Categorial restrictions on modification in St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish)

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In this paper, I examine categorial restrictions on modification in St'át'imcets DP's. I conclude on the basis of the distribution of postposed modifiers that two different modification structures must be distinguished: relative clauses, on the one hand, and phrasal modifiers, on the other. The latter are restricted to prenominal position and are headed by adjectives and nouns, but not verbs. Since only nouns but not adjectives or verbs may be modified, modification structures afford evidence for three distinct lexical categories: noun, verb, and adjective.

1 Introduction[1]

In their important paper on lexical category distinctions in Salish, Demirdache and Matthewson (1995) identify two environments in St'át'imcets (Lillooet) which provide purely syntactic evidence for the categories noun, adjective, and verb. The first of these is in complex (nominal) predicates, the second in (headed) relative clauses. Their findings with respect to these two environments are the following:

- the final element of a complex predicate must be a noun; all non-final (modifying) elements must be (individual-level) adjectives
- the head of a headed relative clause must be a noun

In other words, complex predicates yield a three-way lexical category distinction between noun, adjectives, and verbs, while relative clauses yield a two-way distinction between nouns on the one hand and verbs and adjectives on the other.

Subsequent work (see Davis, Lai and Matthewson 1997 on St'át'imcets and Secwepemctsín (Shuswap), Davis and Matthewson 1999 on St'át'imcets, and Montler 2001 on Klallam) has refined Demirdache and Matthewson's original observations on complex predicates. In particular, their three-way lexical

[1] Thanks to St'át'imcets consultants Beverly Frank, Gertrude Ned, Laura Thevarge, and Agnes Rose Whitley, to the Upper St'át'imc Language, Education and Culture Society for supporting work on the teaching grammar of Upper St'át'imcets for which much of the data here was elicited, and to Lisa Matthewson for help with style and content. Examples are given in the van Eijk orthography: a conversion chart to a standard North American phonemic alphabet is appended, together with a list of abbreviations used in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses.

category distinction has been shown to be too strong: while it is the case that complex predicates always contain a final noun, non-final predicate modifiers may be either nominal or adjectival, as long as they are individual rather than stage-level. This finding has thrown into doubt the validity of the lexical category 'adjective' in St'át'imcets, since the complex predicate data constituted the sole syntactic argument for a noun-adjective distinction, and there is no supporting morphological evidence.

In contrast to complex predicates, little subsequent work has been done on lexical category distinctions in relative clauses. One of the reasons for the lack of follow-up investigation here is because Demirdache and Matthewson's main empirical claim - that the head of a headed relative clause must be a noun - has been widely accepted by the field, with (as far as I know) no dissenting opinion. On the other hand, there is little or no discussion concerning categorial restrictions on the modifying element in relative clauses, presumably because - by assumption - relative clauses are clauses.

It is this latter assumption that I wish to question here. I will argue that in fact there are two distinct modification structures in St'át'imcets DP's, and that only one of them is clausal. I will then show that the conditions on non-clausal modification in DP are nearly identical to those which hold in complex predicates - leading to the possibility of a unified analysis of non-clausal modification in St'át'imcets, with important implications both for the inventory of lexical categories in St'át'imcets and the nature of the phrases projected from them.

Before going on, however, let us briefly review the basics of relative clause syntax in St'át'imcets, as originally described by Demirdache and Matthewson (1995) and Matthewson and Davis (1995).

2 Headed relative clauses in St'át'imcets: a brief overview

I will take it as established that relative clauses do exist as distinct constructions in St'át'imcets (and in Salish more generally). The skeptical reader is invited to review the arguments presented for St'át'imcets by Matthewson and Davis (1995) as well as those for Straits given by Montler (1993), for Thompson River Salish by Kroeber (1997), and for the family as a whole by Kroeber (1999).

