Okanagan draws a line between Animate and Inanimate, prohibiting inanimate subjects and permitting only animate ones in clauses with a transitive stratum. However, inanimate subjects are permitted in clauses with only intransitive strata:

20a ū tūuku'la? səlt.

The ball is/was lost.
The Animacy Hierarchy provides an additional argument for preferring a bistratal analysis over a monostratal analysis. A monostratal analysis with only an intransitive stratum predicts that an inanimate subject is permissible in a Passive construction since a Passive would be intransitive throughout, whereas a bistratal analysis with an initial transitive stratum predicts that an inanimate final subject is not permissible in a Passive construction. This latter prediction is borne out, as illustrated below where a Passive with inanimate final subject in an intransitive final stratum is ungrammatical.

22a ʼi ttwiť tśq - n - t - ʼiš ʼi xixʷtm'.
the boy kick-PFTV-t-S3 TRANS the girl
The boy kicked the girl.

b ʼi xixʷtm' tśq - n - t - ̌im ʼi t ttwiť.
the girl kick-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR boy
The girl was kicked by the boy.

23a ʼi ttwiť trqntiš ʼi kkwák̓ap.
The boy kicked the dog.

b ʼi kkwák̓ap trqntim ʼi t ttwiť.
The dog was kicked by the boy.

24a ʼi ttwiť trqntiš ʼi pəukʷlaʔ.
The boy kicked the ball.
b *£i p’uk’la? trqnt’im si t ttwít.

The ball was kicked by the boy.

25a. -c’q’ - n - t - ín si xákit.

hit-PPTV-t-SiTRANS the rock

I hit the rock.

b *£i xákit c’q’ - n - t - ím.

the rock hit-PPTV-t-PASS

The rock was hit.

This provides evidence that the Passive is bistratal, with an initial transitive stratum, as represented below in the relational network of 25b:

26

It can be pointed out that 19b (of Chapter Two, p. 29) when contrasted with 25a-b above treating the Chommeur and an Instrumental differently even though the case marking is the same.

Although not apparently germane to the argument, Passives in Okanagan cannot occur with a first or second person chommeur.

27a ?fick(n) - s - t - oem si sk’q’imëlt si t xíx’tm’.

play - IMPF - t - PASS the baby INSTR girl

The baby was played with by the girl.

b * ?fick(n)stem si sk’q’imëlt si t sëmwi?.

The baby was played with by you.
This additional restriction does not seem to have a bearing on the argument that the Passive is bistratal.

1.8 Question Formation

Question Formation with swít distinguishes between final oblique and nuclear terms. When an oblique, non-chômeur object is being questioned, this interrogative is preceded by a case-marking preposition as in c, e below. If a nuclear term is being questioned, no case-marking preposition appears, as in a, b below. If the nominal being questioned is not the subject in the final stratum, the nominal subject of the lower clause is raised into the upper clause, as in b, c, e below.3

28a swít ʾi ks - ?ʔeqʷ - s - aʔx  níxʷ ?
  who COMP UNR-scrape-face-INCEP again
  Who's going to shave next?

b  swít ʾi stampled? ʾi sʔiw (- n - t) - s ?
  who the grandmother COMP ask-PFTV-t-S3TRANS
  Who did the grandmother ask?
In a Passive, an interrogative with *swit* provides evidence that the passive agent is not an oblique object since it is not questioned with a case-marking preposition. This shows that a Chômeur is not treated like an Instrumental, a fact explained by the bistratal analysis, but requiring an arbitrary statement in the monostratal analysis.

29a. *swit* *si* *xałat - n - t - øm* **si* *t* *si(n) - stømtíma*?

Who was invited by my grandmother?

b. *swit* *si* *cünkqs - n - t - øm* **si* *t* *skq'ímëlt*?

Who was kissed by the baby?

c. *swit* *si* *skq'ímëlt* *k'ì* *cünkqs - n - t - øm*?

Who was the baby kissed by?

d. * *si* *t* *swit* *si* *skq'ímëlt* *k'ì* *cünkqsntøm*?

e. *swit* *si* *si(n) - stømtíma* *k'ì* *xałat - n - t - øm*?

Who was my grandmother invited by?

f. * *si* *t* *swit* *si* *si(n) - stømtíma* *k'ì* *xałatntøm*?
It may be concluded from the evidence based on Person and Number Marking, Word Order, Relative Clause Formation, Instrumental Case Marking, Aspect and Transitivity Marking, Thematic Relations, Animacy Hierarchy, and Question Formation with swit that the Passive in Okanagan is bistratal, initially transitive and finally intransitive.

2 Unaccusative Clauses

2.1 The Basic Claim

The basic claim of the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978) is that:

30 Certain intransitive clauses have an initial 2 but no initial 1.

This can be exemplified for English:

31a Sasquatch exists.

The Final 1 Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1978a) predicts that clauses with final Unaccusative strata are not well-formed in any language and requires advancement to 1. The relational network 31b above is diagrammed in accordance with the Final 1 Law.

Unaccusative clauses differ from Passive clauses in that the stratum containing the 2-arc in the Passive also contains a 1-arc, although advancement-to-1 occurs in both types of clauses.

32a The berries were eaten by Sasquatch.
Initially Unaccusative clauses contrast with initially Unergative clauses, which have an initial 1 but no initial 2:

33a Sasquatch plays at night.  

At least three degrees of strength of the Unaccusative Hypothesis can be distinguished (Perlmutter 1978):

34a that initial Unaccusativity vs Unergativity varies unpredictably from language to language;

b that there exist principles which predict initial Unaccusativity vs Unergativity for certain classes of initially intransitive clauses in all languages and that there exist another class of such clauses which vary unpredictably;

c that there exist universal principles which predict initial Unaccusativity vs Unergativity for all initially intransitive clauses in all languages, without variation.

The basic idea is that predicates with equivalent meaning to those cited in English below will behave the same way with respect to initial Unaccusativity vs Unergativity. The following is a tentative classification of intransitive predicates with respect to initial Unergativity vs Unaccusativity in English (Perlmutter 1978):

35 Initial Unergatives:

a. willed or volitional acts, ex., work, play, smile, frown, think, meditate, walk, skip, run, hammer, pray;

    manner-of-speaking verbs, i.e., whisper, shout, grumble, blurt out,

    sounds made by animals, i.e., roar, bark, neigh;
 initial Unaccusatives:

36

a. Predicate adjectives;

b. Predicates whose initial nuclear term is semantically a Patient:
ex., burn, fall, float, slide, trip, hang, dangle, shake, etc.;
inchoatives: melt, freeze, rot, germinate, choke, blush, burst,
dry up, vanish, etc.;
c. Predicates of existing and happening: exist, happen, transpire,
occur, take place, arise, show up, disappear, end up, etc.;
d. Non-voluntary stimuli on the senses: shine, glow, snap, crackle,
smell, stink, etc.;
e. Aspectual predicates: begin, start, stop, cease, continue, etc.;
f. Duratives: last, remain, stay, survive, etc.

2.2 The Proposal for Okanagan

The purpose of the discussion here is to establish a class of
predicates determining initial Unaccusative strata in Okanagan. Although
not at issue here, it can be noted from the many examples of Okanangan
throughout this work, that membership in the two broad classes of initial
Unaccusatives vs Unergatives is not identical in English and Okanangan
and thus the strongest form of the Unaccusative Hypothesis cannot be
supported.

At least six sub-classes of Unaccusatives may be distinguished
at least tentatively in Okanangan. These classes, with respect to initial
Unaccusativity are based mostly on morphological grounds, with additional
semantic divisions and, where known, syntactic patterning with respect to
the Relational construction; otherwise, these classes are distinguished
on semantic grounds.
Initially Unaccusative Predicates in Okanagan

A: the Final Consonant Reduplication class, which includes predicates whose initial nuclear term is semantically a Patient:

\( \text{\textnd\texti\textxx} \) fried, frying  \( \text{xal\texti\texttt} \) called, invited
\( \text{\textna\textq\textq} \) stolen  \( \text{\textc\textx\textw\textx} \) be spilt
\( \text{\textk\textipp} \) pinched  \( \text{\textp\textl\texte\textl} \) grow (plants)
\( \text{\textc\textq\textaq\textv} \) cry\_SG  \( \text{\textl\texte\textl} \) dead
\( \text{\text\textc\textw\textw} \) pour/gush out  \( \text{\textc\textm\textk\textp\texti} \) cracked (eggs)
\( \text{\text\textc\textn\textx\textw\textw} \) go dry, dry up  \( \text{\textm\textl\texta\textl} \) bleed, bleeding
\( \text{\textc\textn\textsw\textw\textw} \) evaporate  \( \text{\textc\textk\textk} \) burnt, fire
\( \text{\textc\textq\textaq} \) be hit  \( \text{\textc\textk\textk} \) count, counted
\( \text{\textq\textw\texta\texty\textp\textp} \) pants slipping down  \( \text{\textx\textw\textl\texte\textl} \) come to life, born, recover

B: the -t class, which includes predicates having stative meaning, including incrementals:

\( \text{\textb\textl} \)
\( \text{\text\textx\texta\textt} \) good  \( \text{\textx\texta\textst\texti\textw\textl\textx} \) get better
\( \text{\text\textx\textx\texta\textsa\textt} \) beautiful
\( \text{\text\textq\textd\texta\textst} \) bad  \( \text{\textq\texta\textst\textw\textl\textx} \) get worse, more spoilt
\( \text{\text\textq\textq\texta\textsa\textt} \) ugly
\( \text{\textp\textp\textp\textp\texty\texta\textyt} \) happy, lively  \( \text{\textp\textp\texty\textt\textw\textl\textx} \) get livelier
\( \text{\textk\textw\textc\textq\textv\textc\texta\textct} \) strong, hard (animate)  \( \text{\textk\textw\textc\textq\textv\textc\texta\textct\textw\textl\textx} \) get stronger, harder (animate)
\( \text{\textx\textc\texta\textct\textc\textt} \) strong, strong (inanimate)  \( \text{\textx\textc\texta\textct\textw\textl\textx} \) get stronger, harder (inanimate)
\( \text{\text\textx\texta\textxt} \) fast  \( \text{\text\textx\texta\textxt\textw\textl\textx} \) get faster
\( \text{\text\textq\textw\texti\textc\textt\textc\textt} \) full  \( \text{\text\textq\textw\textc\textt\textw\textl\textx} \) get fuller
\( \text{\textp\texta\textx\textp\texta\textxt} \) smart  \( \text{\textp\textp\textx\textp\textt\textw\textl\textx} \) get smarter
\( \text{\texts\texty\textc\texty\textt\w\textl\textx} \) get better (at sport or game)
B2: those which occur as Relational Class A3; see Chapter Four.

salt lost (around where the geography is known)

\text{fall off}

\text{fall in}

\text{trustable, straight, true}

\text{ripped}

B3: those which occur as Relational Class B; see Chapter Four.

\text{glad}

\text{run away}

\text{visit}

\text{be jealous}

\text{talkative}

\text{be mad}

\text{forget}

B4: those for which occurrence in a transitive construction or a Relational construction is unknown.

\text{grow (human), PL}

\text{stretched (pelt)}

\text{paralyzed (human)}

\text{taut, tight}

\text{broken}

\text{stretched (human)}

\text{tired (from inactivity)}

\text{back-packed}

\text{tired (from activity)}

\text{alive}

\text{frozen (anim)}

\text{frozen (inanim)}

\text{sick}

\text{afraid, worried}

\text{aching}

\text{dangerous}

\text{wasting time}

\text{calm, no wind}

\text{wide}

\text{green, fresh, unripe}

\text{deep}

\text{thick}

\text{high}

\text{shallow}

\text{steep}

\text{tidy, in order}

\text{lots, many}

\text{sweet}
B5: those which include predicates of involuntary process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xnúmt</td>
<td>hurt</td>
<td>t'kkúmt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'ñúmt</td>
<td>coughed</td>
<td>t'ñítí?ákút</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷqʷúmt</td>
<td>burped</td>
<td>xʷxʷútt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'act</td>
<td>bruised up</td>
<td>kʷñkʷenát</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ilxʷt</td>
<td>hungry</td>
<td>qʷqʷaxʷt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B6 Predicates which permit semantic extension, to notions 'to begin to' and 'around/back & forth'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xʷqʷist</td>
<td>amble, walk, stroll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xʷqʷexʷqʷist</td>
<td>amble around, back &amp; forth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>begin to walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>begin to crawl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>begin to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>begin to be talkative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C: Predicate adjectives, including inchoatives and colours, with some overlap with the -t class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ncʷút</td>
<td>cold (weather)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyt</td>
<td>cold (human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷ¿qʷcúc</td>
<td>warm (weather)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷ¿uc</td>
<td>fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʷ¿cúw't</td>
<td>clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'¿q'</td>
<td>rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wík'</td>
<td>shiny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʷ¿il'</td>
<td>wilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw'¿úl'</td>
<td>warm (house, human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw'¿úl'</td>
<td>be warming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>getting cold (weather)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>getting cold (human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>getting warm (weather)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>get warmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>getting fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>get fatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>turning clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>getting rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>turning shiny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wilting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>getting warm (house, human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>falling apart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëix'</td>
<td>bright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c'ëqt</td>
<td>sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x'ëal</td>
<td>clear (weather, glass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piq</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ëa</td>
<td>grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ëay</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c'ëax</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c'ëuy</td>
<td>dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ëri?</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ëum</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ëay</td>
<td>multi-coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ëil</td>
<td>orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'ëin</td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_C2: Predicates without known inchoative form._

| tiq"1q" | tall | p'ıyaq | ripe |
| n'ëit | scared | tił | straight (linear) |
| t'ëik | young | wísxn | long |
| t'ëimë | lazy | xoxi? | mixed up |

k'ëk'ë?k'ë?m'ë (always) jealous (over wife)

Ip'ëptë | forgetful |

k'ëo?k'ë?m'ë | easy to get used to |

| c'ëaX | holey <sub>SG</sub> | c'ëX"liX" | holey <sub>PL</sub> |
| yayë?k'ë? | stingy | p'ëw'ëwalx | drumming, banging |
| qiwëlx | old | s'ës'y'alx | noisy |
| nir | smooth (surface) | nírnërt | compact |
| pil | flat | milk | round, spherical |
| yir | ring, round | | |
D: the \( \tau \rho \) class, which includes predicates of naturally occurring states:

\begin{itemize}
  \item t\( \tau \)ap: \\
      harden (by itself) \( \delta \chi \)ap \\
  \item t\( \tau \)rrap: \\
      untangled \( \delta \omega \)ap \\
  \item \( \hat{h} \)rap: \\
      soaked \( c - t\rangle \)rap \\
  \item k\( \omega \)nap: \\
      grabbed \( t\rangle \)rap \\
  \item k\( \omega \)qalap: \\
      lose a game \( t\rangle \)ap \\
  \item q\( \omega \)alap: \\
      moldy \( q\omega \)ayp \\
  \item \( c\omega \)nap: \\
      get tight \( t\rangle \)lip \\
  \item \( \hat{x}\omega \)cap: \\
      broken (arrow) \( s\omega \)lp \\
  \item \( \hat{x}\omega \)nap: \\
      broken (eggs & other \( \omega \)ep delicate things) \\
  \item \( \hat{x}\omega \)nlap: \\
      lost (where geography is unknown) \\
  \item \( \omega \omega \)m: \\
      melt \( q\omega \)ep \\
  \item i\( \tau \)ap: \\
      bounce up \( q\omega \)ep \\
  \item i\( \tau \)ipt: \\
      bounce up \( d\omega \)ep \\
  \item i\( \tau \)at\( \omega \)ap: \\
      bounce up ITER, SG \( \delta \omega \)ep \\
  \item i\( \tau \)at\( \omega \)ipt: \\
      bounce up ITER, PL
\end{itemize}

E: Aspectual and durative predicates.

\begin{itemize}
  \item t\( \tau \)al: \\
      start \( d\omega \)win \\
      left behind
\end{itemize}

F: Reflexive Unaccusatives, a class with Reflexive meaning,

ending in /-myst/ [mist], listed with English and French translations.

\begin{itemize}
  \item kamyst: \\
      hire for oneself; \s'engager qqn. \\
  \item kamysst: \\
      be hired; \s'\^etre engager \\
  \item t\( \omega \)umyst: \\
      buy for oneself; \s'acheter \\
  \item x\( \omega \)ymyst/ x\( \omega \)ymist: \\
      take oneself; \s'\emener
\end{itemize}
80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tłįkįmyst</th>
<th>loosen oneself up;</th>
<th>se dégager, s'ètreirer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ẘik'įmyst</td>
<td>hide oneself;</td>
<td>se cacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẘẘik'įmyst</td>
<td>hide oneself around;</td>
<td>se cacher ici et là</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li̊míst</td>
<td>faint, rigid oneself;</td>
<td>se raider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ak'įmyst</td>
<td>take, check oneself in;</td>
<td>s'entrer, s'enregistrer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>támíst</td>
<td>straighen oneself;</td>
<td>se redresser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'āvmyst</td>
<td>noisy (anim., like coyotes, kids yapping)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Supporting Evidence

Evidence for final subjecthood is available from Person/Number Marking and from Topicalization. The correct person/number marking consists of the set of intransitive subject markers:

38   kn  xalítt.  I was called./I was invited.
39   kʷ  pypáyt.  You're happy.
40   0  suxt.  It's frozen.
41   kʷu  kęykįyt.  We're cold.
42   s̃x̃k̃apk.  You-guys are grown up.
43   ẘik'įmyst  l̓x.  They hid themselves.

Only a final subject may be topicalized (cf. section 2.1.4, Chapter Two).

44a  s'āvmyst  i̊  snklip.  The coyote is noisy.
    b  i̊  snklip  s'āvmyst.
45a  i̊tl̃at̃ap  i̊  p̊ uk̊alaʔ.  The ball bounces up and down.
    b  i̊ p̊ uk̊alaʔ  i̊tl̃at̃ap.
45a  t̃qůt̃l̃a  i̊  x̃ix̃tm̊.  The girl is tall.
    b  i̊  x̃ix̃tm̊  t̃qůt̃l̃a.
47a  q̊ q̊ucwilx  i̊  ttwit.  The boy got fatter.
    b  i̊  ttwit  q̊ q̊ucwilx.
His buddy is hungry.

The Indian/person/man is smart.

Limited evidence for initial 2-hood for the nominal in the B, D, and F sub-classes tentatively proposed above is available from two phenomena: the choice of first person singular pronoun as head nominal in a cleft construction and Moving Glottalization.

2.3.1 Choice of \( \text{Sinca}? / \text{Sinca?kn} \)

Cleft constructions in Okanagan may be characterized at least superficially as follows:

i) a cleft begins with a member of the set of demonstratives, frequently \( \text{Sixi}\) 'that' [visible, non-proximate], followed by the focus followed by the complementizer and downstairs clause;

ii) the complementizer \( \text{si} \) is used and may optionally be deleted; \( \text{Si} \) occurs in sentence 56; the other complementizers are unattested;

iii) like the relative clauses, Okanagan permits cleft constructions on a downstairs final 1 or 2, but not on a downstairs oblique object;

iv) in a cleft, the upstairs nominal bearing the predicate relation is restricted to the \( \text{t} \) 'non-specific' determiner, except for pronominals and proper names which do not take a determiner and for a possessed nominal which requires the specific determiner.

(See also section 2.1.3, Chapter Two.)

In a cleft construction involving the first person singular as head nominal, with certain predicates downstairs, either form of \( \text{Sinca}? \) or \( \text{Sinca?kn} \) may be chosen. However, in constructions with certain
other predicates downstairs, only one of these may be chosen.

It should be noted that native speaker judgments involved in this phenomenon are difficult to make and easily confusing and that data are sufficient but sparse.

First of all, the choice is restricted to *sinca? in regular transitive constructions, with an agentive nominal bearing the final l-relation in the downstairs clause:

50a  Sisi? \{ *sinca? \{i n - &wum\'a ( - n - t) - n \}i patak.

- COMP Cont-wéigh-PFTV-t-S1TRANS the potato

That's me who weighs the potatoes.

b  Sisi? \{ *sinca? \{i trq - n - t - in \}i p\\uk\'la?.

- COMP kick-PFTV-t-S1TRANS the ball

That's me who kicked the ball.

c  Sisi? \{ *sinca? \{i cq - n - t - in \}i \xmath\'i t \xmath.\inu.

- COMP hit-PFTV-t-S1TRANS the rock INSTR rock

That's me who hit the rock with a rock.

d  Sisi? \{ *sinca? \{i n - \&\&i ( - n - t) - n \}i \x9e?\x9a\u0102sa?.

- COMP Cönt-fry-PFTV-t-S1TRANS the egg

That's me who fried the eggs.

The choice is also restricted to *sinca? in a putative \textit{intransitive} Unergative clause, which has an initial 1 but no 2:
51a  宬 infinitely, นม ร่กนี่, นม สิ่งกันมัน.
   *นม ๆ
   COMP S1_INTR run to store

That's me who runs to the store.

The choice is restricted to นม  ๆ if the cleft construction relativizes upon a first person nominal bearing the 2-relation in the downstairs clause:

52  宬 infinitely, นม ร่กนี่, นม สิ่งกันเมื่อ s-c-ทรงรุ่น s-t-ิส นม รกษ์ลักษ์.
   *นม
   COMP me s-PF-kick-IMPF-t-S3_TRANS the policeman

That's me that the policeman is kicking me.

A choice of either นม or นม  ๆ can be made if the cleft construction relativizes upon a first person nominal bearing an initial 2-relation and a final 1-relation in the downstairs Passive clause:

53  宬 infinitely, นม ร่กนี่, นม สิ่งกันเมื่อ ทรงรุ่น ถิ่น นม รกษ์ลักษ์.
   นม
   COMP kick-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR policeman

That's me that was kicked by the policeman.

Given this distribution, it is predicted that in the putative Unaccusatives, a choice of either นม or นม  ๆ could be made, reflecting both grammatical relations borne by the relativized nominal, a 2 in the initial stratum and a 1 in the final stratum:

CLASS B

54a  宬 infinitely, นม ร่กนี่, นม สิ่งกัน.
   นม ๆ
   That's me who's lost (around here).

54b  宬 infinitely, นม ร่กนี่, นม ษัย medically.
   นม ๆ
   That's me who's mad.
c Tixl? (Tinea? 
\{cinca? kn q\textsuperscript{qict} t q\textsuperscript{qqwelk}.

That's me who's full of fish.

CLASS D

55 Tixl? (Tinea? 
\{cinca? kn s\textsuperscript{lip}.

That's me who's lost (up high in the timber).

CLASS F

56 Tixl? (Tinea? 
\{cinca? kn c\textsuperscript{-w\textsuperscript{ik}\textsuperscript{myst}}.

That's me who hide myself.

This prediction is borne out, providing support for both the 2-hood and the 1-hood of the relativized nominal of the downstairs clauses in the putative Unaccusatives.

That the nominal is a final 1 is supported by the presence of a subject marker (kn, first person singular, intransitive) and not an object marker; hence the nominal is a 2 in the previous and initial stratum.

2.3.2 Moving Glottalization

In Chapter Two, section 2.2.1, a rule of Moving Glottalization was stated and fully exemplified, as glottalizing the verbal root and suffixes if the initial 2 of the clause moved or varied. In the third person, all the resonants of the verbal root and suffixes are glottalized.

In the first and second person, only the final resonant is glottalized.

