

Chapter Six: Typological Implications

1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the ramifications of the analysis of Skwú7mesh D-determiners that I have provided in Chapters 4 and 5. There are two main questions. First, do other Salish languages have similar D-determiner systems? Second, if D-determiners in Skwú7mesh provide domain restriction over their NPs, and quantifiers do not, then the question becomes, is this universal or language specific?

In §2, I discuss the implications of my analysis for other Salish languages. Some Salish languages appear to have non-deictic D-determiners, while others do not. The potentially non-deictic D-determiners appear to behave much like *kwi*. That is, they have D-determiners that are used in questions, under negation, in complex numerals, or in any other contexts when the speaker is unable (or unwilling) to locate the referent. These D-determiners are often used as complementizers, because events are not physically locatable in the same way entities are.

A further prediction for a non-deictic D-determiner would be that they could be used partitively; no evidence for this is found in any of the grammars. This is probably because the data involved are not the usual kinds of data elicited in the production of grammars. In order to get partitive judgments, the right contexts must be set up by the researcher.

Some Salish languages appear to lack a non-deictic D-determiner. They do not have a D-determiner which behaves like *kwi*. All D-determiners in these systems are used for potentially locatable referents.

I claim in §3 below that, even in English, only the D position is associated with domain restriction. I also provide some indirect evidence that English determiners have domain restriction in their denotation and quantifiers do not.

In §4, I discuss the implications of my analysis for languages without (overt) D-determiners. I claim below that covert D-determiners are present in certain contexts (e.g., in definite contexts).

In §5 I discuss the implications for Māori. Māori has a functional element which forces the nominal to take narrow scope, but is not used in familiar contexts. I claim that this element cannot be a D-determiner.

In §6, I conclude the thesis with remaining questions.

2 Implications for other Salish languages

My analysis of *Skw̥w̥w̥ú7mesh* involves four main claims.

- (1) a. all D-determiners in *Skw̥w̥w̥ú7mesh* involve domain restriction.
- b. no D-determiners in *Skw̥w̥w̥ú7mesh* assert uniqueness
- c. most D-determiners have deictic features and can take wide scope
- d. one D-determiner lacks deictic features and must take narrow scope

None of my claims can be properly tested on other Salish languages without fieldwork, especially the first two. However, all Salish languages with D-determiners appear to encode deictic features (Matthewson 1998). The final claim (that *Skw̥w̥w̥ú7mesh* has a non-deictic D-determiner) seems to apply to some of the other Salish languages (though not all).

Non-deictic D-determiners are non-locatable, and lack any deictic features. I claimed that this resulted in *kwi* DPs being composed via Restrict, and taking obligatory narrow scope. I predict that non-deictic D-determiners in other Salish languages will often be found in questions and under negation, but also in contexts where the speaker is unable to locate the referent. If a non-deictic D-determiner co-occurs with an operator, I also predict it will take narrow scope with respect to that operator.

Non-deictic D-determiners will also be more likely to be used as complementizers. I argued in Chapter 5 that the non-deictic D-determiner *kwi* is the D-determiner used as a complementizer because it is used for referents that cannot be physically located by the speaker. Embedded clauses cannot be physically located. Recall that in *Skw̥w̥w̥ú7mesh* the deictic D-determiners only locate in space, not in time. Other languages have deictic D-determiners that can be used to locate referents in time as well as space (see Kinkade 1964 for Upper Chehalis;

Davis and Saunders 1975 for Nuxalk; Demirdache 1996 for St'át'imcets; Koch 2006 for Nt'e'kepmxcín). In languages like that, I predict that the deictic D-determiners can be used as complementizers, and that they could encode a present/past tense distinction. Without doing extensive fieldwork, it is impossible to tell for any language whether the D-determiners locate in time as well as space. I attempt to show that the non-deictic D-determiners are often used as complementizers.

Matthewson (1998) argues that some Salish languages have a polarity D-determiner:¹ specifically, Sechelt, St'át'imcets, Secepmctsin and Nuxalk. Matthewson's analysis and the one given in Chapter 5 make some of the same predictions. A polarity D-determiner should be used in questions and under negation; a non-deictic D-determiner will also be used in questions and under negation. However, a polarity D-determiner should not be found in factive environments. A non-deictic D-determiner can (but does not have to) be found in factive environments.

However, our analyses end up being the same for the non-deictic D-determiners in some languages: those that have a polarity D-determiner. Matthewson (1998) predicted that polarity D-determiners were non-deictic, but did not address the question of whether all non-deictic D-determiners were polarity items.

- (2) If a D-determiner is only found in polarity environments then it is non-deictic
If a D-determiner is non-deictic, must it be a polarity item?

I argued in Chapter 5 that *kwi* is non-deictic but not a polarity item. My system allows for two kinds of non-deictic D-determiners: polarity items or plain non-deictic D-determiners.

- (3) If a D-determiner is only found in polarity environments then it is non-deictic.
If a D-determiner is non-deictic, it can be: i) a polarity item, or ii) plain.

Below I present each of the D-determiner systems that have been described well enough to test for a non-deictic D-determiner.

¹ Matthewson (1998) uses the term 'non-assertion of existence', rather than 'polarity'. See §2.1.1 for discussion of non-assertion of existence.

2.1 Salish languages with potentially non-deictic D-determiners

Only a subset of Salish languages appears to have a non-deictic D-determiner. These D-determiners seem to share some behaviour with *kwi*. They are found in questions and under negation, and are also often found in contexts when the speaker cannot locate the referent.

2.1.1 *St'át'imcets*

The *St'át'imcets* D-determiner system is the best-described of all the other Salish languages. Here I briefly discuss the determiner system and compare it to *Skwxwú7mesh*.

Matthewson (1998) argues that *St'át'imcets* lacks an indefinite/definite distinction. Most of the D-determiners can be used in both novel and familiar contexts. For example, in (4)a, the referent *ti smém'lhatsa* 'a girl' is introduced in the story. In (4)b, the same D-determiner is used on the now-familiar DP.

- (4) a. *húy'-lhkan* *ptakwlh,* *ptákwlh-min* *lts7a* **ti** *smém'lhats-a* ...
 going.to-1sg.s *tell.story* *tell.story-appl* *here* *det* *woman(redup)-det*
 'I am going to tell a legend, a legend about a girl...' (novel)
- b. *wa7* *ku7* *ílal* *látí7* **ti** *smém'lhats-a*.
 prog *quot* *cry* *deic* *det* *woman(redup)-det*
 'The girl was crying there.' (familiar)
 (*St'át'imcets*; van Eijk and Williams 1981: 19, cited by Matthewson 1998)

On the basis of this, Matthewson argues for a Common Ground Parameter to distinguish between Salish and English D-determiners. English D-determiners, according to her, can access the common ground, while Salish D-determiners cannot.

- (5) Common Ground Parameter
 Determiners may access the common ground of the discourse

Yes: {English,...}

No: {Salish,...}

(Matthewson 1998)

The analysis of *Skwxwú7mesh* D-determiners that I have argued for in this thesis is incompatible with the Common Ground Parameter. I therefore argue that the CGP cannot be the source of the difference in meaning between English and Salish D-determiners. I have argued that all D-

determiners access the common ground via domain restriction. The difference in meaning instead arises from the (lack of) assertion of maximality.

Instead of an indefinite/definite distinction, Matthewson argues for a non-assertion of existence/assertion of existence distinction.

- (6) **Assertion of existence** (informal definition)
 the speakers' intent to 'refer to' or 'mean' a nominal expression to have non-empty references - i.e. to 'exist' within a particular universe of discourse (i.e. not necessarily within the real world) (Givón 1978: 293-4)

There are two major differences between an assertion of existence D-determiner and a non-assertion of existence D-determiner. First, assertion of existence D-determiners take wide scope and non-assertion of existence D-determiners take narrow scope with respect to some operator.