St'át'imcets exhibits both of the two types of relative clause found commonly across Salish: those where the head and the associated clause are each introduced by a separate determiner, referred to by Demirdache and Matthewson (1995) and Matthewson and Davis (1995) as 'REL1's; and those introduced by a single initial determiner, referred to by the same authors as 'REL2's.[2,3]

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[2] These two types appear to have different distributions across Salish, though data has never been systematically collected on the question: a study is overdue. At any rate, REL2's seem to be commonest in Central Salish, whereas REL1's are more commonly encountered in the Interior languages (as well as Bella Coola, where they are obligatory). The areal correlation is by no means perfect, however: for example, Straits Salish, in the heart of Central Salish territory, has both types. See Kroeber (1999: 74-76, 254-258) for comments. Interestingly, a distributional asymmetry

Examples of REL1's are given in (1-3).[4] The relevant DP's are bracketed, a convention I will adopt throughout this paper.

(1) pápt-kan tu7 wa7 lhecwp-cen-mín [*ta* l̓óp-*a*
always-1SG.SU PST PROG catch-foot-RED [DET rope-EXIS
ta wa7 láti7 s-telh]
DET PROG there STA-stretch]
"I kept tripping on the rope that was stretched out there."

(2) stexw t'u7 qlil-min'-ítas [*ta* twéww'et-*a* *ta*
really so angry-RED-3PL.ERG [DET boy-EXIS DET
lhap-en-tálih-*a* i s7áy'tseqw-a l-ta
forget-TR-TOP-EXIS PL.DET raspberry-EXIS at-DET
s-t'ép-s-a ta káoh-a]
NOM-under-3POSS-EXIS DET-car-EXIS
"They were really angry at the boy who had forgotten the raspberries underneath the car."

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between REL2's and REL1's is also found within St'át'imcets itself: speakers from the Lower dialect, adjacent to Sḵwx̱wú7mes (Squamish-speaking) and Sto:lo (Upriver Halkomelem-speaking] territories, seldom use REL1's spontaneously, while those from the Upper dialect, adjacent to Secwépemc (Shuswap-speaking) and Nlhe'képmx (Thompson-speaking) territories, do so more frequently. However, even Upper dialect speakers find REL1's more marked and use them less frequently than REL2's; this may explain why van Eijk (1997) fails to mention them altogether.

[3] Note that all relative clauses in St'át'imcets exhibit the same, highly distinctive patterns of pronominal morphology, extensively discussed in Roberts (1994, 1999), Davis (1994) van Eijk (1997), and Kroeber (1999), as well as by Demirdache and Matthewson (1995) and Matthewson and Davis (1995). Briefly: intransitive subject-centred relatives are characterized by the omission of subject morphology altogether, as demonstrated by Roberts (1999) on the basis of the distribution of the plural marker *wit*. Transitive object-centred relative clauses contain a gap in object position (again, as shown by the distribution of *wit*), together with the subject suffixes which St'át'imcets employs in all transitive subordinate clauses. Transitive subject-centred relatives fall into two types: if the object is first or second person, (third person) transitive subject marking is retained; on the other hand, if the object is third person, a variety of strategies are employed, including retention of the transitive subject suffix, passivization, and most commonly, use of the suffix *-tali*, discussed in detail in Davis (1994).

[4] While the two determiners in REL1's are normally identical, this is not necessarily the case: a present determiner may mark the initial (nominal) part of a REL1, with an absent determiner marking the second (clausal) part. The effect of this determiner sequence is to situate the event referred to by the relative clause in the past relative to the reference time of the main clause.

(3) cúz'-lhkan sáw-en lhe-nká7-as lh-as
going.to-1SG.SU ask-TR from-where-3CNJ CMP(-PROG)-3CNJ
kwán-as [*i* ptél7-*a* *i* wa7 s-7ílhen-s]
get(TR)-3ERG [PL.DET blood-EXIS PL.DET PROG NOM-eat-3POSS]
"I'm going to ask him where he gets the blood which he eats."

