Cedar Roots and Singing Detectives:
Attributive Modification in Salish and English*

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0. Introduction

Many Salish languages allow a single clause to contain more than one predicative element, as shown in (1c) and (2c).

1. *single-predicate clause:*
   a. ʔáma   [ta   kukʷpíʔ-káɬ=a]
      good   [DET   chief-1PL.POSS=EXIS]
      "Our chief is good."   (St'át'imcets)

   single-predicate clause:
   b. šmúɬač [ta   kukʷpíʔ-káɬ=a]
      woman   [DET   chief-1PL.POSS=EXIS]
      "Our chief is a woman."   (St'át'imcets)

   multi-predicate clause:
   c. ʔáma   šmúɬač   [ta   kukʷpíʔ-káɬ=a]
      good   woman   [DET   chief-1PL.POSS=EXIS]
      "Our chief is a good woman."   (St'át'imcets)

2. *single-predicate clause:*[1]
   a. ʔu- ʔúxʷ=čəd
      PERF-*go*=1SG.SUBJ
      "I went."   (Lushootseed; Hess 1995:6)

   single-predicate clause:
   b. ləs-bəqʷ=ɬčaʔ=čəd   [ʔə kʷi   hÙd]
      PROG-*big=have.on.shoulder*=1SG.SUBJ [PREP DET firewood]
      "I'm carrying wood on the shoulder." (Lushootseed; Bates et al. 1994:38)

   multi-predicate clause:
   c. ʔúxʷ=čəd   ɬu-bəqʷ=ɬčaʔ   [ʔə kʷi   hÙd]
      go=1SG.SUBJ ANTIC-*big=have.on.shoulder* [PREP DET firewood]
      "I'm going (out) to pack wood on the shoulder." (Lushootseed; Bates et al. 1994:22)

In this paper we begin by arguing that two separate multi-predicate constructions must be distinguished, COMPLEX NOMINAL PREDICATE constructions (as in (1); henceforth CNPs) and AUXILIARY constructions (as in (2)). We then examine CNPs in St'át'imcets (Lillooet) and Secwepemctsín (Shuswap). Building on work done by Demirdache and Matthewson (1995a,b), we show that in both languages, CNPs are categorially NPs. These NPs consist of a head noun which is attributively modified by one or more individual-level predicates. Unlike Demirdache and Matthewson, we argue that a separate category 'adjective' is not required to account for CNPs; since there is no other compelling argument for the existence of adjectives in St'át'imcets, this allows us to dispense with the category A altogether.

[1] In order to allow a standardized presentation, minor changes in formatting or orthography have occasionally been made in data cited from printed works. Morpheme and sentence glosses remain as in the original works.

Section 4 contains a discussion of the semantics of CNPs, which show striking similarities between English and Salish. We show that CNPs in both English and Salish allow only an attributive, rather than an intersective (conjunctive), relation between modifier and head. From this we derive the unacceptability of stage-level modifiers (such as *hungry, sleepy*) inside CNPs, since stage-level modifiers do not allow attributive readings. The attributivity requirement within CNPs in turn derives from a correlation between intersectivity and relative clauses; crucially, CNPs are not relative clauses (Demirdache and Matthewson 1995a,b) and therefore may not have intersective readings. The claim that there is a one-to-one relation between structure and interpretation finally leads us to reanalyze certain complex DPs in St'át'imcets, previously analyzed uniformly as headed relative clauses by Matthewson and Davis (1995), as structurally ambiguous.

1. Types of multi-predicate clause in Salish

Kroeber (1991:47-48) discusses multi-predicate clauses under the label of 'serial constructions'. Such constructions are attested both in Coastal and Interior Salish languages, and are defined as follows:

> ... constructions in which two predicates appear in the same clause, neither being set off in a subordinate clause by an introductory particle or special inflection, and only one set of pronominal markers appearing in the two predicate complex.

[3] a. nes=kn   cw-ə́m
       go=1sSuCl   do-M
       "I'm going to work."   (Thompson)

    b. qʷəlʔ=čəxʷ   juʔ-sxʷ
       come=2sSuCl   go.home-Tr
       "(You) bring it home."   (Comox)

Kroeber's serial constructions appear to be equivalent to our auxiliary construction. For example, he observes that aspectual or directional meanings are typical for the first predicate in a serial construction; these are indeed typical for auxiliaries, but impossible in CNPs,.[2]

The existence of a separate CNP construction in St'át'imcets was first brought to light by Demirdache and Matthewson (1995a,b), who refer to such constructions as 'complex predicates'. Examples are given in (4) (see also (1c)).

4. a. ʕalʕal=ɬkán   šqayxʷ
      strong=2SG.SUBJ   man
      "I am a strong man."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

   b. kʷlkʷš=Ø   špzúzaʔ   [ʔi   ʔacx̣-ən-án-a]
      small=3ABS   bird   [PL.DET see-DIR-1SG.CONJ-EXIS]DP
      "The ones I saw were small birds."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

Like the sentences in (3), those in (4) each contain two predicative elements, with only one marking for inflection (which in (4b) is null third person absolutive). However, in contrast to (3), the first predicate in (4) does not have aspectual or directional meaning, but rather is an attributive modifier of the second predicate, which must be a noun.

[2] Kroeber imposes the additional constraint that in order for a clause to qualify as a serial construction, the first element must be able to function independently as a main predicate. Though this is true of the vast majority of auxiliaries in Salish languages with which we are acquainted, we feel that it is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for auxiliary status. It is not a *necessary* condition, since in St'át'imcets, for example, there are a few auxiliaries which are marginal or impossible as main predicates (including xʷuz' "about to", plan "already", and čáma "try hard to"), yet otherwise behave in exactly the same way as auxiliaries which regularly surface as main predicates (e.g., motion verbs). It is not a *sufficient* condition because there are syntactic, semantic and probably lexical constraints on which main predicates may surface as auxiliaries. Thus, auxiliaries may not be transitive (a syntactic condition); they may modify the main predicate by aspect, but not by manner (a semantic condition); and certain pairs of synonymous or near-synonymous predicates (e.g., čáma "try hard to", ʕalílx idem) differ idiosyncratically as to their status as auxiliary or main predicate (a lexical condition). In short, the set of auxiliaries cannot be defined adequately as a subset of the class of main predicates.

The first goal of this paper is to establish criteria for distinguishing auxiliary constructions such as those in (2c) and (3) from CNPs of the type in (1c) and (4). We begin by reviewing the literature on Straits, which has been argued to possess only one kind of multi-predicate clause (Montler 1993, Jelinek 1995, 1996). We then turn to St'át'imcets, in which auxiliary constructions can be systematically distinguished from CNPs. We will argue that while St'át'imcets possesses both kinds, they cannot be collapsed into a single notion of 'serial predicate' or 'complex predicate'. This claim is supported by Secwepemctsín, which allows only CNPs, but not auxiliaries.

1.1. Straits

Montler (1993:245) describes 'complex predicates' in the Saanich dialect of Straits as follows:

> Complex predicates are composed of two or more words juxtaposed to form a construction that functions as a unitary predicate ... This construction is identical to what Thompson 1979 has called the auxiliary constructions which occur in several Salishan languages.

First and second person subject clitics always follow the first element in the Straits construction. Examples are given in (5) and (6).

5. a. čəq   sweᵞqəʔ   [tsə sıʔə́m̓]
      big   male   [DEM boss]
      "The boss is a big man."   (Saanich; Montler 1993:245)

   b. čəq=sən   sweᵞqəʔ
      big=1SUBJ   male
      "I am a big man."   (Saanich; Montler 1993:245)

6. a. ʔənʔe=sən   hıʷəl
      come=1SUBJ   join.in
      "I came to join in. / I came and joined in."   (Saanich; Montler 1993:246)

      yeʔ=sən   k̓ʷəwyək̓ʷ
      go=1SUBJ   angle.for.fish
      "I went/ am going fishing."   (Saanich; Montler 1993:245)

The sentences in (5) are attributive constructions, with a nominal head. On the other hand, the first elements in (6) have aspectual or directional meaning and look like auxiliaries. Although Montler explicitly notes that there are both attributive and non-attributive cases of complex predicates, he does not classify them as different constructions.

Jelinek (1995, 1996) takes a similar approach to multi-predicate clauses in the Lummi dialect of Straits. According to Jelinek, complex predicates consist of two roots, the first of which must be intransitive. The clitic string obligatorily follows the first root:

7. a. ʔəy̓=sxʷ   swəy'qəʔ
      good=2SG.NOM man
      "You are a good man."   (Lummi; Jelinek 1995:523)

   b. * ʔəy̓ swəy̓qəʔ=sxʷ   (Lummi; Jelinek 1995:524)

Like Montler, Jelinek observes that there are two types of complex predicate:

> Some of the predicates that appear first in complex predicate constructions describe qualities, as in [7a]. Other complex predicates look more like "serial verb" constructions, as in [8], which contains a directional predicate (Jelinek 1995:524).

8.   ʔənʔe=ləʔ=sxʷ   leŋ-t-oŋəɬ
      come=PAST=2SG.NOM   see-TR-1PL.ACC
      "You came and saw us."   (Straits; Jelinek 1995:524)

However, Jelinek does not consider the sentences in (7a) and (8) to belong to distinct constructions. In both (7a) and (8), the first root raises to C and is then followed by the clitic string, which is a series of functional heads through which the first part of the predicate has raised.