- (7) a. *cuz'* *tsa7cw* *kw-s* *Mary* *lh-t'íq-as*
going.to *happy* *det-nom* *Mary* *hyp-arrive-3conj*
ti *qelhmémen'-a.*
det *old.person(dimin)-det*
 'Mary will be happy if an elder comes.'
 = $\exists x$ [elder (x) & [come (x) \square happy (Mary)]] (wide scope)
 \neq $\square \exists x$ [elder (x) & come (x)] \square happy (Mary) (narrow scope)
- b. *cuz'* *tsa7cw* *kw-s* *Mary* *lh-t'íq-as*
going.to *happy* *det-nom* *Mary* *hyp-arrive-3conj*
ku *qelhmémen'.*
det *old.person(dimin)*
 'Mary will be happy if any elder comes.'
 \neq $\exists x$ [elder (x) & [come (x) \square happy (Mary)]] (wide scope)
 = $\square \exists x$ [elder (x) & come (x)] \square happy (Mary) (narrow scope)
 (St'át'imcets; Matthewson 1999: 90)

Second, non-assertion of existence D-determiners are more restricted in terms of the environments which they can occur in. Non-assertion of existence D-determiners can only be used in non-factive environments, such as under negation, in questions, or under other operators. They cannot occur in factive environments.

- (8) a. *cw7aoz* *kw-s* *áts'x-en-as* **ku** *sqaycw.*
neg *det-nom* *see-tr-3erg* *det* *man*
 'S/he didn't see any men.'

more compelling, reason is that St’át’imcets has a partitive quantifier *nukw* ‘some of the’, and therefore may have taken over the partitive uses of *ku*.

St’át’imcets D-determiners can physically locate a referent; they can also locate a referent in time (Demirdache 1996, Matthewson 1998).³ A subset of the D-determiners can be used as complementizers.

- (11) a. *áma ti s-t’iq-s-a s-Gertie.*
good comp nom-arrive-3sg.poss-exis nom-Gertie
 ‘It is good that Gertie came.’
- b. *zwát-en-as kw-s⁴ qácwecw-s-as ti qíl’q-a kw-s Henry.*
know-tr-3erg comp-nom break-caus-3erg det chair det-nom Henry
 ‘She knows that Henry broke the chair.’ (St’át’imcets; Matthewson 1998)

For more details on the St’át’imcets system, see Matthewson (1998).

The main similarity between our two systems is that the non-deictic and/or polarity D-determiners should take narrow scope.

2.1.2 Sechelt

The Sechelt D-determiner system is similar to the Skwxwú7mesh system. Beaumont (1985) claims that there is a three-way distinction (aside from gender) in the D-determiner system: (i) visible or invisible, (ii) invisible and (iii) unspecified or abstract.

	visible or invisible	invisible	unspecified or abstract
non-female	te	che	she
female, singular	lhe ⁵		

Table 6.3: The D-determiner system of Sechelt (adapted from Beaumont 1985: 25).

The unspecified or abstract D-determiner is a good candidate for a non-deictic D-determiner. “If the speaker is referring to *something that is not “real” (or “actual”), that is, something that he can or could not (or doesn’t want to) identify specifically in a physical sense, he uses **she, shen,** etc.*” (emphasis original; Beaumont 1985: 53). This is very similar to the analysis of *kwi* I gave in

³ For a conflicting view, see Matthewson (2005).

⁴ *Kw* is equivalent to *ku* (Davis and Matthewson 1997).

⁵ Beaumont also mentions another female D-determiner in his index, but never directly addresses it: *tse*, which is only used for visible female referents.

The above examples show that, like *kwi*, *she* can be used when the referent is located within another location. (This is also similar to the use of *kwi* when referring to an object within a previously mentioned set.)

- (14) Na7 t-kwi n-lam' ta-n yasakw.
loc obl-det 1sg.poss-house det-1sg.poss hat
 'My hat is in my house.'

If a deictic D-determiner is used instead, the particular location is focused on.

- (15) a. mí-la ʔe te/che-ms sní!
come-imper obl det-1pl.poss place
 'come to our place.' (emphasis on house as a known physical thing)
- b. kw'énit-chen te ts'únay.
see-1sg.s det Deserted.Bay
 'I see Deserted Bay.'
- c. t'i tsú ʔe te/che sálnachíya.
fact go obl det forest
 'he went walking in the forest.' (thinking of actual forest)
 (Sechelt; Beaumont 1985: 54)

I take it that *she* is non-locating, and therefore non-deictic, while the other D-determiners are deictic.

Unlike *kwi*, *she* is not used as a complementizer. The element *kwe* is instead, and is only used as a complementizer.

- (16) a. ne sxatl' kwe-n s-ʔítut.
1sg.poss want comp-1sg.poss nom-sleep
 'I want to sleep.'
- b. máy-stexw-chen kw'e s-k'úk'ukit.
bad-caus-1sg.s det.2sg.poss nom-kiss
 'I don't like it that you are kissing him/her.' (Sechelt; Beaumont 1985: 153)

Lacking deictic features therefore does not ensure that the D-determiner will be used as a complementizer. Assuming the *kwe* and *kwi* derive from the same source, it may be that *kwe* lost

- (17) a. ʔah ʔu kʷi gʷ-ad-pišpiš.
there Q det sbj-2sg.poss-cat
 ‘Do you have a cat?’ (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 94)
- b. xʷiʔ kʷi gʷə-d-scqi.
neg det sbj-1sg.poss-sockeye
 ‘I don’t have [any] sockeye.’ (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 94)

Matthewson (1998) did not address the status of the hypothetical/remote D-determiner in Lushootseed, but it is clear that *kʷi* and *kʷsi* also cannot be non-assertion of existence D-determiners. They can be used in factive environments (18).

- (18) a. lə-s-lil-cut čəd tul’-ʔal kʷi bəkʷ sp’aʔaʔ ʔal
prog-stat-far-refl 1sg.s from-loc det all worthless loc
 ti swatixʷtəd.
 det world
 ‘I am keeping myself from all the worthlessness in the world.’
 (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 84)
- b. ləliʔ kʷi bəqsəd ʔə kʷi qaw’qs.
different det beak obl det raven
 ‘The beak of a raven is different.’ (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 95)
- c. ʔəs-t’igʷid ʔal kʷi dadatut .
stat-thank loc det morning
 ‘Thank someone in the morning.’ (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 83)

In all of the cases in (17) and (18), the referent cannot be located in space, or in time. Example (18)c refers to any morning, not a particular morning. Hess does not provide the equivalent of (18)a-c with the deictic D-determiners; I predict they are not licit in these environments.

Like *kwi*, the Lushootseed *kʷi* can also act as a complementizer.

- (19) a. xʷiʔ kʷi gʷə-s-u-ʔaab-s.
neg comp sbj-nom-perf-cry-3poss
 ‘He doesn’t cry.’ (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 96)
- b. ck’wəqid čəd ʔu-baliic kʷi gʷə-d-s-u-ʔəʔtxʷ
always 1sg.s hab-forget comp sbj-1sg.poss-nom-perf-feed
 ti d-sqʷəbayʔ.
 det 1sg.poss-dog
 ‘I always forget to feed my dog.’ (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 96)

Again, this is likely a result of the fact that the deictic D-determiners cannot locate referents in time.

It is difficult to tell which features the potentially deictic D-determiners *ti/tsi* and *tə/tsə* have. It is also difficult to tell whether by “unique” Hess intended the interpretation of “unique” used in this thesis. That is, it is unclear whether the D-determiners *ti* and *tsi* assert the uniqueness of their referents. From the data provided by Hess, it appears that *tə* is proximal and *ti* is distal. Whether this is accurate would need to be tested systematically. In (20), the D-determiner *tə* is used for referents which appear to be proximal to the speaker.