REL1's provide straightforward evidence for a noun-verb distinction: the first lexical element (head) of every REL1 must be a noun, as first observed by Demirdache and Matthewson, and shown in (4-6), where the relative clauses in the starred examples fail to contain an initial nominal head. See Mattina (1996: 188-9) for similar data from Okanagan.

(4) a. pzán-lhkan [ta sqáycw-a ta wa7 alkst]
meet(TR)-1SG.SU (DET man- EXIS DET PROG work
"I met the man who is working."

b. * pzánlhkan [ta wa7 alkst ta sqáycwa]

(5) a. pzán-lhkan [ta sqáycw-a
meet(TR)-1SG.SU [DET man- EXIS
ta sucwt-en-ácw-a]
DET recognize-TR-2SG.ERG-EXIS]
"I met the man you recognized."

b. * pzánlhkan [ta sucwtenácwa ta sqáycwa]

(6) a. * pzánlhkan [ta sucwtenácwa ta wa7 alkst]

b. * pzánlhkan [ta wa7 alkst ta sucwtenácwa]

REL2's provide the same evidence, albeit not as straightforwardly. This is because REL2's are not always head initial: they come in two flavours, prenominal, which are head final, and postposed, where part or all of the relative clause appears to the right of the head. Examples are given in (7-8): the (a) cases contain prenominal relatives, the (b) cases postposed relatives.

(7) a. pzánlhkan [ta wa7 alkst sqaycw]

b. pzánlhkan [ta sqáycwa wa7 alkst]

(8) a. pzánlhkan [ta sucwtenácwa sqáycw]

b. pzánlhkan [ta sqáycwa súcwtenacw]

We will examine the relationship between prenominal and postposed REL2's immediately below in Section 3. For the moment, however, we need only emphasize the following point: all REL2's must contain a nominal head, just like REL1's. This is shown by the ungrammatical examples of REL2's in (9), which are based on those in (7-8), but differ in lacking a nominal head.

(9) a. * pzánlhkan [ta wa7 alkst súcwtenacw]

b. * pzánlhkan [ta sucwtenácwa wa7 alkst]

3 Prenominal and postposed relative clauses

As noted, above, REL2's come in two types, prenominal and postposed. Demirdache and Matthewson (1995) discuss only the first type, assuming erroneously that postposed relatives are uniformly ungrammatical (though also noting discrepancies in their data indicating otherwise). Matthewson and Davis (1995), on the other hand, do recognize the existence of postposed REL2's, proposing that they are derived from prenominal relatives via an extraposition operation triggered by the prosodic weight of the relative clause.

Part of this conjecture - that postposed relatives are derived from prenominal ones - does appear to be on the right track. We can see this if we look at environments where postposing is obligatory. Like English and many other languages, St'át'imcets is subject to the 'same side filter' - the requirement that the head of a prenominal modifier appear immediately adjacent to the head it modifies. This means that prenominal relative clauses may not contain overt DPs (or anything else that might follow the predicate of the relative clause) as you can see in the examples in (10-12):

(10) ?* áts'x-en-lhkan [ta taw-en-ás-a ta káoh-a sqaycw]
see-TR-1SG.SU [DET sell-TR-3ERG-EXIS DET car-EXIS man]
"I saw the man you sold the car to."

(11) ?* wá7-lhkacw ha lexláx-s [na ats'x-en-ém-a
PROG-2SG.SU YNQ remember- CAU [ABS.DET see-TR-1PL.ERG-EXIS
s- k'ík'ta7-s-a ta s-tsunam'-cal-álhcw-a míxalh]
NOM-near-3POSS-EXIS DET NOM-teach-ACT-place-EXIS bear]
"Do you remember the bear we saw near the schoolhouse?"

(12) ?* pún-lhkan [na qwez-en-ácw-a
find(TR)-1SG.SU [ABS.DET see-TR-2SG.ERG-EXIS
i-wá7-acw mets-cál mets-láka7]
when-PROG-2SG.CNJ write-ACT write-tool]
"I found the pen you were writing with."