Data are available from only two classes of putative Unaccusatives, with respect to Moving Glottalization:
CLASS D

57a  kn  ḩtʰəp.  I bounce.
     S₁OUNTER bounce

57b  kn  ḩtʰəp - m' - n' - ʷut.²    I bounce myself up and down.
     S₁OUNTER bounce-REL/2-PFTV-REFL

CLASS F

58a  kʷu  ʰəwʰəw - ʷyst.  We loosen ourselves up.
     P₁INSER loosen.up-UNACCUS_REFRESH

58b  ʰəwʰəw - ʷyst  ìx.  They loosen themselves up.
     loosen.up-UNACCUS_REFRESH  P₃INSER

59a  kn  wʰikʷ - ʷyst.  I hide myself (and stay put).
     S₁INSER hide-UNACCUS_REFRESH

59b  wʰawʰikʷ - ʷyst  ìx.  They hide themselves around here and there.
     REDUP-hide-UNACCUS_REFRESH  P₃INSER

Thus, Moving Glottalization also provides evidence for initial
2-hood and final 1-hood in the intransitive putative Unaccusative clauses.

2.4 Representation of Unaccusative Clauses

The structure of the Plain Unaccusatives (Classes A thru E)
is represented in the stratal diagram a below and in the equivalent
relational network a'. The structure of the Reflexive Unaccusative
(Class F) is represented in b, with the equivalent relational network b'.
For ease of comparison, the agentive Reflexive network diagram is
repeated below as c and c'.
PLAIN UNACCUSATIVE (CLASSES A THRU E)

REFLEXIVE UNACCUSATIVE (CLASS F)

AGENTIVE REFLEXIVE
3 Middle Clauses

In Okanagan, the construction, known as the 'Middle voice' in Salishan linguistics, is logically and initially transitive but finally intransitive, morphologically and syntactically, as exemplified below:

61a kn k'úl' - m t yámxw'a?.
   SlINTR work-MIDDLE a basket
   I fix, make a basket.

b kn ñn - cíx - m t əʔəʔúsa?.
   SlINTR Cont-fry-MIDDLE some egg
   I fry some eggs.

c kn txt' - ám t əxaxáxáp.
   SlINTR look-after-MIDDLE some PL-elder
   I look after elders.

Morphologically, these are intransitive in the choice of subject marker. Syntactically, these are analyzed here as initially transitive since the nominals of the Middle voice bear the same initial thematic relations as do their counterpart constructions in the active voice, the initial 1 and initial 2:

62a k'úl' ( - n - t ) - n əi yámx'wa?.
   make-PFTV-t SlTRANS the basket
   I made the basket.

b ñn - cíx ( - n - t ) - n əʔəʔúsa?.
   Cont-fry-PFTV-t SlTRANS the egg
   I fried the eggs.

c txt' - n - t - ín əxaxáxáp.
   look-after-PFTV-t SlTRANS the PL-elder
   I looked after the elders.
However, unlike their active counterparts, the initial 2 of the Middle voice construction is not available for Passivization which promotes a 2 to a 1, for Relativization which permits a relative clause only upon a downstairs 1 or 2, or for Quantifier Float which permits the quantifier ūyēyōt 'all' to float off of a 1 or a 2.

**Passivization**

63a  * Si kwâp kʷúl' - m *i t sqəl'tmíxʷ.

the horse work-MIDDLE INSTR man

The horse was worked by the man.

b  * Si kwâp kʷúl' - n - t - əm *i t sqəl'tmíxʷ.

the horse work-PPTV-t-PASS INSTR man

The horse was worked by the man.

c  * Si kwâp kʷúl' - m - n - t - əm ...

the horse work-MIDDLE-PPTV-t-PASS ...

d  * Si sqəl'tmíxʷ kʷúl' - n ( - t ) - s *i kwâp.

the man work-PPTV-t-S3_TRANS the horse

The man worked the horse.

**Relativization**

64.  * ti ttwít ?ík(n) ( - n - t ) - s *i səʔúsa? *i kn ?ncíx - m.

the boy eat - PPTV-t-S3_TRANS the egg COMP SL_INTR fry-MIDDLE

The boy ate the eggs that I fried.

**Quantifier Float**

65  * Si tkámílxw ūyēyōt tk' - ám t xxxááp.

the woman all look after-MIDDLE some PL-elder

The woman looks after all the elders.
3.1 Four Possible Analyses

Four analyses are possible for the structure of these clauses:

a) the Antipassive, first proposed by Postal (1976) as a clausal structure existing in many languages;

b) $2 \rightarrow 3$ Retreat;

c) Spontaneous Chômage; or
d) Phantom Arc solution.