- (20) a. *lə-s-t'ag^wt* *čəd* *lił-ʔal* **tə** *stiqiw*.
prog-stat-on.top *Isg.s* *via-loc* *det* *horse*
 ‘I’m riding on the horse.’ (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 84)
- b. *dəg^waš* *dx^w-ʔal* **tə** *x^wdəg^wig^wsali*.
inside.tr *dir-loc* *det* *bag*
 ‘Put [something] into the bag.’ (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 83)

In (21), the D-determiner *ti* is used for referents which appear to be distal from the speaker.

- (21) a. *łu-tələwil* *čəd* *dx^w-ʔal* **ti** *x^wuyubalʔtx^w*.
irr-run *Isg.s* *dir-loc* *det* *store*
 ‘I’ll run to the store.’ (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 83)
- b. *lə-s-q’il* *čəd* *lił-ʔal* **ti** *lilud*.
prog-stat-ride *Isg.s* *via-loc* *det* *train*
 ‘I am traveling by train.’ (Lushootseed; Hess 1995: 84)

I present my tentative reanalysis of the Lushootseed D-determiner system below.

	proximal	distal	non-deictic
gender and number neutral	<i>tə</i>	<i>ti/šə</i>	<i>k^wi</i>
female, singular	<i>tsə</i>	<i>tsi/sə</i>	<i>k^wsi⁹</i>

Table 6.6: The D-determiner system of Lushootseed.

I predict that the non-deictic D-determiners *k^wi* and *k^wsi* should obligatorily take narrow scope. I also predict that the non-deictic D-determiners should be able to be used partitively.

⁹ The female non-deictic D-determiner is likely used in sentences like “I’m looking for a woman”, where it is clear what gender the referent *should* have, were one to be located.

2.1.4 Musqueam

Suttles (2004) claims that the Musqueam determiner system can be split along three lines (aside from gender and case): (i) present and visible, (ii) nearby and invisible and (iii) remote or hypothetical.

	present, visible	nearby, invisible	remote or hypothetical
non-female	tə (t ^θ ə)	k ^w θə, k ^w ə, k ^w	k ^w ə, k ^w
female	θə	ɬə, k ^w ɬə, ɬ, k ^w ɬ	k ^w sə
oblique		ʔ	

Table 6.7: The Musqueam D-determiner system (adapted from Suttles 2004: 340).

The most obvious candidates for non-deictic D-determiners are *k^wə*, *k^w* and *k^wsə*, the remote or hypothetical D-determiners. These D-determiners share some properties with *kwi*, and with *ku*, the St'át'imcets polarity non-deictic D-determiner.

Matthewson does not address whether Musqueam has non-assertion of existence D-determiners (as the grammar had not yet been published), but the candidates would be the same as for the non-deictic D-determiners. Both my analysis and Matthewson's analysis make similar predictions in that the remote or hypothetical D-determiners should be used in questions (22)a and under intensional operators (22)b and c (and take narrow scope with respect to the operators).

- (22) a. stém k^wə sk^wíx-s tiʔí?
what det name-3poss dem
 'What is the name of this?' (Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 348)
- b. nə-s-[c-]ʔí k^wə páy.
1sg.poss-nom-do-value det pie
 'I want some pie.' (Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 345)
- c. ʔəy k^w-s ném-ct səwq-t k^wə pəwəy
good det-nom go-1pl.poss seek-tr det flounder
 [ʔə] tə cáwəcəw.
obl det offing
 'We'd better go look for flounders offshore.'
 (Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 345)

However, unlike a non-assertion of existence analysis, my analysis also predicts that the remote or hypothetical D-determiners can be used in factive contexts.

(23) a. ni [ʔə] kʷə nə-sʰiʔáʔaɣʷt
be.there obl det 1sg.poss-rear
 ‘behind me (in a canoe).’

b. ném cən [ʔə] kʷə spəlχən.¹⁰
go 1sg.s obl det pasture
 ‘I’m going to the pasture (way off, out of sight).’

(Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 344)

In the above two examples, the referents are in principle locatable to the speaker, but are unseen by the speaker. It appears that, like *kwi*, the remote or hypothetical D-determiners can be used for locatable referents, but only if there is no visible evidence contradicting the speaker’s use of a non-deictic D-determiner.

If a deictic D-determiner is used instead, the referent must be locatable, either by sight, or by shared knowledge.¹¹

(24) a. ni [ʔə] tə nə-ʔéθəqən
be.there obl det 1sg.poss-front
 ‘in front of me’ (in canoe)

b. ném cən [ʔə] tə spəlχən.
go 1sg.s obl det pasture
 ‘I’m going to the pasture (not far and visible).’

c. ném cən [ʔə] kʷθə spəlχən.
go 1sg.s obl det pasture
 ‘I’m going to the pasture (out of sight).’ (if known to the hearer)

(Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 344)

Similarly to *kwi*, the remote or hypothetical D-determiners can be used for deceased referents, (25)a and b.

(25) a. kʷə nə-síʔə
det 1sg.poss-grandparent
 ‘my late grandfather/great uncle’

¹⁰ In all other cases, this was spelled spəlχən.

¹¹ Many of the examples involve obliques. However, these sentences were pronounced without the oblique marker; I retain Suttles’ analysis of the underlying form. (29)a is an example of the non-deictic D-determiner in a more obvious argument position.

- b. **k^wsə** nə-sílə
det Isg.poss-grandparent
 ‘my late grandmother/great aunt’ (Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 343)

A deictic D-determiner may also be used, but only with the past tense marker on the noun.

- (26) a. **k^wθə** nə-sílə-ł
det Isg.poss-grandparent-pst
 ‘my late grandfather/great uncle’
- b. **łə** nə-sílə-ł
det Isg.poss-grandparent-pst
 ‘my late grandmother/great aunt’ (Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 344)

The remote or hypothetical D-determiners can also be used for non-present times (27)a and for complex numerals (27)b.

- (27) a. **k^w** cəlécqəl
det yesterday
 ‘yesterday’ (Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 345)
- b. ni-wł słóm ǰ ʔápən i **k^wə** náčaʔ.
be.there-already wearing.off obl.det ten and det one
 ‘It’s half past eleven.’ (Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 350)

In the above cases, I predict that deictic D-determiners are not licit.¹²

All of the examples in (22), (23), (25), and (27) have referents which are non-locatable, and which have equivalent uses in Skwxwú7mesh. The remote or hypothetical D-determiners can also be used in cases which are more similar to St’át’imcets *ku*. Like *ku*, (and unlike *kwi*), *k^wə* can be used with adverbials.

- (28) mə ʔəǰqəl [ʔə] k^wə ǰ^wəm!
come exit obl det fast
 ‘He came out right away.’ (Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 346)

Two more cases of *k^wə* as non-deictic involve introducing words that are unknown to the hearer (29)a, and comparing the referent to another (non-located) class (29)b.

¹² However, Upriver Halkomelem allows both the equivalent of the “remote or hypothetical” D-determiner and the equivalent of the “present, visible” D-determiner in numerals. See §2.2.2.

- (29) a. $k^w i k^w \text{əxt-ə} m \dot{k}^w \text{ə}$ $m \acute{\theta} \theta \acute{\theta} \acute{\theta}$.
name-pass det m\acute{\theta}\theta\acute{\theta}
 ‘It is called $m \acute{\theta} \theta \acute{\theta}$ [possibly Indian Hemp, *Apocynum cannabinum*].’
- b. $t \acute{\theta} \acute{\theta} \acute{\theta} \cdot m \acute{\theta} x$ $[\text{?}\acute{\theta}] \dot{k}^w \text{ə}$ $sw \acute{\theta} \acute{\theta} \acute{\theta} qe \text{?}$.
resemble obl det man
 ‘It looks like a man.’ (Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 345)

Like *kwi*, $\dot{k}^w \text{ə}$ is the only D-determiner which is used as a complementizer.