Again as in English, St'át'imcets generally postposes relative clauses containing postpredicative material, as shown in (13-15), which are the grammatical equivalents of (10-12), respectively.

(13) √ áts'xenlhkan [ta sqáycwa táwenas ta káoha]

(14) √ wá7lhkacw ha lexláxs [na míxalha áts'xenem sk'ík'ta7sa ta stsunam'calálhcwa]

(15) √ púnlhkan [na metslák7a qwezenácw iwá7acw metscál]

Interestingly, however, it is also sometimes possible to postpose just the offending postpredicative material, leading to a 'split' relative clause with the predicate and prepredicative material in the relative clause remaining in prenominal position, and the postpredicative material appearing in postnominal position. This possibility is limited to PP's and clausal adjuncts, as can be seen by comparing (16-18) below with their counterparts in (13-15) above:

(16) * áts'xenlhkan [ta tawenása sqaycw ta káoha]

(17) √ wá7lhkacw ha lexláxs [na áts'xenéma míxalh sk'ík'ta7sa ta stsunam'calálhcwa]?

(18) √ púnlhkan [na qwezenácwa metsláka7 iwá7acw metscál]

I take the independent existence of the extraposition operation shown in (17-18) to be good (if indirect) evidence for a similar dependency between prenominal and postposed positions in examples such as (7-8), though I remain agnostic as to whether actual syntactic movement is involved.

The second part of Matthewson and Davis' proposal - that extraposition is governed by prosodic factors - is also correct, but only partially so. Though it is certainly true that heavy relative clauses are more likely to be postposed than light ones (as shown in (19-20)), this is a highly variable effect, and for some speakers it is perfectly grammatical to postpose even monosyllabic REL2's, as you can see from the examples in (21-22):

(19) a. nkám'-en malh [i kwís-a stem'tétem'-su]
pick.up-TR ADHORT [PL.DET fall-EXIS clothes-2SG.POSS]
"Pick up your fallen clothes!"

b. ?? nkám'en malh [i stem'tétem'swa kwís]

c. nkám'-en malh [i stem'tétem'-sw-a
pick.up-TR ADHORT [PL.DET clothes-2SG.POSS-EXIS
plan t'u7 núkun' wa7 kwis]
already yet again PROG fall]
"Pick up your clothes that have already fallen down yet again!."

(20) a. cwil'-en-ítas [ta q'ay-lec-a sk'úk'wm'it]
seek-TR-3PL.ERG [DET escape-AUT-EXIS child]
"They searched for the child who ran away."

b. ? cwil'enítas [ta sk'úk'wm'ita q'áylec]

c. cwíl'enítas [ta sk'úk'wm'it-a papt wa7
seek-TR-3PL.ERG [DET child-EXIS always PROG
q'áy-lec]
escape-AUT]
"They searched for the child who was always running away."

(21) a. núk'w7-an malh [ta xán'-a twéww'et]
help-TR ADHORT DET hurt-EXIS boy
"Help the boy who got hurt!"

b. √/? núk'w7an malh [ta twéww'et-a xan']

(22) a. qwal'út-s-kacw ha [ta t'íq-a sqaycw]
speak-CAU-2SG.SU YNQ DET arrive-EXIS man]
"Did you speak to the man who came?"

b. √ qwal'út.skacw ha [ta sqáycwa t'iq]

On the other hand, quite independently of prosodic weight, there is one set of circumstances where postposed REL2's are always ungrammatical. Since these circumstances form the crux of this paper, we will devote Section 4 to examining them.

4 Restrictions on postposed relative clauses

All the following postposed REL2's (the (b) examples) are ungrammatical for all speakers, in contrast to their prenominal counterparts (the (a) examples) which are fully grammatical.