These are diagrammed below:

```
66  a  ANTIPASSIVE             b  2 \rightarrow 3  RETREAT

All four possible structures are initially transitive and finally intransitive. The $2 \rightarrow 3$ Retreat proposal claims that the initial direct object is finally an indirect object whereas the other two claim that this nominal is a 2-chômeur. The Antipassive proposal claims that the initial and final 1 is also a 2 in an intervening stratum. The Phantom Arc solution claims that a non-nuclear term advances to 2 and finally to 1 with which it is non-distinct.
Three arguments are presented in support of the Antipassive proposal: Selection of ʃinca?/ʃinca?kn in section 3.2, Lexical Incorporation in section 3.3, Quantifier Float in section 3.4. Section 3.5 points out a serious problem and proposes a Phantom Arc solution.

3.2 Selection of ʃinca?/ʃinca?kn

This test provides evidence that the final 1 is a 2 in some stratum. In section 2.2.2, Chapter Two and section 2.3.1, Chapter Three, it was shown that in a cleft construction, the selection of either ʃinca? or ʃinca?kn as head nominal was restricted as follows:
(a) to ʃinca? in the case of a relativized downstairs nominal which is a 1 in all strata;
(b) to ʃinca?kn in the case of a relativized downstairs nominal which is a 2 but is never a 1; and
(c) to either ʃinca? or ʃinca?kn in the case of a relativized downstairs nominal which is both a 1 and a 2.

This predicts that if the final subject in a Middle voice clause is both a 2 and a 1, as claimed by the Antipassive proposal, either ʃinca? or ʃinca?kn would be suitable in a cleft with a downstairs Middle voice clause.

67a. ʃixi? ʃinca? kn ʃi kn cɔɔçɔɔyɔp - m.

That's me who screamed.

b. ʃixi? ʃinca? kn ʃi kn ʃn - səx-mɔ-á - m t paták.

That's me who weighed some potatoes.
That's me who was hit with a rock.

That's me who poured some coffee.

That's me who fried some eggs.

This supports the Antipassive proposal with respect to the final subject being a 2 at an intermediate level.

The Chômeur Condition, cited in footnote 22, Chapter Two, page 54, predicts that the object nominal is finally a 2-chômeur; however, no syntactic evidence is available to support this prediction.

3.3 Quantifier Ban

The quantifier ban proposed below shows that the putative initial 2 is not a final 2 or a final 3. Both 2s and 3s may be modified by the quantifier ɣɔeyɔt 'all'. The a sentence exemplify a quantified 2-nominal, the b sentence a quantified 3-nominal. (See Chapter Four, section 1.3 for evidence that the quantified nominal in b bears the 3-relation.)

68a xvɪc-ɪ-t-s ɣɔeyɔt ɣi sklaw ɣi tkɔmilxʷ.
give-INDIR-t-S3TR all the beaver the woman

He give all the money (to) the woman.
I fix the broth all the children.

However, in the Middle voice clause, the object nominal may not be quantified at all. This provides evidence that this nominal is no longer a 2 nor is it a 3:

69a * kn ɛn - cǐx - m ɛyyɛt ɛi stxɨtq. ɛʔʔʔusa?

I fry all the eggs.

I fry some eggs.

70a * kn txt' - ám ɛyyɛt ɛi stxɨtq. ɛʔʔʔ USAGE.

I look after all the elders.

I look after some elders./ I look after elders.

The facts with respect to Quantifiers show that this is not a case of 2 ➔ 3 Retreat. The facts with respect to Cleft Construction with choice of ɛinca?/ɛinca?kn show that the Middle voice construction involves a 1 which is a 2 at some point, thus arguing against Spontaneous Chômage and 2 ➔ 3 Retreat.
ANTIPASSIVE ANALYSIS FOR THE MIDDLE VOICE CLAUSES OF OKANAGAN

The phenomenon of Quantifier Ban on 2-chômeurs is in fact broader. Data from Passives shows that 1-chômeurs may not take the quantifier \( y \, y \, y \, y \, t \) 'all':

72a \( ?\text{ick(n)stam} \quad fi \; sk\,q\,imelt \; fi \; t \; xxix\,x\,tm. \)

The baby was played with by the girls.

b * \( ?\text{ick(n)stam} \quad fi \; sk\,q\,imelt \quad * \; y\,y\,y\,t \; fi \; t \; xxix\,x\,tm. \)

The baby was played with by all the girls.

73a \( ?\text{ick(n)stam} \quad fi \; sk\,q\,imelt \; fi \; t \; scdmala? \).

The baby was played with by the children.

b * \( ?\text{ick(n)stam} \quad fi \; sk\,q\,imelt \quad * \; y\,y\,y\,t \; fi \; t \; scdmala? \)

The baby was played with by all the children.

However 2-chômeurs in a Dative clause may take the quantifier \( y \, y \, y \, y \, t \) 'all' which points to a distinction between the Dative and Middle clause types:
The distinction will be useful later in evaluating the proposed Phantom Arc solution.

The relevant generalization with respect to Quantifier Ban in Okanagan is:

Quantifier Ban

The quantifier yë'yë'sët 'all' is not permitted with a 2-chômeur nominal in the Middle voice or a 1-chômeur.

3.4 Lexical Incorporation

Lexical incorporation also provides evidence that the putative initial 2 is neither a final 2 nor a final 3. In a Locative construction, a nominal bearing a Locative relation in the initial stratum may advance to 3 (cf. Chapter 4, section 3.3 for evidence). The basic pattern is exemplified below:

76a  së ttwi't trq - n - t - is së xìwxì'nmì së l sq'mext.

the boy kick-PFTV-t-S3TRANS the girl the LOC foot

The boy kicked the girl on the foot.

b  së ttwi't trq - ì - t - is së xìwxì'nmì sì sq'mext - s.

the boy kick-INDIR-t-S3TRANS the girl the foot-his/her

The boy kicked the girl on her foot/the girl's foot.

A small set of nouns may incorporate into the verb, although the lexical suffix that incorporates need not have the same form as the independent word. In Chapter Three, section 3.3, it is shown that a nominal bearing the Locative relation in the initial stratum may optionally incorporate into the verb while bearing a 3 relation, and moreover may not
advance to 2. This optional incorporation is exemplified in the Passives below which guarantee that the initial Locative has not gone on to advance to 2 since a Passive is finally intransitive:

77a _svc_wm trq - i - t - im _ti_sqwext - s _ti t ttvit.
the girl kick-INDIR-t-PASS the foot-his/her INSTR boy
The girl was kicked on her foot by the boy.

b _svc_wm trq - xn ( - n ) - t - im _ti t ttvit.
the girl kick-foot-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR boy
The girl was kicked in the foot by the boy.

78a  _ti ttvit tqw - i - t - im _ci_esiyaqn - s _ti t sqel'tmixw.
the boy slap-INDIR-t-PASS the head-his INSTR man
The boy was slapped on his head by the man.

b  _ti ttvit tqw - iyaqn ( - n ) - t - em _ti t sqel'tmixw.
the boy slap-head-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR man
The boy was slapped on the head by the man.

This optional incorporation of a nominal bearing a:3 relation contrasts with the facts for a Middle voice clause, where the incorporation is obligatory if a lexical suffix is available:

the boy Dist-curry-horse-MIDDLE always
The boy curries horses all the time.

b  * _ti ttvit k - txilxw - m t s'nk'mq'sqaxa?.
the boy Dist-curry-MIDDLE some horse

80a  _ti tkamilxw k - tx - qin - m.
the woman Dist-comb-hair-MIDDLE
The woman combs her hair.
the woman Dist-comb-MIDDLE some hair-her

81a  \( ^{81a} \text{Si xixʷtm' t - k'us - iyáqn - m.} \)

the girl Dist-curl-top.of.head-MIDDLE

The girl curled her own hair.

82a  \( ^{82a} \text{kn ḥ'q - ča - m.} \)

SL_INTR stretch-skin-MIDDLE

I'm stretching out my (beaver) pelt.

83a  \( ^{83a} \text{Si sqal'tmixʷ k'ul' - ix' - m t silxʷa' t cftxʷ kI } \text{šilmixʷm.} \)

the man work-house-MIDDLE a big a house for chief

The man built a big house for the chief.

Sentence 83a above also illustrates the fact that lexical incorporation is not lexically determined solely by the predicate as do the sentences below:
The woman Dist-comb-INDIR-t-S3TR the hair-her

The woman combs her hair.

Her head was curled by the girl.

The evidence from lexical incorporation, optional with a nominal bearing a 3 relation, demonstrates that the object nominal in a Middle voice clause does not bear this relation since incorporation is obligatory.10 This provides an additional argument against an analysis of these clauses as 2 → 3 Retreat. This argument is based on simplicity. If Middles involve 2 → 3 Retreat, 3s resulting from this rule would act differently from advancee 3s with respect to incorporation, requiring an extra statement.

Although not germane to the argument, this distinction between obligatory and optional lexical incorporation may cast some light on the role of putative 3s. Certain verbs which determine initial Unaccusative strata take an object nominal which is clearly non-nuclear and probably not an oblique either. Which grammatical relation is borne by such a nominal is unclear. These verbs are exemplified below with tőmyst 'buy', a member of Unaccusative Class F (Reflexive Unaccusatives), and kćmüp 'win, beat out', a member of Unaccusative Class D (the -p class):

I bought several horses.
I won/beat out a horse (as in a horse race against another horse).

First, the object nominal in question does not take a case-marking preposition, hence it does not bear an Oblique relation in the final stratum.

Second, no Passive clause and no Relative clause may be formed with the object nominal in question, so it is not a 2:

The horses were bought by the chief.

The horse was won/beat out by the chief.

The man saw the horses that I bought.
The man saw the horse that I won/beat out.

Third, the morphological markings provide evidence that this is not a 2.

The person and number markings in 85 and 86 are those for subject of intransitive clauses and there is no plural marker for direct object in a transitive clause. (See charts of verbal conjugations with transitive person marking in Chapter Two, pp. 21-24.)

Fourth, the object nominal in question accepts a quantifier, as is permissible for a 3, variably for a 2-chômeur (see section 3.3 on Quantifier Ban):

89a  kn  t'wmt'myst  y'ay's?t  fi  s'nk'c'sqáxa?

I bought all the horses.

b  kn  x'úp  y'ay's?t  fi  s'nk'c'sqáxa?

I won/beat out all the horses (as in a race against more than one horse with the speaker beating them all).

Fifth, lexical incorporation is optional, as it is for the 3 nominal in the Locative clauses (see above and Chapter Four, section 3.3):

90a  kn  t'wmt'myst  t  s'nk'c'sqáxa?

I bought several horses.

b  kn  t'wmtw  sqáxa?

I bought several horses.

91a  kn  x'úp  t  s'nk'c'sqáxa?

I won/beat out a horse.

b  kn  x'úp  sqáxa?

I won/beat out a horse.

Thus, the underlined nominals in the a sentences above may bear a 3 relation in the initial stratum.
3.5 A Phantom to the Rescue

There is a serious problem with the Antipassive analysis for the Middle voice clauses of Okanagan. Many Middle voice clauses do not have an initial direct object:

92a  kn  cS?c?yp - m.
     SL_INTR scream-MIDDLE
     I scream.

b  kn  k'?uí - m.
     SL_INTR work-MIDDLE
     I work.

c  kn  x'w? - ám.
     SL_INTR whittle-MIDDLE
     I whittle.

d  kn  cK - ám.
     SL_INTR count-MIDDLE
     I count.

According to Postal's original proposal (1977) for an Antipassive, the initial 1 demotes to 2 in order to place the initial 2 en chômage, thus providing an explanation for the final intransitivity of such clauses. Consequently, in the Okanagan clauses a-d above, the initial 1 would demote for no good reason.

One obvious solution is simply to list this as an irregular fact of Middle voice clauses in Okanagan. However, another possible solution is to posit a covert nominal, non-distinct from the subject in the final stratum, to account for the Middle voice clauses. Allen, Frantz and Gardiner (1981) propose such a solution, positing a covert nominal, referred to as the 'phantom arc analysis' to account for certain
apparently irregular verbs of Southern Tiwa. Their proposal is supported
with evidence from advancements, pronominal agreement, possessor
ascension and impersonal passives.

Evidence for a Phantom arc is difficult to discover; however,
three arguments may be advanced in support of a "phantom arc solution" for
the Middle voice clauses of Okanagan, one from the semantic interpretation
of these clauses, the other from advancement, and a third from Possessor
Ascension.

(1) In the Middle voice, in Okanagan, the subject is interpreted
as acting upon itself, for its own benefit, or as having some particular
skill at the act. For example, in a below, I have the particular skill
of whittling well. In b below, I am able to count, i.e., to calculate.
In c, it is my job to look after the elders. In d, the boy enjoys
his work and does it well.

23a kn xʷaxām. I whittle.
23b kn ćxām. I count.
23c kn txtām t xxw̓x̓aśp. I look after elders.
23d ći tw̓w̓t k - tx̓ilxʷ - sq̓axa? - m naʔip.
The boy horse-curries all the time.

By comparison, the counterpart active voice clauses do not carry this
additional semantic interpretation.

(2a) The semantics of the Middle voice clauses of Okanagan are
similar to the traditional characterization of the Middle voice in
Homeric Greek:

Homeric Greek:

24 1067. The middle voice denotes the subject as acting reflexively
1) upon itself, 2) for itself, 3) upon something belonging to
itself, or in which it has a special interest.

1068. It is often difficult to distinguish in translation between the active and the middle, but the action of the middle always has some reference, either direct or indirect, to the subject, and the subject has an interest in, or is affected by the action.

(Pharr 1959:328)

To posit a phantom nominal, initially a non-nuclear term, advancing to 2 then to 1, with which it is non-distinct, would be to provide the semantics of the Middle voice with a syntactic structure and motivation.

(2b) This proposal of a Phantom arc is also supported by a difference in interpretation between Middles and Actives in a Benefactive construction. (see the treatment of Benefactives in this work under the cover term Datives in Chapter Three section 1.) In a Benefactive construction with a third person pronominal oblique, there are two possible readings for the reference of the pronominal. In a Middle voice construction, the reference of the pronominal is restricted to only one reading, i.e., as having the same referent as the subject. The examples below show that the distinction may not be accounted for by some condition requiring co-reference, stated on the initial grammatical relations.

95 \( i x i x^7 t m \) \( \kappa \imath m - x - t - s \ t q^n \rho \varepsilon m \varepsilon t i y a? \ k l \ c n i c. \)

the girl sew-BENE-t-S\(_3\)TRANS some mocassin for S3

i) The girl\(_j\) sew some mocassins for him/her.\(_k\).

ii) The girl\(_j\) sew some mocassins for herself.\(_j\).
A statement is necessary to account for the restricted reference in 96, with an anaphoric link between the final 1 and $k_1$ $\text{cnîic}$. Such a link can be guaranteed by an analysis in which the Dative is a copy of the Phantom arc. The following relational network might be suggested for 96, with an anaphoric link between the 1 and the final DAT, where Dative could serve as a cover term for other oblique relations including a 'phantom' nominal of the Middle:

However, there are four problems with this suggested network:

1. It appears to be a violation of the Oblique Law, not in its intent, but in its wording:

**Oblique Law** (Perlmutter and Postal 1978)

A nominal that bears a term relation in a given clause may or may not bear that relation in the initial stratum in that clause. A nominal that bears an oblique relation in a clause, on the other hand, bears that relation in the initial stratum.

This suggested network (97 above) is not introducing a new oblique but
one with an anaphoric link connecting it with the initial oblique arc.

(ii) The semantics of the Middle voice interpretation are left unaccounted for. There is a difference in meaning between the restricted readings of 95 and 96. The Benefactive in 95 lacks the interpretation of the Middle in 96 where the girl is considered as having some special skill in sewing.

(iii) In Middle voice clauses of Okanagan, no advancements to 2, where 2 is distinct from the 1, are permitted. This is quite unlike the counterpart transitive constructions in the active voice, which permit several advancements to 2: Dative (Benefactive/Indirective) Advancement, Relational Advancement, Locative Advancement, Instrumental Advancement and Limited Control Advancement (see Chapter Four for details).

(iv) The distinction between Dative and Middle clauses with respect to Quantifier Ban (section 3.3) also argues against the applicability of DAT as a cover term.

Thus, an analysis with Dative as cover term for Phantom cannot be maintained for all cases, hence the cover term NN for Non-Nuclear is used:

99a INITIALLY INTRANSITIVE b INITIALLY TRANSITIVE

MIDDLE CLAUSES MIDDLE CLAUSES

\[-(\ddagger)m\]
A third argument is available from Possessor Ascension in support of the Phantom arc solution over the Antipassive. This follows from the analysis of Possessor Ascension in Chapter Four. The third argument is given in section 4.4 of Chapter Four.

The Phantom Arc solution accounts for all the known facts of the Middle voice clauses of Okanagan:

i) initially transitive, as exemplified in 61a-c;

ii) initially intransitive, as exemplified in 92a-d;

iii) no Passivization, Relativization or Quantifier Float permitted from the initial 2, which is therefore not a final 2;

iv) obligatory lexical incorporation of the initial 2 nominal, if there exists a lexical suffixal form, showing that the initial 2 is not a final 3;

v) Quantifier banned from the initial 2 nominal which is therefore neither a final 2 nor a final 3, but a chômeur;

vi) additional semantic interpretation of subject as affected by the action.

3.6 Consequences for the -m Morphology

The -m occurs on two types of clauses discussed in this work:

1) The -(ā)m of the Middle voice marks a finally intransitive clause.

2) Additionally, the verbal morphology of the Passive construction ends in the same consonant: -təm/-tīm, but not in the same stressed vowel. The -m consonant may now be isolated as a marker of intransitivity in the final stratum.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER THREE

1 The issue of how the passive is related to the active has been widely discussed in linguistic theories (see for example, Chomsky 1957; Bresnan 1978, Freidin 1975). In Relational Grammar, this issue is cast as a discussion of a monostratal vs a bistratal analysis for the Passive.

2 See Footnote 3, Chapter Two, page 54.

3 See section 2.6, Chapter 4, on swit with animate and inanimate instrumentals.

4 If one assumes that there is a constant relationship between thematic and grammatical relations and that thematic relations are determined with the initial assignment of grammatical relations, then the Unaccusative Hypothesis raises an interesting issue: whether a particular verb or class of verbs could receive more than one assignment of grammatical and thematic relations. In Canadian-French, a number of intransitive verbs may take either avoir or être as auxiliary verb (Canale, Mougeon, Bélanger 1978):


This verb tomber is a candidate for receiving two assignments of thematic/grammatical relations, one as determining Unaccusative stratum, as in a above, and the other as determining Unergative stratum, as in b above. The different assignments correlate with the semantic differences in purposiveness, agency or control or whatever else this should be termed. The advantage of this assignment lies in the simplification of rule statement for the presence of être: in a bistratal Passive construction and in Unaccusative construction, both of which are characterized by an initial 2-nominal advancing to 1. In Okanagan, it appears that a verb may determine both Unaccusative stratum and an active transitive
stratum. See examples of this in section 3.2, Chapter Four, and in section 2.3, Chapter Five.

5 It should be noted that the -myst class of reflexive verbs appears to have only one thematic relation, that of patient or theme, unlike the agentive reflexives with -cut which clearly have two: agent and patient or theme. Compare 'I slap myself' (an agentive reflexive in Okanagan) with 'I hide myself' (an Unaccusative reflexive in Okanagan). In the former, the self which has undergone the action is separable from the self which has performed the action. In the latter, it is difficult to separate these out.

If the rule of Moving Glottalization proves with further fieldwork to refer to advancee 2s as well as initial 2s, example 57b would no longer suffice to establish initial 2-hood of the Unaccusatives in question. The stratal diagram for 57b is

![Stratal Diagram](attachment:StratalDiagram.png)

6 The morpheme /-myst/ [-mist] may appear similar to the -mI of the Relational construction (cf. section 2, Chapter Three), however it is Moving Glottalization that provides the evidence that these are dissimilar. The vocalized y in /-myst/ [-mist] undergoes glottalization like a resonant, so it's a consonant not a vowel. Moreover, this morpheme patterns differently syntactically than does the Relational morpheme.
The reflexive morphemes -cut and -myst may not be taken as alternative forms because -cut and -n/-s Perfective/Imperfective marking whereas -myst does not.

Note that this argument, appealing to constant thematic relationships, is not inconsistent with the Unaccusative analysis (cf. footnote 4 above), where differences in control and agency are involved.

The ungrammaticality of 65 follows from Quantifier Ban, independently from Quantifier Float.

An additional argument, that the nominal in question is not a final 2, may also be based on lexical incorporation since lexical incorporation is not permissible on a final 2. See Chapter Three, section 4.3, for the rule statement of Lexical Incorporation.

The ks- and sec- prefixes, for 'Unrealized action' and 'Past Perfect' respectively, also take the -m morphology, as illustrated in the verbal paradigms in Chapter Two, section 1.3. If one considers and argues for these two prefixes as upper predicates, then the generalization that -m marks intransitivity is retained.
CHAPTER FOUR

TRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN OKANAGAN

Introduction

This chapter discusses basic clauses which are finally transitive in Okanagan. As in Chapter Three, three questions are addressed with respect to possible re-evaluations of grammatical relations of nominals:

1) what advancements, if any, are possible in Okanagan?
2) what demotions, if any, are possible in Okanagan?
3) what ascensions, if any, are possible in Okanagan?

It is proposed that Okanagan permits the following advancements and ascensions:

i) DATIVE $\Rightarrow$ 3 $\Rightarrow$ 2 Advancement, where the -X and -l morphemes register the presence of an initial Dative object, with Benefactive or Indirective meaning respectively:

$$\begin{array}{c}
\text{P} \\
1 \rightarrow 2 \\
\text{DAT} \\
\text{P} \\
1 \rightarrow 2 \\
3 \\
\text{P} \\
1 \rightarrow 2 \\
2
\end{array}$$

\[
\{ -X \text{ or } -l \}
\]

ii) LOCATIVE $\Rightarrow$ 3 $\Rightarrow$ 2 Advancement, where -(i)na? marks an advancement from an initial Locative object:
iii) RELATIONAL → Advancement, where \(-m(\hat{1})\) marks an advancement of a non-nuclear object (NN), i.e., 3s or certain obliques, excluding Datives and Locatives, directly to 2, with three classes of verbs determining clausal type A, B, or C:

A

\[ P \]
\[ 1 \]
\[ 2 \]
\[ 3 \]
\[ \hat{2} \]

\(-m(\hat{1})\)

B

\[ P \]
\[ 2 \]
\[ 3 \]
\[ \hat{1} \]

\[ \hat{2} \]

\(-m(\hat{1})\)

C

\[ P \]
\[ 1 \]
\[ 2 \]
\[ \hat{2} \]

\(-m(\hat{1})\)
iv) **POSSESSOR ASCENSION**, where N is a relation borne by a nominal:

The evidence for these proposed advancements and ascensions comes from Morphological Markings, Question Formation, Quantifier Float, Relative Clause Formation, Passivization, Relativization, and Lexical Incorporation.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 1 deals with Dative clauses, arguing that the Benefactive and Indirective constructions are syntactically the same with respect to grammatical relations and possible re-evaluations, but different morphologically and semantically. Section 2 deals with three classes of Relational clauses. For the third class, C, three analyses are proposed: two involving bistratal causative constructions and one involving Instrumental Advancement. Arguments are advanced in support of the latter: Instrumental Advancement. Section 3 examines Locative clauses, arguing for advancement. The consequences of these analyses of Relational and Locative clauses with respect to Limited Control are examined. It is argued that Limited Control clauses involve obligatory re-evaluation from a non-nuclear term to direct object. Section 4 examines Possessor Ascension, arguing that a Possessor may ascend to bear the grammatical relation of its nominal, from a 2 only if the Poss may advance to a 1 and from a non-nuclear terms
only if the Possessor advances to 2.

1. Dative Advancement: Benefactive and Indirective Constructions

Two constructions of Okanagan are discussed in this section. These are known as the 'Benefactive' and the 'Indirective'. In the Benefactive construction, the verbal root of the predicate is marked with -x(i) whereas in the Indirective construction, the verbal root is marked by -i. They occur with obligatory Topicalization regardless of whether or not Advancement takes place. These constructions are exemplified below:

1a. \( \text{\textit{Si}} \text{\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x}\textasciitilde{x}}} x^w ic\text{-}x\text{-}t\text{-}s t sx^w ic\text{\textasciicircumflex}\text{\textasciicircumflex} kl pptwina?x^w}. \)

   the elder give-BENE-t-S$_3$ _TR some present to old.woman

   The old man give a present for/to the old lady.

b. \( \text{\textit{Si}} \text{\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x}}} x^w icxc} t s^w ic\text{\textasciicircumflex} \text{\textit{si pptwina?x^w}}}. \)

   The old man give a present (to) the old lady.

c. \( \text{\textit{Si}} \text{\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x}}} x^w icxc} \text{\textit{si pptwina?x^w t sx^w ic\text{\textasciicircumflex}\text{\textasciicircumflex} (t ks^w c^w K\text{\textasciicircumflex}um-\text{-}s)}}. \)

   COMP UNR-PF-store-S$_3$ _IRR

   The old man give the old lady a present (to put away).

2a. \( \text{\textit{Si}} \text{\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x}}} x^w ic\text{-}i\text{-}t\text{-}s} \text{\textit{si skl\textasciitilde{w kl pptwina?x^w}}}. \)

   the elder give-INDIR-t-S$_3$ _TRANS the money to old.woman

   The old man give the money to the old lady.

b. \( \text{\textit{Si}} \text{\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x}}} x^w icic} \text{\textit{si skl\textasciitilde{w si pptwina?x^w} (ks-txt'-n^w t-is)}}. \)

   UNR-look.after-FPTV-t-S$_3$ _TR

   The old man give the money (to) the old lady (to look after).

c. \( \text{\textit{Si}} \text{\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x\textasciitilde{x}}} x^w icic} \text{\textit{si pptwina?x^w si skl\textasciitilde{w}}. \)

   The old man give the old lady the money.
The difference between these two constructions is two-fold; morphological with the -x(i) for the 'Benefactive' and the -4 for the 'Indirective', and semantic as the parenthetical purposive clauses demonstrate. The -x(i) constructions generally mean that the action is performed 'for the benefit of someone' and the -4 constructions generally mean that the action is performed 'to/on someone'. The former is labelled the benefactive case and the latter the unmarked case, including malefactive, recipient, etc. Syntactically, they manifest similar structure and they will be considered together here. Similar phenomena in other, non-Salishan languages are commonly known as Dative constructions. Dative is used here as a cover term for both the Benefactive and Indirective constructions.

Two proposals are being made with respect to these two constructions in Okanagan. 1) It is proposed that -x(i) and -4 register the presence of the relevant oblique object in the initial strata. 2) It is proposed that these two constructions have the following structure, with possible advancements to 3 and to 2:

More specifically, it is proposed that the a sentences of examples 1 and 2 have the structure represented by the c_i stratum, the b sentences the structure of c_i plus c_ii, and the c sentences the structure of c_i, c_ii, and c_iii stratum.
Evidence to support this analysis comes from Case-Marking, Quantifier Float, Relative Clause Formation, Passive Formation, and Question Formation. Evidence to support the initial stratum is given first; next, evidence to support advancement to 2, and then evidence to support advancement to 3.

1.1 Case-Marking

The evidence that these two constructions have an initial stratum with an oblique object comes from the presence of a case-marking preposition: Kl 'to, goal, recipient'. These are exemplified below:

a. Si i(n) - sk'uy' k'u hkm' - x - t - s t q'exw'utiya? kl sinca?
   kl swit.
   the my-male's.mom me sew-BENE-t-S3TRANS some mocassins to me to somebody
   My mother sew some mocassins for mé/for somebody.

b. ñn - c'ìx - x - t - n y'ey's?t si sa'wusa? kl sc'e'mala?.
   Cont-fry-BENE-t-S1TRANS all the egg to children
   I fry all the eggs for the children.

c. tì - m - x - t - ìn t pítk'm kl ttw'it.
   straight-REL/2-BENE-t-S1TRANS some nail to boy
   I straightened several nails for the boy.

d. Si tk'amílx'w ks - k'uí' - x - t - s t yàmx'wa? . si kl xìx'mí.
   the woman UNR-work-BENE-t-S3TRANS some basket the to girl
   The woman is going to make a basket for the girl.

e. Si sq'al'tmíx'w x'íc - x - t - s t scw'ìn . si kl kík'wa? - s.
   the man give-BENE-t-S3TRANS some salmon the to grandfather-his
   The man give some salmon to his grandfather.
The girl patched up his mocassins for her older brother.

The boy put out the light on the man.

I straightened the nail for the boy.

The presence of a case-marking preposition is taken as evidence of an initial oblique object. Given the close paraphrase relation between sentences with and without a visible case-marking preposition, such as 1a, 2a, 1b, 2b, c respectively, it is assumed that the b, c sentences also have the same initial stratum. This assumption also simplifies the statement for the distribution of -x(i) and -\(\_\_\_\) which may be taken as obligatory registers of this initial oblique object since one or the other, and never both, appear with this initial Dative object.

The Indirective is also used with the Locative case-marking preposition: 1:

The child pinched the cat on the tail.

The boy kicked the girl on the leg.

This use of the Indirective in possessor ascension constructions and in
locative body part constructions is discussed in sections 3.3 'Locative Advancement with Body Parts'; 4.4 'A Statement of Lexical Incorporation'; and 4.6 'A Statement of Possessor Ascension.'

1.2 Question Formation

In question formation with \textit{swit} 'who', the interrogative takes the case-marking of the grammatical relation being questioned, as illustrated below with the Sourcevc case-marking preposition:

\begin{verbatim}
7a  \textit{ti} \textit{ttwit} qi\textit{i}c\textit{ex} (\?i) \textit{t1} \textit{sq\textit{em}t\textit{mix}}.
the boy run the \svaw from man
The boy ran from the man.

b \textit{t1} \textit{swit} \?i \textit{ttwit} k\?i qi\textit{i}c\textit{ex}.
from who the boy COMP run
From whom did the boy run?
\end{verbatim}

It should be noted that in question formation with interrogatives, if the subject is not questioned, the subject nominal is raised to the upper clause and may be topicalized as exemplified in 7b above.

As shown previously in Chapter Two, section 2.1.2, and exemplified below, the presence of a case-marking preposition in a \textit{swit} construction marks the final grammatical relation borne by the nominal in question. The Passive below shows that a putative Dative nominal, advanced to subject, does not receive the case-marking preposition of the initial oblique relation borne:

\begin{verbatim}
8  \textit{ki} \textit{swit} k\?i x\textit{ic} - x - t - \svaw \textit{t sq\textit{em}t\textit{mix}}.
to who COMP give-BENE-t-PASS some salmon INSTR man
To whom was given some salmon by the man?
\end{verbatim}

This example shows that interrogatives with \textit{swit} are not sensitive to the
non-final grammatical relations.

With the Indirective/Benefactive constructions, the case-marking of the nominal being questioned shows up on the interrogative:

9a  \[\text{k}i\text{ swít }\text{śì ttwít }\text{Św}^{-1}t\text{-ś} \text{śì ciqⁿśxn }sélx ?\]
   \*Ø  the boy put.out-INDIR-t-S\text{TR} the light-their
   To who did the boy put out their light?

b  \[\text{k}i\text{ swít }\text{si(n) }\text{škⁿuy }\text{ákim}^{-x}t\text{-ś t qʾxmnútiya }?\]
   \*Ø  the my-male's.mom sew-BENE-t-S\text{TR} some mocassin
   For whom did my mother sew some mocassins?

c  \[\text{k}i\text{ swít }\text{śi sqəltmíxʷ }\text{kśi xʷíc }x^{-t}t\text{-ś t scwⁿín }?\]
   \*Ø  the man COMP give-BENE-t-S\text{TR} some salmon
   To whom did the man give some salmon?

d  \[\text{k}i\text{ swít }\text{śi tkámilxʷ }\text{ks }kʷūl^{-x}t\text{-ś t yámixʷa }?\]
   \*Ø  the woman UNR-work-BENE-t-S\text{TR} a basket
   For whom is the woman going to make a basket?

Moreover, as shown above, the case-marking preposition must be present. Under the proposed analysis, this can be dealt with by a restriction barring Dative Advancement of interrogative \text{swít}. If the initial stratum of the construction exemplified in 1b,c 2b,c did not involve an initial oblique, then a more complex rule would be needed to block the ungrammatical sentences. If this were assumed, \text{swít} should be able to occur in the direct object position in constructions parallel to 1c, 2c and some special rule would then be required to block question formation with \text{swít}, when \text{swít} is registered on the verb with either -x(í) or -í.
1.3 Quantifier Float

In these two constructions, the case-marking preposition preceding the nominal bearing the oblique relation in the initial stratum may be deleted, in which case the nominal may be positioned after the direct object (2), as in a below or immediately after the predicate, as in b below:

10a  "n - dix - x - t - n  y³oy³?t  fi  ¿è?usa?  si  scdmala?.
    Cont-fry-BENE-t-SI_TRANS  all  the egg  the children
    I fry all the eggs (for) the children.

b  "ncixtn  si  scdmala?  y³oy³?t  fi  ¿è?usa?.
    I fry the children all the eggs.

11a  x³ic - t - s  y³oy³?t  fi  sklaw  si  tkAMILX.
    give-INDIR-t-S3_TR  all  the money  the woman
    He gives all the money (to) the woman.

b  x³icic  si  tkAMILX  y³oy³?t  fi  sklaw.
    He gives the woman all the money.

It is proposed here that in the b sentences the nominal in question bears the direct object relation and that in the a sentences the nominal in question bears the indirect object relation. Quantifier Float, Passive Formation, Relative Clause Formation and Question Formation provide evidence to support this analysis. These are discussed in sections 1.3 and 1.6 respectively.

A quantifier y³oy³?t 'all' may float to pre-predicate position from a final 1 or 2, i.e., from a final subject or a final direct object, and may not float from an oblique object. With the Benefactive/Indirective constructions, the quantifier y³oy³?t 'all'
may float from the nominal immediately following the predicate, i.e.,
from the initial direct object:

12a  $\text{Sn - ciš - x - t - n} \ \text{yšeyš?t} \ \text{?i} \ \text{so?usa?} \ \text{?i sccdmala?}.$
    Cont-fry-BENE-t-S1$_{\text{TR}}$ all the egg the children
    I fry all the eggs (for) the children.

13a  $\text{xśic - i - t - s} \ \text{yšeyš?t} \ \text{?i sklaw} \ \text{?i tkámilx\"}.$
    give-INDIR-t-S3$_{\text{TRANS}}$ all the money the woman
    He give all the money (to) the woman.

It may be concluded that the underlined nominal above, in immediate post-predicate position, i.e., the initial direct object, is still the direct object and that the initial oblique object no longer bears the oblique relation since it is lacking the necessary case-marking preposition. It is assumed at this point that this second object nominal is a 3 since it is neither a 2 nor an oblique. A quantifier may not float from this putative 3 nominal:

14a  $\text{kúl' - x - t - n} \ \text{?i stxítq} \ \text{yšeyš?t} \ \text{?i sccdmala?}.$
    work-BENE-t-S1$_{\text{TRANS}}$ the broth all the children
    I fix the broth (for) all the children.

15a  $\text{?i sqoilmíx\"} \ \text{xśic - i - t - s} \ \text{t scwdin} \ \text{yšeyš?t} \ \text{?i ptptwina?x\"}.$
    the man give-INDIR-t-S3$_{\text{TRANS}}$ some salmon all the PL-old.woman
    The man give some salmon (to) all the old ladies.
If the initial oblique nominal, advanced to a 3, is permuted to the immediate post-predicate position, it functions like a 2 with respect to quantifier float:

16a  \[\text{K'úl-TR} \quad \text{y'ey's't} \quad \text{si scdmala?} \quad \text{si stxítqw.}\]
work-BENE-t-S1\text{TR} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{the children} \quad \text{the broth}

I fixed all the children the broth.

b  \[\text{y'ey's't} \quad \text{K'úl}xtn \quad \text{si scdmala?} \quad \text{si stxítqw.}\]
I fixed all the children the broth. (All I fixed the children...)

17a  \[\text{x'íc-TR} \quad \text{y'ey's't} \quad \text{si ptptwina?x} \quad \text{t scwín.}\]
give-INDIR-t-S3\text{TR} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{the PL-old.woman} \quad \text{some salmon}

He gives all the old ladies some salmon.

b  \[\text{y'ey's't} \quad \text{x'íc} \quad \text{si ptptwina?x} \quad \text{t scwín.}\]
He gives all the old ladies some salmon. (All he gives the old ladies...)

It may be concluded that the advancee 3 has advanced to bear the 2 relation. The former 2 no longer functions like a 2 with respect to Quantifier Float and is, according to the Chômeur Condition (see Chapter Three, section 1.4 for a statement of this condition), a 2-chômeur:

18a  \[\text{Sncix - x - t - n} \quad \text{si scdmala?} \quad \text{y'ey's't} \quad \text{si se?úsa?}.\]
fry-BENE-t-S1\text{TRANS} \quad \text{the children} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{the egg}

I fry the children all the eggs.

b  \[\text{y'ey's't} \quad \text{Sncix}xtn \quad \text{si scdmala?} \quad \text{si se?úsa?}.\]
I fry the children all the eggs.

* I fry the children all the eggs.

ok. I fry all the children the eggs.

19a  \[\text{x'íc - i - t - s} \quad \text{SI tkámilx} \quad \text{y'ey's't} \quad \text{si sklaw.}\]
give-INDIR-t-S3\text{TRANS} \quad \text{the woman} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{the money}

He gave the woman all the money.
b * yəyəyət xwîcîc ści tkâmîlx̂ ści sklåw.

He gave the woman all the money. (All he gave the woman the money.)

In conclusion, it has been seen

1) that there is an initial oblique object, termed Dative, case-marked with a preposition and registered on the verb with -x(i) or -i for 'Benefactive' or 'Indirective' respectively;  
2) that this initial Dative object may advance to 3, losing its case-marking preposition; and  
3) that this advancee 3 may advance to 2, placing the initial 2 en chômage, as was shown by Quantifier Float.

This is represented in the relational network below:

20a DATIVE ADVANCEMENT:

b The old man give all the old ladies the money.
1.4 Relative Clause Formation

Additional evidence that a Dative object, in a Benefactive/Indirective construction, may advance to 3 and to 2 is provided by Relativization. In Okanagan, a relative clause or a cleft construction may be formed only on a downstairs 1 or 2 and not on a downstairs oblique object, as was shown in Chapter Two, section 2.1.3.

When sentences containing relative clauses formed on a downstairs oblique are presented to speakers, patterns of grammaticality differ depending on the surrounding context. The analysis presented here allows us to explain these different patterns. When sentences with Benefactive and Indirective constructions are presented first to speakers, only the 1 and the 2 may be relativized, as expected:

21a Sixí? t ttwit sì xmic - x - t - s t sklaw sì slaxt - s.

That's the boy COMP give-BENE-t-S3TR some money the brother-his

b Sixí? t sklaw sì sì ttwit xmicxc sì slahx.

That's the money that the boy gives (to) his brother.

c * Sixí? t slaxt (-s) sì sì ttwit xmicxc sì sklaw.

* That's the/his brother that the boy gives his money (to).

22a ?uc c - m'y - s - t - ixw sì ttwit sì ?w - i - t - is.

yes/no PF-know-IMPF-t-S2TRANS the boy COMP put.out-INDIR-t-S3TR sì c'iq'sxn' k1 sqal'tmix'.

the light to man

Do you know the boy who put out the light on the man?

b ?uc cwikstx sì c'iq'sxn' sì sì ttwit ?w'atís k1 sqal'tmix'?

Did you see the light that the boy put out on the man?
If the two object nominals are permuted and presented to speakers prior to sentences of the form of 21c and 22c, the initial Dative and advancee 3 is available for relativization, as in 23b and 24b, and thus bears the 2 relation, with the initial &placed in a Chomsky and unavailable for relativization, as in 23c and 24c.

23a  s'i stęmtima?  q'c' - xi - t - s  s'i xix"tm'i  t yámx"a.
the grandmother weaves-BENE-t-S3 TR the girl a basket
The grandmother weaves the girl a basket.

b  s'ixi?  t xix"tm'i  s'i  s'i stęmtima?  q'cxic  t yámx"a.
That's the girl that the grandmother weaves a basket (for).

c  * s'ixi?  t yámx"a?  s'i  s'i stęmtima?  q'cxic  s'i xix"tm'.
* That's the basket that the grandmother weaves the girl.

24a  s'i ttwit  ṭamw - i - t - is  s'i sqoltmix"  s'i  ciq"sxn'.
the boy put.out-INDIR-t-S3 TR the man the light
The boy put out (on) the man the light.

b  s'uc c'yystix"  s'i sqoltmix"  s'i  s'i ttwit  ṭamwatis  s'i  ciq"sxn?.
Do you know the man that the boy put out the light (on)?

c  * s'uc c'wikstix"  s'i  ciq"sxn?  s'i  s'i ttwit  ṭamwatis  s'i sqoltmix"?
* Did you see the light that the boy put out (on) the man?

It is concluded that, in a Benefactive/Indirective construction, the advancee 3, an initial Dative, may advance to 2 at which point it is available for Relativization.
1.5 Passivization

In section 1, Chapter Three, it was argued and supported that the Passive construction advances a 2 in the $S_i$ stratum to a 1 in the $S_{i+l}$ stratum. This interacts with the Benefactive/Indirective construction to provide evidence for advancement to 2.

The initial Dative nominal may be passivized from an immediate post-predicate position. It is possible to establish this from patterns of judgments of grammaticality. When sentences containing passives of the form 25b-29b are presented to speakers, patterns of grammaticality differ depending on the surrounding context. If these b passives follow the a sentences with the initial Dative nominal an advancee to 2 in immediate post-predicate position, then the b sentences are judged grammatical. If the b passives follow sentences in which the Dative nominal has not advanced to 2, then the b passives are judged as ungrammatical.

25a  $\text{i tt}\text{tw}^{\text{i}t} \ x^{\text{w}}\text{ic}^{\text{x}c} \ \text{i s}\text{l}^\text{a}\text{x}^{\text{x}c} \ t \ \text{s}\text{kl}^{\text{a}w}$. \\
The boy give his brother some money.

b  $\text{i s}\text{l}^{\text{a}x}^{\text{x}t} - s \ x^{\text{w}}\text{ic} - x - t - \text{om} \ t \ \text{s}\text{kl}^\text{a}w \ \text{i t} \ \text{tt}\text{w}^{\text{i}t}$. \\
the brother-his give-BENE-t-PASS some money INSTR boy

His brother was given some money by the boy.

26a  $\text{i st}\text{t}\text{m}^{\text{t}i\text{ma}}? \ q\text{c}\text{x}^{\text{x}c} \text{i x}'\text{x}^{\text{m}x}^{\text{t}m} \ t \ y\text{a}^{\text{m}x}^{\text{m}x}^{\text{x}a}?$. \\
The grandmother weaves the girl a basket.

b  $\text{i x}'\text{x}^{\text{m}x}^{\text{t}m} q\text{c'} - \text{x} - t - \text{om} \ t \ y\text{a}^{\text{m}x}^{\text{m}x}^{\text{x}a}? \ \text{i t} \ \text{st}\text{t}\text{m}^{\text{t}i\text{ma}}? \ - s$. \\
the girl weave-BENE-t-PASS a basket INSTR grandmother-her

The girl was woven a basket by her grandmother.

27a  $\text{i sq}\text{e}^{\text{l}t}^{\text{m}x}^{\text{x}w} \ \text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{n}\text{un}^{\text{x}c} \ \text{i p}\text{p}^{\text{t}w}^{\text{w}n}^{\text{a}x}^{\text{x}w} \ t \ \text{s}\text{c}^{\text{w}f}^{\text{in}}$. \\
The man caught the old lady some salmon.
b  si  pπtΛlÎHa?x'  kω̃mûn  -  x  -  t  -  âm  t  scwîn  si  t  sqeḻmîx'w.
the old woman catch-BENE-t-PASS some salmon INSTR man
The old lady was caught a salmon by the man.

28a  si  xîx'tm'  xîwîtîs  si  ttwît  si  cîq' sxns;
The girl put out the boy's light/the boy's light.

28b  si  ttwît  xîw'  -  1  -  âm  si  cîq' sxns  si  t  xîx'tm'.
The boy was put out his light by the girl.

29a  si  ttwît  la?'itîs  si  sl'axc  si  lka'pu? s.
The boy wears his brother's coat/his brother his coat.

29b  si  sl'axc  -  s  la'?  -  î  -  îm  si  lka'pu? -  s  si  t  ttwît.
the brother his wear-INDIR-t-PASS the coat his INSTR boy

His brother was worn his coat by the boy.

These examples provide evidence that the underlined nominal, initially a Dative bearing an Oblique relation, has advanced to in the a sentences where it is accessible to passivization as in the b sentences. The structure of the b sentences is represented in the relational network below:
An argument showing that the initial 2 is not a final 2 may be based on Quantifier Float. A quantifier may float from a 1 or a 2, as shown in section 1.3. However, in a passivized Dative construction, where the initial oblique nominal has advanced to 1, a quantifier may not float from the initial 2:

31  * fi xīxʷtn̓m̓ yəʔəsʔt qə’- xʷi - t - əm  fi ym - yəməxʷa?

the girl all weave-BENE-t-PASS the PL-basket

fi t stəmtímaʔ- s.
INSTR grandmother-her

The girl was woven all the baskets by her grandmother.
This shows that the initial oblique nominal had advanced to 2, placing the initial 2 on chōmage.

Given the analysis proposed, the fact that the initial 2 of a Benefactive/Indirective construction is accessible to passivization if the initial oblique nominal has not advanced to bear the 2-relation does not detract from this argument:

32  fi sḵwín kʷnúmxəm  ti pptwinaʔxʷ  fi t sqəl’ümixʷ.

the salmon catch-BENE-PASS the old.woman INSTR man

The salmon was caught for the old lady by the man.

33  fi sḵəcínm t̓səp - xí - t - əm  ti tkəmílxʷ  fi t sqəl’ümíxʷ.

the deer shoot-BENE-t-PASS the woman INSTR man

The deer was shot for the woman by the man.

The structure of sentences 32 and 33 above is represented in the relational network below:
Thus, Passivization has provided evidence that an initially oblique nominal in a Benefactive/Indirective construction of Okanagan may advance to bear the 2-relation, at which point it is accessible for promotion to 1 by means of Passivization.

It may be concluded 1) that the Benefactive/Indirective construction has a nominal bearing an oblique relation in the initial stratum; 2) that this fact is registered by one of the morphemes, -x(í) or -́ respectively, on the verbal root of the predicate; 3) that this nominal may advance to bear the 3-relation, and again to bear the 2-relation. Evidence from Case-Marking and Question Formation was brought to bear to support the identification of the initial oblique, evidence from Quantifier Float, Relativization and Passivization was used for support of this nominal as an advancee 3 and final 2.
2 Relational Clauses

Certain clauses in Okanagan occur with a -m(ɪ) morpheme following the verbal root of the predicate. These are morphologically transitive. It is proposed:

1) that these clauses involve an obligatory advancement of a non-nuclear (NN) object, i.e., 3s and obliques, to 2, without intervening status as a 3 in the case of the obliques; and

2) that the -m(ɪ) morpheme is a marker of this advancement.

The abbreviation NN is used as a cover term for non-nuclear terms, i.e., 3s and obliques, where obliques may be Goal, Source, Instrumental, Benefactive, etc.

2.1 Three Classes

Three classes of verbs can be identified as occurring in a Relational type clause. Verbs in two classes, A and B, may not occur in regular transitive constructions or in Middle voice clauses.

CLASS A: Verbs whose initial stratum is intransitive, consisting of an agentive 1 and no 2.

35 Class A Relational Clause:

```
        P
       / \       NN
      /   \     /  \\
     P     l   \   2
    /     \  /    \\
   /       \      \\
  -m(ɪ)
```

This class sub-divides into three groups:
Class Al: Verbs that are members of this sub-class have independent word status, for instance:

36a  क्षिया? listen (to)
   नाक्ष steal (of)
   गोव्यङ्स dream (of)
   निनेथ hear (of)
   नूंपन्यिना? believe (in)
   शय्ंतिवित laugh
   गतिल्क run (to)
   दिवल्क climb (on)
   पवालिङ ponder/think (on)
   जस्सुविङ whisper

Pairs of sentences below exemplify these as unergative intransitives in a and as Relational clauses in b.

37a  क्षिया? I listen.

   स्निन्त्र लिस्तन
   ब क्षु क्षिया म ग त स स त स E he is listening to me.

38a  नाक्ष t नाक्ष t सेनक्लिङ्साकारा?

   स्निन्त्र steal a one a horse
   द नाक्ष t म ( न t ) n त सेनक्लिङ्साकारा?
   शेल्ट-रेल/2-प्यूव-ट्स त द्रान्त I stole the horse.
I dreamed about a blackbear last night.

I dreamed about you.

I hear somebody whispering in the next house.

My grandmother believes that you-guys are getting better.

The children always laugh.

The children laugh at the boy.

I run to all the children.

I dreamed about a blackbear last night.

I dreamed about you.

I hear somebody whispering in the next house.

My grandmother believes that you-guys are getting better.

The children always laugh.

The children laugh at the boy.

I run to all the children.
I run to all the children.

The beaver climbs on the tree.

The baby climbed up on Joe Pete.

The old man is thinking/pondering all the time.

Uncle is thinking/pondering about the language.

The old lady is whispering all the time.

The old lady is whispering about the old man.

The case marking prepositions on the initial oblique nominal in sentences 43a and 44a provide evidence to support the initial stratum of the A verb class.
Class A2: Verbs that are members of this sub-class do not have independent word status. They obligatorily occur in a Relational construction with the Relational morpheme. Members of this class include:

- spill (some) of/from/out of
- scold
- get used to
- think of

The sentences 48 - 51 illustrate these members:

48 - spill-REL/2-PFTV-t-Sl\_TRANS
spilled the grease on the table.

49a - scold-REL/2-PFTV-t-S3\_TRANS
The woman scolded the children for breaking the chair.

50: get.used.to-REL/2-PFTV-t-you-Sl\_TRANS
I'm getting used to you.

51: think-REL/2-PFTV-t-you-Sl\_TRANS
I think about you.
Class A3: Verbs that are members of this class also do not have independent word-status. However, they differ from members of the A2 sub-class, in that they may also occur with a -t or -p suffix as Unaccusatives, i.e., in an initially intransitive stratum with a 2 and no 1, having stative meaning.7

Members of this sub-class, having agentive meaning in a Relational construction, include:

52a  see', sl' - lost
b  tíi- straight (linear)
c  toî- straight, true, trustable
d  y'oxw- drop
e  k'luh'- pity

These are exemplified below:

53a  kn  see' - t  ñelá?.
    Sl_INTR lost-t here[invisible, proximate]
    I was lost around here.
b  kn  sl'- p  kl  wîst.
    Sl_INTR lost-p to high
    I was lost up in the mountains.
c  kn  sl'- p  ñi l  ñi(n) - sqøy's.
    Sl_INTR lost-p the LOC my-dream
    I was lost in my dreams.
d  see' - mi (n) - t - n  ñi  ñuk'la?.
    lost-REL/2-PPTV-t-Sl_TRANS the ball
    I lost the ball.
The children lost the dog.

English: You lost something and can't remember where you put it.

i.e., You lost yourself of something.

French: Tu t'es perdu de quoi.

Be a straight and true man!

Be a very straight and true man!

I got rights to go hunting.

The man is straight, true, trustable.

Better watch out; I'll straighten you out!
55a  Si pîtkummn  t'î tît / tî - tît.
the nail  EMPH straight/ PL-straight
The nail is straight// The nails are straight.

b  tî - m - i - t - în  Si pîtk'unmn  si ttvit.
straight-REL/2-INDIR-t-SI_TR the nail the boy
I straighten the nail for the boy.

c  tî - m - x - t - în  t pîtkummn  si ttvit.
straight-REL/2-BENE-t-SI_TR some nail the boy
I straighten several nails for the boy.

56a  kn  yâxw - t  tî  sin - kwâp.
Sî_INTR fall-t from my-saddle.horse
I fall off from my horse.

b  kn  'n - yâxw - t
Sî_INTR Cont-fall-t
I fall in.

c  'î tkâmîlxw  yâxw - mî ( - n - t ) - s  sâ  sîpût.  sî l  sîlîlp.
the woman fall-REL/2-PFTV-t-S3_TRANS the cup the LOC floor
The woman dropped the cup on the floor.

d  Teresa  yâxw - m - n - cút  kl  sînkâmûtn.
T fall-REL/2-PFTV-REFL to chair
Teresa got herself up off of the chair.

e  'î sk'q'mâlt  t - yâxw - m - n - cút  kl  sk'uy' - s.
the baby  Dist-fall-REL/2-PFTV-REFL to male's.mom-his
The baby got himself up off of his mother.
The old man is pitiful.

I pity you.

CLASS B: Verbs whose initial stratum is intransitive, consisting of a 2 and no 1. It is proposed that verbs of this class have the following structure in a Relational construction:

Verbs of this class have independent word status and are members of the -t class of Unaccusatives, i.e., intransitive with a 2 and no 1, having stative meaning. They retain the -t in a Relational clause, providing evidence for the initial stratum proposed above.

Members of this class include:

59a  xast  
59b  yalt  
59c  milt  
59d  iipt  
59e  k'kkisst  
59f  'aymt  
59g  q'q'ffiltt  
59h  l'fmt  good, like
run away from
visit
forget
jealous
mad
talkative
glad
Like Class A, members of Class B do not occur in the Middle voice clauses or in regular transitive clauses. Members of Class B listed above are exemplified below, showing the roots in Unaccusative constructions and in Relational constructions:

60a  **Xast**  ?i ttwít.

good  the  boy

The boy is good.

b  **Xast** - mí - n - t - x"  ñø  ñø(n) - c - ?iín

like-REL/2-PFTV-t-S₂TRANS  the  your-PF-eat

You like your food.

c  **Xast** - mí - n - t - s - n.

like-REL/2-PFTV-t-you-S₁TRANS

I sorta like you./ I'm beginning to like you.

61a  ?uuc  k"u  ks - yl - ylt - míx - a?x  ?

QU  yes/no  Pl_INTR  UNR-PL-run.away-PROG-INCEP

Shall we run away?

b  ?i ttwít  yəlt  tl  xəxəxáp.

the  boy  run.away  from  elder

The boy runs away from the old man.

c  ?i ttwít  ylt - mí ( - n - t ) - s  ?i  xəxəxáp.

the  boy  run.away-REL/2-PFTV-t-S₃TR  the  elder

The boy ran away from the old man.

62a  ?i  ?i(n) - stəmtima?  mílt.

the  my-grandmother  visit

My grandmother visits.
My heart is glad to visit you.

I'm glad.

Greetings, my friend! i.e., Greetings (to) you (who) are my friend!

I feel happy for you.

I'm very proud of you.

You're proud of your ancestors.

I forget.

I'm forgetful.

I forgot it.
The man is jealous.

65a ʕi sqəł牺牲w kàk-wʕisst. the man jealous

The man is jealous.

b ʕi sqəł牺牲w kàk-wʕisst - m ( - n - t ) - s ʕi sʕaxʕt - s. the man jealous - REL/2-PPTV-t-S3 TRANS the brother-his

The man is jealous over his brother.

66a ّn sʕaymt. S1_INTR mad

I'm mad.

b Susop sʕaymt - m - n - cut. Joseph mad-REL/2-PPTV-REFL

Joseph is mad at himself.

c ʕi twtwit sʕaymt - m ( - n - t ) - s ʕi sʕixʕxʕtm'. the PL-boy mad-REL/2-PPTV-t-S3 TRANS the PL-girl

The boys are mad at the girls.

67a ʕi ttwît qʷəʔlqʷʕiłt myəł. the boy talkative much.

the boy talks too much.

b ʕi skʷqʷimelt qʷəʔlqʷəʔlát.10 the baby begin.to.be.talkative

The baby is beginning to talk.

c qʷəʔlqʷʕiłt - x t ʕn - sʕix - cn. talkative-IMP a Cont.nation-mouth

Speak Okanagan! / Speak of the language of the nation!

d nixəł - m ( - n - t ) - n ʕi sqəł牺牲w c - qʷəʔlqʷʕiłt. hear-REL/2-PPTV-t-S3 TR the man PF-talkative

I hear the man talk.
speak/talk - IMPF-t-you-S1\textsubscript{TRANS}

I'm talking to you.

dist-talkative-REL/2-PFTV-t-you-S1\textsubscript{TRANS}

I talked about you.

the chief dist-talkative-REL/2-PFTV-t-S3\textsubscript{TRANS} the business-his

always

The chief talked about his business all the time.

Who did the chief talk about?

CLASS C: Verbs which occur in regular transitive constructions, but which may receive a weak causative interpretation in a Relational construction.

Constructions with this class are restricted to Imperfective aspect.

Members of this class include:

- 68a ?ak\textsuperscript{\textcircled{w}}- sweep
- b ?i\textsuperscript{\textcircled{n}}- eat
- c k\textsuperscript{\textcircled{u}}l\textsuperscript{\textcircled{l}}- work, fix

These verbs may occur in a Middle voice construction or not:

- 69 kn k\textsuperscript{\textcircled{u}}l\textsuperscript{\textcircled{l}}- m ?\textsuperscript{\textcircled{a}}l\textsuperscript{\textcircled{a}}- t x\textsuperscript{\textcircled{c}}\textsuperscript{\textcircled{i}}t / x\textsuperscript{\textcircled{c}}\textsuperscript{\textcircled{a}}? - sp\textsuperscript{\textcircled{t}}nk.
- S1\textsubscript{INTR} work-MIDDLE here a lot / many - year

I work here a lot. / many years.
What is significant is that these verbs occur in both a regular transitive construction and a Relational construction:

71a  ꞌi sqeɬtmixʷ ꞌkwulʼ (- n - t) - s ꞌi tmxʷūlaʔxʷ.

the man        work-PFTV-t-S3_TRANS  the land

The man worked the land.

b  ꞌi sqeɬtmixʷ ꞌkwulʼ - m - s - t - s ꞌi twtwt.  ꞌi

the man        work-REL/2-IMPF-t-S3_TR  the PL-boy

The man had the hired hands working on the land on Monday.

72a  ꞌi xícwítm ꞌsiːn(-n-t) - s ꞌi paták ꞌsuʔ scwín.

the girl  eat-PFTV-t-S3_TRANS  the potato and salmon

The girl ate the potatoes and salmon.

b ꞌi xícwítm ꞌsiːn - m - s - t - s ꞌi ptwinaʔxʷ ꞌi paták ꞌsuʔ scwín.

the girl  eat-REL/2-IMPF-t-S3_TRANS  the old woman the potato and salmon

The girl is feeding the old lady the potatoes and salmon.

i.e., the girl had the old lady eat...

(context: the old woman is crippled and the girl fed her)

73a  ꞌká - ꞌaʔxʷ - lp - m.

stop-sweep-slats-MIDDLE

I'm sweeping the floor.

b ꞌká - ꞌaʔxʷ (- n - t) - n ꞌi ꞌsi(-n) - sʔnqútŋ.

under-sweep-PFTV-t-S1_INTR  the my-bed

I swept under my bed.
The discussion of the clausal structure of verbs of Class C is delayed until after the discussion of Classes A and B, i.e., to section 2.6.

2.2 Evidence for Initial Intransitivity

Evidence for the initial stratum of Class A1 and A3, and Class B verbs as intransitive comes from:

a) the case-marking prepositions marking initial oblique objects, as exemplified in sentences such as 43a, 44a, 53b, 53c, 56a, 56d and 61b;

b) the absence of object in 37a, 40a, 41a, 42a, 45a, 46a, and 53a; and

c) the non-specific article, obligatory on non-case-marked objects in examples such as 37a, 39a and 54a,b. These objects may be initial 3s since they do not appear to be either 2s or obliques.

d) Moreover, for Class B verbs, additional evidence comes from the retention of the Unaccusative -t/ -p morphemes, marking a 2 in the $S_i$ stratum occurring as a nuclear term in the $S_{i+1}$ or final stratum (see section 2, Chapter Three). These morphemes are exemplified in 60b,c, 61c, 62b,c, 63c-e, 64c-d, 65a, 66b-c, and 67f-h.

Syntactic evidence for intransitivity is available from tests with Passivization, Quantifier Float, and Relativization. All of these are possible from 2s. However, when verbs of Relational Class A and B occur without -m(i) in paraphrase constructions, as in the a sentences below, these tests result in ungrammaticality, as shown in the b sentences:
PASSIVIZATION

Class A

74a  fica  naq'  t  s'nk'c'sq'axa?
    the elder  steal  a horse
    The elder stole a horse

b *  fica / t  s'nk'c'sq'axa?  naq' - n - t - 'em  fica  t  fica.
    the/a horse  steal-PPTV-t-PASS  INSTR  elder

75a  fica  ttw'it  qay's  t  skmxist.
    the boy  dream  a blackbear
    The boy dreamed about a blackbear.

b *  fica / t  skmxist  qay's  n - t - 'em  fica  t  ttw'it.
    the/a blackbear  dream-PPTV-t-PASS  INSTR  boy

Class B

76a  fica  xix'tm'  yelt  tI'  pptwina?x'.
    the girl  run.away  from  old.woman
    The girl ran away from the old lady.

b *  fica  pptwina?x'  yelt  n - t - 'em  fica  t  xix'tm'.
    the old.woman  run.away-PPTV-t-PASS  INSTR  girl

Quantifier Float 11

77a  fica  naq'  y'ay's't  fica  s'nk'c'sq'axa?.
    the elder  steal  all  the horse
    The old man stole all the horses.

b *  fica  fica  y'ay's't  naq'  fica / t  s'nk'c'sq'axa?.
    the elder  all  steal  the/a horse

78a  fica  xix'tm'  qicelx  y'ay's't  kl  sdmala?.
    the girl  run  all  to  children
    The girl ran to all the children.
the girl run to children

The old lady hear all the children.

The girl run away from the old woman.

The girl ran away from the old lady.

The girl run to the boy.
Evidence from these tests shows that the nominals in question are not initial 2s, and hence bear a non-nuclear relation.

2.3 Evidence for Final Transitivity

Morphological evidence that Relational clauses are finally transitive comes from
a) the -t transitive marker, of an initial or advancee 2 occurring as a nuclear term in the final stratum;
b) the choice of the transitive set of realis subject markers, indicating surface transitivity, i.e., a 1 and a 2 in the final stratum;
c) the obligatory aspect marking, Imperfective or Perfective, required if there is an initial or advancee 2-arc which is a nuclear term arc in the final stratum. (see section 1.7, Chapter Two for the relevant rules statement and diagrams.)

Syntactic evidence is available from Passivization, Relativization, and Quantifier Float to show that these Relational clauses are transitive.

As discussed earlier, all the phenomena affect 2s. Passivization promotes a 2 to a 1; Relativization on a downstairs clause and Quantifier Float are both limited to 1s and 2s. Should the post-predicate nominal in a Relational construction function as a 2 with respect to these phenomena, this will establish the 2-hood of the nominal in question.

2.3.1 Passivization

The sentences below, formed with verbs of class A and B, show that a Relational clause may passivize:
CLASS A:

84a  sqal'tmix' t - qicelx - m - n - t - om  i t ttwit.
the man  Dist-run-REL/2-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR boy
The man was run to by the boy.

b  sqal'tmix' kh'iya - m - n - t - om  i t ttwit.
the man  listen-REL/2-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR boy
The man is listened to by the boy.

CLASS B:

85a  xix'xm' taymt - m - n - t - om  lx  i t ttwit.
the PL-girl mad-at-REL/2-PFTV-t-PASS P3_INTR INSTR PL-boy
The girls are mad at by the boys.

b  xix'xm' ylt - mi - n - t - om  i t ttwit.
the elder run.away-REL/2-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR boy
The elder is run away from by the boy.

From these examples, it may be concluded that the nominal serving as final subject bears the 2-relation in the previous stratum.

2.3.2 Quantifier Float

The data available for Class A and B verbs with respect to Quantifier Float also provides support for the 2-hood of the post-predicate nominal:

CLASS A:

86  yoy'sat  t - qicelx - m ( - n - t ) - n  i sc'chala?.
all  Dist-run-REL/2-PFTV-t-S1_TRANS the children
I run to all the children. / (All I run to the children.)

87  yoy'sat k - susuwilx - m - s - t - x'  xax'axap.
all  Dist-whisper-REL/2-IMPF-t-S2_TRANS the PL-elder
You whisper about all the old men. / (All you whisper about the old men.)
I spilled all the coffee on the floor. / (All I spilled the coffee on ...)  

CLASS B:  
I run away from all the children. / (All I run away from the children.)  
You visit all the old ladies. / (All you visit the old ladies.)  

2.3.3 Relativization  
Similarly, evidence is available from Relativization which demonstrates that the nominal relativized upon is either a 1 or a 2 downstairs. Since the downstairs clauses exemplified below have a nominal bearing the 1-relation in the final stratum, it may be concluded that the nominal relativized upon is a downstairs 2.  

CLASS A:  
That's me that the boy is listening to.  
Show me the horse that I stole.  
I remember the story that I heard.
It's the old man who has been run away from by the boy.

I know the man that the girls are talking about.

It may be concluded that the post-predicate nominal in a Relational clause bears the 2-relation in the second stratum, i.e., the initial plus one stratum, based on evidence from Passivization, Quantifier Float, and Relativization.

2.4 Evidence for Obligatory Advancement

Syntactic evidence is available from Question Formation to show that, in a -m(i) construction, the advancement of the initially oblique object is obligatory. As shown in section 1.2, Chapter Three and section 1.8, Chapter Two, the interrogative swít 'who' takes case-marking when questioning a nominal which bears a final oblique relation in the downstairs clause. With a Relational clause with the Relational morpheme on the verb, no case-marking appears:

96a swít sì sël'mix-l'm sì t - qʷəl'qʷl't - m ( - n - t ) - s ?
   who the chief COMP Dist-talkative-REL/2-PFTV-t-S₃ TRANS
   Who did the chief talk about?

b swít sì ttwít sì t - qícəlx - m ( - n - t ) - s ?
   who the boy COMP Dist-run-REL/2-PFTV-t-S₃ TRANS
   Who did the boy run to?
c kl swit ili ttwit ili qicolx?

to who the boy COMP run

To who did the boy run?

d * kl swit ili ttwit ili t - qicolx - m (- n - t) - s ?

This fact that the oblique nominal may not be questioned as an oblique
nominal as in a, b, and d above, leads one to conclude that the Relational
advancement is obligatory. That is, -m(l) occurs only when the initially
oblique object has advanced to 2. This contrasts with the occurrence of
-x and -t which register the presence of the relevant oblique.

2.5 The Class C Verbs

The structure of the Class C Relational verbs is still at issue.

Such constructions may receive a weak causative interpretation, as illustrated
in sentences 71-73. This section will examine three proposals for the
structure of these clauses and choose between them.

2.5.1 Three Proposals

Three proposals may be made for the structure of these clauses:

(1) a True Causative proposal, claiming that these are true causative
constructions with a biclausal source, subject to obligatory Clause Union
(Aissen and Perlmutter 1976). Under Clause Union, involving a downstairs
transitive clause, the downstairs 2 → upstairs 2 and the downstairs 1 →
upstairs 3, as diagrammed below:

97: ili xixwm' ili fim - m - s - t - s ili pttwina?xw.
the girl eat-REL/2-IMPF-t-S3TR the old woman
ili patak ili swin.
the potato and salmon
The girl had the old lady eat the potatoes and salmon. /
The girl feed the old lady the potatoes and salmon.
Since the unmarked surface word order of Okanagan is $P \ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ OBL$, it would appear that in 97 the putative union 3 has advanced to 2 in the next stratum, demoting the putative union 2 to $\hat{2}$.

(2) an Inheritance Causative proposal, claiming that these Relational clauses, Class C, are biclausal causative constructions, subject to a different type of Clause Union, as proposed by Gibson (1980) for Chamorro, whereby the downstairs $1 \rightarrow$ the upstairs $2$, the downstairs $2 \rightarrow$ the upstairs $\hat{2}$, and the downstairs $3 \rightarrow$ the upstairs $3$: 
or

(3) an Advancement proposal, claiming that these clauses are like the other two classes of Relational constructions, involving an obligatory advancement of an initial oblique object to direct object in the next stratum:

All of these proposals are compatible with the facts with respect to Passivization:

The old lady was had to eat some potatoes and salmon by the girl.

His hired hands were had to work on the land by my grandfather.
2.5.2 Choosing Between These Proposals

These are two major differences between the two Causative proposals and the Advancement proposal. The former claim that these constructions are biclausal in structure. The latter claims that these constructions are monoclausal and non-causative, i.e., neither biclausal nor causative.

According to Shibatani (1976), two conditions characterize a causative situation. Their statement is reduced to the essentials below:

**Condition 1:** the speaker believes that the occurrence of the caused event has been realized at \( t_2 \), which is after \( t_1 \), the time of the causing event.

**Condition 2:** the speaker believes that the occurrence of the caused event is wholly dependent in the occurrence of the causing event, provided that all else remained constant.

A causative situation may be realized either as a two-event or a one-event causative. First, it is argued that these constructions are not two-event causatives, based on evidence from temporal adverbials, and are not biclausal, based on lack of evidence for 3-ness for a downstairs.

Secondly, four arguments are presented showing that these constructions are not one-event causatives either.

Whether or not these Class C Relationals involve two events can be tested with the presence of temporal adverbials. If a construction consists of two events, it is possible to qualify the time of each event with an adverbial, as argued in Fodor (1970) and Shibatani (1976), and as illustrated below:

103 a (piscit) cu(t) - n ( - t ) - n Vincent ks - k^ayilsox^ - a?x  sapna?.

*Yesterday* tell-PFTV-t-S1_TRANS V UNR-haircut-INCEP today

Yesterday I told Vincent to cut his hair today.
Both of the verbs in the lower clauses in the two examples above are members of the Class C Relational verbs:

104a  k’ayilsxn - m - s - t - n’.  
      haircut-REL/2-IMPF-t-S1 TRANS, movable  
      I had him cut his hair.

105a  * pisco’t  k’ayilsxn - m - s - t - n’  Sapna’.  
      yesterday haircut-REL/2-IMPF-t-S1 TR, movable today

b  * cůmwy’s  ꞌi ꞌin - kik’wa?  k’úl’ - m - s - t - s  ꞌi sqəl’tmíxʷ’ 1 tmxʷúlaʔxʷ  xlap.  
     a.little.while.ago the my-grandfather work-REL/2-IMPF-t-S3 TR, the man LOC land
     My grandfather had the man work on the land.

This provides evidence that these constructions are not two-event constructions and do not satisfy Shibatani's characterization of causative situations.

A further argument, specifically ruling out the True Causative proposal, with 3-to-2 Advancement is the lack of evidence from linear position...
to support 3-hood, for the downstairs 1, as there was in the case of the
Dative (Indirective/Benefactive) construction, which permitted Advancement
to 3:

106 * ği xıw’tu? ći in - m - s - t - s ći paták ći ssıw’tin

the girl eat-REL/2-IMPF-t-S3_TRANS. the potato and salmon

ći pptwina?xv.

the old woman

* The girl had eaten the potatoes and salmon (to) the old lady.

Thus, the True Causative proposal would require making 3-to-2 Advancement
obligatory, thus causing complications.

There remains the weak causative interpretation of these
constructions to be accounted for and with it, the possibility that these
may be one-event causatives nevertheless. Three arguments are presented
below to argue against the putative causativity of these Class C Relational
constructions.

1) First of all, these sentences do not always receive a 'causative'
interpretation:

107a Tıqmtınak ći qʷ - s - m - s - t - s ći ssıolwi? ći ssıupcín - s.

T. scrape-face-REL/2-IMPF-t-S3_TRANS the husband the mustache-his

Tıqm asked her husband to shave off his mustache.

Tıqm had her husband shave off his mustache.

b ći cı(n) - stım’tima? kʷu kɪ - ?axʷ - lp - m - s - t - s

the my-grandmother me atop-sweep-slats-REL/2-IMPF-t-S3_TRANS

ći ssıılp.

the floor.

My grandmother asked me to sweep the floor.

My grandmother had me sweep the floor.
ii) Secondly, such a construction, when subordinated to a directive, loses the force of the 'causative' interpretation (cf. 104a):

\[ \text{cu(t)} - n ( - t ) - n \text{ Vincent 'i k'ayilx'm - m - s - t - n.} \]

\[ \text{tell-FFTV-t-SL TRAN} \quad \text{COMP haircut-REL/2-IMPF-t-SL}_{\text{TR}} \]

I told Vincent to cut his own hair.

* I told V. that I make him cut...

iii) Thirdly, the 'caused event' need not have occurred, i.e., have been caused, thus involving a contradiction in violation of the condition that the caused event is believed to be wholly dependent upon the causing event (Shibatani 1976):

\[ \text{'i stəmtima? k'lx - ?axv - lp - m - s - t - s 'i ttv'} \]

\[ \text{the grandmother atop-sweep-slats-REL/2-IMPF-t-S3}_{\text{TR}} \text{ the boy} \]

\[ \text{'i sxv'lp 'sux' lut s - x?fna' - s.} \]

\[ \text{the floor and NEG s-obey-S3}_{\text{IRR}} \]

Grannie had the boy sweep the floor but he didn't obey.

Three arguments have been advanced that the Class C Relationals are not causative:

i) that the constructions do not involve two-events;

ii) that there is no evidence for a downstairs 1 advancing to be an upstairs 3; and

iii) that there is no consistent causative interpretation.

It may be concluded that the Class C Relational constructions are not causative, of either the two-event or one-event type. Therefore, the third possibility, the Instrumental Advancement proposal, is selected as the appropriate structure for the Class C Relational constructions.
2.6 Instrumental Advancement

Evidence to support this selection as the appropriate one comes from Instrumental constructions:

\[ 110a \quad \text{a} \quad \text{sqa}^\text{tmix}\quad \text{k-ul'} (-n-t) - s \quad \text{i} \quad \text{tmx}^\text{ulax}\]

the man work-PFTV-t-S\text{\small TRANS} the land

\[ \text{i} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{ulax} \quad \text{tn}. \]

INSTR rip-land-Instr

The man worked the land with a plough.

\[ b \quad \text{i} \quad \text{xix}^\text{tm} \quad \text{?i}^\text{(n)} (-n-t) - s \quad \text{i} \quad \text{pat}^\text{k} \quad \text{?}^\text{nu}^\text{t} \quad \text{scw}^\text{in} \]

the girl eat-PFTV-t-S\text{\small TRANS} the potato and salmon

\[ \text{i} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{d}^\text{mun}. \]

INSTR spoon

The girl ate the potatoes and salmon with a spoon.

In such Instrumental constructions, the initial Instrumental nominal may advance to direct object, triggering the Relational morpheme on the verb:

\[ 111a \quad \text{a} \quad \text{sqa}^\text{tmix}\quad \text{k-ul'} (-n-t) - s \quad \text{i} \quad \text{tmx}^\text{ulax}\quad \text{tn} \]

the man work-REL/2-PFTV-t-S\text{\small TRANS} the plough

\[ \text{i} \quad \text{tmx}^\text{ulax}. \]

the land

The man worked the plough (on) the land./

The man worked-with the plough the land./

The man used the plough on the land.

\[ b \quad \text{i} \quad \text{xix}^\text{tm} \quad \text{?i}^\text{tn} (-n-t) - s \quad \text{i} \quad \text{d}^\text{mun} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{pat}^\text{k} \quad \text{?}^\text{nu}^\text{t} \quad \text{scw}^\text{in}. \]

the girl eat-REL/2-PFTV-t-S\text{\small TRANS} the spoon the potato and salmon

The girl used the spoon to eat the potatoes and salmon./

The girl eat-with the spoon the potatoes and salmon.
For such Instrumental constructions, both the initial Instrumental nominal and the advancee-to-direct object nominal may be questioned. With the Relational morpheme present on the verb, only the advancee nominal may be questioned, without the case-marking preposition, as was seen in section 2.4 of this chapter:

112a *s òi t stím fi sqéltmìxw k'ìi k'úl' (- n - t ) - s fi tmxʷúlaʔxʷ ?
   INSTR what the man COMP work-PFTV-t-S₃TRANS the land
   With what the man worked the land?

b * s tím fi sqéltmìxw k'ìi k'úl's fi tmxʷúlaʔxʷ ?

c stím fi sqéltmìxw fi k'úl'-m (- n - t ) - s fi il tmxʷúlaʔxʷ ?
   what the man COMP work-REL/2-PFTV-t-S₃TRANS the LOC land
   What the man worked-with on the land?

d * fi t stím fi sqéltmìxw fi k'úl'ms fi il tmxʷúlaʔxʷ ?

113a *s òi t stím fi xìxʷtmì k'ìi ?iì(ìn) (- n - t ) - s
   INSTR the girl COMP eat-PFTV-t-S₃TRANS
   with what did the girl eat the potatoes and salmon?

b * stím fi xìxʷtmì k'ìi ?iìs fi paták ?uul' sòwín?.

c stím fi xìxʷtmì fi ?iì(ìn) - m (- n - t ) - s fi paták ?uul' sòwín ?
   what the girl COMP eat-REL/2-PFTV-t-S₃TRANS the potato and salmon
   what did the girl use to eat the potatoes and salmon?

d * fi t stím fi xìxʷtmì fi ?iì(ìn)ms fi paták ?uul' sòwín?
   With an animate Instrumental nominal, the nominal must advance
   and the nominal may be questioned only when advanced:
The man worked the land with the hired hand.

The man has the hired hand working the land.

Who does the man have working hard?

The girl ate the potatoes and salmon with/by means of her grandmother.

Who the girl has eating the potatoes and salmon?

Moreover, it may be noted that only one Instrumental nominal is permitted in these constructions. The Okanagan equivalent for 'The girl fed her grandmother the potatoes and salmon with a spoon' is not permitted.
The distinction between an Instrumental construction with an inanimate Instrumental nominal and one with an animate Instrumental nominal is that with the latter,

i) Advancement-to-2 is obligatory, and

ii) Imperfective aspect is required.

It may be concluded that the Class C Relational constructions also involve an advancement to 2, obligatory for animate Instrumental nominals, as represented in the relational network below:

This analysis permits the following three statements:

(i) It allows for the statement of a linguistic generalization with respect to the structure of all three classes of Relational verbs:

that all three classes of Relational verbs involve advancement of an initial non-nuclear nominal to direct object, triggering the -m(I) morpheme on the verb as a marker of the advancement.

(ii) It accounts for the vagaries of the "weak causative" interpretation which does not withstand close examination.

(iii) It accounts for the parallelism between the inanimate and animate Instrumental constructions.
3. Locative Clauses

Two types of locative clauses are discussed:

1) Locative Advancement: the basic pattern; and

2) Locative Advancement with Lexical Incorporation of body parts.

It is proposed

(i) that initial Locative nominals may, like other oblique objects, advance up the Relational Hierarchy (Perlmutter and Postal 1978):

Subj (1) > Dir. Obj. (2) > Indir. Obj. (3) > Oblique Obj. (OBL)

(ii) that the verbal morpheme -(i)na? marks this advancement; and

(iii) that, when the Locative nominal is a body part, the verbal morpheme -(i)na? 'Indirective' registers the presence of an initial oblique object.

3.1 The Basic Pattern

Locative clauses, with the -(i)na? verbal morpheme, are exemplified below:

118a k'w u t - q'? - ína?.

Pl_INTR Dist-rain-LOC

We were rained on, i.e., it rained on us.

b ści ttwít xíx' - m kí sq'-olq'át ?'u? k t - q'? - ína?

the boy climb-MIDDLE to mountain and Dist-rain-LOC

t ksk'la?x'.

a day

The boy climb to the mountain and he was rained on all day.

c ści sq'ltmíx' s - c - píx - x t ksk'la?x' ?'u? k - mk'-q' - ína?.

the man s- PF - hunt-PROG a day and Dist-snowing-LOC

The man was hunting all day and he was snowed on.
I understand.

I understand.

I spilled tea on myself.

In the intransitive examples above, the putative Advancement is obligatory and the initial locative with case-marking preposition cannot be recovered. However, that is not the case with transitive locative constructions:

I spilled the coffee on the floor.

I spilled some water on the puppies.

I spilled some water (on) the puppies.

I spilled (on) the puppies some water.
The proposed structure for 120c can be represented graphically in the stratal diagram below:

with the initial assignment of grammatical relations in the $c_1$ stratum, with $NN \rightarrow 2$ advancement in the $c_{ii}$ stratum, marked by $-m(i)$ which is replaced by the $-nâ$ marking $LOC \rightarrow 3$ advancement in the $c_{iii}$ stratum, and with optional $3 \rightarrow 2$ advancement in the $c_{iv}$ stratum.

Morphological evidence is available to support Locative Advancement. That the underlined nominals above bear the Locative relation in the initial stratum as in 119 and 120a is shown by the Locative case-marking preposition. That it does not bear the Locative relation in the next stratum, as in 120b, is shown by the absence of the case-marking preposition. It should be noted that 120b demonstrates the $-(i)na$ morpheme on the verb. This morpheme replaces the $-m(i)$ Relational marker of Advancement-to-2, thus providing evidence that $-(i)na$ also marks an Advancement (see also section 3.2, page 163).

Syntactic evidence for Locative Advancement-to-2 is available from Quantifier Float, Passivization and Relativization. Evidence for intervening status as a 3, as exemplified in 120b, is given further below.
QUANTIFIER FLOAT:

122 yi'ayi'at kax'nan  si  statak'm  t siwak'.

I spilled (on) all the puppies some water. (All I spilled (on) the puppies...)

PASSIVIZATION:

123 si  statak'm  k - cx' - ná - n - t - òm  t siwak'  si  t twit.

the puppies Dist-spill-LOC-PFTV-t-PASS some liquid INSTR boy

The puppies were spilled water on by the boy.

RELATIVIZATION:

124 sīxī?  t statak'm  sī k - cx' - na ( - n - t ) - n t siwak'.

that a puppies COMP Dist-spill-LOC-PFTV-t-S1TR a liquid

That's the puppies that I spilled water (on).

An additional argument rests on Unaccusatives, which involve
an intransitive initial stratum with a 2 and no 1, and a final stratum
in which the 2 advances to 1, to serve as final subject. One class (A)
of Unaccusatives is recognizable from the Second Consonant Reduplication
(see Chapter Three). This is exemplified below with a topicalized final
subject:

125a si  statak'm  k - cx' - x' - ìna?  t siwak'.

the puppies Dist-spill-UNACCUS-LOC a liquid

The puppies were spilled water on.

b si  siwak'  k - cx' - x' - ìna?  si  statak'm.

the liquid Dist-spill-UNACCUS-LOC the puppies

The water spill on the puppies.

c si  1kšapi  k - cx' - x' - ìna?  Tiqmtinak.

the coffee Dist-spill-UNACCUS-LOC female.name

The coffee spilled on Tiqmtinak.
Sentences 122 - 124, 125a show that the initial Locative nominal advanced to 2, with further advancement to 1 in 125a, whereas in sentences 125b,c, the initial Locative has advanced to 3 in a finally intransitive clause, as will be shown below.

Syntactic evidence is also available to show that the initially Locative nominal advances to 3 in an intervening stratum, from Quantifier Float and from Relativization (but not from Passivization because of the effects of the Animacy Hierarchy).

**QUANTIFIER FLOAT:**


I spilled all the coffee (on) Tiqm. / (All I spilled the coffee ...)

b * y?ayy?st kcx"nán t siwāk ši štātakhm.

I spilled the water (on) all the puppies. / (All I spilled ...the puppies.)

The examples above with Quantifier Float show that the initial Locative nominal cannot be a final 2, since it cannot be modified by a floating quantifier, as in the b examples, whereas a final 2, as in the a example, can float a quantifier.

**RELATIVIZATION:**


It's all the coffee that I spilled on Tiqm.

b qey'x - nu (- n - t) - n ši lkš?api ši kcx"nán ši štātakhm.

smell-LTDC-PFTV-t-Sl TRANS the coffee COMP

I smell the coffee that I spilled (on) the puppies.

The examples above show that the initial Locative nominal cannot be a final 2 since only downstairs 1s and 2s can be relativized upon. In the sentences above, the coffee is relativized upon, as a final 2, thus the Locative is a 3 by default.
3.2 Consequences of Relational and Locative Advancement for Limited Control

The morpheme -\textsuperscript{nu} marks Limited Control. In such a construction, the agent is not fully in control of the action. The action may have occurred accidentally or unintentionally, as in 131d, or the action may have occurred with complete volition but without full control, as in 131e. It is proposed here that -\textsuperscript{nu} has a grammatical function as well as a semantic one, and marks advancement-to-2.\textsuperscript{15}

Sentences a-c below exemplify intransitive constructions with qay\textsuperscript{xw} 'smell, have an odour', an Unaccusative verb, Class C. (This verb contrasts with the verb sum\textsuperscript{1} -to smell something deliberately, to pick up something and smell it!.)

128a \textit{\textsuperscript{1} s\textsuperscript{1} st\textsuperscript{1}t\textsuperscript{1}f\textsuperscript{1}t\textsuperscript{1}a\textsuperscript{1}k\textsuperscript{1}m\textsuperscript{1} \textit{\textsuperscript{2} s\textsuperscript{2} - qay\textsuperscript{xw} \textsuperscript{4} s\textsuperscript{4} :c\textsuperscript{4}x\textsuperscript{4}i\textsuperscript{4}t\textsuperscript{4} t\textsuperscript{4} t\textsuperscript{4}k\textsuperscript{4}s\textsuperscript{4}a\textsuperscript{4}p\textsuperscript{4}i\textsuperscript{4}.} \\
the puppies COMP s-smell-S\textsuperscript{3} IRR like some coffee \\
It's the puppies that smell like coffee.

b \textit{k\textsuperscript{w} qay\textsuperscript{xw}.} \\
S\textsuperscript{2} INTR smell/stink \\
You smell/stink.

c \textit{\textsuperscript{1} s\textsuperscript{1} qay\textsuperscript{xw} \textsuperscript{4} t\textsuperscript{4}t\textsuperscript{4}t\textsuperscript{4}a\textsuperscript{4}st.} \\
the NOM-smell-our good \\
We smell good./ Our smell is good.

By comparison, the sentences below exemplify the transitive use of this verb, with obligatory -\textsuperscript{nu} marking. It has already been shown that Unaccusative verbs involve advancement to 2 of an initially non-nuclear nominal in a transitive clause (see section 2 on Relational verbs Class B and Chapter Three: section 2 on Unaccusative clauses).
129a  qy'xʷ - nú ( - n - t ) - n  ꞌi stín'.
    smell-LTDC-PFTV-t-Sl TRANS  the something
    I smell something.

b  qy'xʷ - nú ( - n - t ) - n  ꞌi sínw'al?úla'xʷ  ñuláp.
    smell-LTDC-PFTV-t-Sl TRANS  the toast  burn
    I smell the toast burning.

The Limited Control morpheme replaces the -m(i) Relational
in (NL) Okanagan, morpheme as does the Locative morpheme, thus providing additional evidence
that -nú marks an Advancement of a non-nuclear term to 2:

130a  naqʷ - m - Ɂ - t - s - n  ꞌə  ꞌən - kwį́p.
    steal-REL/2-INDIR-t-you-Sl TR  the your-horse
    I stole your saddlehorse.

b  naqʷ - qʷ - nú - Ɂ - t - s - n  ꞌə  ꞌən - kwį́p.
    steal-UNACCUS-LTDC-INDIR-t-you-Sl TR  the your-horse
    I accidentally stole your saddlehorse.

c  ꞌi  ꞌin - Ɂkapo?  naqʷ - qʷ.
    the my-coat  steal-UNACCUS
    My coat was stolen.

d  kn  naqʷ  t  sínkačwłsqáxaʔ.
    Sl INTR  steal a horse
    I steal a horse.

131a  ꞌi(n) - ks - tii - m - s - t - m  ꞌi  ꞌi(n) - snk̑miq̑n.
    Sl IRR - UNR-straight-REL/2-IMPF-t-INTR  the my-back
    I'm going to straighten my back.

b  cm'  tii - m - s - t - Ɂum - n.
    will  straight-REL/2-IMPF-t-you-Sl TRANS
    I'll straighten you out.
The nail is straight.

I straightened the nail, accidentally/unintentionally.

I finally managed to straighten the nail.

The distinction between sentences d and e above are represented in the relational networks below, which diagram the two types of Limited Control constructions possible:

132a **TYPE A** ( = d) Accidental Reading, which requires initial Unaccusative stratum:

```
   P
   2  NN
   1  NN
   l
   l
```

tiṭ - ḳ - nú... S₁  ṣi ṁtkʷmn

**TYPE B** ( = e) Finally Managed To Reading:

```
   P
   1  NN
   2
   l
   l
```

tiṭ - ḳ - nú... S₁  ṣi ṁtkʷmn
Predicates which occur in transitive constructions, with an agentive subject, as in 133a below, require, for an accidental/unintentional reading, that an Unaccusative form of the root, usually of Class A with Second Consosnont Reduplication, be used, as in 133b below:

133a  \( t^q^n - n - t - s - \text{inn}. \)

\( \text{slap-PFTV-t-you-Sl}_{\text{TR}} \)

I slapped you.

b  \( t^q^n - q^n - n\{ - n - t \} - n. \)

\( \text{slap-UNACCUS-LTDC-PFTV-t-Sl}_{\text{TRANS}} \)

I slapped you accidentally.

c  *  \( t^q^n - n\{ - n - t \} - n. \)

* I slapped you accidentally.

d  \( t^t\text{wit} \ t^q^n\text{aq}. \)

the boy \( \text{slap}_{\text{UNACCUS}} \)

The boy was slapped.

Some verbs require the Unaccusative form of another class, as does for example the verb \( m^\text{y}-\text{know} \), requiring the Class D form with the \(-p\) morpheme:

134a  \( c - m^\text{y} - s - t - \text{inn} \ t^i\text{sqeqtmix}. \)

\( \text{PF-know-IMPF-t-Sl}_{\text{TRANS}} \text{ the man} \)

I know the man.

b  \( m^\text{y} - p - n\{ - n - t \} - n \ t^i\text{sqeqtmix}. \)

\( \text{know-UNACCUS-LTDC-PFTV-t-Sl}_{\text{TRANS}} \text{ the myth} \)

I found out about the old myths.

Sentences 129a,b, with the verb \( q^\text{y}^x^n \text{smell, have an odour} \), utilize a verb of Class C Unaccusatives.
Syntactic evidence that -nú constructions involve 2-ood is available from Relativization and Passivization.

PASSIVIZATION:

135a \(\text{i sk} \text{q'timol} t \text{aq} \text{m-n-t-em} \text{i t sqel'mix}.\)
the baby steal-REL/2-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR man

The baby was stolen by the man.

b \(\text{i kw} \text{qap} \text{aq} \text{nú-n-t-em} \text{i t sqel'mix}.\)
the horse steal-UNACC-LTDC-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR man

The horse was accidentally stolen by the man.

c \(\text{i statakm qyx} \text{nú-n-t-em} \text{i t twit}.\)
the puppies smell-LTDC-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR boy.

The puppies were smelled by the boy.

RELATIVIZATION:

136a \(\text{iix} \text{i? en-kw} \text{ap} \text{aq} \text{q} \text{nú-i-t-s-n}.\)
that the your-horse steal-UNACCUS-LTDC-INDIR-t-you-S2 TRANS

That's your saddlehorse (that) I stole accidentally.

b \(\text{sl\-mí (-n-t)-s \text{i pítkm} \text{i tiž-nú (-n-t)-n}.\)
lose-REL/2-PFTV-t-S2 TRANS the nail COMP straight-LTDC-PFTV-t-S2 TRANS

He lost the nail that I finally straightened.

As with the Relational constructions, no evidence is available for advancement to an intervening status as a 3.

Both the Locative Advancement marker -(1)na and the Limited Control marker -nú replace the Relational advancement marker -m(1). In the case of a Locative Advancement construction involving an unintentional action, both the Limited Control and Locative Advancement markers appear:
I spilled the coffee on the floor.

I spilled on you accidentally.

On the basis of the preceding discussion, it can be noted that the -na in 137b marks you, as having advanced from Locative-to-3, and that - nú specifies the advancement to 2. The later advancement marker does not replace the earlier marker, as it did with -m(i). This can easily be explained: -mí is solely a grammatical marker of advancement-to-2, without semantic content, however - nú has semantic content which would be lost if this marker were deleted. The structure of b is represented graphically in the relational network below:

with the Second Consonant Reduplication marking the c₁ stratum, the -na marking the advancement in the c_iii stratum, and - nú marking the advancement in the c_iv stratum.
3.3 Locative Advancement with Body Parts

Locative clauses involving body parts require the 'Indirective' morpheme which registers the presence of an oblique object, as discussed in sections 1 and 3 of this chapter. Sentences a – d below illustrate the constructions with body parts:

139a $i$ sqol’mix’ $tq’ - i - t - is $i$ twit $ji$ l $c^n$siyagn.
the man slap-INDIR-t-S3 TRANS the boy the LOC head
The man slapped the boy on the head.

b $i$ twit $trq’ - i - t - is $i$ xix’tm’ $ji$ l sq*$s*$ext.
the boy kick-INDIR-t-S3 TRANS the girl the LOC foot
The boy kicked the girl on the foot.

c $i$ sk’q’imolt t - kip - i - t - s $i$ p’us $ji$ l siwps.
the baby Dist-pinch-INDIR-t-S3 TR the cat the LOC tail
The child pinched the cat on the tail.

d $i$ tk’mix’ kp’ - p - nú - i - t - s $i$ p’us $ji$ l siwps
the woman pinch-UNACCUS-INDIR-t-S3 TR the cat the LOC tail
$ji$ l $k^nkmip.
the LOC door
The woman accidentally pinched the cat on the tail in the door.

It is proposed that nominals referring to body parts of the 2-nominal, bearing the Locative relation in the initial stratum:

(1) may advance to 3,

(2) may optionally incorporate into the verb while bearing a 3 relation;

and (3) may not advance to 2.

Evidence that a locative body part may advance to 3 is available from the interaction of case-marking and Passivization:
The boy kicked the girl (on) her foot.

The girl was kicked (on) her foot by the boy.

The man slapped the boy (on) his head.

The boy was slapped (on) his head by the man.

**Advancement of the underlined nominal from initial Locative**

is indicated by the absence of the case-marking preposition 1. The Passive constructions demonstrate that this is not advancement to 2. The proposed analysis allows an account of the distinction; so by default, it is advancement of the underlined nominals to a 3. It should also be noted that when the underlined nominals bear the final Locative relation, these may not take a possessive affix, as in 1139a-d above. When the nominals in question bear the putative 3-relation, these may take a possessive affix as in 140-141 above. This fact provides additional evidence of a distinction and hence indirectly supports an analysis with advancement.

Evidence that a Locative body part may incorporate into the verb while a putative 3 is also available from Passivization. It should be noted that the lexical suffixes which incorporate are not necessarily
identical to the corresponding independent word.

142a  \[\text{i ttwít ṯ̆q - \(\text{xn}\) (-n) - t - ís} \]  \[\text{i \text{xíxʷtmí}.}\]

the boy kick-foot-PFTV-t-S\text{3\_TRANS} the girl

The boy kicked the girl (on) the foot.

142b  \[\text{i \text{xíxʷtmí ṯ̆q - \(\text{xn}\) (-n) - t - ím} \]  \[\text{i \text{t ttwít}.}\]

the girl kick-foot-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR boy

The girl was kicked (on) the foot by the boy.

143a  \[\text{i sq̓̑l̓tmíxʷ ṯ̆q - \text{iyaq(n)} (-n - t) - s} \]  \[\text{i \text{ttwít}.}\]

the man slap-head-PFTV-t-S\text{3\_TRANS} the boy

The man slapped the boy (on) the head.

143b  \[\text{i ttwít ṯ̆q - \text{iyq̓n} (-n) - t - òm} \]  \[\text{i \text{t sq̓̑l̓tmíxʷ}.}\]

the boy slap-head - PFTV-t-PASS INSTR man

The boy was slapped (on) the head by the man.

The nominal bearing a 3-relation may incorporate into the verb, with the loss of the Indirective morpheme. See the sentences above as well as those below:

17

144a  \[\text{kʷap - x ; ṯ̆q - sús - n - t - s - n.}\]

shut.up-IMP slap-forehead-PFTV-t-you-S\text{1\_TRANS}

S\text{2\_INTR}

Shut up! I slap you on the forehead!

144b  \[\text{kí - ṯ̆q - íls̓xʷ̩í} (-n) - t - s - n. (} \[< \text{kík̓m̓íls̓xʷ̩í 'forehead'})\]

atop-slap-forehead-PFTV-t-you-S\text{3\_TRANS}

I slap you on the forehead.

144c  \[\text{̴n - ṯ̆q - aw̓sq̓n (-n) - t - s - n.}\]

Cont-slap-top.of.head-PFTV-t-you-S\text{1\_TRANS}

I slap you on top of the head.
That a Locative body part may not advance to 2 is shown by the ungrammaticality of a Passive, and the lack of a corresponding active. These examples show that it is the initial possessor, not the Locative, that is a 2 as far as Passive is concerned.

**(145a)** *ṣi sḏ$q\textsuperscript{w}ext\textsuperscript{-s} trq - ţ - t - ūm $i xị$x\textsuperscript{m} $i t ttw\textsuperscript{t}.*
the foot-her kick-INDIR-t-PASS the girl INSTR boy
* Her foot was kicked on the girl by the boy.

**(145b)** *ṣi ttw\textsuperscript{t} trq - ţ - t - ɪs $i sḏ$q\textsuperscript{w}ext\textsuperscript{-s} $i xị$x\textsuperscript{m}.*
the boy kick-INDIR-t-S\textsubscript{TR} the foot-her the girl
* The boy kicked (on) her foot the girl.

**(146a)** *ṣi c$\textsuperscript{s}asiy\textsuperscript{q}n - s twť - ţ - t - ūm $i ttw\textsuperscript{t} $i t sq\textsuperscript{w}l’tm\textsuperscript{x}.*
the head- his slap-INDIR-t-PASS the boy INSTR man
* His head was slapped on the boy by the man.

**(146b)** *ṣi sq\textsuperscript{w}l’tm\textsuperscript{x} twť - ţ - t - ɪs $i c$\textsuperscript{s}asiy\textsuperscript{q}n - s $i ttw\textsuperscript{t}.*
the man slap-INDIR-t-S\textsubscript{TR} the head-his the boy
* The man slapped (on) his head the boy.

### 3.4 Dative Advancement with Pronominals

Dative clauses involving pronominals require the -ṣi 'Indirective' or -xī 'Benefactive' morpheme which registers the presence of an oblique nominal, as discussed in section 1 of this chapter. The sentences below illustrate the constructions with pronominals:

**(147)** *wîk - ţ - t - s - n $ə sən $cît\textsuperscript{x} kl $sən\textsuperscript{w}i?.*
see-INDIR-t-you-S\textsubscript{TR} the your-house to you
I see you your house to you. / I see your house.
The woman sewed me my mocassins for me.

I stretched his beaver pelt for him.

The third person object marker is $\emptyset$ and does not appear in example 149.

(See Chapter Two, section 1.3 for a chart of the object markers.)

It is proposed that a pronominal bearing the Dative relation in the initial stratum: $^9$

(i) obligatorily advances to 2, in a clause with a transitive final stratum, placing the initial 2-nominal en chômege,

(ii) optionally leaves a copy of itself in the sentence, and

(iii) requires agreement of a possessive marker on the 2-nominal, a possessor which may be deleted if the Dative copy is present. The relational network below illustrates the proposed analysis:
Morphological and syntactic evidence support an analysis of a Dative pronominal obligatorily advancing to 2 in a clause with transitive final stratum. First, an object marker is obligatorily present:

151a *ω ωάν-κίτχ' (κή ωάν'?).

see-INDIR-t-you-SL_TR the your-house. to you

I see you your house to you. / I see your house.

b *ω ωίτχ' (κή ωάν'?).

152a *σι τκάµίλχ' κ'υ ικίµ' - x - t - s t σι(ν) - κή - ωάν'τυια?

the woman me sew-BENE-t-S3_TRANS some my-own-mocassin
(kή ωίνca?).

to me

The woman sewed me my mocassins for me.

b *σι τκάµίλχ' ικίµ'κ τ σικίκ-ωάν'τυια? (κί ωίνca?).

Second, a Passive is ungrammatical with the initial 2-nominal as final 1, a fact which is explained under this analysis since the initial 2 is now a 2-chomeur due to Dative Advancement-to-2:

153 *ω σάντχ' wink-ι-ι-ι-ι-ι-ιm (κή ωάν'?). *σι t τκάµίλχ'.

the your-house see-INDIR-t-you-PASS to you INSTR woman

154 *σι σι(ν)κíκ-ωάν'τυια? κ'υ ικίµ' - x - t - οm (κή ωίνca?)

the my-own-mocassin me sew-BENE-t-PASS to me

σι t τκάµίλχ'.

INSTR woman

The following sentences, together with 152a, demonstrate that the possessive marker of agreement on the initial 2-nominal may be optionally deleted if the Dative copy is present:
154a  si tkəmlinxʷ kʷu ḥkimxc t si(n) - k̓əq̓ əxʷn̓ uʃə? k̓l  ʃinca?.
the woman me sew-BENE some my-own-mocassin to me
The woman sewed me some of my mocassins for me.

b  si tkəmlinxʷ kʷu ḥkim' - x - t - s t qəxʷn̓ uʃə? k̓l  ʃinca?.
the woman me sew-BENE-t-S3_TR some mocassin to me
The woman sewed me some mocassins for me.

c  * si tkəmlinxʷ kʷu ḥkim' - x - t - s t qəxʷn̓ uʃə?.
the woman me sew - BENE-t-S3_TR some mocassin

It should be recalled that, although the Dative pronominal itself need not appear on the surface, -x/ -i as registers of an initial oblique, show that it must be present.

Restricting the obligatory Advancement-of-Dative-pronominals-to-2 to clauses with transitive final stratum is necessary to account for the following Passives, which show only the agreement possessive marker on the initial 2-nominal:

155  si si(n) - k̓l - qəxʷn̓ uʃə? ḥkim' - x - t - əm (k̓l  ʃinca?)
the my-own-mocassin sew-BENE-t-PASS to me
si t tkəmlinxʷ.
INSTR woman
My own mocassins were sewn (for me) by the woman.

156  ṭaʔ - t - əm si skłwiča? - s (k̓l  cnič) si t sqəltmiχʷ.
stretch-INDIR-t-PASS the beaver.skin-his to him INSTR man
His beaver pelt was stretched (for him) by the man.

157  sə ʃən - cɪtxʷ w̉iʔ - t - t - əm (k̓l  ʃənwi?) si t tkəmlinxʷ.
the your-house see-INDIR-t-PASS to you INSTR woman
Your house was seen (to you) by the woman.
The similarity between this analysis for obligatory advancement of Dative pronominals to 2 and the analysis for advancement of Locative body parts to 3 should be noted. In all the examples of Locative body parts, sentences 139-147 of the previous section, the body part is part of the person referred to by the initial direct object. To permit a locative body part to advance beyond 3 would be to permit a portion of a human being to outrank an entire human being. Hence it is prohibited and the grammar permits incorporation into the verb, and effectively places the body part out of play. Somewhat similarly, for the Dative pronominals, to permit a pronominal to remain as an oblique would be to permit an inanimate without human reference (whether contextual or linguistically marked) to outrank a human being. Hence advancement is obligatory in a clause with transitive final stratum, assuring that the pronominal is a final 2, and in a Passive, the copy possessive marker on the initial 2 assures that the human reference is part of the final 1.

**Possessor Ascension**

A rule of Possessor Ascension is needed in the grammar of Okanagan. Such a rule allows a Possessor of a nominal to ascend and bear the grammatical relation of that nominal, placing that nominal in chômage. Such a rule (generalized from Bell, 1976) can be stated as:

158 **POSSESSOR ASCENSION**

If $a$ is a Possessor in nominal $b$ and $b$ bears the grammatical relation $N$ to clause $c$, then $a$ may bear the grammatical relation $N$ to $c$ and $b$ bears the chômeur relation.

11 Under certain conditions, the chômeur nominal may incorporate,
If there exists a lexical suffixal form.

If it does not incorporate, a pronominal copy bearing the Possessor relation to nominal \( b \) remains behind.

This is diagrammed in the relational network below:

It is proposed for Okanagan that Possessor Ascension is permitted from a 2 only if the Possessor may advance to a 1. A case where Possessor Ascension is possible is an Unaccusative clause. Two structures are possible:

160a Ascension from a 2  

b Ascension from a final 1  

in an Unaccusative clause  in an Unaccusative clause

There is some evidence supporting 160a as the correct structure:

(a) a difference in meaning with unergative clauses suggests that
Possessor Ascension from final ls is barred, and
(b) data from transitives confirms this.

4.1 Ascension in Intransitive Clauses

A Possessor may ascend from a nominal bearing the 2-relation in an Unaccusative clause, placing that 2-nominal en chômage, with obligatory incorporation:

161a \( \text{Xast } \text{i(i(n)) - sp'mus.} \)
   \( \text{good the my-heart} \)
   \( \text{My heart is glad.} \)

162a \( \text{Xast } \text{i sin - kw'ap.} \)
   \( \text{good the my-saddle.horse} \)
   \( \text{My horse is good.} \)

163a \( \text{i i(n)} - sq'øsïya? \text{ sl' - sólt.} \)
   \( \text{the my-offspring ITER-lost} \)
   \( \text{My kids are lost.} \)

161b \( \text{kn } \text{Xasp'mus.} \)
   \( \text{Sl_INTR good.heart} \)
   \( \text{I'm glad at heart.} \)

162b \( \text{kn } \text{Xasq'axa?} \)
   \( \text{Sl_INTR good.horse} \)
   \( \text{I got a good horse.} \)

163b \( \text{kn } \text{sl' - sl' - îlt.} \)
   \( \text{Sl_INTR ITER-lost-child} \)
   \( \text{I got lost children.} \)

163c \( \text{i sq'øl'míx } \text{i sq'øsïya? - s sl' - sólt.} \)
   \( \text{the man the offspring - his ITER-lost} \)
   \( \text{The man's children are lost.} \)
The man got lost-children.

My kids are good.

I got good kids.

My kids are many.

I got lots of kids.

My baby is crying.

I got a crying baby.

The small calf is born.

I have borne children (twins).
That the Possessor has ascended and bears the final l-relation in examples b and c in 161 - 167 above is shown by the use of the appropriate subject marker: kn 'first person, singular, intransitive, realis.'

Evidence from Unergatives suggests that Possessor Ascension from final ls as diagrammed in 160b is barred. The examples below involve Unergatives paired with Unaccusatives. With Unergative verbs in the a sentences, the final subject is agentive, whereas in the b sentences, the final subject is a stative Possessor:

168a \( \text{fi} \ (\text{n}) \ - \ kw'ap \ q\text{c}lax. \)
the my-saddle.horse trot (Diminuitive form of run)
My horse is trotting.

169a \( \text{kn} \ q\text{c}l' - \ sq\text{axa}? \)
\( \text{Sl}_{\text{INTR}} \) trot-horse
I got a trotting horse.

170a \( \text{fi} \ (\text{n}) \ - \ sq'\text{osiy}a? \ ?\text{ic} - \ ?c - \ kn'. \)
the my - offspring play - PL.REDUP
My kids are playing (not me though).
The fact that the b sentences cannot receive an unergative, agentive interpretation supports not having Possessor Ascension from a 1. This evidence supports the structure diagrammed in 160a as correct.

4.2 Ascension in Transitive Clauses

Additional evidence from a Regular Transitive construction shows that Possessor Ascension is not permitted from a nominal bearing the 1-relation:

171a  $i$ i(n) - stmk $\text{ill}$  ck - n - t - is  $i$ s'\text{n}k\text{c}('s)q\text{q}a?'.

My daughter counted the horses.

b  * $i$ i(n) - stmk $\text{ill}$  ck - n - t - in  $i$ s'\text{n}k\text{c}('s)q\text{q}a?'.

the my-daughter count-PFTV-t-S1\text{TR} the horses

c  * ck - $\text{ill}$ - n - t - in  $i$ s'\text{n}k\text{c}('s)q\text{q}a?'.

count-child-PFTV-t-S1\text{TR} the horses

d  * kn ck - $\text{ill}$  $i$/ t  s'\text{n}k\text{c}('s)q\text{q}a?'.

SL\text{INTR} count-child the/some horses

e  * kn -ck- $\text{am}$  t i(n) - stmk $\text{ill}$  $i$/ t  s'\text{n}k\text{c}('s)q\text{q}a?'.

SL\text{INTR} count-MIDDLE namely my-daughter the/some horses

Sentences b - e illustrate all the possibilities for ascending a Possessor from a 1 in a Regular Transitive construction. In sentence b, the verb has first person, transitive marking with the initial 1 nominal with Possessor Copy retaining independent word status. In sentence c,
the verb also shows first person, transitive marking with the initial 1 incorporated into the verb, with its lexical suffixal form -ilt 'child'. In sentences d and e, the verb shows first person intransitive marking, with lexical incorporation in d and without in e. All possibilities are ungrammatical. This supports the evidence presented in section 4.1 that Possessor Ascension from an Unergative clause is ungrammatical.

Moreover, it may be shown that a Possessor may not ascend from a 2 to bear the 2-relation in a Regular Transitive construction:

172a wik ( - n - t ) - n  sën - cîtux'.
   see-PFTV-t-S1TR the your-house
I saw your house.

b * wik - n - t -s - n  sën - cîtux'.
   see-PFTV-t-you-S1TR the your-house

c * wik- _i îx' - n - t - s - n.
   see-house-PFTV-t-you-S1TRANS

However, a Possessor may ascend from a nominal bearing the 2-relation in a transitive clause, placing that 2-nominal en chômage, with obligatory incorporation, only if the Possessor may advance to 1. A case where this is possible is in a Passive clause, as illustrated below: 20

173a sî tkâmîlx' wik ( - n - t ) - s  sën - cîtux'.
   the woman see-PFTV-t-S3TRANS the your-house
The woman saw your house.

b sënwi' wik - _i îx' - n - t - wîj sî t tkâmîlx'.
   you see-house-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR woman
You were house-seen by the woman.
Your daughter counted my horses.

The man counted his daughters.

This supports an analysis permitting Possessor Ascension from a 2-nominal, with obligatory incorporation, only if the Possessor advances to a 1.
Four characteristics may now be noted with respect to Possessor Ascension in Okanagan:

i) Possessor Ascension is permitted from a 2 only if the Possessor may advance to a 1;

ii) These are finally intransitive clauses;

iii) Possessor Ascension occurs only if there exists a lexical suffixal form of the head nominal, which obligatorily incorporates:

176a  Si  Si(n) - sthɔɬt  xʷ'ilt.

the  my- cows  many

My cows are many.

b  * kn t - xʷxʷ - ....

* I got many cows.

iv) The pairs of sentences 161-167 and 173a,b - 175a,b show no change in meaning: the final subject is stative in the a sentences and a stative Possessor in the b and c examples.

A generalization with respect to Possessor Ascension in Okanagan may now be formulated. Based on the data and constructions examined herein, the relevant generalization is:

177  **Possessor Ascension in Okanagan**

* is permissible only from a 2 in some stratum $S_i$, only if the Possessor may advance to 1 in stratum $S_{i+1}$, with the 2-chomeur obligatorily incorporating.*
4.3 A Statement of Lexical Incorporation

Evidence that a 2-chomeur may not incorporate into the verb in a finally transitive clause is available:

178a \( ck - i - t - s - n \) \( ?a ?e(n) - sq^wesinya? \).
\( \text{count-INDIR-t-you-S^1_{TR}} \) the your-offspring
I count you your kids.

b \( * ck - \text{ilt} - t - s - \text{in} \)
\( \text{count-child-t-you} - S^1_{TR} \)

A listing of cases with respect to Lexical Incorporation is now possible:

179. LEXICAL INCORPORATION IS PERMISSIBLE:

i) obligatorily from a 2-chomeur in an Unaccusative clause, finally intransitive (the case in section 4, Chapter Four);

ii) obligatorily from a 2-chomeur in a Middle voice clause, finally intransitive (the case in section 3, Chapter Three);

iii) optionally from an initial 3 in a Reflexive Unaccusative clause (the case in section 3.4, Chapter Three);

iv) optionally from an advancee 3 in a Locative Advancement clause, finally transitive (the case in section 3.3, Chapter Three).

LEXICAL INCORPORATION IS NOT PERMISSIBLE:

i) from a 2 or a 1 (the case in sections 4.1 and 4.2, Chapter Four).

The relevant generalization with respect to Lexical Incorporation in Okanagan for nominals having a lexical suffixal form is:

180. LEXICAL INCORPORATION IN OKANAGAN

is restricted to non-nuclear terms and chomeurs as follows:

i) optionally from a 3;

ii) obligatorily from a 2-chomeur in a monoclusal, finally intransitive construction.
4.4 Ascension in Middle Clauses:

A Middle voice clause does not permit a Possessor as part of the initial direct object nominal phrase:

181a * kn čk - ám t ñə(n) - sqá'əsfiya?

Sl İnTR count-MIDDLE some your-offspring

b * kʷu mā - m t ñən - łplpūt.

Pl İnTR break-MIDDLE some your-PL-cup

Moreover, in a construction with Lexical Incorporation, obligatory with a 2-chomeur in a Middle clause, the 2-chomeur is not necessarily interpreted as being possessed by the subject, i.e., possessive reference is unspecified.

182a kn čk - ilt - m.

Sl İnTR count-child-MIDDLE

I count anybody's kids/my kids.

b kn čk - sqáxa? - m.

Sl İnTR count-horse-MIDDLE

I count anybody's horses/my horses.

c ści tw vít k - txiłxʷ - sqáxa? - m.

the boy Dist-curry-horse-MIDDLE

The boy curries anybody's horses/his horses.

These two facts of 2-chomeurs in Middle clauses serve to distinguish them from 2s resulting from Possessor Ascension:

183 DEMOTION 2s (Middle voice clauses) ASCENDEE 2s (From Possessor Ascension)

1. Pronominal marking of

initial 2 is ungrammatical;

2. Pronominal marking of

initial 2 is obligatory;
2. Reference of the possessor

is unspecified and

unrestricted.

As already pointed out, lexical incorporation of 2s may only occur in finally intransitive clauses.

These facts have a bearing on the correct analysis of the Middle voice clauses. In Chapter Three, section 3, two analyses of Middle clauses were discussed:

184a ANTIPASSIVE

b The PHANTOM ARC Solution