Both authors note that complex predicates in Straits may be converted into DPs by the addition of a determiner, which takes scope over both elements:

9. a. sıʔə́m̓   [tsə [čəq   swəy̓qəʔ]]
      boss   [DEM [big   male]]
      "The big man is boss."   (Saanich; Montler 1993:245)

   b. yeʔ=Ø   [cə   ʔən'e leŋ-t-oŋəɬ]
      go=3ABS   [DET come   see-TR-1PL.ACC]
      "The one who came to see us went."   (Lummi; Jelinek 1996)

In summary, Straits apparently possesses a single type of multi-predicate clause, in which two predicative roots co-occur, with clitics appearing after the first element, and with the possibility in all cases of adding a determiner to form a DP.

1.2. St'át'imcets

St'át'imcets sentences of the type in (5,7) are illustrated in (10).

10. a. ʕəlʕəl=ɬkán   šqayxʷ
       strong=2SG.SUBJ man
       "I am a strong man."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

    b. * ʕəlʕəl   šqáyxʷ=ɬkan   (St'át'imcets; RW)

    c. kaɬáš   š.k̓ʷəm.k̓ʷú.k̓ʷ.mıʔt   [ʔı   ʔúɬxʷ=a]
       three   child(REDUP)   [PL.DET enter=EXIS]
       "Three children came in."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

St'át'imcets sentences of the type in (6,8) are given in (11).

11. a. pápt=ɬkaxʷ   ʔačx-ən-túmuɬ
       always=2SG.SUBJ   see-DIR-1PL.OBJ
       "You always come to see us."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

    b. ƛ̓ak   ʔácx-ən-č-aš   [tı   k̓ʷúk̓ʷpıʔ=a]   ʔı-nátxʷ=aš
       go   see-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG [DET chief=EXIS]   when.past=day=3CONJ
       "A chief came to see me yesterday."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

    c. ƛ̓íq=kan   ʔacx-ən-túmuɬ
       arrive=1SG.SUBJ   see-DIR-2PL.OBJ
       "I have come to see you folks."   (St'át'imcets)

(12) shows that just as in Straits, determiners may apparently be added to the constructions in (10) and (11) to create DPs:

12. a. waʔ   ʔəš-mı́čaq   [ta   ʕə́lʕəl=a   šqayxʷ]
       PROG   STAT-sit   [DET strong=EXIS man]
       "The strong man is sitting."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

    b. ʔuɬxʷ   [ʔı   kaɬáš=a   š.k̓ʷəm.k̓ʷú.k̓ʷ.mıʔt]
       enter   [PL.DET three=EXIS child(REDUP)]
       "Three children came in."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

c.   q̫ačáč   [ʔi   pápt=a   pík-əm̓]
    leave [PL.DET   always=EXIS hunt-MID]
    "The ones that always hunt are leaving."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

In the following sub-sections we will argue that, unlike in Straits, two distinct complex predicate constructions must be distinguished in St'át'imcets: auxiliary constructions and complex nominal predicates (CNPs).

1.2.1. Auxiliary constructions

Auxiliary constructions have the following properties:

13. i.   The main predicate is preceded by one or more strictly ordered auxiliary predicates.
     ii.   Auxiliary predicates are a set of intransitive predicates encoding (mostly) aspect or motion.
     iii.   There are no syntactic or categorial restrictions on the main predicate.

Examples of two co-occurring auxiliaries are given in (14), and evidence of ordering restrictions between auxiliaries is given in (15).

14. a.   plán=ɬkan   wa?   ?alkšt
       already=1SG.SUBJ   PROG work
       "I am already working."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

    b.   pápt=ɬkan   wa?   pík-əm̓
       always=1SG.SUBJ   PROG hunt-MID
       "I went hunting many times."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

15. a. * wá?=ɬkan   plan   ?alkšt
        PROG-1SG.SUBJ   already   work
        "I'm already working."   (St'át'imcets)

    b. * wá?=ɬkan   papt   pík-əm̓
        PROG=1SG.SUBJ   always   hunt-MID
        "I went hunting many times."   (St'át'imcets)

The requirement that auxiliary predicates be intransitive is illustrated in (16) (cf. (11c)), and the requirement that they encode aspect or motion is illustrated in (17).

16. * x̌íq-š-aš   ?acx̲-ən-túmuɬ   [ta   škíxza?-š=a]
      arrive-CAUS-3ERG   *see-DIR-1SG.OBJ* [DET mother-3SG.POSS=EXIS]
      "Ken brought his mother to see us."   (St'át'imcets; BF)

17. a.   naš   q̫əz-íic   [k̫=š   Ken]
       go   dance-AUT   [DET=NOM   Ken]
       "Ken is going dancing."   (St'át'imcets)

    b. * ?íx̌-əm   q̫əz-íic   [k̫=š   Ken]
        sing-MID   dance-AUT   [DET=NOM   Ken]
        "Ken sang and danced."   (St'át'imcets)

The lack of categorial or syntactic restrictions on the main predicate is shown in (18-19). The main predicate may be verbal, as in (18), or nominal, as in (19). It may be intransitive, as in (18a,b, 19), or transitive, as in (18c).

18. a.   wa?   ?əm?ímnəm   [?i   stmáɬt-a]
       PROG   *make.animal.noise* [PL.DET   cow-EXIS]
       "The cows are mooing."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

    b.   naš   pík-əm̓   [k   John]
       go   *hunt-MID*   [DET John]
       "John is going hunting."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

    c.   čix̫̌   ?áćx-ən-č-aš   [ta   šqáyx̫-a]
       go   *see-DIR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG* [DET man-EXIS]
       "The man went to see me."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

19. a.   wa?=ɬkax̫   ha   napl̓ít
       PROG=2SG.SUBJ   YNQ   *priest*
       "Are you still a priest?"   (St'át'imcets; RW)

    b.   x̫uz'   plíšmən   [k̫=š   Bill]
       going.to   *policeman* [DET-NOM Bill]
       "Bill is going to be a policeman."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

1.2.2. Complex Nominal Predicates

In contrast to auxiliary constructions, CNPs have the following properties (see Demirdache and Matthewson 1995a,b):

20. i.   The final element must be a noun.
     ii.   All non-final elements must be individual-level predicates.[3]

Examples are given in (21).

21. a.   [k̫ík̫š   špzúza?]   [?i   ?acx̲-ən-án-a]
       [small   bird]$_\text{PRED}$ [PL.DET see-DIR-1SG.CONJ-EXIS]$_\text{DP}$
       "The ones I saw were small birds."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

    b.   [?áน̓waš   šmúɬač]   [?i   q̫ačáč=a]
       [two   woman]$_\text{PRED}$ [PL.DET leave=EXIS]$_\text{DP}$
       "The ones who left were two women."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

    c.   [q̫uq̫č   šk̫úɬk̫m̓it]   [k   Dave]
       [fat   child]$_\text{PRED}$ [DET Dave]$_\text{DP}$
       "Dave is a fat child."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

    d.   [?á.?.əน̓waš k̫ík̫š   maw] [?i   ?ám̓-č-aน̓-án-a]   [?i=nátx̫=aš]
       [two(REDUP) small   cat]$_\text{PR}$ [PL.DET feed-mouth-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS]$_\text{DP}$[when.past=day=3CONJ]
       "I fed two small cats yesterday."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

(22a,b) demonstrate that the final element in the predicate must be a noun (see also Demirdache and Matthewson 1995a,b).

22. a. * [?áน̓waš   q̫ačáč]   [?i   šmúɬač=a]
        [two   leave]   [PL.DET woman=EXIS]$_\text{DP}$
       "The women were two who left."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

    b. * [k̫ík̫š   čəq̫číq̫]   [?i   ?acx̲-ən-án=a]
        [small   red]   [PL.DET see-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS]
       "The ones I saw were small red (ones)."   (St'át'imcets; GN)

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[3] Demirdache and Matthewson argue that complex predicates provide evidence for the category Adjective in St'át'imcets, claiming that non-final elements must be individual-level adjectives. In later sections, we argue that a separate category of adjectives is not required to account for CNPs.

The necessity for the first element to be an individual-level predicate is illustrated in (23) and (24). (Following Carlson 1977, we adopt the distinction between predicates which denote individuals, such as *tall, small,* and those which denote stages of individuals, such as *hungry, tired*).

23. a. ?? [tayt   maw]   [ʔi   ʔamč-án-an=a]
    [hungry cat]   [PL.DET feed-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS]
    "The one I fed was a hungry cat."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

    b. * [šaq̓ʷ špzúzaʔ]   [ʔi   ʔacx-ən-án=a]
    [fly   bird]   [PL.DET see-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS]
    "The ones I saw were flying birds."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

24. a. [ʔéʔiʔəl kʷu   šqayxʷ]⁴
    [strong LINK man]
    "He is a strong man."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

    b. * [páq̓ʷuʔ kʷu šqayxʷ]
    [strong LINK man]
    "He is a frightened man."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

    b. * [tayt kʷu šqayxʷ]
    [hungry LINK man]
    "He is a hungry man."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

This sub-section has shown that the basic categorial properties of auxiliary constructions and CNPs differ markedly, implying that they form two distinct constructions.

1.2.3. Further differences between auxiliary constructions and CNPs

There are three additional differences between auxiliary constructions and CNPs. The first is that while auxiliary constructions allow second position clitics only after the first element, CNPs allow second position clitics after either the first or the second element. This is shown in (25-26).