(23) a. wa7 saq'w kent7ú [i xzúm-a spepzúza7]
PROG fly around.there [PL.DET big-EXIS birds
"Some big birds are flying around over there."

b. * wa7 saq'w kent7ú [i spepzúz7a xzum]

(24) a. cuz' ts7as [i cw7ít-a n-k'sáytken]
going.to come [PL.DET many-EXIS 1SG.POSS-relative]
"A lot of my relatives are going to come."

b. * cuz' ts7as [i nk'sáytkena cw7it]

(25) a. ats'x-en-lhkácw ha [ti7 ku emhál'qwem' twéww'et]
see-TR-2SG.SUB YNQ [that DET handsome boy]
"Did you see that handsome boy?"

b. * ats'xenlhkácw ha [ti7 ku twéww'et emhál'qwem']

(26) a. qwal'ut-s-kal'áp ha [nelh núkw-a sqáyqeycw]
speak-CAU-2PL.SU YNQ PL.ABS.DET other-EXIS men]
"Did you folks speak to those other men?"[5]

b. * qwal'utskal'áp ha [nelh sqáyqeycwa nukw]

(27) a. am'ts-an'-ítas [ta kwíkws-eqw-a maw]
feed-TR-3PL.ERG [DET small-head-EXIS cat]
"They fed the little cat."

b. * am'tsan'ítas [ta máwa kwíkwseqw]

What the ungrammatical examples share in common seems clear: they all contain postposed adjectives. In other words, we seem to have recaptured Demirdache and Matthewson's original three-way lexical category distinction, but this time in postposed REL2's rather than in complex predicates.[6]

However, bearing in mind the subsequent revisions to Demirdache and Matthewson's original claim made by Davis, Lai, and Matthewson (1997), we should treat this conclusion with caution. In particular, we should ask whether nouns are also ungrammatical in postposed REL2's, given that they are possible modifiers in complex predicates.

The answer at first glance appears confusing: postposed nominal modifiers are sometimes ungrammatical (as in (28-29)), but also sometimes unexpectedly grammatical, as in (30-31):

(28) a. qwez-en-ítas [i tsáqwemáz'-a mulc]
use-TR-3PL.ERG PL.DET saskatoon.bush-EXIS wood
nelh cín'-a úcwalmicw
ABS.PL.DET long.ago- EXIS person
lh-u-s mays-en-ítas
COMP-PROG-3CNJ make-TR-3PL.ERG
i qusmal'ts-7úl-i-ha.
PL.DET arrow-real-3PL.POSS-EXIS
"In olden times the people made their arrows out of saskatoon wood."

b. * qwezenítas [i múlca tsáqwemáz'] nelh cín'a
úcwalmicw lhus maysenítas i qusmal'ts7úliha.

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[5] The adjective *nukw* "some, other" is unique in that it *only* occurs as a prenominal modifier, never as a main predicate. It thus constitutes additional evidence for a distinct category adjective whose primary function is that of modification.

[6] Interestingly, as far as I can tell, REL1's behave identically to postposed REL2's with respect to the categorial restrictions on modification reported here. This suggests that the two structures are closely related, though it is not obvious how to accommodate the extra determiner present in REL1's.

(29) a. wa7 kwánen i ts'í7-a
PROG get.caught PL.DET deer-EXIS
l-[ki scátus-a sq'u7]
in-[PL.DET deadfall-EXIS trap]
"Deer were caught in deadfall traps."

b. * wa7 kwánen i ts'í7a l[ki sq'ú7a scátus].