- (30) $n \acute{\theta}$ -s-[c-] $\acute{\lambda} \acute{\theta}$ $\dot{k}^w \text{ə}$ $n \acute{\theta}$ -s- $n \acute{e} m$.
Isg.poss-nom-do-value comp Isg.poss-nom-go
 ‘I want to go.’ (Musqueam; Suttles 2004: 345)

Suttles claims that within the “nearby, invisible” class of D-determiners, the $k^w \acute{\theta} \acute{\theta}$ D-determiners are more distal than the $\acute{\theta} \acute{\theta}$ D-determiners. I suggest that it may be possible to analyze the Musqueam D-determiner system into a four-way system, like that of $S k w \acute{x} w \acute{u} 7 m e s h$. I present my tentative reanalysis of the Musqueam D-determiner system below.

	proximal	medial, invisible	distal, invisible	non-deictic
gender-neutral	$t \acute{\theta}$ ($t^{\theta} \acute{\theta}$)	$k^w \theta \acute{\theta}$, $k^w \text{ə}$, k^w		$\dot{k}^w \text{ə}$, \dot{k}^w
female	$\theta \acute{\theta}$	$\acute{\theta} \acute{\theta}$, $\acute{\theta}$	$k^w \acute{\theta} \acute{\theta}$, $k^w \acute{\theta}$	$k^w s \acute{\theta}$
oblique		$\acute{\lambda}$		

Table 6.8: The Musqueam D-determiner system.

I predict that the non-deictic D-determiners $\dot{k}^w \text{ə}$, \dot{k}^w and $k^w s \acute{\theta}$ should obligatorily take narrow scope. I also predict that the non-deictic D-determiners should be able to be used partitively.

2.1.5 Upper Chehalis

Kinkade (1964) presents a four-way split in the Upper Chehalis D-determiner system: (i) by speaker, (ii) near speaker, (iii) not near speaker and (iv) indefinite.

	by speaker	near speaker	not near speaker	indefinite
-female	tit	?it	tat	t
+female	tic, cic	?ic	tac, cac	c

Table 6.9: The D-determiner system of Upper Chehalis (adapted from Kinkade 1964).

The “indefinite” D-determiners are good candidates for non-deictic D-determiners. The “indefinite” D-determiners are often used in generic (31)a or future contexts (31)b and c.

- (31) a. ...nk^ws-sx̣^wəq^w-anš ʔaɫ t pənʔíš.
hab-hungry-1sg.s at det wintertime
 ‘I am always hungry in the wintertime.’
- b. ...wi x̣^wáquʔ t sšamála^w wi ɫ t músa
and all det people and fut det sleep
 ɫ t ʔó·čs sʔíš.
fut det one winter
 ‘...all the people will sleep for one winter.’
- c. wi ʔaɫ t pənʔáqá·m n ɫ ǵítačín.
and at det springtime part fut arrive
 ‘And in the springtime, daylight will come.’
 (Upper Chehalis; Kinkade 1983: 255-257)

However, the “indefinite” D-determiners cannot be non-assertion of existence D-determiners because they can be used in factive contexts.

- (32) a. tó·maɫti t sǵítači ča t sk^wəswn.
short det daylight conj det darkness
 ‘Daylight and darkness are short.’
- b. k^wáx^wmisíɫt tit sčətx^wń ʔaɫ t ʔó·čs sǵítači.
reach det Bear at det one day
 ‘They reached Bear one day.’
 (Upper Chehalis; Kinkade 1983: 255-256)

I therefore suggest that the “indefinite” D-determiners are non-deictic, and not non-assertion of existence. The gender-neutral, non-deictic D-determiner can also be used as a complementizer.

- (33) ʔáq^w míɫta t sáʔs tit tómš ɫ t ǵíčč.
well neg comp make det world fut det thus
 ‘The world will not be made thus.’
 (Upper Chehalis; Kinkade 1983: 256)

Below I provide my tentative reanalysis of the Upper Chehalis determiner system.

	proximal	medial	distal	non-deictic
gender-neutral	tit	ʔit	tat	t
feminine	tic, cic	ʔic	tac, cac	c

Table 6.10: The D-determiner system of Upper Chehalis.

I predict that the non-deictic D-determiners *t* and *c* should obligatorily take narrow scope. I also predict that the non-deictic D-determiners should be able to be used partitively.

2.1.6 Cowlitz

Kinkade (2004) claims that there is a four-way distinction in the Cowlitz D-determiner system. The Cowlitz system is very similar to the Upper Chehalis system given in the previous section.

	by speaker	near speaker	not near speaker	indefinite
non-feminine	tit	ʔit	tat	t
femine	cic	ʔic	cac	c

Table 6.11: The D-determiner system of Upper Chehalis (adapted from Kinkade 2004: 254).

The “indefinite” D-determiners are good candidates for non-deictic D-determiners. They can be used in intensional contexts, and in questions.

- (34) a. ʔac-qíns pút-n ʔačí ta qi t-l
stat-want know-tr stat.Q ?? qi comp-pst
 s...mə́kʷuyq ɫ t qáwəmʔ.
s...bake.in.ashes obl det camas
 ‘They want to know how we baked camas in a steampit.’¹³
 (Cowlitz; Kinkade 2004: 253)
- b. ʔac-qíns nám-n kn sáli t ʔámǰkʷu-yumx
stat-want finish-tr 1sg.s two det basket-pl
 ɫ tit pən-ǰix.
obl det time-cold
 ‘I want to finish two baskets this winter.’ (Cowlitz; Kinkade 2004: 269)
- c. t’iǰ na c ʔa-kúwɫ?
now Q det 2sg.poss-wife
 ‘Is she your wife?’ (Cowlitz; Kinkade 2004: 270)
- d. Well, uh k’wí c Frances t nx-əm’tán-i?
how.many det.f Frances det pl-child-3poss
 ‘Well, how many children does Frances have?’
 (Cowlitz; Kinkade 2004: 268)

¹³ The question marks are in the original. The morphemes *qi* and *s* were also glossed as *qi* and *s*.

2.1.7 Secwepemctsin

Kuipers (1974) argues that the determiner system of Secwepemctsin has a three-way split between (i) actual-determinate present, (ii) actual-determinate absent and (iii) hypothetical-indeterminate.

	actual-determinate		hypothetical-indeterminate
	present	absent	
absolute	∅	l	k
relative	t/í		tk/ík (seldom tke)

Table 6.13: The D-determiner system of Secwepemctsin (adapted from Kuipers 1974: 57).

The hypothetical-indeterminate D-determiners are good candidates for non-deictic D-determiners. Kuipers (1974) argues that the hypothetical determiners are found especially in interrogative, imperative, conditional, and negative sentences, as well as sentences with a future reference. Both a non-assertion of existence analysis and a non-deictic analysis would predict this.

- (37) a. táʔ xʷum tʃʔ k snéwt.¹⁴
neg at.all dem det wind
 ‘There was no wind.’ (Secwepemctsin; Kuipers 1974: 105)
- b. táʔ tʃʔ k qʷəníməqł.
neg dem det mosquito
 ‘There are no mosquitoes.’ (Secwepemctsin; Kuipers 1974: 82)
- c. nǰúʔ ík syíst
one det camp.overnight
 ‘one (more) night of camping’ (Secwepemctsin; Kuipers 1974: 57)
- d. čkénm tʃʔ meʔ sckʷném tk ʔsxʔíln-ktʔ
do dem fut get det food-1pl.poss
 ‘Should we get some of it for our food?’ (Secwepemctsin; Kuipers 1974: 106)
- e. ...meʔ ckʷném-kt ílúne tk swéwł.
fut get-1pl.poss dem det fish
 ‘...We’ll catch some fish over there.’ (Secwepemctsin; Kuipers 1974: 106)

The hypothetical D-determiners are also used as complementizers; so are the “actual” D-determiners.

¹⁴ I have changed some of his symbols to more recognizable symbols.

- (38) a. ...yé-ək^we **k** s-ptínsms:...
and-3s comp nom-think
 ‘...and he thought: ...’
- b. yǫʔ ǫ s-wíkts nǫ^wúʔ t sítǫt ǫ q^wəníməqł...
dem comp nom-see one det day det Mosquito
 ‘One day, he saw Mosquito...’ (Secwepemctsin; Kuipers 1974: 96)

The hypothetical D-determiners can also be used in factive environments.