The Phantom Arc Solution accounted for all the facts presented as well as resolving a serious problem with the Antipassive analysis.

The facts from Possessor Ascension provide a third argument for the Phantom Arc Solution. In an Unaccusative clause, Possessor Ascension may occur from the nominal bearing the 2-relation in the initial stratum:

185a

b ἡ ξάστο ἱ ὁ (n) - σπνύσ

My heart is glad.

c. ἡ κα ξάσπνύς

I'm glad at heart.
Both the Antipassive analysis and the Unaccusative involve Unaccusative 2-to-1 Advancement, from the penultimate intransitive stratum with a 2 but no 1, to 1 in the ultimate stratum. This predicts that Possessor Ascension from the yo-yo-ed \(1 \to 2 \to 1\) nominal in the Middle voice clause cum Antipassive should be possible. However this prediction is not borne out:

186a  ꚿi ꚿi(n) - sq\"əsìya ꚿúl' - m.
      the  my  - offspring    work-MIDDLE
      My kids work.

b  ꚿkn ꚿúl' ꚿišt - m.
  Sl_INTR  work-child-MIDDLE

This provides an additional argument in support of the Phantom Arc Solution which does not involve Unaccusative advancement of the initial 1 nominal.

It may be noted that Possessor Ascension does not occur from a 2 in a transitive stratum where the 2-arc and the 1-arc multi-attach and where the 2 and the 1 are non-distinct, i.e., in Reflexive and in the Middle voice under a Phantom Arc solution. Further work on this language and on others is desirable to determine whether multi-attachment or non-distinctiveness is incompatible with Possessor Ascension.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FOUR

1. It appears that Okanagan permits only two NPs or PPs following the verb. When a third is present, Topicalization is obligatory.

2. By virtue of the Oblique Law, a nominal that bears an oblique relation finally bears that relation initially:

   **The Oblique Law** (Perlmutter and Postal 1978)

   A nominal that bears a term relation in a given clause may or may not bear that relation in the initial stratum in that clause.

   A nominal that bears an oblique relation in a clause, on the other hand, bears that relation in the initial stratum.

   Thus, the nominals in question here bear the oblique relation in the initial stratum.

3. It does not appear to be possible to say 'The priest wrote a letter for me to the agent' with double Dative nominals. It is possible to say one or the other.

4. Interrogatives can advance in other constructions, such as a Relational; see section 2.4 this chapter.

5. A competing hypothesis for Quantifier Float is possible: that a floating quantifier must modify the NP closest to the V. However, in a NP V NP construction, the NPs are equally close to the V. The example below is such a construction and shows that a floated quantifier is preferentially interpreted as having come off the subject:

   a. *i sc'cmal? yæʔʊʔt wɪk* ( - n - t ) - s 1x ˈi səʔʊusa?.

   the children all hide-PPTV-t-P3TRANS the eggs

   The children all hid the eggs.

   i.e., All the children hid the eggs.

   * The children hid all the eggs.
When the nominal subject is singular and the nominal object is plural, a sentence with a floated quantifier is awkward but the quantifier is unambiguously interpreted as having floated off the direct object:

b. Ti sqal'mix" y'ay's?t x'ic Tsj xw 'i scw'ín 'i pπtwína'x".
   the man all give-INDIR the salmon the old woman
   The man give all the salmon to the old lady.

A revised alternative hypothesis is possible: that a floating quantifier must modify the NP immediately following the V and that this precedes Topicalization. However this cannot be maintained as shown by the following example:

c. y'ay's?t Tjías. Ti sqal'mix" Tj scw'ín.
   all eat TRANS the man the salmon
   The man ate all the salmon.

A further argument against word order as the basis for quantifier float rests on the interaction of Passive, 3 → 2 Advancement and Quantifier Float. A floated quantifier cannot modify the initial 2 in a Passive where the initial 3 is final 1:

d. * Ti xx²'tm y'ay's?t q' - xí - T - om 'i ym - yámx'á?
   the girl all weave-BENE-t-PASS the PL-basket
   'i T stəmtíma'? - s.
   INSTR grandmother - her

Additional evidence against the hypothesis that word order restricts Quantifier Float is available. The following examples (from p. 143) show that it cannot be said that a quantifier floats from a nominal directly after the verb:

e. (=77a) 'i tk*xáp naq" y'ay's?t 'i sínkácsqáxa?.
   the elder steal all the horse
   The old man stole all the horses.
Thus an account of Quantifier Float in terms of linear order cannot be supported and reference must be made to grammatical relations.

It should be noted that the verb čx' - 'spill' differs from the verb 'pour' which may occur in the Middle voice and in a regular transitive construction without the Relational suffix:

a. kn čx' - ám t lḥapí l sin - ʿlpūt.
   Sl_INTR pour-MIDDLE a coffee LOC my-cup
   I pour some coffee in my cup.

b. ʿn - čx' - čx' - n - t - in yiqṣāḥ' t sī lḥapí
   Cont-ITER-pour-PFTV-t-Sl_TRANS all the coffee
   I poured all the coffee.

It should also be noted that kʷṣomissibleget used too may occur in the irrealis mood, with the upper predicate ks- 'Unrealized action' which requires Subject Raising, as either a transitive or intransitive clause, exemplified in c and d below. However, in the Realis mood, the Relational construction, exemplified above in 48, is obligatory.

c. ʿiṭiṭim ks - kʷṣo? - m - s t sqīlxw.
   easy UNR-get.used.to-INTR-S3_IRR a people
   It's easy to get used to the people.

d. kʷ ʿi(n) - ks - kʷṣo? - mī - n - m.
   you Sl_IRR UNR-get.used.to-REL/2-PFTV-INTR
   I'm going to get used to you.

See footnote 4, Chapter Three, p. 106, and footnote 12 following, discussing the assignment of thematic relations.

It is not clear whether the stratal diagram for Class B Relational verbs is a or b:
The question of whether two advancements may occur in the same stratum as in a above has not been discussed in Relational Grammar nor is any evidence available to choose between a and b here.

9 This is an idiomatic use of the root 1Γιμτ 'glad'.

10 This predicate is a member of Unaccusative Class B6, p. 75. See also 'talkative' in Class B3, p. 74.

11 In examples 77a and 79a, it should be noted that the quantifier γογγύς 'all' requires the presence of the specific article ΣΙ rather than the non-specific Σ.

12 It should be noted here that the argument that Relational clauses are initially intransitive and finally transitive utilizes the cover term Non-Nuclear Object and need not claim for example that υ ιπύτ 'cup' in 56c bears the same initial grammatical relation as ටί έίκιίप έά 'from my horse' in 56a, although it is quite likely that in examples 61b,c, the word άκπά 'elder' bears the same initial grammatical relation.

Moreover, for predicates of Class A3 which also determine Unaccusative statum, taking -t marking, it should be noted that as Relational Class A3 predicates, these take a different assignment of initial grammatical relations [1, Non-nuclear] than as Unaccusative Class B2 [2, Non-nuclear].
13 Readers familiar with Thompson (1979) may wish to consider the -s morpheme in the Class C Relational as instances of a "causative -s". In addition to the reasons given in Hébert (1982) against the -s analyzed as 'Imperfective' herein, the arguments presented in section 2.5.2 of this chapter argue against taking the -s in the Class C Relational as a causative marker. These arguments show that:

a) the constructions do not involve two-events;

b) there is no evidence for a downstairs 1 advancing to be an upstairs 3; and

c) there is no consistent causative interpretation.

14 It is not possible, at the time of writing, to indicate whether almost all stems or some or just a few permit LOC > 3.

15 It is not know, at the time of writing, whether -nú occurs on few or many roots.

16 The data would also be compatible with an analysis of incorporation directly from Locative. However as well be seen in section 4.3, the rule statement for Lexical Incorporation is simpler if 3s are incorporated.

17 In some languages, an incorporated nominal is a chômeur. It would be interesting to investigate if this nominal is a 3-chômeur in Okanagan.

18 This should not be confused with Dative constructions involving nominals as in examples 4b and 5a, this chapter.

19 Three other analyses may be considered for these Dative pronominals:

i) Possessor Ascension to Dative;

ii) Possessor Ascension to 2, obligatory in a clause with final transitive stratum, or

iii) Ascension from Copied Dative.

The first of these, Possessor Ascension to Dative, proposes that the Possessive marker on the initial 2-nominal, ascends to bear the Dative
relation. This analysis has four problems: one, the Indirective or Benefactive morphemes register the presence of an initial Oblique nominal, as argued in section 1 of this chapter; two, this is prohibited by the Oblique Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1978) which requires that

**Oblique Law:** A nominal that bears a term relation in a given clause may or may not bear that relation in the initial stratum in that clause. A nominal that bears an oblique relation in a clause, on the other hand, bears that relation in the initial stratum.

three, the analysis is more complex, since a rule of Possessor Ascension to Dative, is added to the grammar, while retaining all the other rules needed under the proposed analysis; and 

four, it makes the rule of Possessor Ascension (section 4) subject to different conditions.

The second of these possible analyses, Possessor Ascension to 2, obligatory in a clause with final transitive stratum, proposes:

i) that an optional copy is left on the 2,

ii) that a Dative is obligatorily present, as shown by the presence of -1, -x(i), registers of an initial Dative on the verb; and

iii) that there is an agreement rule between this Dative and the Possessor. A possible relational network is given as:
This analysis also has problems: one, the restriction to a clause with final transitive stratum, and two, the arbitrariness of the agreement rule. These two problems are also shared with the analysis of Obligatory-Advancement -of-Dative-to-2 adopted above, however without allowing for the similarity with the advancement of the Locative body parts, as discussed at the end of this section, 3.4.

The third of these is the most elegant of the four analyses considered: Ascension from Copied Dative, which proposes

1) that the initial Dative is copied onto the 2-nominal, from which
2) either the $2 \rightarrow 1$ in a Passive construction, or
3) the Possessor Copy ascends to 2, placing the initial 2-nominal en chômage. A possible relational network for the finally transitive case is given:

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\node at (0,0) (p1) {P};
\node at (1,1) (p2) {P};
\node at (1.5,1.5) (d1) {DAT1};
\node at (2,2) (d2) {DAT2};
\node at (1,0) (h) {H};
\node at (0.5,0.5) (c) {COPY};
\draw[->] (p1) -- (p2);
\draw[->] (p2) -- (d1);
\draw[->] (d1) -- (p1);
\draw[->] (p1) -- (h);
\draw[->] (p2) -- (h);
\draw[->] (c) -- (p1);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

However, this analysis raises three problems:

one, it proposes a new type of rule for Relational Grammar, that of allowing an Oblique to be copied onto a Term nominal, making a strong claim for the theory and for other languages;

two, it loses a similarity with the Locative body parts phenomenon; and
	hree, it makes the rule of Possessor Ascension (discussed in the following section, 4, of this chapter) subject to different conditions.
Basically, that rule state that Possessor Ascension is possible from a 2 only if it can advance to a 1 whereas this Dative rule of Possessor Copy Ascension would be possible to a 2, without advancing to 1.

20 This pattern of Possessor Ascension in Passive constructions was obtained from Sharon Lindley of Quilchena. See also Appendix I: Consultants.

21 That Lexical Incorporation is restricted to non-nuclear terms (i.e., 3s and obliques) and chômeurs may be supported from a possible analysis of the prefix ks- 'Unrealized Action' as an upper predicate, requiring Subject Raising. In a ks- construction, involving Pronominal Dative Advancement to 2, and a downstairs clause that is initially transitive and finally intransitive, Lexical Incorporation is permissible for a 2-chômeur:

a. \[kw \, \text{si}(n) \, - \, \text{ks} \, - \, \text{ck} \, - \, t \, - \, t \, - \, \text{im} \, \text{se} \, \text{ten} \, - \, \text{kwimáp}.\]
   you \text{S1} \text{IRR} - UNR-count-INDIR-t-PASS the your-EL-horse
   I'm going to count your saddle horses.

b. \[kw \, \text{si}(n) \, - \, \text{ks} \, - \, \text{ck} \, - \, \text{sqáxa}? \, - \, m.\]
   you \text{S1} \text{IRR} - UNR - count - horse - INTR
   I'm going to count your horses.

The relational network representing the structure in a,b above is diagrammed below:
The grammatical relation borne by the downstairs clause to the upstairs clause, whether it is a 1 or a 2, has been left unspecified, as N, since it is immaterial to the analysis here — the head of the initial 2 nominal is a 2 in either case.

The two sentences a, b also show that Lexical Incorporation is sensitive to monostratal vs putative-bistratal structure, since the Lexical Incorporation is optional from a 2-chômeur in a bistratal structure but obligatory from a monostratal structure.
CHAPTER FIVE

RELEVANCE OF ANALYSES

This chapter discusses the relevance of the preceding analyses for Salishan linguistics in section 1, and for the theory of Relational Grammar in section 2.

1. Relevance to Salishan Linguistics

The analyses presented in Chapters Three and Four contribute to the study of Salishan linguistics. Each of the following topics will be reviewed in turn: the Benefactive and Indirective constructions (1.1), the Relational construction (1.2), the Locative construction (1.3), the existence of indirect objects (1.4), the 'Transitive -t' (1.5) and the characterization of the Middle voice (1.6).

1.1 Benefactive and Indirective Constructions

The -x(ı), -ı morphemes of the Dative clauses, termed 'Benefactive' and 'Indirective' respectively, are the Okanagan tokens of a class of morphemes which Kinkade (1980) terms 'Redirective' for "suffixes in Interior Salishan languages which are used when two goals are implied for transitive stems." Three important papers discuss these morphemes. The Southern Interior Salishan languages have multiple members in this class whereas the Northern Interior Salishan languages have reduced the set of members to one. For Columbian, Kinkade (1980) reports three or more members, -xí, -ı, -túk with possibly -čák, -c, -s and -xıx, -xáx. The phenomena appear to be similar syntactically to the Okanangan data, with advancements from Oblique to 3 to 2, as
exemplified below, as shown by case-marking and linear position:

COLUMBIAN:

1a  (= MDK 13)  ?ac - yáyín sttámtam kí Mary.
I'm weaving a bag for Mary.

b  (= MDK 14)  qìyìta? qì?míns Mary.
Write a letter for Mary!

"c  (= MDK 11)  ?ac - kàïxtan sttámtam Mary.
I gave Mary a bag.

d  (= MDK 10)  ?ac - yáyxtan Mary sttámtam.
I made a bag for Mary.

The case-marking distinctions between the multiple members of the Columbian redirectives is not reported, and the semantic distinctions need further clarification. Columbian is reported as permitting redirectives in intransitive clauses, with either -xix or -xax, as in a, b below. These intransitive clauses are reported as occurring transitively in Relational clauses, as in c below:

2a  (= MDK 43)  xəsmxìx.
he lost something for/of someone.

b  (= MDK 44)  xəsmxåx.
he lost something belonging to someone else.

c  (= MDK 49)  xəsxìxìmen.
I lost it for them (not deliberately).

For Spokane (a dialect of the Kalispel language), Carlson (1980) reports -ši and -ì, which he terms 'benefactive/substitutive' and 'relative', respectively, with -ì also occurring in possessive constructions. The case-markings indicate that different oblique grammatical relations may be involved initially:
SPOKANE-KALISPEL:

3a (= BFC 39) \( k'ul'\text{t}en \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ x'\omega \ Agnes. \)

I made a basket for Agnes.

b (= BFC 41) \( x'\text{icit}en \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ Agnes. \)

I gave a basket to Agnes.

Moreover, after putative advancement of the initial oblique nominal to 2, the initial 2, now a 2-chomeur according to Relational Grammar, takes oblique-case-marking:

4a (= BFC 38) \( k'\text{ul'k}ten \ \tilde{\iota}? \ Agnes \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ . \)

I made Agnes a basket. OBL

b (= BFC 40) \( x'\text{icit}ten \ \tilde{\iota}? \ Agnes \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ \tilde{\iota}? \ . \)

I gave Agnes a basket. OBL

For Thompson, a Northern Interior Salishan language, Thompson and Thompson (1980) report one morpheme, -xí with benefactive, malefactive, indirective or possessive meaning. Again, these seem to involve an initial oblique object:

5a (= T&T 41) \( m\text{\'a}x\text{\'a}t\text{\'a}x\text{\'a} \ e \ sm\'\text{\'a}l\text{\'a}c \ t\text{\'a} \ \text{\'a}s\text{\'a}\text{\'a}lts. \)

break-BEN-t-S\text{TR} dish OBL woman

You smashed the woman's dish.

For Shuswap, Kuipers (1974) also reports only one morpheme -xí, usually 'benefactive'.

Based on the facts as reported in the sources reviewed and the analysis of the (NL) Okanagan, a hypothesis can be made with respect to language change in the Interior Salishan languages:
that originally, these "redirective" clauses involved different oblique grammatical relations, which merged, with a subsequent loss of membership in the class of morphemes which register the presence of that initial oblique nominal; and that this language change occurred first in the Northern branch and is incomplete in the Southern branch.

An alternative hypothesis is

that originally, these "redirective" clauses involved a general oblique grammatical relation which split with a subsequent increase of membership in the class of morphemes which register the presence of an initial oblique nominal

and that this language change occurred first in the Southern branch and is incomplete in the Northern branch.

To verify either hypothesis, further work is needed, in both Coast and Interior languages, synchronically with respect to case-marking and putative advancements from Oblique to 3 to 2, supported by syntactic evidence.

1.2 Relational Constructions

Relational clauses are also reported as occurring in other Interior Salishan languages (Shuswap, Thompson, Columbian, and Colville-Okanagan), with the -mI morpheme having a transitivizing function. The (Nicola Lake) Okanagan analysis contributes to Salishan linguistics by identifying three classes of Relational clauses, by examining the clausal structure of each of these classes, by deciphering the 'weak causative' meaning of one of these classes and by specifying
the -mī morpheme, in Relational Grammar terminology, as a marker of advancement of a non-nuclear nominal to 2. Similar constructions to the Okanagan Relational Class C, with weak causative interpretation, have been reported for the Thompson language:

8 (= LCT 16) a. sēxʷ - m - s - c. 'she makes him bathe'
b. x̌aqʷ - m - s - t - xʷ. 'you make him do the nailing'
c. kwon - m - s - t - ēs. 'she made him take hold'

According to L.C. Thompson's (1979) analysis, these are assumed to be causativized middle forms. Further work on the syntax of this language may reveal whether these are true causatives involving biclausal structure with Middle voice clauses or Instrumental Advancement like the (NL) Okanagan constructions.

1.3 Locative Constructions

The identification of the Locative clauses with a morpheme -ína? marking advancement is new, as is the analysis with respect to Possessor Ascension. Possessive constructions occurring with a Redirection morpheme have been exemplified and/or noted in other Interior Salishan languages, with -ť in Columbian and Spokane-Kalispel, and with--xí in Thompson, although the analysis here for Okanagan as obligatory Pronominal Dative Advancement to 2 with optional copy and agreement is new.

1.4 The Existence of Indirect Objects

Another problem in Salishan linguistics is the existence of indirect objects, i.e., 3s. The traditional view is that Salishan languages have only subjects, direct objects and oblique objects, but no indirect objects. As a consequence of the analyses presented in Chapter Three, an initial 3
has been proposed by default. This falls out of the identification of two classes of Unaccusatives, the Reflexive Unaccusatives and the -p class. Lexical incorporation and Quantifier Ban serve to distinguish between this putative 3 and the grammatical relation borne by the initial 2/final 2 of the Middle voice clauses. In Chapter Four, three more instances of 3s are discussed: an advancee 3 in Indirective/Benefactive clauses, an initial 3 with some members of Class A, B Relational clauses; and an advancee 3 in Locative clauses. The clearest cases of 3s are:

i) an advancee 3 in Dative (Benefactive/Indirective) clauses (cf. section 1, Chapter 3);

ii) an advancee 3 in Locative clauses (cf. section 3, Chapter 3); and

iii) a 3 with Lexical Incorporation (cf. sections 3.3, 4.3, Chapter 3).

The following cases of 3s are not as clear, but are possible:

iv) an initial 3 in Reflexive Unaccusative clauses (cf. section 4.4, Chapter 3);

v) an initial 3 with some Class A, B Relational verbs (cf., sections 2, 2.2, Chapter 4).

Further work will be required to demonstrate clearly that a nominal may bear a 3-relation in an initial stratum.

1.5 Transitive -t

The -t marking is a morpheme appearing in all Salishan languages and is commonly known as Transitive t. In Okanagan, as in the other Salishan languages, this morpheme appears in regular transitive clauses:

9  9i si'ina? q'm-i - n - t - is  9i sk'q'-'imelt.

the owl bite-PFTV-t-S3_TRANS the baby

The owl bit the baby.
However, this morpheme is not restricted to finally transitive clauses, appearing in the finally intransitive passive:

10  $i$ sk$^{\#$}q$^{\#$}im\$ l  q$^{\#}$e - n - t - im  $i$ t sn$^{\#$}n.  

the baby bite- PPTV-t-PASS INSTR owl

The baby was bitten by the owl.

That the -t morpheme is not a marker of transitivity in the initial stratum is demonstrated by this benefactive construction, which is logically intransitive in the initial stratum:

11  t$^{\#}$ - t$^{\#$}m$^{\#}$ - t$^{\#}$m$^{\#}$ - s - x - t - ø  $i$ s$^{\#$}$s$^{\#}$s$^{\#}$s$^{\#}$p.  

DIM-smile-REDUP-face-BENE-t-IMP the PL-elder both.sides S$^{\#2}$TRANS

Smile for the elders!

Details of an analysis, positing -x as a marker of an initially oblique object, permitting advancement to 3 and to 2, are given in section 1 of Chapter Four.

The problem is then that the Transitive t marks neither initial transitivity nor final transitivity. The rule given in section 1.7 of Chapter Two for -t marking in Okanagan identifies the -t as marking the presence of an initial or advancee 2, in stratum $S_{i}$, which remains a distinct nuclear term in a successive, final stratum $S_{i+1}$. (See the conditions on this rule, p. 38!). Besides capturing the facts exemplified above, the rule statement has two advantages:

(1) of ruling out the -t marker from Middle voice clauses; and

(2) of including the 'stative -t' of the Unaccusative Class B, within the same statement, thus simplifying the grammar.
1.6 The Middle Voice

The characterization of Middle clauses is another Salishan thorn. More broadly, distinguishing between active and middle voice has remained a problem historically, from Homeric Greek to modern-day Okanagan. Gerdts (1980) has characterized the Middle voice in Halkomelem, a Coast Salishan language, as involving Spontaneous Chômage, i.e., demotion of the initial 2 to 2, lacking evidence for the yo-yo action of the Antipassive with respect to the initial 1 demoting to 2 then advancing to 1. For Okanagan, the available data provided support for an Antipassive analysis, subsequently modified with a Phantom arc. The Phantom Arc solution provides a characterization of the syntactic structure of Middle voice clauses, which does not countermand the traditional semantic characterization.