(30) a. kwáti7 t'u7 lh-u-s t'ak [na
around.there so COMP-PROG-3CNJ go [ABS.DET
qélhmémn'-a smúlhats]
old.person-EXIS woman]
"There was this old woman who used to go by."

b. kwáti7 t'u7 lhus t'ak [na smúlhatsa qelhmémen']

(31) a. q'úq'wts [ni7 na sám7-a naplít]
fat [that ABS.DET white.person-EXIS priest]
"That white priest was fat."

b. q'úq'wts [ni7 na naplíta sáma7]

However, there is an alternative analysis for the apparently grammatical cases of postposing in (30-31), if we treat what appear to be postnominal modifiers in these examples as the *heads* of the REL2's they occur in, with the apparent heads really being prenominal modifiers. In support of this conjecture, note that these cases involve 'reversible' modification, where the head and modifier are in a semantic relation of simple intersection, and can be interchanged freely. For example, in (30a), *qelhmémen' smúlhats* refers to an old person who is a woman. Since this means exactly the same thing as a woman who is an old person; *smúlhats qelhmémen'* is equally grammatical, with the same meaning.

In contrast, where postposing a noun is ungrammatical, the modifier-modifiee relation is non-intersective, and interchanging the two leads to either ungrammaticality or a difference in meaning. For example, *tsáqwemaz' mulc* in (28a) does not mean a stick which is also a saskatoon bush, but a stick made out of saskatoon wood; reversing the head and modifier to *mulc tsáqwemaz'*, as in (28b) yields an absurd meaning of "wooden saskatoon bush".

Assuming, then, that the apparent cases of grammatical postnominal modification in (30-31) are really cases of prenominal modification, we can conclude that neither adjectival nor nominal modifiers may be postposed in REL2's. At this point, the generalization governing restrictions on postposing in REL2's becomes very close to that governing categorial restrictions on complex nominal predicates, as reported by Davis, Lai and Matthewson, and repeated below:

- only individual-level adjectives and nouns may acts as prepredicative modifiers in complex nominal predicates

The only difference between the two, in fact, is that we have not yet established whether the stage-level/individual-level contrast is relevant to the possibility of postposing REL2's. The answer seems to be that it is, though the facts here are not entirely straightforward. All the ungrammatical examples of postposed adjectives in (23-27) involve individual-level adjectives. Now consider the following sets of examples, which involve postposed stage-level adjectives.

(32) a. √ qwal'ut-s-kal'áp ha [nelh qlíl-a sqáyqeycw]
speak-CAU-2PL.SU YNQ [PL.ABS.DET angry -EXIS men]
"Did you folks speak to those angry men?"

b. * Qwal'ut.skal'áp ha nelh sqáyqeycwa qlil?

c. √ Qwal'ut.skal'áp ha nelh wa7 qlil sqáyqeycw?

d. √ Qwal'ut.skal'áp ha nelh sqáyqeycwa wa7 qlil?

(33) a. √ am'ts-an'-ítas [ta táyt-a mémew']
feed-TR-3PL.ERG [DET hungry-EXIS kitten]
"They fed the hungry kitten."

b. * am'tsan'ítas ta mémw'a tayt

c. √ am'tsan'ítas ta wa7 tayt mémew'

d. √ am'tsan'ítas ta mémw'a wa7 tayt

What these cases show is that a stage-level adjective is able to postpose if and only if it is supplemented with an aspectual auxiliary (such as progressive *wa7*). What about individual-level adjectives with *wa7*? Here, we get mixed results: if it is possible to 'coerce' the adjective into stage-level status, then we get the same results as with stage-level adjectives (34); if coercion fails, postposing is impossible, or rather only possible with an absurd stage-level reading, as in (35).

(34) a. √ máys-en-lhkan [ta s-qácw-a q'íl'q]
fix-TR-1SG.SU [DET STA–break-EXIS chair]
"I fixed the broken chair."

b. * máysenlhkan ta q'íl'qa sqacw

c. √ máysenlhkan ta wa7 sqacw q'íl'q

d. √ máys-en-lhkan ta q'íl'qa wa7 sqacw

(35) a. √ wa7-lhkan s-lhecw-s [ta tseqwtsíqw-a sktíts'a7]
PROG-1SG.SU STA-wear-CAU [DET red -EXIS shirt]
"I'm wearing a red shirt."

b. * wá7lhkan slhecws ta sktíts'7a tseqwtsíqw

c. *? wá7lhkan slhecws ta wa7 tseqwtsíqw sktíts'a7
(only if shirt is temporarily red)

d. *? wá7lhkan slhecws ta sktíts'7a wa7 tseqwtsíqw
(only if shirt is temporarily red)

We thus end up with a three-way split: individual-level adjectives and nouns may not postpose; stage-level adjectives may postpose, but only if supplemented by an aspectual auxiliary; and verbs may postpose freely.