- (39) a. ... ǫ s^ʔétwn yénke ǫʔ **k** x^wúx^włtn...
det Crane evid dem det whistle
 ‘...Crane was the whistle...’ (Secwepemctsin; Kuipers 1974: 104)
- b. ...m-twǫkemíns ǫʔ n-cénəmn **tk** səsúq^w.
aor-see dem to-Chinese det grouse
 ‘...he sold them [crows] to the Chinese for grouse.’
 (Secwepemctsin; Kuipers 1974: 103)
- c. ...meʔ cún ǫʔ **k** sq^wyíc y^ʔélye.
fut say dem det rabbit dem
 ‘...I’ll say, here are some rabbits.’ (Secwepemctsin; Kuipers 1974: 103)
- d. m-cún-s-əs ǫʔ **ík** styéwłk^wle.
aor-say-tr-3erg dem det skimming
 ‘He thought it was skimmings.’ (Secwepemctsin; Kuipers 1974: 92)

I present my tentative reanalysis of the Secwepemctsin D-determiner system below.

	proximal	distal (invisible?)	non-deictic
absolute	ǫ	l	k
relative	t/ǫ		tk/ík (seldom tke)

Table 6.14: The D-determiner system of Secwepemctsin.

I predict that the non-deictic D-determiners *k* and *tk* should obligatorily take narrow scope. I also predict that the non-deictic D-determiners should be able to be used partitively.

2.1.8 Nuxalk

There are two previous analyses of the Nuxalk determiner system. I present both of these here.

Nater (1984) argued that there were two sets of determiners: those that are usually translated as ‘a’ and those that are usually translated as ‘the’. He does not argue that these represent an indefinite-definite distinction.

		close	remote
non-female	singular	ti-	ta-
	plural	(w)a-, Ø	tu-, ta-
female	singular	tsi-	lha-, 7ilh-

Table 6.15: The “a-type” D-determiner system of Nuxalk (adapted from Nater 1984: 41).

		close	remote
non-female	singular	ti...-tc	ta...-tx
	plural	wa...-ts	tu...-tx ^w
female	singular	tsi...tsc	lha...-7ilh

Table 6.16: The “the-type” D-determiner system of Nuxalk (adapted from Nater 1984: 43).

Davis and Saunders (1975) present a different analysis of the determiner system.¹⁵ First, they do not analyze the “a-type” determiners at all (although they do present some examples of them). Secondly, they include the demonstratives, as shown below.

		proximal space, present time		middle space, near/past present		distal space, distal time	
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI
-female	singular	ti...tx	ti...ʔayx	ta-ʔaḥ	ta...l	ta...tḥ	ta...taḥ
	plural	wa...c	wa...ʔac	ta-ʔaḥ ^w	ta...l	ta...tḥ ^w	ta...tuḥ
+female	singular	ci...cx	ci...čayx	ʔa-ʔiʔaʔi	ʔa...l	ʔa...ʔi	ʔa...ʔi
demonstrative?		no	yes	yes	no	no	yes

Table 6.17: The D-determiner system of Nuxalk (adapted from Davis and Saunders 1975: 846).

On the surface, there does not appear to be any candidates for a non-deictic D-determiner, or a non-assertion of existence D-determiner. However, there is evidence that the close “a-type” D-determiners are non-deictic. Davis and Saunders (1974) claim that the proximal prefixes are ungrammatical in a declarative sentence.

- (40) *knsmak ti-ʔimlk.
 work *det-man*

¹⁵ Nater (1984) and Davis and Saunders (1975) use different orthographies.

The sentence in (40) “...is unacceptable because declarative utterances presuppose... speaker witness, but this contradicts *ti-ʔimlk*, that expresses the claim the speaker has never seen the man” (Davis and Saunders 1974:31). On the basis of this, Matthewson (1998) argues that the proximal prefix is a non-assertion of existence determiner. In my terms, it would be a non-deictic, polarity D-determiner. I tentatively reanalyze the Nuxalk D-determiner system below.

		distal	non-deictic
gender-neutral	singular	ta-	ti-
	plural	tu-, ta-	(w)a-, Ø
female	singular	lha-, ʔilh-	tsi-

Table 6.18: The “a-type” D-determiner system of Nuxalk.

		proximal	medial	distal
gender-neutral	singular	ti...tx	ta...ɫ	ta...tʃ
	plural	wa...c	ta...ɫ	ta...tʃ ^w
female	singular	ci...cx	ɫa...ɫ	ɫa...ʔiɫ

Table 6.19: The “the-type” D-determiner system of Nuxalk.

I predict that the non-deictic D-determiners *ti-*, *wa-* and *tsi-* should obligatorily take narrow scope. I also predict that the non-deictic D-determiners should be able to be used partitively.

2.1.9 *Nteʔkepmxcín*

Koch (2006) claims that there are five determiners in *Nteʔkepmxcín*.

	specific; present, visible	remote (in space or time)	unrealized/irrealis
direct	he, ə, Ø	ɫ(ə)	k
oblique	t		tk

Table 6.20: The D-determiner system of *Nteʔkepmxcín* (adapted from Koch 2006: 131).

The oblique “determiner” can co-occur with any of the other determiners (Koch p.c.); I take this to mean that the oblique is not a D-determiner and instead occupies a higher functional head.

The obvious candidate for a non-deictic D-determiner is the unrealized/irrealis determiner *k*. Matthewson did not discuss *Nteʔkepmxcín*; however, her analysis can potentially be applied to *k*. This D-determiner can be found in negative contexts, in imperative contexts, in questions, and under evidentials. This is expected if the D-determiner is a non-assertion of existence D-

determiner or a non-deictic D-determiner. I also predict that the non-deictic D-determiner will take narrow scope (as it appears to in (41)a).

- (41) a. *tə-tèʔ ke s-téʔ-s.*
redup-neg det nom-something-3poss
 ‘They didn’t have anything.’
 (Nl̥eʔkepmxcín; Thompson and Thompson 1992: 200)
- b. *kəɫ-t-ét-e tuʔ k ɕýé!*
detach-tr-2sg.s-imper away.from det basket
 ‘Take it out of some basket or other!’
 (Nl̥eʔkepmxcín; Thompson and Thompson 1992: 156)
- c. *swét k (ʔ)úpi-t-m us ɫe s-ǰʷíyt.*
who det eat-tr-indef cnj det nom-fruit
 ‘Who ate those berries?’
- d. *ɫaʔxáns kn ekʷu tə-k s-ǰʷíyt.*
eat 1sg.s rppt obl-det nom-fruit
 ‘They tell me I ate some kind of berries [I do not remember].’
 (Nl̥eʔkepmxcín; Thompson and Thompson 1992: 154)

It appears that *k* is a non-assertion of existence D-determiner or polarity item, as it is almost exclusively found in non-factive sentences (Koch, p.c.).¹⁶ It also appears to lack deictic features, as in the examples above, the referents are not located.

Most of the D-determiners can be used as complementizers as well.¹⁷

- (42) a. *ýé t-e s-ník-e-s.*
good obl-comp nom-cut-appl-3erg
 ‘It is a good thing that he cut [the undergrowth back].’
 (Nl̥eʔkepmxcín; Thompson and Thompson 1992: 173)

¹⁶ The two types of counterexamples are objects of morphologically intransitive predicates (i) and “descriptives” (ii) (Koch 2006).

(i) *xʷúý xeʔ ñ-t-sém-s ɫ n-sínciʔ*
FUT dem give-tr-1sg.o-3erg det 1sg.poss-younger.brother
tk kətním-tn.
det rod.fish-instr

‘My younger brother is gonna’ give me a fishing rod.’

(ii) *ýé xeʔə tk púti tk pícca-s e Máry.*
good dem det pretty det picture-3sg.poss det Mary

‘It’s a good pretty picture of Mary.’