25. *Auxiliary construction:*

    a. čixʷ=tuʔ   pí̓x-əm̓   [kʷ=š   John]
    go=CMP   hunt-MID [DET=NOM John]
    "John went hunting."   (St'át'imcets; BF)

    b. * čixʷ   pí̓x-əm̓=tuʔ   [kʷ=š   John]   (St'át'imcets; BF)

26. *Complex Nominal Predicate:*

    a. xzum=tuʔ   mí̓xaɬ   [na   pták=a]
    big=CMP   bear   [DET   pass=EXIS]
    "The one who went by was a big bear."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

    b. xzum   mí̓xaɬ=tuʔ   [na pták=a]   (St'át'imcets; RW)

Secondly, auxiliary constructions may not contain the linker kʷu in between the auxiliary and the main predicate, while CNPs optionally allow kʷu in between the first and the second elements.

27. *Auxiliary construction:*

    naš   (*kʷu)   pí̓x-em̓   [k   John]
    go   (*LINK)   hunt-MID [DET John]
    "John went hunting."   (St'át'imcets; BF)

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⁴ On the presence of kʷu inside complex predicates, see §1.2.3.

28. *Complex Nominal Predicate:*

    [xzum   (kʷu)   šqayxʷ]   [ta   napíɬt=a]
    [big   (LINK) man]   [DET priest=EXIS]
    "The priest is a big man."   (St'át'imcets; GN, RW)

Finally, auxiliary constructions freely allow lexical subjects to follow an auxiliary as well as the main predicate, but CNPs may not contain lexical subjects unless kʷu is present.

29. *Auxiliary construction:*

    a. lan   ƛiq   ʔácx-ən-č-aš   [ti   n-škʷúzʔ=a]
    already arrive see-DIR-1SG.OBJ-ERG [DET 1SG.POSS-child=EXIS]
    "My child already came to see me."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

    b. lan   [ti   n-škʷúzʔ=a]   ƛiq   ʔácx-ən-č-aš
    already [DET 1SG.POSS-child=EXIS] arrive see-DIR-1SG.OBJ-ERG (St'át'imcets; LT)

    c. ? lan   ƛiq   [ti   n-škʷúzʔ=a]   ʔácx-ən-č-aš
    already arrive [DET 1SG.POSS-child=EXIS] see-DIR-1SG.OBJ-ERG (St'át'imcets; LT)

30. *Complex Nominal Predicate:*

    ʔáma   [kʷ=š   Mary]   *(kʷu)   šyáqčaʔ
    good   [DET=NOM Mary]   *(DET)   woman
    "Mary is a good woman."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

Table (31) summarizes the differences between the two types of multi-predicate clause in St'át'imcets:

31.

	Auxiliaries	Complex nominal predicates
semantics of non-final elements	aspectual/directional	attributive modifier
stage/individual level	stage-level	individual-level
category of final element	unrestricted	N
second position clitics	only after 1st element	after 1st or 2nd element
linker *ku*	*	optional
lexical subjects after 1st element	√	only when *ku* is present

The observations in (31) compel us to recognize two distinct complex predicate constructions, with differing syntactic and semantic properties. Explanations for some of these differences will emerge in later sections, based on the analysis proposed for the CNP construction.

1.3. Secwepemctsín

Kroeber (1991:137) observes that Secwepemctsín does not possess a serial construction. Instead of auxiliaries, Secwepemctsín makes use of clausal subordination, with the matrix and the subordinate clause being independently inflected. (32a) illustrates an unsuccessful attempt to use the motion verb *nes* 'go' as an auxiliary, and (32b) shows the subordinate nominalized construction employed instead.

32. a. * né.n.s=kən   pí̓x-əm
    go(REDUP)=1SG.SUBJ hunt-INTR
    "I went hunting."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

    b. né.n.s=kən   n-s-pí̓.p.x-əm
    go(REDUP)=1SG.SUBJ 1SG.POSS-NOM-hunt(REDUP)-INTR
    "I went hunting."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

(33) gives another example of (bi-)clausal subordination; the equivalent proposition in St'át'imcets would be expressed by means of a (mono-clausal) auxiliary construction.

33.   kʷəmtús   [γə W.]   [γə s-yíl-n-s   [γə čítxʷ]]
       always   [DET W.]   [DET *NOM*-search-TR-*3ERG* [DET house]]
       "W. is always searching the house."   (Secwepemctsín; Kuipers 1974:86)

If all multi-predicate clauses belonged to a single class, we would expect Secwepemctsín to lack CNPs as well as auxiliaries. However, this is not the case: Secwepemctsín does possess CNPs, as shown by Lai (1997a,b). Examples are given in (34).

34. a. [ʎəxt   tə   núxʷənxʷ]   [γə Mary]
         [tall   LINK woman]   [DET Mary]
         'Mary is a tall woman.'   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

     b. [səsélə tə   méləmskyə]   [(γ ə)[5]   n-s-wí.w.k-əm]
         [two   LINK wolf]   [(DET)   1SG.POSS-NOM-see(REDUP)-MID]
         'The ones I saw were two wolves.'   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

     c. [kwalt   tə   skəlklééč]   [γə n-s-wí.w.k-əm]
         [green   LINK grasshopper] [DET 1SG.POSS-NOM-see(REDUP)-INTR]
         "The ones I saw were green grasshoppers."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

     d. [kwalt   te   čyep] [γə n-s-wí.w.k-əm]
         [green   LINK tree] [DET 1SG.POSS-NOM-see(REDUP)-INTR]
         "The one I saw was a green tree."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

CNPs in Secwepemctsín obligatorily contain the linker tə, which also links adjectives to nouns inside DPs, as shown in (35). The linker tə parallels the St'át'imcets linker kʷu which optionally appears inside CNPs.[6]

35.   kwalt [γə wíst tə   čyep]
       green [DET tall *LINK* tree]
       "The tall tree is green."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

As in St'át'imcets, the final element of a Secwepemctsín CNP must be a noun. This is shown in (36). Moreover, the non-final element(s) must be an individual level predicate, as illustrated in (37).

36. a. * [səsélə tə   ləxléx]   [γə nəxʷ.nuxʷənxʷ]
         [two   LINK intelligent] [DET (REDUP)woman]
         "The women are the two who are intelligent."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

---

[5] In Secwepemctsín, determiners may often be phonetically absent. Our Secwepemctsín consultant asserts that the determiner is 'there, but not pronounced' in examples such as (34a).

[6] tə also appears in (i), here linking two verbs and illustrating another way in which Secwepemctsín avoids the use of auxiliaries.

i.   qʷəčéč   tə   séxʷəm
       leave   DET bathe-INTR
       "She went bathing."   (Secwepemctsín; Kuipers 1974:78)

The construction in (i), although superficially similar to the CNPs in (34), differs from the latter in that in (i) there are no categorial restrictions, and the order of elements may be reversed, something which is not possible with CNPs:

ii.   séxʷəm   tə   qʷəčéč
       bathe-INTR DET leave
       "She went bathing."   (Secwepemctsín; Kuipers 1974:78)

We leave the analysis of structures such and (i) and (ii) for future research.

---

     b. * [núxʷənxʷ   tə   ʎext] [γ ə Mary]
         [woman   LINK tall] [DET Mary]
         "Mary is a tall woman."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

     c. * [méləmskyə   tə   səsélə]   [(γ ə)   n-s-wí.w.k-əm]
         [wolf   LINK two]   [(DET)   1SG.POSS-NOM-see(REDUP)-INTR]
         "The ones I saw were two wolves."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

     d. * [təwí.w.t   tə   ḍučt]   [γə John]
         [grow(REDUP) LINK fat]   [DET John]
         "John is a fat child."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

37. a. * [nuxʷ   tə   smúwə?]   [γə n-s-wí.w.k-əm]
         [run   LINK cougar]   [DET 1SG.POSS-NOM-see(REDUP)-INTR]
         "The one I saw was a running cougar."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

     b. * [teyt   tə   pus] [γə mətét-ən]
         [hungry   LINK cat] [DET feed-1SG.SUBJ]
         "The one I fed is a hungry cat."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

1.4. Conclusions

In preceding sub-sections we have shown that auxiliary constructions are systematically distinguishable from complex nominal predicates in St'át'imcets and Secwepemctsín. This implies that when investigating other Salish languages, two distinct questions must be asked: 'Does the languages possess auxiliaries?' and 'Does the language possess CNPs?' Our cross-linguistic survey has just begun; information from already published works and other sources will eventually help to complete the table in (38):

38.

	auxiliaries	complex preds
Straits	√	√
St'át'imcets	√	√
Secwepemctsín	*	√
Lushootseed	√	?
...	...	...

The following sections turn to a more detailed examination of CNPs.

2. The syntax of complex nominal predicates

Largely on the basis of categorial restrictions, Demirdache and Matthewson (1995a,b) argue that in St'át'imcets CNPs are PREDICATE NOMINALS: that is, they consist of one or more individual-level adjectives plus a noun.
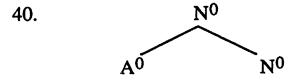   In the rest of this paper we attempt to refine their analysis, addressing in particular the following issues.

39. i.   Are CNPs syntactically zero-level categories, or are they phrases?
     ii.   Is it possible that CNPs are APs rather than NPs?
     iii. Is the category 'adjective' necessary to capture the CNP facts?
     iv.   What is the nature of the semantic relation between the elements in a CNP?
     v.   Why is the semantic relation the way it is?
     vi.   Are CNPs just relative clauses in predicate position?

Several outstanding issues will remain unaddressed, including the status of the 'linker' particles which appear inside CNPs, and the process by which lexical subjects are 'inserted' inside CNPs (see (44-45) below).