2. Relevance to Relational Grammar

The analyses of Okanagan clause-level constructions presented in this study attest to the productivity of the theoretical model Relational Grammar with respect to clausal structure. However these analyses also address two principles of Relational Grammar and point to an area of the grammatical theory in need of elaboration. The definition of transitivity (2.1), the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (2.2), and the mapping of thematic and grammatical relations (2.3) are discussed in turn.

2.1 The Definition of Transitivity

Transitivity is defined in Relational Grammar as a characteristic of stratum, not of clauses or of verbs, as follows:
12 Transitivity in Relational Grammar

A stratum is considered transitive if it has a 1 and a 2; otherwise it is intransitive.

However, Okanangan may provide evidence that this definition is insufficient in and of itself, because of the necessity of referring to distinctiveness of 1 and of 2 with respect to Agentive Reflexives and to Middles. The Agentive Reflexives are transitive according to definition but unlike other transitives, as far as morphological marking is concerned, reflexives in Okanangan are treated as intransitive, i.e., do not take -t and do take: Intransitive Subject Marking. The Middles contain at least one transitive stratum, again with the 1 and the 2 resulting from advancement of the Phantom nominal, being non-distinct. These are treated as intransitive vis à vis -t marking, -n/-s Perfective/Imperfective aspect marking, and Person/Number subject marking. Thus, for at least some languages, rules referring to transitivity require reference to distinctiveness as well as to 1 and 2.

2.2 The Relational Class B verbs and the 1AEX

The Class B Relational clauses may be of considerable relevance to the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1978). This Law can be stated formally:

13 The 1- Advancement Exclusiveness Law

Let A and B be distinct neighboring 1-arcs. Then, if A is an advancee arc, B is not an advancee arc, where two arcs A, B are neighbors if and only if they have the same tail node; and where an arc is an advancee arc if the Relational-sign of the arc has re-evaluated up the Relational hierarchy.
The claim made by the 1AEX can be stated informally:

**Claim of 1AEX**

The set of advancements to 1 in a single clause contains at most one member.

The proponents of this claim identify two of the possible relational networks ruled out by the 1AEX:

The 1AEX predicts that a Passivized Relational clause with an Unaccusative Class B predicate would be ungrammatical since this would involve two advancements to 1 in the same clause:
However, this prediction is not borne out since Passives occur with Class B Relational verbs for which it was shown that the final 1 is an initial 2 (section 2.3, Chapter Four):

17a \[ 2 \rightarrow 1 \]
\[ \text{the \ PL-boy} \ mad-REL/2-PFTV-t-P3_{\text{TRANS}} \text{the \ PL-girls} \]
\[ \text{The \ boys \ are \ made \ at \ the \ girls.} \]

b \[ \text{GR}_x \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 1 \]
\[ \text{the \ PL-girl} \ mad-REL/2-PFTV-t-PASS \ P3_{\text{INTR}} \text{INSTR \ PL-boy} \]
\[ \text{The \ girls \ are \ mad \ at \ by \ the \ boys.} \]

18a \[ 2 \rightarrow 1 \]
\[ \text{the \ boy} \ run.away-REL/2-PFTV-t-S3_{\text{TRANS}} \text{the \ elder} \]
\[ \text{The \ boy \ run \ away \ from \ the \ old \ man.} \]

b \[ \text{GR}_x \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 1 \]
\[ \text{the \ elder} \ run.away-REL/2-PFTV-t-PASS \text{INSTR \ boy} \]
\[ \text{The \ elder \ is \ run \ away \ from \ by \ the \ boy.} \]

The Okanagan data, from the Class B Relational verbs, constitutes a counter-example to the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law, a law proposed as a possible universal. Halkomelem has also been reported as constituting a counter-example to the 1AEX. Gerdts (1980) discusses the \textit{me?} constructions of Halkomelem, arguing that the approximately 30 verbs, psychological predicates, which can occur with this suffix, determine initial Unaccusative strata;
2) that the me? constructions are best analyzed as involving Unaccusative Advancement to 1 and 'causal' (her term for the initial oblique nominal of these constructions) to 2 Advancement; and

3) that passivized me? constructions constitute a counter-example to the 1AEX.

Hence Salishan languages provide two counter-examples to the 1AEX: Okanagan, an Interior Salishan language, and Halkomelem, a Coast Salishan language, both involving identical structure (see the Relational network given in 16 above). It may be concluded that the 1AEX should be modified so that language particular conditions must be allowed on its applicability.

2.3 The Mapping of Thematic and Grammatical Relations

These analyses of Okanagan clauses point to a potential problem for Relational Grammar: the mapping of thematic relations onto grammatical relations. If it is assumed that this mapping occurs in the initial stratum, then the fact that some Okanagan verbs may have an assignment of different initial grammatical relations in different clause-types is of interest. For example, some verbal roots can determine both Unaccusative stratum and active or middle voice stratum:

19a mōáʔt, ʰnm̩áʔp 'broken'; Unaccusatives with an initial 2 but no 1;
   mōám 'break'; Middle, with an initial 1 and a Phantom NN term;
   b mōyp 'know'; Unaccusative, with an initial 2 but no 1,
      also in Limited Control, with initial 2 and a NN term;
   mōy- 'know'; initially transitive, with an initial 1 and 2;
   c t̪q̪- 'slap'; with an initial 1 and 2; or with initial 1 and a NN term in a Limited Control construction,
      with Managed-To reading;
tq' - q' - 'slap'; as Unaccusative in a Limited Control construction, with Accidental/Unintentional reading;

d tiř - 'straight', with an initial 1 and a NN term in a Relational construction;

tiř - i - 'straight'; as an Unaccusative with initial 2 but no 1 in a Limited Control construction, with Accidental/Unintentional reading.

Similarly, some verbs can determine both Unaccusative and Unergative stratum:

qicelx - 'run'; Unergative, with an initial 1 but no 2;
qcelx - 'run'; Unaccusative, with an initial 2 but no 1,

in a Possessor Ascension clause.

One pair of these verbs is exemplified below, with stratal diagrams:

21a mǐy - ,p - nǔ ( - n - t ) - n ��i cəptiq•.

know-UNACCUS-LTDC-PTTV-t-SLTRANS the myth.

I found out the old story.

b

22a c - mǐy - s - t - in ﬁi filmix•m.

PP-know-IMPF-t-SLTRANS the chief

I know the chief.
These Okanagan facts demonstrate that the theory of Relational Grammar requires further elaboration to deal with multiple assignment of initial grammatical and thematic relations in certain types of clauses.
APPENDIX I: CONSULTANTS

This is a list of native speakers consulted during the field work period, spanning from Summer 1277 thru Spring 1982. The bulk of the data presented herein is from Joseph Albert Michel, the primary language consultant. Some syntactic phenomena reported on here have been contributed by other speakers; these are noted in the footnotes. Other native speakers listed below have been helpful in many ways, although their words and stories may not have been included. The data presented on the preceding pages is only a portion of the material collected. Joseph Albert Michel is respected in his community as a particularly knowledgeable speaker and patient teacher of his mother tongue. He excels and delights in figuring out his own language.

1. Uncle, i.e., Joseph Albert Michel, was born on June 30, 1908 and was raised on Quilchena Reserve, Nicola Valley, B.C. He remained a constant resident of Nicola Valley. His native and first language is Okanagan which he learned from his mother. Later, he learned some Shuswap and some Chinook Jargon from his father, as well as some Thompson (the other Salishan language spoken in the valley). He learned English from his father who taught him to read and to write, and spoke English to his boss on the ranch, especially the Abbott ranch where he cowboyed for over thirteen years.

His parents, Fred Michel of Kamloops and Josephine Chillihitza Michel of Quilchena, had fifteen children. Three of the older children all died in residential school. This formed part of the reason for keeping Uncle back from school. A bout with rheumatic fever also played a role here. Although he considers his lack of formal schooling as a sorrow of life,
this time at home provided the opportunity for close and intensive training in the language and culture, enabling him to be a very valuable bearer and transmitter of the traditions.

Throughout the work, he has been conscious of recording his language, and so contributing to the knowledge and memory about his people. This work forms part of his legacy to his people.

2. Sharon Lindley (1953 - ), née Michel, is also of the Quilchena Reserve, a daughter of Francis and Amelia Michel. Her grannie, Josephine Chillihiitza Michel, and her uncle, Joseph Albert Michel, were instrumental in her life and are her main teachers of the language. She introduced me to Okanagan, to her Uncle, and to Nicola Valley. At the time of writing, she is completing her teacher training at UBC. I am fortunate to consider her as my friend.

3. Nellie Quiterrez (1892-1980) was a respected and admired elder. Born in Hedley, between Princeton and Keremeos, of Eddie John Fall Allison and Emily (née Tom), she spent her young years in Shulus in Nicola Valley. She received her schooling in Mission and has lived at Douglas Lake since 1908, the home area of her maternal grandfather, Narcissis Tom, known as 'Chinook Tom' because he knew Chinook Jargon. Nellie grew up speaking Thompson, Okanagan, Chinook, and English. Nellie had three children with her first husband, Baptiste Tom; these are Michel (1909), Lily (1911), and Charlie (1913). After his death, she worked as a cook for the Douglas Lake ranch for many years. Her second husband, Alfred Quiterrez, died in the war. A grand old lady, she could start the proceedings at Elders Day with a solemn prayer in Okanagan, then contribute a traditional song, and end with an enthusiastic 'yahoo!'
4. Louisa Roper, (1896-1981), the last near-monolingual speaker of Okanagan in Nicola Valley, was born Christmas Eve, 1896, of Mr. and Mrs. Williams Jack. Her only surviving offspring are Louis and Isaac Lindley. Although bed-ridden, she generously permitted an interview in August 1979.

5. Rosie Tom (1912– ) of Douglas Lake Reserve assisted in the language work with her neighbour Louisa Roper.

6. Johnny Archachan (1913– ), elderly story-teller, of Quilchena, willingly recorded his stories to be put in the museum so his children's children could hear them.

7. Joe Pete Saddleman (1924– ), also of Quilchena Reserve, trained as a language instructor at the University of Victoria. He spent eight years at the residential school in Kamloops. He is well-known for his practical jokes and his ever-ready smile.

8. Clara Jack (1928– ) of Penticton also graduated from University of Victoria's native language program as instructor. She returned home to teach her language and produced some lessons on Okanagan. Although her activities are now severely restricted by the crippling effects of rheumatoid arthritis, she rises to the challenge and continues to work on a dictionary of her language. She is also assisting A. Mattina with work on a reference grammar and texts of her dialect.

9. Adam Eneas (1942– ) of both Penticton and Vancouver, was chief of the Penticton band until 1975. This was the last year that he actively used the language in public and formal situations (sit-ins, roadblocks, meetings, etc.) He learned his language at home from his
parents, Angeline (née François) and Gideon Eneas. He spoke no English until he went to school. He completed grade 12 and one year of university. He has lived in Vancouver for four years.

10. Teresa Terbasket (1933-) of Keremeos attended University of Victoria for training both as a language instructor and as a teacher. While in Victoria, she assisted in some fine detailed language work.

11. Tillie George of Colville, Washington State, is approximately 55 years of age. She spoke two languages at home: Okanagan to her mother and Columbian to her father. She received eight years of schooling, five years of public school and three years of residential school. She also graduated as a language instructor from University of Victoria's NILDP. She has taught her language to the young people and children on the Colville reservation.

12. Robert W. Sterling (1937-) is director of Indian Education for Nicola Valley Indian Administration and chairman of the Advisory Council for the University of British Columbia's Native Indian Teacher Education Program. He is a native speaker of Thompson and a member of the Lower Nicola Indian Band. He holds a BA in Social Psychology from UBC. We collaborated on a joint paper which attempted to link the language, the culture of Nicola Valley and Indian Education. His insights into his people and his view of Indian Education have benefitted me as a linguist and as a person.

13. Mary Coutlee (1915-) of Merritt, also a graduate of University of Victoria's NILDP, speaks, reads, and writes Thompson fluently. Her hospitality and our many discussions of both her language and of Okanagan
have been very encouraging and helpful to me. She cheerfully continues her work on her language and has recently taught her language to adults in Nicola Valley thru Cariboo College. (Winter 1981-82).

14. Jim Toodican (1949- ) of Shackan Reserve is also a graduate of University of Victoria's NILDP. He has taught Thompson to the children of Nicola Valley. My meager efforts to assist him to transcribe a small collection of Thompson stories one summer helped me far more than they helped him. He is the youngest of the consultants and language instructors — may his life be productive.

15. Dave Parker, an elder from Westbank, now lives in Kelowna. He has devised his own orthography for Okanagan; it is an English-based system. He taught his language and his system at Mt. Bushery Secondary School, in Kelowna, during the 1980-91 school year. Each of his lessons was typed and read onto tape cassettes. The same format was used for each lesson: first, sentences were presented, then a breakdown of words followed, and as conclusion, a text of all the sentences in that particular lesson. Dave works independently and is proud of his work.
APPENDIX II: ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the sub-linear glosses:

for verbal markers of time:

PF Perfect c-
PPF Past Perfect sec-
PFTVV Perfective n
IMPF Imperfective s
PROG Progressive x/-mix
INCEP Inceptive a?x
UNR Unrealized action ks-

for markers of number:

S Singular, as in S1: first person singular
P Plural, as in P3: third person plural
PL Plural Reduplication

for verbal prefixes, i.e., lexical formatives:

Cont Contained n-
Dist Distributed k-/ t-
Dir Directional: atop kî-
Dir Directional: under kã-

for verbal morphology:

MIDDLE Middle voice -(á)m
LOC/2, /1 Locative-to-2 or to-1 Advancement -(i)na?
REL/2 Relational-to-2 Advancement -m(í)
UNACCUS Unaccusative
LTDC Limited Control -nú
BENE  Benefactive  -x(í)
INDIR  Indirective  -í
PASS  Passive  -ím/-əm
ITER  Iterative Reduplication
REFL  Agentive Reflexive  -cût
REFL UNACCUS  Unaccusative Reflexive  -myst
REcip  Reciprocal  -wíx"n

for assorted particles:
NEG  Negative  lút
LOC  Locative preposition  l
INSTR  Instrumental preposition  ʔi t
EMPH  Emphatic  t/ tʔi/ tʔə
COMP  Complementizer  ʔi/ ʔə / t / mʔi / kʔi / kʔə / ʔʔə / s-
COND  Conditional  ʔ
QU confirm  Yes/no question marker for confirmation  ḥə
QU infor  Yes/no question marker for information  ḥuʔuc

for subject markers:
IRR  Irrealis Mood  the ʔín- set
TRANS, TR  Transitive  the -(ʔ)n set
INTR  Intransitive  the ʔn set

for dialect areas:
PEN  Penticton dialect
NL  Nicola Lake dialect
Hale (external examiner's report, August 1981) suggested alternative analyses for the Middle and Relational constructions, in terms of the initial assignment of thematic relations to grammatical relations. Each of these will be considered in turn.

THE MIDDLE CONSTRUCTION

Under the suggested alternative, it is proposed that these verbs assign the thematic relations *ergatively* (cf., Marantz 1981), so that the patient is assigned the subject relation (1), while the agent is assigned the object relation (2). The middle construction, then, is simply a version of the Passive - promoting the initial 2 (agent) to 1, thereby forcing the initial 1 (patient) to go en chômage. Hale suggests that such an analysis is entirely consistent with a maximally constrained theory of relational grammar and moreover fits in with a highly promising theory of the ergativity parameter, i.e., that developed by Marantz.

Under this proposal, -m: is simply the mark of the passive (2 → 1), -t (of the passives and transitive in general) can be seen as a mark of initial accusative linking (agent = 1, patient = 2), while the -a of the Middle can be seen as a mark of initial ergative linking (patient = 1, agent = 2). This proposal is represented below in stratal diagram 1a, using a superscript for the initial assignment of thematic relations. It is placed next to the stratal diagram of the Passive.
(cf., Chapter III, section 3) and of the Phantom analysis of the Middles
(cf., Chapter III, section 3; Chapter V, section 4.4).

la Alternative Analysis for Middles

b Passive Analysis

These proposals for the Middle voice construction differ on
three points discussed below:

(i) According to the Alternative Analysis (AA), the object nominal
in the final stratum is a 1-chômeur, however it does not take the 1-chômeur
marking of the Passive: ʕi  t.

2a ʕi stəmtʃmaʔ cʔumqs - n - t - əm ʕi t ttwɪt.
the grandmother kiss-PFTV-t-PASS INSTR boy

The grandmother was kissed by the boy.
This fact is not problematic for the Phantom analysis of Middles because under this analysis, the patient nominal is an initial 2 which demotes to a 2-chômeur and hence does not take 1-chômeur marking.

(ii) The second and most persuasive argument against AA lies with its prediction for the phenomenon of Possessor Ascension. This is permitted only from a 2 in some stratum \( S_i \), only if the Possessor may advance to 1 in the \( S_{i+1} \) stratum, with the 2-chômeur obligatorily incorporating, i.e., in Passive and Unaccusative constructions (see Chapter IV, section 4).

The structure proposed for Middles under AA predicts that Possessor Ascension should be possible for the initial 2 (agent), however Possessor Ascension is not permitted from the agent in Middle clauses:

3a  
\[ \text{Ti } \text{ti(n) - sq'asíya? } \quad \text{kúl' - m.} \]
the my-offspring work-MIDDLE

My kids work.

b  
\[ * \text{kn } \text{kúl'} - \text{ilt - m.} \]

SL_INTR work-child-MIDDLE

This fact is correctly accounted for under a Phantom Arc analysis whereby the agent nominal bears the 1 relation in the initial and subsequent strata. Thus the facts from Possessor Ascension argue against Hale's Alternative Analysis (AA).

(iii) A further argument against the AA for Middles is presented
below, in light of Hale's analysis for Relationals. Under Hale's proposal for Middles, the -a of the Middle is a mark of initial ergative linking (patient = 1, agent = 2) and the -t is a mark of initial accusative linking (agent = 1, patient = 2). However these assignments of linkage cannot be maintained for Hale's proposal for Relationals, as shown in (i) below.

A further test of these two alternative proposals could be based on the phenomenon of Moving Glottalization however such data is not available (see footnote 6, Chapter II, page 56).

Thus, the Alternative Analysis for the Middle voice construction is rejected and the Phantom Arc solution retained.

THE RELATIONAL CONSTRUCTION

Hale suggests that the -m(i) element signals, not an advancement as proposed in this dissertation, but rather an initial assignment of an "oblique" thematic relation (say "instrument" or "means") to the 2 grammatical relation. The paraphrase relation between ordinary inanimate instrumentals would lie in the sharing of the same thematic relational structure and not of the same initial grammatical relational structure. The advantage to this analysis is that Relationals of Class B would not violate the 1AEX when passivized. Okanagan would not counter-exemplify it and a proposed law of the theory of Relational Grammar would be saved.

The one-stratal analysis (OA) proposed by Hale is diagrammed below as is the bistratal analysis (BA) proposed herein where NN stands for a non-nuclear term, i.e., a 3 or an oblique.
These proposals for the Relational construction differ on three points discussed below:

(i) Hale's proposal, that -t marks the linkage between thematic and grammatical relations (agent = 1, patient = 2), is problematic for
for the one-stratal analysis of Relationals (OA). In each of the three
classes, a 2 is assigned a thematic relation other than patient, i.e.,
2 oblique in Classes A and B, and 2 instrument in Class C. This problem
is doubled for the Class B Relationals which retain Unaccusative morphology,
including the -t. Here the 1 would be linked to a thematic relation such
as patient or experiencer. Hale's two proposals for Middles and Relationals
are incompatible with respect to -t marking.

(ii) Under the OA, the initial 2 grammatical relation is assigned to
the oblique thematic relation, e.g., instrumental. This raises the question
of the initial grammatical relation assigned to the patient. Assigning two
2's in Class C Relationals, i.e., a 2_instr and a 2_pat, faces both theoretical
and empirical difficulties. At the level of theory, this violates the Stratal
Uniqueness Law: (Perlmutter and Postal 1978a) which claims that no stratum
can contain more than one 1-arc, one 2-arc, or one 3-arc. Furthermore, the
analysis is disconfirmed at the empirical level, since only the 2_instr acts
like a 2 with respect to Passivization (see examples 101a,b, section 2.5.1,
Chapter IV). Efforts could be made to resolve this difficulty, by assigning
3-hood to the patient nominal: 3_pat; however, teaming these two together,
i.e., 3-hood with patienthood, appears to be unmotivated. An assignment of
3_pat is especially problematic for Okanagan since, as has already been noted
(cf., Chapter V, section 1.3), further work is needed to demonstrate clearly
that a nominal may bear a 3-relation in an initial stratum.

(iii) A biclausal analysis of Class C Relationals would eliminate the
problems noted in (ii) above, however, a biclausal analysis runs into the
problems discussed earlier under the Causative proposals (cf., sections
2.5.1 - 2.5.2, Chapter IV). Moreover, two additional difficulties present
themselves for a Biclausal analysis, diagrammed below:
(a) The assignment of an oblique thematic function to the downstairs 2 is an ad hoc assignment, simply to preserve the generalization proposed for -m(i) under the OA.

(b) The prediction for which nominal would function like a 2 with respect to Passivization is still incorrect. The analysis diagrammed above predicts incorrectly that the downstairs/upstairs 2 would act like a 2 in a Passive, however the downstairs I/upstairs 3 acts like a 2 in a Passive. (see examples 101a,b, section 2.5.1, Chapter IV).

Additional tests to choose between these two proposals could be based on Moving Glottalization, 'inca?/inca?kn, and Possessor Ascension, however such data is not available.

Thus, in spite of the initial attractiveness of Hale's alternative analyses for the Middles and Relationals, these are set aside and the analyses proposed in this dissertation are retained.
REFERENCES


Michel, Joseph Albert and Yvonne M. Hébert. 1979. "An Alphabet of (Nicola Lake) Okanagan." Ms. and cassette. Distributor: Nicola Valley Indian Administration, P. O. Box 188, Merritt, BC. VOK 2B0.