In order to explain these facts, we will adopt the following assumptions:

- *wa7* and other aspectual auxiliaries always project to a full clause
- only stage-level adjectives are able to occur with aspectual auxiliaries (pace aspectual coercion)
- all postposed relatives must be fully clausal

Together, these conditions will ensure: (i) any postposed adjective must occur with an aspectual auxiliary, since postnominal modifiers must project to a full clause, and adjectives can only do so by being supplemented by an auxiliary; (ii) pace aspectual coercion, individual-level adjectives (and nouns) may not postpose at all, since they cannot normally occur with aspectual auxiliaries; (iii) verbs always project to a full clause, since they are inherently aspectually specified.

The result is that now the restrictions on postposing in REL2s are the mirror image of the restrictions on complex nominal predicates: precisely the same set of elements (nouns and individual-level adjectives) *are* permitted as modifiers in predicate nominals as *are not* permitted to postpose in REL2's.

Why? The obvious answer is that in *both* environments, individual-level adjectives and nouns are non-clausal predicate modifiers. In other words, prenominal REL2's containing individual level adjectives and nouns are not relative clauses at all, but non-clausal modifying phrases directly comparable with prenominal modifiers in English or French.

This proposal has two important, related sets of consequences, one for the phrase structure of modifying phrases, the other for the status of lexical categories. We will lay out these consequences in Section 5.

5 Consequences

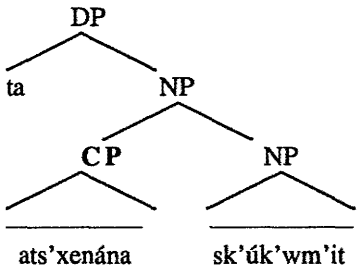
One of the crucial assumptions we made in order to account for postposing in REL2's concerned the 'height' of the phrasal projections associated with nouns and adjectives on the one hand, and verbs on the other. To be precise, I proposed that only verbs project to a full clause in modification structures, whereas nouns and adjectives only project to the phrasal level (AP or NP). This proposal has the additional advantage that it automatically extends to complex nominal predicates, which cannot contain verbal modifiers (or aspectual

auxiliaries), because a predicate cannot contain a clause, and by hypothesis verbs always project full clauses.

Assuming I am on the right track, this proposal has important implications for phrase structure in St'át'imcets (and other Salish languages, if they turn out to show similar behaviour). In particular, the existence of non-clausal modifiers in DP is incompatible with any theory of syntactic structure in St'át'imcets (or Salish more generally) that claims that all lexical categories project clausal structure (see e.g. Jelinek and Demers 1994). For example, the DP's in (36) and (38), though superficially alike, have (roughly) the phrase-structures in (37) and (39), respectively; only the former contains a relative clause.

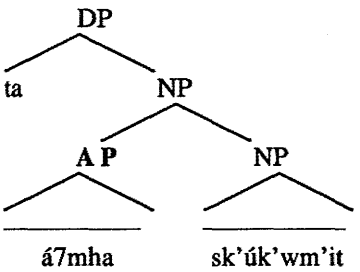
(36) [ta ats'x-en-án-a sk'úk'wm'it]
[DET see-TR-1SG.ERG-EXIS child]
"the child I saw"

(37)



(38) [ta á7mh-a sk'úk'wm'it]
[DET pretty-EXIS child]
"the pretty child"

(39)



It is surely not an accident that nouns and adjectives do not project full clausal structure in St'át'imcets. In fact, one is immediately reminded of two sets of parallel facts in English: first, the distribution of the copula, which distinguishes verbs on the one hand from nominal and adjectival predicates on the other; and second, the class of prenominal modifiers, which includes adjectives and nouns, but excludes verbs. Clearly, there is something universally defective about nominal and adjectival projections, which prevents them from

acting as predicates without aspectual assistance, while permitting them as non-clausal prenominal modifiers.