2.1. Complex nominal predicates are not compounds

Demirdache and Matthewson do not explicitly argue against the possibility that CNPs are zero-level categories (i.e. compounds, as in (40)):[7]

40.

```
        N⁰
       /  \
     A⁰    N⁰
```

It is relatively straightforward to show that CNPs are not zero-level categories; for completeness we include the argumentation here. We offer both prosodic and syntactic evidence against a compound analysis for CNPs.

In St'át'imcets, prosodic words have a single primary stress (see van Eijk 1985, Davis 1997).

41. a. ʔàc̓x-ən-č̓í=ɬkan=kɬ
         see-DIR-2SG.OBJ=1SG.SUBJ=POT
         "I'll see you again."   (St'át'imcets)

     b. qàm̓t-š-tum̓ì-(h)aš=há-tuʔ
         be.hit-CAUS-2SG.OBJ-3ERG=YNQ=CMP
         "Did it (flying object) hit you?"   (St'át'imcets)

Compounds, which are rare in the language, also have a single primary stress:

42. a. qə̀l-aɬ-tmíx̌ʷ
         bad-LINK-land
         'stormy'   (St'át'imcets)

     b. ìə̀p-aɬ-k̓ʷúnaʔ
         dig-LINK-salmon.eggs
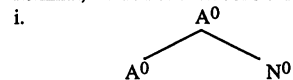   'buried salmon eggs'   (St'át'imcets)

CNPs, on the other hand, have more than one primary stress, indicating that they cannot be compounds:[8]

43. [xzúm   k̓ʷúk̓ʷpìʔ]   [k̓ʷ=š   John]
     [big   chief]   [DET=NOM   John]
     "John is a big chief."   (St'át'imcets)

The second piece of evidence that CNPs are not compounds is that they allow intervention of lexical subjects between the elements of the predicate itself, in both St'át'imcets and Secwepemctsín:

44. a. ʕə́lʕəl   [k̓ʷ=š   John]   k̓ʷu   šqayx̌ʷ
         strong   [DET=NOM   John]   LINK   man
         "John is a strong man."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

     b. qəɬmín   [tu   waʔ   píx̌-əm̓]   k̓ʷu   šqayx̌ʷ
         old   [DET   PROG   hunt-MID]   LINK   man
         'The hunter is an elderly man.'   (St'át'imcets; RW)

---

[7] For arguments that the head of a complex predicate is the final noun, see §2.2.1 below. Given that the head is nominal, we do not even consider the alternative compound structure in (i):

i.

```
        A⁰
       /  \
     A⁰    N⁰
```

[8] We have not yet investigated stress in Secwepemctsín.

---

     c. ʔáma   [k̓ʷ   Mary]   k̓ʷu   šyáqčaʔ
         good   [DET   Mary]   LINK   woman
         "Mary is a good woman."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

45. a. ƛ̓ext   [γə   Mary]   tə   núx̌ʷənx̌ʷ
         tall   [DET   Mary]   LINK   woman
         "Mary is a tall woman."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

     b. səsélə   [γə   n-s-wíwk-əm]   tə   méləmsƛ̓ə
         two   [DET   1SG.POSS-NOM-see-INTR] LINK wolf
         "The ones I saw were two wolves."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

     c. q̓uč̓t   [γə   John]   tə   təwí.w.t
         fat   [DET   John]   LINK   grow(REDUP)
         "John is a fat child."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

Evidence that the sentences in (44-45) contain CNPs is provided by the fact that they are subject to the same categorial restrictions as ordinary CNPs. (46a) shows that non-final predicative elements cannot be stage-level, and (46b) shows that the sentence is ungrammatical if the final element is not a noun:

46. a. * ƛ̓iq   [k̓ʷ   Mary]   k̓ʷu   šyáqčaʔ
           arrive   [DET   Mary]   LINK   woman
           "Mary is a woman who arrived."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

     b. * ʔáma   [k̓ʷ   Mary]   k̓ʷu   ʔəmh-álq̓ʷəm̓
           good   [DET   Mary]   LINK   good-appear
           "Mary is a good beautiful one."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

In summary, a compound has only one primary stress, and is syntactically a zero-level category. CNPs have more than one primary stress, and allow lexical subjects to intervene between elements within the predicate complex. For these reasons, CNPs cannot be compounds; they are phrases.[9]

2.2. CNPs are NPs

Given that CNPs are phrasal categories, it is in principle possible that they are either NPs, as in (47a) or (47b), or APs, as in (48).

47. a.
```
          NP
         /  \
       AP    NP
       |      \
       A    (ku) spzúza7
       |
     kwikws
```

     b.
```
          NP
         /  \
       AP    NP
      /  \     \
    A'   Opi  (ku) spzúza7
   /  \
 kwikws tⱼ        (b: Demirdache and Matthewson 1995)
```

48.
```
            AP
           /  \
         AP    NP
        /  \   /  \
    kwikws  (ku) spzúza7
```

---

[9] We have shown that complex predicates are not zero-level categories (X⁰s). For the purposes of this paper, we assume that they are maximal projections (XPs), but potentially they could belong to the X-bar level instead of the maximal projection level.

In this section we will argue that CNPs are NPs. In §2.2.1 we will show that the only obligatory element in a CNP is the final noun, which therefore must be the head of the phrase. In §2.2.2 we show that a morphological operation which only applies to nominal categories applies to CNPs.

2.2.1. Stacked CNPs

'Stacked' CNPs are CNPs which contain more than two roots; however, otherwise they act exactly the same as 'simple' CNPs. In particular, they have the same categorial restrictions.[10] Thus, (49) shows that all non-final elements in stacked CNPs must be individual-level predicates:

49. a. * [láxləx (kʷu) ʔáčx-ən-an (kʷu) šmúɬač] [kʷ=š Mary]
    [intelligent (LINK) see-DIR-1SG.CONJ (LINK) woman] [DET=NOM Mary]
    "Mary is an intelligent woman that I saw." (St'át'imcets; RW)

    b. * [láxləx (kʷu) waʔ ʕʷuy̓t (kʷu) šk̓ʷúk̓ʷm̓it] [kʷ=š Mary]
    intelligent (LINK) PROG sleep (LINK) child] [DET=NOM Mary]
    "Mary is an intelligent sleeping child." (St'át'imcets; RW)

(50) shows that in stacked CNPs, just as in ordinary CNPs, the final element is always a noun:

50. a. [xʷʔit qəl plíšmən] [ʔi waʔ ʔúxʷal]
    [many bad policeman] [PL.DET PROG go.home]
    "The ones who went home were many bad policemen." (St'át'imcets; LT)

    b. [ʔáʔaħwaš k̓ʷík̓ʷš maw̓] [ʔi ʔamč-án-an=a] [ʔi=nátxʷ=aš]
    [two(animal) small cat] [PL.DET feed-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS] [when.past=day=3.CONJ]
    "The ones I fed were two little cats." (St'át'imcets; GN, RW)

    c. [ʔáʔaħwaš k̓ʷík̓ʷš ʔa.ʔ.əmh-álqʷəm̓ špzúzaʔ]
    [two(animal) small good(REDUP)-appear bird]
    [ʔi ačx-ən-án=a] [l-ta šq̓úm=a]
    [PL.DET see-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS] [on-DET mountain=EXIS]
    "The ones I saw on the mountain were two beautiful little birds." (St'át'imcets; GN)

Assuming that the head of a phrase is obligatorily present, the contrast between the grammaticality of (50) and the ungrammaticality of (51) implies that the head of a CNP is a noun:

51. * [k̓ʷík̓ʷš čəqʷčíqʷ] [ʔi ʔačx-ən-án=a]
    [small red] [PL.DET see-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS]
    "What I saw was two small red (ones)." (St'át'imcets; GN)

We cannot analyze (50a-c) as containing an AP constituent with an adjoined NP. If this were the case, the adjoined NP's presence would be optional, and a sentence like (51) would be grammatical. This is not the case, since the predicate-final noun is obligatorily present.

The same observations can be made with Secwepemctsín data. (52) corresponds to (50), and (53), like (51), shows that the final element must be a noun:

52. a. [xʷʔit tə čiqʷ tə s.pəq.péq] [ɣə ʔ-s-ʔíɬən]
    [many LINK red LINK berry(REDUP)] [DET 2SG.POSS-NOM-eat]
    "The ones you ate were many red berries." (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

    b. [wist tə kwalt tə čyep] [ɣə n-s-wíwk-əm]
    [tall LINK green LINK tree] [DET 1SG.POSS-NOM-see-INTRANS]
    "The one I saw was a tall green tree." (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

---
[10] Stacked complex predicates are not fully acceptable for all speakers of St'át'imcets.

13

    c. [səsélə tə xyúm tə qʷəq̓ʷíyt tə pus] [ɣə fed-1SG.SUBJ]
    [two LINK big LINK black LINK cat] [DET fed-1SG.SUBJ]
    "The ones I fed were two big black cats." (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

53. a. * [səsélə tə ləxléx] [ɣə nəxʷ-núxʷənxʷ]
    [two LINK intelligent] [DET woman(REDUP)]
    "The women are the two who are intelligent." (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

    b. * [wist tə čyep tə kwalt] [ɣə n-s-wíwk-əm]
    [tall LINK tree LINK green] [DET 1SG.POSS-NOM-see-INTRANS]
    "The one I saw was a tall green tree." (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

2.2.2. ʔəš-Prefixation

ʔəš-, the St'át'imcets stative marker, attaches to nominal categories, giving the meaning of possession and creating a [-N] category (Burton and Davis 1996). The contrast between nouns and non-nouns is shown in (54) vs. (55).