(Koch 2006)

These appear to be good candidates for a Restrict-type D-determiner.

¹⁷ The specific, present, visible determiner apparently cannot introduce an embedded clause without the oblique marker.

- b. k^ée k e^ʔ-s-x^wu^ý nés?
is.it.that? *comp* *2sg.poss-nom-fut* *go*
 ‘Will you go?’ (N^he^ʔkepmxcín; Thompson and Thompson 1992: 174)
- c. s-^cəq^ʔéw^l-c ɬ x^wu^ý nx^wesí(t)-tn-s.
nom-canoe-3poss *comp fut travel-instr-3poss*
 ‘It was his conveyance that he was going to travel in.’
 (N^he^ʔkepmxcín; Thompson and Thompson 1992: 173)

As the D-determiners can locate in time as well as space (Koch 2006), this is expected. The non-deictic D-determiner is associated with future tense in (42)b; the deictic D-determiners are both associated with past tense in (42)a and c.

I present my tentative reanalysis of the N^he^ʔkepmxcín D-determiner system below.

proximal	distal	non-deictic (polarity)
he, ə, Ø	ɬ(ə)	k

Table 6.21: The D-determiner system of N^he^ʔkepmxcín.

I predict that the non-deictic D-determiner *k* should obligatorily take narrow scope. I also predict that the non-deictic D-determiner should be able to be used partitively.

2.2 Salish languages lacking non-deictic D-determiners

Not all Salish languages appear to have a non-deictic D-determiner. Some languages only have deictic D-determiners. I present these languages here.

2.2.1 Straits

Jelinek and Demers (1994) argue that in the Lummi dialect of Straits there is a four-way split in determiner system between (i) proximal, visible, (ii) neutral, (iii) distal/out of sight and (iv) remote.

	proximal, visible	neutral	distal/out of sight	remote
+female	sl ^ʔ ə	sə	k ^w ə	k ^w sə
general	tl ^ʔ ə	cə	k ^w ə	k ^w cə

Table 6.22: The determiner system of Lummi (adapted from Jelinek and Demers 1994: 717).

The most likely candidates for non-deictic D-determiners are the remote determiners. However, none of these determiners are D-determiners. They can occur without a following NP, and are therefore demonstratives.

- (43) *leŋ-t sən kʷsə.*
see-tr Isg.s dem.f
 ‘I saw her, that one.’ (Lummi; Jelinek and Demers 1994: 717)

It is unclear what feature(s) differentiate(s) between the distal and the remote demonstratives. However, demonstratives are, by definition, deictic. I predict that there will not be a non-deictic demonstrative in this language (or any other).

Montler (1984) argues that there is a two-way split between the determiners in the Saanich dialect of Straits: (i) not invisible and generally present,¹⁸ and (ii) invisible, remote.

	not invisible, or generally present	invisible, remote
non-feminine	<i>tsə, tlə</i>	<i>kʷsə</i>
feminine, singular	<i>θə</i>	<i>kʷθə</i>

Table 6.23: The determiner system of Saanich (adapted from Montler 1984: 225)

The most likely candidates for non-deictic D-determiners are the invisible, remote determiners. Like *kwi*, they can be used for non-locatable referents (44).

- (44) *kʷə č-téləʔ-ən, ʔiʔ ʔəlqələʔ sən ʔə kʷs ʔéləŋ.*
comp have-money-Isg.s accom buy Isg.s obl det house
 ‘If I had money, I’d buy a house.’ (Saanich; Montler 1984: 240)

However, these D-determiners can also be used for referents which are locatable (45)a and b. For example, in (45)a, the speaker is hiding in a canoe, and knows that his father is on shore, cooking food. The referent is locatable by sound. In (45)d, the referent is locatable to the speaker by sight: his child has just jumped up from hiding in front of him.

- (45) a. *kʷł qʷəl čtə kʷsə s-qʷələŋ kʷsə nə-mén.*
real ready prob det nom-barbecue det Isg.poss-father
 ‘My father’s BBQ must be ready.’ (speaker is hiding from father and can smell the cooking.) (Saanich; Montler 1984: 226)

¹⁸ Montler also suggests that the generally present determiners can be further split into *tsə* ‘particular individual’ versus *tlə* ‘near location’. I ignore these differences here.

- b. wəséłs kʷsə sqéǰəʔ.
bark det dog
 ‘The dog (not visible) is barking.’ (Saanich; Montler 1984: 228)
- c. kʷən-nəxʷ sən kʷθə sténiʔ.
see-tr Isg.s det woman
 ‘I saw the woman.’ (She’s not here now) (Saanich; Montler 1984: 226)
- d. čané níł yəxʷ kʷsə nə-ŋəneʔ.
goodness, it.is conjec det Isg.poss-offspring
 ‘Goodness, it’s my child!’ (Saanich; Montler 1984: 245)

Kwi can only be used when the referent is out of sight.

- (46) a. Na7-ch’ huy kwi-s kwukw-s **kwa-n** man.
rl- evid finish comp-nom cook-3poss det-1sg.poss father
 ‘My father must be finished cooking.; (can smell the BBQ)
 (Skwxwú7mesh)
- b. * Na7-ch’ huy kwi-s kwukw-s **kwi** n-man.
rl- evid finish comp-nom cook-3poss det Isg.poss-father
 (Skwxwú7mesh)
- c. Chen kw’ach-nexw **kwelha** slhanay’.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det.f woman
 ‘I saw a/the woman.’ (out of room) (Skwxwú7mesh)

Further, the determiners can be used without a following NP (Timothy Montler, p.c.).

- (47) a. ǰčit sən θə.
know Isg.s dem.f
 I know her.
- b. ǰčit sən tsə.
know Isg.s dem
 I know him.
- c. ǰčit sən kʷsə.
know Isg.s dem
 ‘I know him (not visible).’ (Saanich; Montler, p.c.)

I therefore assume that the invisible, remote determiners are distal demonstratives, rather than non-deictic D-determiners.

2.2.2 Upriver Halkomelem

Galloway (1993) argues that there is a three-way split between the determiners in Upriver Halkomelem: (i) present and visible, (ii) near, not visible, and (iii) remote.

		present, visible	near, not visible	remote
number-neutral	masculine, neutral	te	kwthe	kw'e
	feminine	the	se, kwse	kw'the
plural		ye		
proper names		tl'		

Table 6.24: The D-determiner system of Upriver Halkomelem (adapted from Galloway 1993: 387 and Wiltschko 2002).

The most likely candidates for non-deictic D-determiners or non-assertion of existence determiners are the remote D-determiners *kw'e* and *kw'the*, as the term “remote” could be a reference to the lack of locatability.

- (48) a. Lí (ye) qex kw'e siyólh li kw'a lálem?
loc (pl) many det wood loc det.2sg.poss house
 ‘Is there lots of wood at your house?’
- b. Stám kw'e s-tl'í?
what det nom-want
 ‘What do you want?’
- c. L s-tl'í kw'e qó:
1sg.poss nom-want det water
 ‘I want water.’ (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 388-389)

Like Skwxwú7mesh *kwi*, the remote D-determiners are also used for deceased referents, in complex numerals, and to refer to time. However, the near, not visible D-determiners can also be used for deceased referents, as in (49)a, and the present, and the masculine, visible D-determiner can be used in complex numerals, as in (49)b.

- (49) a. kwthe/kw'e-l sílà:-lh
det/det-1sg.poss grandparent-pst
 ‘my late grandfather’ (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 388-389)
- b. 'ópel qas te/kw'e 'isále
ten and det/det two
 ‘twelve’ (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 406)

- c. **kw'e** tseláqelh(-elh)
det yesterday(-pst)
 'yesterday' (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 389)
- d. **kw'(e)** spelwálh
det year
 'last year.' (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 389)

The remote D-determiner *kw'e* can also be used as a complementizer.