Finally, let us return to our starting point: the status of the lexical category adjective in St'át'imcets. A direct consequence of the claim that adjectives and nouns do not project to full clauses is that we must distinguish them at the lexical level from verbs, which do. Note that REL2's allow us to distinguish *both* stage level *and* individual level adjectives from verbs, unlike complex predicates, which only distinguish individual-level adjectives. This is because in REL2's, postposed stage-level adjectives are ungrammatical without an aspectual auxiliary, unlike verbs; and to the extent that individual-level adjectives and nouns may be coerced into stage-level behaviour, they pattern with stage-level adjectives, again in opposition to verbs.

Of course, categorial restrictions on modifiers in postposed REL2's do not by themselves yield a three-way lexical category distinction, since they do not distinguish nouns from adjectives. However, thanks to Demirdache and Matthewson, we already have robust syntactic diagnostics for nounhood in St'át'imcets (and elsewhere): relative clauses must be headed by nouns, and complex nominal predicates must contain a final noun. These tests distinguish [N] from [A + V]; taken together with the evidence presented here for an [A +N] versus [V] distinction, they allow us to distinguish a distinct category [A] as the intersection of the negative complements of [N] and [V].

The fact that adjectives emerge as a distinct category in St'át'imcets only as the residue of tests for nounhood and verbhood is not without significance. To start with, it throws some light on the well-known difficulty of establishing a distinct category of adjective in Salish, exemplified by the failure of Demirdache and Matthewson's original argument from complex predicates.[7] Furthermore, it is in line with recent work on lexical categorial primitives in universal grammar (Baker 2001) which accord the category adjective an essentially negative status. It also points towards a more general conclusion: as syntactic and semantic work on Salish becomes increasingly sophisticated, the architecture of Universal Grammar emerges clearly from behind the sometimes startlingly different-looking facades of the Salish languages.

Appendix

Abbreviations

ABS = absent, ACT = active intransitivizer, ADHORT = adhortative enclitic, AUT = autonomous intransitivizer, CAU = causative transitivizer, CNJ = conjunctive subject clitic, DET = determiner, ERG = ergative (transitive) subject suffix, EXIS = existential enclitic, NOM = nominalizer, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive, SG = singular, STA = stative prefix, SU = indicative subject clitic, TR = directive transitivizer, YNQ = yes-no question.

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[7] However, evidence is beginning to mount across Salish that adjectives constitute a distinct syntactic (and occasionally morphological) category. See in particular Kinkade (2000) on Upper Chehalis and Montler (2001) on Klallam.

Key to St'át'imcets orthography

orthography	phonemic script	orthography	phonemic script	orthography	phonemic script
p	p	k'	k̓	gw	ʕʷ
p'	p̓	kw	kʷ	g'w	ʕ̓ʷ
m	m	k'w	k̓ʷ	h	h
m'	m̓	c	x	w	w
t	t	cw	xʷ	w'	ẘ
ts	c̆	q	q	y	y
ts'	c̓	q'	q̓	y'	ẏ
s	s̆	qw	qʷ	z	z
n	n	q'w	q̓ʷ	z'	z'
n'	n̓	x	χ	7	ʔ
t'	x̓	xw	χʷ	a	a
lh	ɬ	r	ɣ	e	ə
l	l	r'	ɣ'	i	i
l'	l̓	g	ʕ	u	u
k	k	g'	ʕ'	v	ʌ

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