54. a. waʔ ʔəš-qáxaʔ [k John]
    PROG STA-dog [DET John]
    "John has a dog." (St'át'imcets; LT)

    b. xʷʔaz kʷəɬkát ʔəš-naplít
    NEG 1PL.SUBJ STA-priest
    "We don't have a priest." (St'át'imcets; RW)

55. * waʔ ʔəš-qʷčíqʷ [k Mary]
    PROG STA-red [DET Mary]
    "Mary has a red (one)." (St'át'imcets; LT)

Using possessive stative prefixation is a diagnostic for nounhood, we can find out whether CNPs are nominal or not. (56) shows that ʔəš- may attach to the first element of some CNPs, and (57) shows that it may only attach to the first element.[11] Note also the contrast between (55), where ʔəš- may not attach to qʷčíqʷ 'red', and (56b) from the same speaker, where ʔəš- may attach to a CNP containing qʷčíqʷ. This indicates that the entire CNP in (56a-c) is an NP, and that the stative marker attaches only to the maximal projection NP, rather than to the zero-level category N[0].

56. a. waʔ ʔəš-čátawaz̓ ƛak̓ʷám̓laxʷ [kʷ=š Doreen]
    PROG STA-cedar root [DET=NOM Doreen]
    "Doreen has cedar roots." (St'át'imcets; RW; BF)

    b. waʔ ʔəš-qʷčíqʷ ƛpíẃən [k Mary] kʷu xʷuz̓ kʷuɬən-mín-an
    PROG STA-red shirt [DET Mary] LINK going.to borrow-APPL-1SG.CONJ
    "Mary has a red shirt that I'm gonna borrow." (St'át'imcets; LT)

    c. waʔ ʔəš-k̓əl šktíčaʔ [kʷ=š Wani]
    PROG STA-buckskin shirt [DET=NOM Wani]
    "Wani has a buckskin shirt." (St'át'imcets; RW; BF)

57. a. * waʔ čátawaz̓ ʔəš-ƛak̓ʷám̓laxʷ [kʷ=š Doreen]
    PROG cedar STA-root [DET=NOM Doreen]
    "Doreen has cedar roots." (St'át'imcets; BF)
    BF: 'that's because the es refers to the whole thing.'

---
[11] There is some speaker variability on the acceptability of ʔəš-prefixation to complex predicates. While ʔəš-prefixation to non-initial elements of the complex predicate is bad for all speakers, prefixation to the initial element is good for some speakers only.

14

b. * waʔ   qʷčíqʷ   ʔəš-ƛ̓píw̓ən [k   Mary]   k̓ʷu   x̌ʷuzʔ   k̓ʷutən-mín-an
    PROG red   STA-shirt   [DET   Mary]   LINK   going.to   borrow-APPL-1SG.CONJ
    "Mary has a red shirt that I'm gonna borrow."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

In summary, the data provided throughout §2.2 confirm that the entire CNP constituent is nominal (i.e. an NP). The data are compatible with CNPs forming an NP constituent, but not an AP constituent.[12]

3. Do we need the notion 'adjective'?

Recall that Demirdache and Matthewson (1995a,b) propose that CNPs contain individual-level adjectives and a head noun. However, (58a-d) are examples of CNPs which contain only nouns; see also (56a) above:

58. a. [qəɬmə́məɲ   k̓ʷu   šmúɬač]   [kʷ=š   Mary]
    [old.person   LINK   woman]   [DET=NOM   Mary]
    "Mary is an old woman."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

  b. [qəɬmín   šqayx̌ʷ]   [tu   waʔ   píx̌-əm̓]
    [old.person   man]   [DET   PROG   hunt-MID]
    "The hunter is an old man."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

  c. [líltəm   šmúɬač]   [kʷ=š   Mary]
    [adult   woman]   [DET=NOM   Mary]
    "Mary is a grown-up woman."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

  d. [c̓átaw-az'   ƛ̓akʷámlax̌ʷ]   [i   qwəz-ən-án=a]
    [cedar-tree   root]   [PL.DET use-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS]
    "The ones I used were cedar roots."   (St'át'imcets; BF)

The non-final elements in (58a-d) pass independent tests for nounhood such as allowing possessive marking (59a), being able to occupy final position in a CNP (59b), and being able to function as the head of a relative clause (59c):

59. a. n-c̓átaw-az'   [ta   ƛ̓uč-uɲ-áš=a]
    1SG.POSS-cedar-tree   [DET   chop-DIR-3ERG=EXIS]
    "What he chopped was my cedar tree."   (St'át'imcets)

  b. [ʔáma   qəɬmə́məɲ]   [kʷ=š   Mary]
    [good   *old.person*]   [DET=NOM   Mary]
    "Mary is a good old person."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

  c. pzán=ɬkan   [na   qəɬmín=a   na   x̌ʷíl-ən-án=a]
    meet(DIR)=1SG.SUBJ   [DET   *old.person*=EXIS   DET   look.for-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS]
    "I met the old person I was looking for."   (St'át'imcets)

CNPs may likewise be composed of N-N combinations in Secwepemctsín, as shown in (60).

60. a. [təwí.w.t   tə   núx̌ʷənx̌ʷ]   [ɣə   Lizzie]
    [grow (REDUP)   LINK   woman]   [DET   Lizzie]
    "Lizzie is a little girl."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

  b. [k̓ʷúk̓ʷpiʔ   tə   núx̌ʷənx̌ʷ]   [ɣə   Lizzie]
    [chief   LINK   woman]   [DET   Mary]
    "Mary is a respectable woman."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

Just as in St'át'imcets, the first elements in (60a,b) pass independent tests for nounhood:

---

[12] Secwepemctsín does not possess a parallel morpheme to St'át'imcets ʔəš-. Possession can be indicated by the prefix pəɬ-, which attaches only to nominal categories, but does not appear on CNPs (Lai 1997a). Further investigation is required.

61. a. [yəʕyəʕíʕəm   tə   *k̓ʷúk̓ʷpiʔ]*   [ɣe   John]
    [strong   LINK   *chief]*   [DET   John]
    "John is a strong chief."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

  b. [q̓uč   tə   *təwí.w.t]*   [ɣe   John]
    [fat   LINK   *child]*   [DET   John]
    "John is a fat child."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

We have seen that the final element in a CNP must be a noun. Now we see that non-final elements can be *either* nouns *or* (individual-level) adjectives.

There are three potential hypotheses that can account for the data in (58)-(61).They are given in (62).

62. Hypothesis 1:   CNPs optionally allow individual-level members of either the category A or the category N as modifiers.
  Hypothesis 2:   Nominal modifiers in CNPs undergo Ø-derivation (N->A)
  Hypothesis 3:   Non-final elements of a CNP must simply be individual level predicates (i.e. 'adjectivehood' is not a requirement).

Hypothesis 1 is no more than a statement of the facts. Hypothesis 2 is circular: since the distribution of predicates in CNPs is the sole diagnostic for a separate category A, this distribution cannot itself be determined by the CNP construction. Hypothesis 3, on the other hand, is sufficient to derive the correct results. As long as the non-final element of the CNP is an individual-level predicate, its syntactic category is irrelevant. Note that there are no individual-level predicates in St'át'imcets with verbal equivalents in English; this explains why the non-final elements of the CNP are equivalent to nouns and adjectives in English.

Once we acknowledge the independently needed requirement that non-final elements of CNPs be individual-level predicates, motivation for the category A is lost, unless we decide to treat *all* individual level predicates as belonging to the category A. This would be absurd, however, since the class of individual level predicates includes nearly all (independently definable) Ns.

In conclusion, we do not need the category A (or AP) to account for CNPs. The semantic restriction to individual-level predicates subsumes any lexical categorial restrictions on non-final elements in CNPs.[13]

This conclusion has wider implications: since the sole argument for a category A in St'át'imcets was based on CNPs (Demirdache and Matthewson 1995a, b), we can now dispense with A altogether, leaving us with a single lexical categorial distinction in St'át'imcets: [±N].

4. Semantic properties of CNPs

This section investigates the semantic relation between the head of a CNP and its modifiers.

4.1. Attributive vs. intersective modifiers

According to Higginbotham (1985), modification of a noun by an adjective expresses conjunction. In its simplest form, conjunction works as in (63).

63. a.   That is a big dog.
  a.'   That is a dog, and it is big.
  a.''   dog (x) & big (x)

However, Higginbotham points out that the situation is usually more complex than in (63):

Adjectives grade things along dimensions that are partly contextually filled in, but also partly controlled by the syntactic environment. When an adjective combines with an N to form a complex N', as in *tall man, big butterfly,* or *good violinist,* then it is taken as grading with respect to the attribute given in the N (Higginbotham 1985:563).

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[13] Note that the restriction that the head of a CNP be a noun is *not* subsumed by semantics, but requires reference to the lexical category N.

The use of the N as the standard of comparison for the adjective is illustrated in (64), where the standard of 'bigness' varies according to the kind of individual which is modified by *big*. For example, (64a) is judged to be true if the butterfly is 10 inches long, but (64b) is false if the dog is 10 inches long.

64. a. That is a big butterfly.
   a.' That is a butterfly, and it is big (for a butterfly).

   b. That is a big dog.
   b.' That is a dog, and it is big (for a dog).