- (50) Tsel 'áts-lexw **kw'e**-s q'áy-lexw-es te swíyeqe te spáth.
Isg.s hear-tr comp-nom kill-tr-3erg det man det bear
 'I heard that the man killed a bear.' (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 395)

The remote D-determiners in Upriver Halkomelem cannot be non-assertion of existence D-determiners because they can be used in non-factive contexts.

- (51) a. Ts'tl'ém **kw'e** swíyeqe.¹⁹
jump det man
 'The man jumped.'
- b. Kw'éts-lexw te spáth **kw'e** swíyeqe.
see-tr det bear det man
 'The man saw the bear.' (Upriver Halkomelem)
- (52) a. Sétqtst-es **kw'e** pípe.
light-3erg det paper
 'He lights paper [on fire].' (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 374)
- b. Le thíyqw-t-es **kw'e** sth'ékwi.
aux dig-tr-3erg det worm
 'He dug for worms.' (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 389)
- c. Sta'á **kw'e** stl'óqwi.
like det fish
 'It's like a fish.' (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 389)

However, the remote D-determiners also cannot be non-deictic D-determiners. They can be used for place names, which the speaker should be able to locate, for proper names, and to make reference to proximal locations.

¹⁹ These data are from my own fieldwork.

- (53) a. Tl'a-l-su tés kw'e lhq'álets.
And-1sg.poss-so reach det Vancouver
 'So I reached Vancouver.' (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 388)
- b. Le qál-t-em kw' Bill.
aux rob-tr-pass det Bill
 'Bill was robbed.' (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 388)
- c. 'i kw'e lò.
here det here
 'Here, in this place.' (Upriver Halkomelem; Galloway 1993: 399)

I therefore assume that the remote D-determiners are distal, rather than non-deictic.

		proximal	medial, invisible	distal, invisible
number-neutral	gender-neutral	te	kwthe	kw'e
	female	the	se, kwse	kw'the
plural		ye		
proper names		tl'		

Table 6.25: The D-determiner system of Upriver Halkomelem.²⁰

2.3 Summary

Deictic features are rampant throughout the determiner systems of Salish. Systems differ as to whether they have only demonstratives (such as Lummi) or whether they have both D-determiners and demonstratives (such as the rest of the languages discussed here). They also differ as to whether they have a non-deictic D-determiner or not.

²⁰ Upriver Halkomelem and Musqueam are dialects of the same language (Halkomelem). It may be that the Musqueam non-deictic D-determiner is also a distal determiner. More research is required.

Does the language have		determiners?	non-deictic D-determiners?	polarity D-determiners?
Sk̄w̄x̄wú7mesh		yes	yes	no
St'át'imcets		yes	yes	yes
Sechelt		yes	probably	no
Lushootseed		yes	probably	no
Musqueam		yes	probably	no
Upper Chehalis		yes	probably	no
Cowlitz		yes	probably	no
Secwepemctsin		yes	probably	no
Nuxalk		yes	probably	yes
Nteʔkepmxcín		yes	probably	yes
Straits	Lummi	no	n/a	n/a
	Saanich	yes	no	n/a
Upriver Halkomelem		yes	no	n/a

Table 6.26: Salish languages and non-deictic D-determiners

I predict that all of the non-deictic D-determiners would obligatorily take narrow scope. (Recall that in the Sk̄w̄x̄wú7msh texts, only 9/122 of the deictic D-determiner *ta* was used in non-factive environments, suggesting that *kwi* is preferred in these contexts in order to get the narrow scope reading. I expect similar numbers in languages with non-deictic D-determiners.) I also predict that the non-deictic D-determiners would be able to be used partitively, because the speaker does not locate the referent within the group. The D-determiners should also be used in non-partitive familiar contexts, because by definition, D-determiners have domain restriction in their denotations. For most languages, I am unable to tell if these predictions hold, because the grammars do not contain this level of detail. Extensive fieldwork is required in order to test my claims.

3 Implications for English

The implications for English are very different than those for Salish languages. English does not encode deictic features on the D-determiner *the*. Instead, the analysis of Sk̄w̄x̄wú7mesh that I have provided in this thesis raises some interesting questions as to what counts as a D-determiner.

The term “determiner” is often used as a catch-all for articles, demonstratives and quantifiers, especially in English. In this section, I question whether other “determiners” occupy

the same position as D-determiners (D), and whether they have the same semantics as D-determiners.²¹

I have argued that D-determiners in *Skwú7mesh* have domain restriction in their representations. I also argued that they shared this property with English *the*, and extended this to all languages with overt D-determiners. I provide the denotations of *the* and *ta* in (54)a and (54)b, respectively. The domain restriction in each case is bolded.

(54) a $\llbracket \text{the} \rrbracket = \lambda P \max(\lambda x [P(x) \wedge \mathbf{C}(x)])$

b. $\llbracket \text{ta} \rrbracket = \lambda P f(\lambda x [P(x) \wedge \mathbf{C}(x)])$

What about quantifiers, demonstratives and indefinite articles? Do they also have domain restriction in their representations?

In Chapter 4, I argued that *Skwú7mesh* quantifiers do not have domain restriction in their denotation. This is because quantifiers and D-determiners can co-occur. What does this tell us about English?

There are three possible analyses of English. First, English could be significantly different from *Skwú7mesh* (and other languages) in that it conflates the D and Q positions into one head (as argued by Szabolcsi 1994). Secondly, English could have the same structure as *Skwú7mesh*; that is, it could have both Q and D heads, and the D head could introduce domain restriction. The third potential analysis is somewhere in between; some quantifiers could be conflated, while others could not.

In the next section, I provide data that suggests that the first analysis is unlikely. There is indirect evidence that some English quantifiers co-occur with a null determiner, in some contexts (see Matthewson 2004, who also argues this). However, it is difficult to determine if *all* quantifiers must behave this way.

²¹ Westerståhl (1984) also argued that *the* should be treated differently from the rest of the determiners (i.e. differently from the quantifiers). However, he argued that *the* should not be treated as a determiner, but instead simply domain restriction. I also argue that *the* has domain restriction in its representation, but it also must be more than simply domain restriction. (Some reference to uniqueness is required.) I also argue that *the* is a determiner, and that quantifiers belong to a different domain.

3.1 Distinguishing D-determiners from quantifiers in English

In a very gross sense, quantifiers and D-determiners behave semantically similarly, in that they create arguments out of predicate NPs (at least on the surface) in English. However, on a much more subtle level, they do something quite different. The goal of this thesis is to elucidate the special semantics of the D-determiners. Here I will show that quantifiers do not share the same position or the same semantics, even in English.

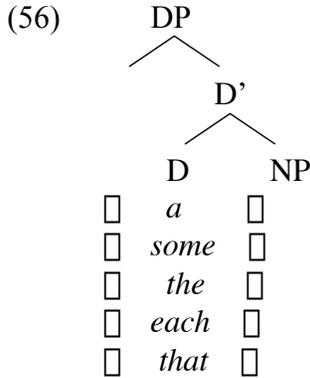
In many languages, quantifiers do not create arguments out of predicates (Matthewson 2001, 2004). D-determiners, quantifiers and demonstratives (or some subset) can co-occur with each other. If D-determiners create arguments out of predicates, then surely quantifiers cannot be doing this as well in these languages. Once the D-determiner has created an argument, the quantifier will not apply to a predicate.

Even in English, D-determiners and quantifiers behave semantically quite differently. Although Barwise and Cooper (1981) and others treat them as a unified category of functions of type $\langle\langle e,t\rangle,\langle\langle e,t\rangle,t\rangle\rangle$ (from sets to sets of sets), I make the distinction between quantifiers (which are functions of type $\langle\langle e,t\rangle,\langle\langle e,t\rangle,t\rangle\rangle$) and D-determiners, which are functions of type $\langle\langle e,t\rangle,e\rangle$ (from sets to entities), or do not change the type at all (such as *kwi*).