The possibility of using the noun as the standard of comparison for the adjective gives rise to ambiguity, as noted by Larson (1996), among others. For example, (65) is ambiguous between a reading in which I saw someone who dances beautifully, but may be unattractive otherwise, and a reading in which I saw a beautiful person, but s/he danced poorly:

65. I saw a beautiful dancer.

The ambiguity of (65) is accounted for if we assume that the adjective *beautiful* is relational. It takes an individual argument x (the object that is beautiful), plus an argument for a standard of comparison C (the standard according to which beauty is assessed) (Larson 1996:497). The standard of comparison may either be dancers (giving the reading where x dances beautifully), or people in general. This is illustrated in (66).

66. a. beautiful (x, C)
   b. beautiful (x, person)   intersective reading: beautiful (x) & dancer (x)
   c. beautiful (x, dancer)   attributive reading: beautiful (x) for a dancer
                                                    (cf. Larson 1996)

The difference between the two readings reduces to whether the noun provides the standard of comparison or not. If the noun provides the standard of comparison, the attributive reading results.

Note that attributive readings reduce to pure intersective readings in certain cases, namely whenever there is no sense in which the noun can provide a standard of comparison for the adjective. For example, adjectives such as *wet* or *dead* typically do not rely on the noun which they modify for a standard of comparison, and numerals like *three* never do. In other words, there is no standard of wetness, deadness or threeness which a noun can provide; these adjectives always result in pure conjunction semantics:

67. a. *wet hair*   ->   hair (x) and wet (x) (for an X)   (intersective)
   b. *dead bindweed*   ->   bindweed (x) and dead (x) (for an X)   (intersective)
   c. *three snowflakes*   ->   snowflake (x) and three (x) (for an X)   (intersective)

The next sub-section investigates the semantics of CNPs in St'át'imcets and Secwepemctsín, to determine whether they allow attributive or intersective semantics, or give rise to ambiguity.

4.2. CNPs only have attributive interpretations

In both St'át'imcets and Secwepemctsín, CNPs which allow their head noun to provide a standard of comparison (i.e. which contain modifiers like *beautiful, big* and unlike *dead, three*) always require that the head noun provide the standard. In other words, CNPs only allow the attributive interpretation. Thus, (68a) is unambiguous: it only has the attributive reading in (68c).

68. a. [ʕálʕəl   k^wúk^wpi?]   [k^w=š   John]
       [strong   chief]   [DET=NOM   John]
       "John is a strong chief."   (St'át'imcets; BF)

	reading	strong (x,C)	meaning	paraphrase	status
b.	intersective	strong (John, person)	chief (J) & strong (J) (for a person)	John has big muscles	*
c.	attributive	strong (John, chief)	chief (J) & strong (J) (for a chief)	John is a powerful leader	√

CNPs containing only nouns also have attributive, rather than intersective, meanings. Consider (69):

69. [čátaw-az'   ƛak^wámlax^w]   [?i   qwəz-ən-án=a]
   [cedar-tree   root]   [PL.DET   use-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS]
   "The ones I used were cedar roots."   (St'át'imcets; BF)

Under an intersective reading, the items that were used would have to be simultaneously cedar trees and roots. This clearly does not represent the meaning of the sentence. Under an attributive reading, the first element 'cedar tree' attributively modifies the second element 'root', and the complex NP denotes a particular kind of root.[14]

The same is true in (70); in these cases the sentences are ungrammatical because they would require an intersective reading, whereby John is simultaneously described as belonging to two professions:

70. a. * [napíƛt   k^wúk^wpi?]   [k   John]
       [priest   chief]   [DET   John]
      "John is a priest (and a) chief."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

   b. * [pilísmən   k^wúk^wpi?]   [k   John]
       [policeman   chief]   [DET   John]
      "John is a policeman (and a) chief."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

   c. * [k^wúk^wpi?   pilísmən]   [k   John]
       [chief   policeman]   [DET   John]
      "John is a chief (and a) policeman."   (St'át'imcets; LT)

Secwepemctsín CNPs similarly have only attributive readings. In (71), the intersective reading whereby Mary is both a woman and a chief is disallowed. Instead, kúk^wpi? 'chief' modifies núx^wənx^w 'woman' giving the reading 'respectable woman':

71. [kúk^wpi?   tə   núx^wənx^w]   [ɣə   Mary]
   [chief   LINK   woman]   [DET   Mary]
  * "Mary is a female chief."
   "Mary is a respectable woman."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

In (72), the intersective meaning whereby John is a chief and also a policeman is disallowed. Instead, the sentence can only mean that John is a police chief; the first noun 'policeman' specifies the kind of chief that is being picked out (i.e. he is a police chief rather than a band chief).[15]

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[14] The same constraint holds for stacked CNPs. (i) only has an attributive reading, in which 'cedar-tree' attributively modifies 'root' and 'big' attributively modifies 'cedar-tree root':
i.   [xzum   [čataw-az'   ƛak^wámlax^w]]   [ti   ƛəq-ən-án=a]
    [big   [cedar-tree   root]   [DET   dig-DIR-1SG.CONJ=EXIS]
    "The one I dug was a big cedar root."   (St'át'imcets; BF)
The bracketing given in (i), where the predicate refers to a cedar-tree root which is big (rather than to the root of a big cedar tree), is the only possible one available. We can see this from continuations of the sentence in (i). (ii) is perfectly fine, but (iii) is a contradiction.
ii.   ...ƛu?   k^wík^wš   ti   čataw-áz'=a
    ...but   small   DET   cedar-tree=EXIS
    "...but the cedar-tree (itself) was small."   (St'át'imcets; BF)
iii. !! ...ƛu?   k^wík^wš   ti   ƛak^wámlax^w=a
    ...but   small   DET   root=EXIS
    "...but the root (itself) was small."   (St'át'imcets; BF)
[15] Why the same possibility does not hold for the St'át'imcets examples in (70) is an open question at this stage; it is not clear whether this represents a systematic difference between the two languages.

72. [yəʕyəʕíʕəm   tə   kukʷpíʔ]   [ɣə   John]
     [policeman   LINK chief]   [DET   John]
     "John is the chief of the police."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

The same phenomenon can be found in Saanich, as shown in (73). Under an intersective reading, these sentences would involve a near-contradiction, but under a reading where the first element attributively modifies the second they are fully acceptable:

73. a. swəy̓qəʔ   sɬeníʔ
         man   woman
         "She's a mannish woman."   (Saanich; Montler 1993:247)

     b. sɬeníʔ   swəy̓qəʔ
         woman   man
         "He's a womanish man."   (Saanich; Montler 1993:247)

Note that the existence of attributive N-N CNPs in St'át'imcets and elsewhere suggests that we need to extend the notion of 'standard of comparison' from adjectives to nouns. One way of doing this is to distinguish the notion of 'grading' - the scalar property associated with English adjectives such as *big* or *beautiful* - from the ability to range over one of a set of attributes associated with a noun. Thus nominal modifiers may range over a set of attribute-values, but cannot grade them. Take (69) above, for example: here 'root' has as one of its attributes the set of values for 'tree': {cedar, fir, pine, spruce...}; the operation of nominal modification involves fixing one of these values, but, since they are discrete rather than scalar, it cannot grade them with respect to "treeness".

Finally, recall that apparently intersective CNPs as in (74) can be regarded as attributive cases which reduce to an intersective reading because the noun is unable to provide a standard of comparison for the non-final element:

74. [ʔán̓waš   šmúɬač]   [ʔi   qʷačáč=a]
     [two   woman]   [PL.DET leave=EXIS]
     "The ones who left were two women."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

There is no sense in which the noun 'woman' can provide a standard of comparison for 'two'; in CNP in (74) can therefore be regarded as (trivially) attributive, as in (75).

75. woman (x) and two (x) (for a woman)   =   woman (x) and two (x) (for an X)
     attributive   =   *intersective*

To summarize so far, we have established that in CNPs, non-final elements always attributively modify their final noun. We have also provided support for Demirdache and Matthewson's (1995a,b) claim that non-final elements inside CNPs are always individual-level predicates. The next section addresses the issue of whether these two generalizations are related to one another, and why they should hold.

4.3. The relationship between attributivity and the stage / individual-level contrast
4.3.1. English CNPs

The connection we have seen in St'át'imcets and Secwepemctsín between the stage / individual-level contrast and the intersective / attributive contrast also holds in English, suggesting that the connection is more than just a contingent fact about Salish.

In English, just as in St'át'imcets, modifiers in predicate nominals (i.e. CNPs) must be individual-level; they must also attributively modify their head noun. For example, the individual-level modifiers in (76) are fully acceptable inside CNPs. Moreover, they only have an attributive reading whereby the referent in question is tall by the standard of skyscrapers or small by the standard of butterflies. The intersective reading, whereby the skyscraper is simply tall (compared to all other comparable individuals) or the butterfly is simply small (compared to all other comparable individuals) is missing.[16]

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[16] Our claim that CNPs in English lack intersective readings contrasts with Larson and Segal's (1995) claim that the sentence in (i) is ambiguous:
i.   Olga is a beautiful dancer.

76. *individual-level modifier:*
     a. This building is a tall sky-scraper.   (attributive √, intersective *)
     b. This insect is a little butterfly.   (attributive √, intersective *)

If we try to use a stage-level modifier inside a CNP, the modifier (marginally) takes on an individual-level interpretation. Thus, the only available interpretation for the cases in (77) is one where the detectives in question are permanently endowed with the relevant properties of 'being tired', 'singing' or 'being sick'. Although the judgments are subtle, these cases seem only to have an attributive interpretation:

77. a. ! This man is a tired detective.   (attributive √, intersective *)
     b. ! This man is a singing detective.   (attributive √, intersective *)
     c. ! This man is a sick detective.   (attributive √, intersective *)

In summary, English parallels St'át'imcets and Secwepemctsín in the semantic requirements on CNPs.

4.3.2. Argument DPs

In order to understand the restrictions on CNPs, which hold in both Salish and English, we need to determine which of the properties of CNPs derive from their *predicative* status. This means that we must investigate the properties of complex nominal DPs in *argument* position, and compare these to the CNP facts.

Inside English DPs, both individual-level and stage-level modifiers are possible:

78. a. I caught a big fish.   *(individual-level modifier)*
     b. I met a hungry grizzly bear.   *(stage-level modifier)*

The same is true in St'át'imcets;[17] the stage-level modifiers in (80) are acceptable, unlike inside CNPs:

79. *individual-level modifier:*
     a. čəw̓-ən=ɬkán   [ti   xzúm=a   maw]
         kick-DIR=1SG.SUBJ [DET big=EXIS   cat]
         "I kicked the big cat."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

     b. xʷuz'   ʔíx̣-əm   [ti   ʔəmh-álqʷəm̓=a   šqayxʷ]
         going.to sing-MID [DET good-appear=EXIS man]
         "A handsome man is gonna sing."   (St'át'imcets; AA, LT)

80. *stage-level modifier:*
     a. ʔa.ʔ.əmh-álqʷəm̓   [ti   wa?   ʕʷuy̓t-álmən   šmə́.m̓.ɬač]
         good(REDUP)-appear [DET PROG   sleep-DESID   woman(REDUP)]
         "The sleepy girl is pretty."   (St'át'imcets; GN)

     b. wa?   q̓á.q̓.aw-am̓   [ta   táyt=a   (kʷu)   šqáx̣a?]
         PROG   howl(REDUP)-MID [DET hungry=EXIS   (LINK)   dog]
         "The hungry dog is howling."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

What are the interpretations of these modifiers? The interpretation of modifiers inside argument DPs in both English and Salish shows one striking difference from those inside CNPs, and one striking similarity. The difference is that inside argument DPs, individual-level modifiers may have intersective readings as well as attributive readings. Thus, in the English DPs in (81), the individual-level modifiers have both an attributive reading, whereby the referent in question is tall by the standard of skyscrapers or small by the standard of butterflies, *as well as* an intersective reading, whereby the skyscraper is simply tall (compared to all other comparable individuals) or the butterfly is simply small (compared to all other comparable individuals).

It is not clear to us that (i) is indeed ambiguous, but see §4.4 below for a potential explanation of Larson and Segal's claim.

[17] Information on some of the points discussed in this and later sections is presently unavailable for Secwepemctsín. We expect that similar facts will hold.

81.   *individual-level modifier:*
  a.   I saw a tall sky-scraper.   (attributive √, intersective √)
  b.   I saw a little butterfly.   (attributive √, intersective √)

The same facts hold in St'át'imcets. The individual-level modifier in (82) is ambiguous between an attributive and an intersective reading:

82.   pzán=ɬkan   [ta   ʕálʕəl=a   kʷúkʷpɬʔ]
       meet=1SG.SUBJ   [DET   strong=EXIS   chief]
       "I met a strong chief."   (St'át'imcets; BF)

  a.   I met a person who was a powerful leader.   (attributive √)
  b.   I met a person who was a chief and had big muscles.   (intersective √)

This is striking because the same modifier-noun string ('strong chief') only has the attributive reading in (82b) when it appears inside a CNP; cf. (68) above.

The similarity we find between argument DPs and CNPs is that in argument DPs, just as in CNPs, there is a correlation between attributivity and individual-level modifiers. In particular, the only modifiers which allow attributive readings, in any syntactic position, are individual-level predicates. Individual-level adjectives such as *big, little, tall* allow attributive readings, but stage-level adjectives such as *sleepy, hungry,* or *singing* do not. For example, (83a) only means that the person I met was a detective and also tired. (83c) is odd because all invalids are sick; however, the only reading it receives is the intersective one whereby the person I saw was an invalid and also sick. It does not mean that the person I saw is sick by the standard of invalids (i.e. very, very sick).

83.   *stage-level modifier:*
  a.   I saw a tired detective.   (attributive *, intersective √)
  b.   I saw a singing detective.   (attributive *, intersective √)
  c. ?   I saw a sick invalid.   (attributive *, intersective √)

The generalizations of this and the previous sub-section are represented in (84):

84.   a.

argument DPs:	stage-level modifier	individ.-level modifier
intersective	√	√
attributive	*	√

  b.

CNPs:	stage-level modifier	individ.-level modifier
intersective	*	*
attributive	*	√

For both CNPs and argument DPs, only individual-level modifiers may have an attributive reading. Where CNPs and argument DPs differ is that only argument DPs allow intersective readings.

We will deal with the difference between arguments and predicates in §4.4. For now, let us turn our attention to the correlation between individual-level modifiers and attributive readings.

4.3.3. Correlation between individual-level modifiers and attributive readings

As shown above, Salish and English CNPs allow only individual-level modifiers, and these modifiers have attributive semantics. The question now arises as to whether these two restrictions are independent, or whether they are reducible to one another. There are three possibilities, outlined in (85):

85.   a.   The attributivity requirement and the individual-level requirement are independent of one another.
       b.   The attributive requirement derives from the individual-level requirement.
       c.   The individual-level requirement derives from the attributive requirement.

We begin by dismissing (85a), on the grounds that it fails to account for the systematic absence of stage-level attributive modifiers in both predicate and argument positions (see 84a,b). The fact that there is a consistent correlation between attributivity and individual-level modification means that the relationship cannot be random.

Next, we turn to (85b). In order for this implication to hold, all individual-level modifiers would have to be incompatible with intersective readings. This is false; (84a) shows that individual-level modifiers allow *both* attributive *and* intersective readings (modulo the independent restriction against any intersective readings inside predicates, which we discuss below).

This leaves (85c). Here, the implication is valid: attributive modification is uniformly incompatible with stage-level predicates, both in arguments and in predicates. We conclude that:

86.   ATTRIBUTIVE => INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL

The obvious next question is why it is the case that CNPs are only attributive. That is the topic of the following sub-section.

4.4. Why are intersective readings disallowed in CNPs?

As shown in §4.3.2, the absence of intersective readings only holds for NPs in *predicate* position. Intersective readings are possible inside *argument DPs* in both Salish languages and in English. Given the difference between NPs and DPs with respect to attributivity, it will be useful to examine independently-attested differences between NPs (predicates) and DPs (arguments).

Complex nominal DPs have been argued to be HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES in St'át'imcets (see Demirdache and Matthewson 1995a,b, Matthewson and Davis 1995 for detailed argumentation). Examples are given in (87). (87a) and (87b) are head-final relative clauses where the clausal portion contains overt inflectional marking and an auxiliary respectively. The parallelism between (87a,b) and (87c) leads Demirdache and Matthewson (1995a,b) and Matthewson and Davis (1995) to propose that (87c) is also a headed relative clause, whose clausal portion happens to contain an intransitive predicate with null third person absolutive person marking.

87. a.   c̓um̓-qš-án-aš   š=Mary   [ta   x̣ʷəy-š-áš=a   šqayxʷ]
            suck-nose-DIR-3ERG   [NOM=Mary]   [DET   love-*CAUS-3ERG*=EXIS   man]
            "Mary kissed the man she loves."   (St'át'imcets; BF)

     b.   púpən̓=ɬkan   [tu   waʔ=∅   pápqʷuʔ   šqʷəyíč]   [l=ta   x̣ʷáɬ=a]
            find(REDUP)=1SG.SUBJ   [DET   *PROG=3ABS*   afraid(REDUP)   rabbit]   [on=DET   road=EXIS]
            "I found a frightened rabbit on the road."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

     c.   šaq̓ʷ   [ta   x̣zúm=∅=a   špzúzaʔ]
            fly   [DET   *big=3ABS*=EXIS   bird]
            "The big bird flew."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

Thus, DPs which contain head nouns modified by other material may be analyzed as headed relative clauses.

On the other hand, NP predicates are crucially *not* relative clauses (Demirdache and Matthewson 1995a,b). This is supported by the obligatory absence of any indicators of clausal status inside CNPs. For example, non-final elements of CNPs never take verbal inflectional endings.[18]

Next, note that relative clauses have the semantics of conjunction; that is, they involve set intersection:

88. a.   c̓um̓-qš-án-aš   š=Mary   [ta   x̣ʷəy-š-áš=a   šqayxʷ]
            suck-nose-DIR-3ERG   [NOM=Mary]   [DET   love-CAUS-3ERG=EXIS   man]
            "Mary kissed the man she loves."   (St'át'imcets; BF)

     a.'   Mary kissed (x) ‖ man (x) & loved-by-Mary (x)

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[18] Apparent counter-examples as in (i) merely illustrate the phonological requirement that subject clitics appear in second position; the inflection in (i) takes scope over the whole complex predicate rather than just the first element.
i.   ʕalʕəl=ɬkán   šqayxʷ
      strong=2SG.SUBJ   man
      "I am a strong man."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

The simplified logical form in (a') indicates that the meaning of the relative clause in (a) is to be derived by intersecting the sets denoted by the predicates "man" and "loved by Mary".

On the other hand, we have already seen that set intersection is not adequate to capture the semantics of attributive modification. Attributive modifiers are relations between individuals and values of a contextually-defined comparison class (the 'for-a' relation).

89. a.   čuṁ-qš-áṅ-aš   š=Mary   [ta   záx-alqwəṁ=a   šqayx^w]
       suck-nose-DIR-3ERG   [NOM=Mary]   [DET   love-CAUS-3ERG=EXIS   man]
       "Mary kissed a tall man."   (St'át'imcets; BF)

   a.'   Mary kissed (x) ‖ (tall-for-a-man) (x)

The comparison class is supplied by context: its default value is that of the modifiee itself (i.e., 'man' in the case above).

Summarizing so far, we have established the following differences between predicates (CNPs) and arguments (DPs):

90.

CNPs	DPs
a. always predicative	never predicative[19]
b. may not contain clausal modifiers	may contain relative clauses
c. always have attributive readings	may have intersective readings

(90) shows a correlation between argument DPs, which are relative clauses and have intersectve readings, and CNPs, which are not relative clauses and do not have intersective readings. The next question is, what is the basis for this correlation? More specifically, why is the intersective reading unavailable in CNPs?

We do not as yet have a convincing answer to this question, but we can sketch a possible approach. Notice that in (89) (the attributive case) we are effectively creating a derived predicate, "tall-for-a-man" based on the predicates "man" (the modifiee) and "tall" (the modifier), together with the "for-a" relation. On the other hand, in the relative clause case, we have two distinct predicates, which end up conjoined. The attributive and intersective readings thus involve different semantic 'modes' of modification, with different syntactic realizations: in attributive modification we have a single derived predicate; in intersective modification we have two conjoined predicates.

The reason for the absence of the intersective reading in CNPs now follows straightforwardly: intersection is dependent on conjunction, but there is no conjunction in non-coordinated CNPs, since they involve a single predicate. Note that in fact an intersective reading *is* available in predicate position just in case *overt* conjunction is employed.

91. a.   [k^{w}úk^{w}pı?   múta?   plíšmən]   [k^w=š   Mary]
        [chief   and   policeman]   [DET=NOM   Mary]
        "Mary is a chief and a policeman."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

   b.   [kapúh   múta?   qmut]   [?ı   š-ɬəx^w-š-án=a]
        coat   and   hat]   [PL.DET   STA-put.on-CAUS-1SG.CONJ=EXIS]
        "I am wearing a coat and a hat."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

   c.   [ʕélʕəl   k^{w}úk^{w}pı?]   múta?   [?áma   plíšmən]   [k^w=š   John]
        [strong   chief]   and   [good   policeman]   [DET=NOM   John]
        "John is a strong chief and a good policeman."   (St'át'imcets; RW)

92.   [xyum   ?eɬ   q^{w}ıq̓^{w}íyt]   [ɣə   méləmsk̓yə]
       big   and   black]   [DET   wolf]
       "The wolf is big and black."   (Secwepemctsín; MJ)

Next, we turn to the converse case: the interpretation of modifiers in argument DPs. The account we have developed so far correctly predicts that the intersective interpretation is available in DP environments, associated

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[19] DPs are never predicative in St'át'imcets or Secwepemctsín; see §4.5 for discussion of the English-Salish split here.

with relative clause syntax. Recall, however, that DPs with individual-level modifiers in both St'át'imcets and English are ambiguous between intersective and attributive readings. Thus, (93) is ambiguous between (93a) and (93b):

93.   pzán=ɬkan   [ta   ʕélʕəl=a   k^{w}úk^{w}pı?]
       meet=1SG.SUBJ   [DET   strong=EXIS   chief]
       "I met a strong chief."   (St'át'imcets;.BF)

   a.   I met a person who was a powerful leader.   *(attributive)*
   b.   I met a person who was a chief and had big muscles.   *(intersective)*

As long as *all* complex DPs are relative clauses, as was assumed by e.g. Matthewson and Davis (1995), we cannot account for the attributive reading in (92). However, nothing in our account forces this assumption. Suppose we assume instead that DPs like that in (92) are *structurally* as well as *interpretively* ambiguous: they can either involve relative clause syntax and intersective semantics, or non-clausal adjunction and attributive semantics. In that case, we can maintain a tight fit between syntax and semantics, and generalize our account fully to both predicates (CNPs) and arguments (DPs).[20]

Finally, note that our analysis implies that English DPs which allow both intersective and attributive readings (cf. §4.3.2) are also structurally ambiguous, with the intersective reading correlating with a structure which is (derived from) a relative clause (cf. e.g. McCawley 1988).

4.5. Why are there no relative clauses in predicate position in St'át'imcets?

Main predicates in St'át'imcets (and in Salish more generally) lack determiners (see Matthewson 1996). We can therefore explain the absence of relative clauses in predicate position in Salish if we can explain why relative clauses require determiners in these languages.

In fact, the requirement that relative clauses be introduced by determiners follows simply from the fact that determiners are the principal clausal subordinators in Salish (Kroeber 1991, Davis and Matthewson 1997b). Since relative clauses are by definition a subtype of subordinate clause, it will follow that - as long as subordinate clauses must be introduced by some subordinating functor - determiners will be obligatory on relative clauses.

Note that English provides support for our analysis of relative clauses in Salish. English, unlike St'át'imcets, allows determiners on predicates, and likewise allows relative clauses in predicate position:

94.   a.   Mary is a chief.
       b.   Mary is the love of my life.
       c.   Mary is a woman who I adore.
       d.   Mary is the chief who signed this treaty.

The relative clauses in (94) have an intersective reading, in accord with our claim that relative clauses are universally associated with set intersection. The only difference between English and St'át'imcets is that English allows relative clauses in predicate position. St'át'imcets, on the other hand, lacks relative clauses in predicate position, and consequently lacks all intersective readings in predicate position.

Note that this analysis offers a potential explanation for the supposed ambiguity of *Olga is a beautiful dancer* (see footnote 16). The English DP *a beautiful dancer* has the possibility, in predicate as well as in argument position, of being formed from a relative clause (cf. McCawley 1988) and therefore allowing an intersective reading.

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[20] Head-initial relative clauses in St'át'imcets (see Matthewson and Davis 1995) always contain two determiners:

   i.   čuṁ-qš-áṅ-aš   [k^w=š   Mary]   [ta   šqáyx^w=a   *ta*   x̌^{w}əy-š-áš=a]
        suck-nose-DIR-3ERG   [DET=NOM   Mary]   [DET   man=EXIS   *DET*   love-CAUS-3ERG=EXIS]
        "Mary kissed the man she loves."   (St'át'imcets; RW, GN)

Following Davis and Matthewson (1997), the italicized determiner ta in (i) occupies Infl, and as such these constructions are always relative clauses. Therefore, we predict that examples such as (i) will be non-ambiguous, always receiving only the intersective reading. The relevant fieldwork has not yet been undertaken.

4.6. Summary

Summarizing our discussion of the semantics of CNPs, the following points have been made:

95. i.   CNPs only allow individual-level modifiers
     ii. CNPs only have attributive readings

96. i.   The fact that: CNPs only allow individual-level modifiers
          follows from the fact that: CNPs only have attributive readings
          given the fact that: only individual-level modifiers allow attributive readings

     ii. The fact that: CNPs only have an attributive reading
          follows from the fact that: intersective readings are correlated with relative clauses
          given the fact that: relative clauses are disallowed in predicate position

     iii. The fact that: relative clauses are disallowed in predicate position
          follows from the fact that: predicates do not contain Ds
          given the fact that: relative clauses require D (= Infl)

5. Conclusion

In this paper we have first argued that there are two separate multi-predicate constructions in (at least) St'át'imcets and Secwepemctsín. Auxiliary predicate constructions are distinguished from complex nominal predicates morphologically, syntactically and semantically and cannot be regarded as instances of the same phenomenon.

Next, outstanding issues with respect to CNPs were discussed. Among other things, we have argued for the following points (cf. (39) above):

97. i.   CNPs are syntactically phrases rather than zero-level categories.
     ii. CNPs are NPs.
     iii. A separate category 'adjective' is not required to capture the CNP facts. Non-final elements inside CNPs are subject only to the independently-required restriction that they be individual-level predicates.
     iv. The head noun in a CNP is attributively modified, and may not be intersectively modified.
     v.   The attributive nature of CNPs follows because for an intersective reading, a relative clause is required and relative clauses are only licensed in argument positions.

Throughout the discussion of the semantics of CNPs, we have seen that St'át'imcets and English parallel each other closely, with differences falling out from independent differences in the respective languages.

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Abbreviations

ABS = absolutive, ACC = accusative, ANTIC = anticipated, APPL = applicative, AUT = autonomous, CAUS = causative, CMP = complete speaker knowledge, CONJ = conjunctive, DEM = demonstrative, DES = desiderative, DET = determiner, DIR = directive transitive, ERG = ergative, EXIS = assertion of existence, FOC = focus, INTR = intransitive, LINK = linker, MID = middle, NEG = negative, NOMIN = nominative, NOM = nominalizer, OBJ = object, PERF = perfective aspect, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, POT = potential, PRED = predicate, PREP = preposition, PROG = progressive, REDUP = reduplication, SG = singular, STA = stative, SUBJ = subject, SUCL = subect clitic, TR = transitive, YNQ = yes-no question. A dash (-) indicates an affix boundary and an equals sign (=) a clitic boundary.