In much of the traditional syntactic and semantic literature on English, what has been considered to be a determiner includes the set of all functional elements that can precede the NP within the nominal domain.

- (55) a. I watched **the/a/one/each/every/that** swan swim across the lake.
b. I watched **the/two/those** swans swim across the lake.

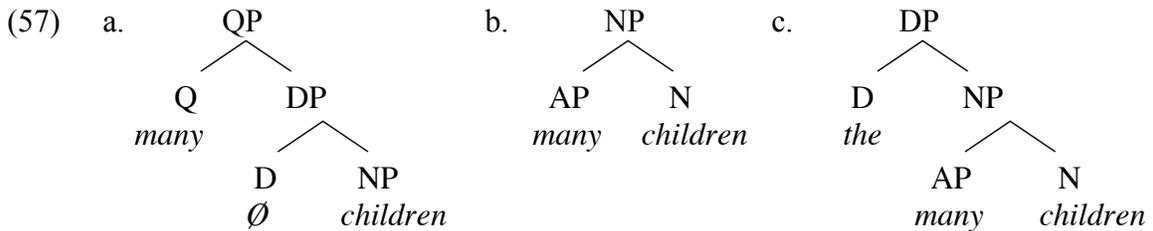
For example, (Abney 1987) analyzes all of these elements (cardinal numerals, quantifiers, demonstratives, and articles) as occupying the same position: D.



However, I have shown in this thesis that this cannot capture the data in Skwxwú7mesh. Here I extend the claim that D-determiners occupy a different syntactic position than other determiners to English.

3.1.1 Evidence from the cardinal/proportional readings of weak quantifiers

I suggest that proportional quantifiers occupy a higher position than D-determiners do, as shown in (57)a, and that cardinal quantifiers occupy an adjective position (57)b and c. (Partee 1987 argues that weak quantifiers in adjective position are unambiguously cardinal.)



This analysis can account for two facts: (i) that (some) weak quantifiers can co-occur with D-determiners and (ii) that cardinal quantifiers can occur in existential sentences, and proportional quantifiers cannot.

Most weak quantifiers can co-occur with the D-determiner *the*, demonstratives, possessors, and pronouns.²²

²² There is at least one case where a strong quantifier can co-occur with a determiner.

(i) The genie granted **his every** wish.

Not all weak quantifiers can co-occur with determiners or demonstratives (Jackendoff 1977).

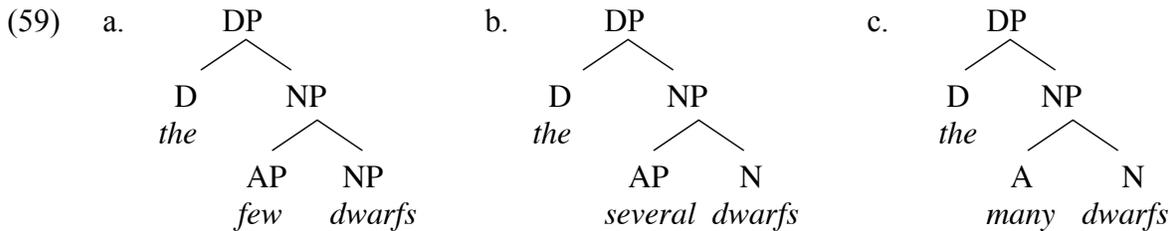
(ii) * **The some** elves left.

- (58) a. D Q
 [Fred's] [many]
 [the] [few] dwarfs
 [those] [several]
 [which]

(Jackendoff 1977: 104)

- b. **We few** linguists have a lot of work to do.

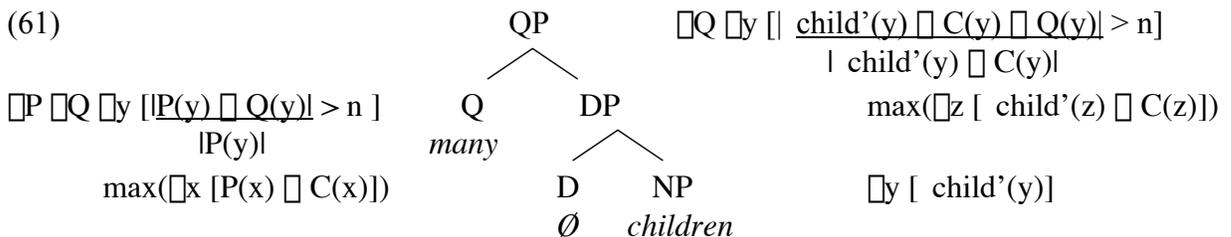
Crucially, the D-determiner can co-occur with most weak quantifiers. This can be captured by the analysis below.



When a weak quantifier occurs without a D-determiner, demonstrative, possessor or pronoun, the weak quantifier is ambiguous between a proportional and cardinal reading (Milsark 1979).

- (60) Many children ran around.
 i. There were many children who ran around. (cardinal)
 ii. Many of the (contextually salient) children ran around. (proportional)

Under the proportional reading, the quantifier quantifies over a contextually salient set of individuals; I argue that the contextual set is introduced not by the quantifier, but by D. In the example below, for expositional clarity I abstract away from the types and treat the DP as type $\langle e, t \rangle$. Max has the same denotation as before, but here it returns a set instead of an individual.



This structure also allows us to understand why the proportional reading of weak quantifiers cannot be used in existential sentences. The null D position is associated with domain restriction

and assertion of uniqueness. The existential sentence is incompatible with the assertion of uniqueness.²³

- (62) a. There were **many** children in the garden. (cardinal)
 b. # There were **the many** children in the garden.
 c. # There were **MANY** children in the garden. (proportional)

Many children is ambiguous between a cardinal reading (which is licit in existential readings) and a proportional reading (which is not) (Milsark 1979).

The proportional reading is, however, not equivalent to *the many X*, as can be seen in familiar contexts.

- (63) a. I saw children wandering in the halls. **The many** children were chewing gum.
 b. I saw children wandering in the halls. **Many** children were chewing gum.

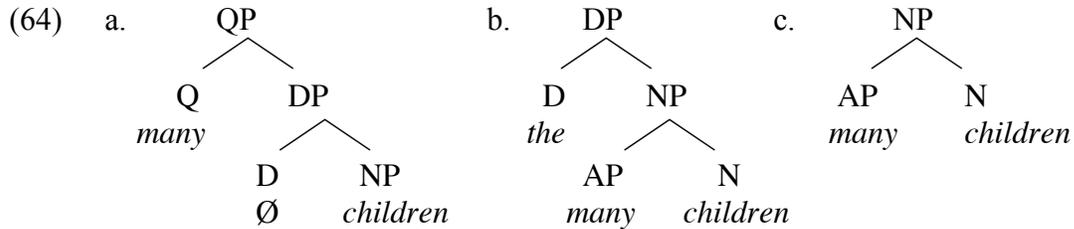
In example (63)a, *the many children* refers to all of the children introduced in the previous sentence. However, in (63)b, *many children* refers to a subset of the set of children introduced in the previous sentence. We therefore must distinguish between weak quantifiers in adjectival position, and those that are higher.

This is not evidence that the weak quantifier (when it has a strong reading) occupies a different position than a determiner, however. The weak quantifier, when it is not adjectival, could be in the head of D. This would be a conflated analysis of the Q and D heads. In the next section, I address the possibility of a conflated analysis, and show that it cannot be correct.

I argued in Chapter 4 that quantifiers in *Skwǎwú7mesh* occupied a position above D; here I argue that quantifiers in English can occupy a position above D (in which case they receive a proportional reading), or below D (in which case they receive a cardinal/adjectival reading.)

²³ I argue that the existential is incompatible with the assertion of uniqueness of the D position, rather than with the domain restriction because in *Skwǎwú7mesh*, the determiners (which I have already argued are associated with domain restriction) are licit in existential contexts.

(i) Tsi7 **ta/kwa/ti/kwi** sha7yu na7 ta-n lam'.
exis det ghost be.there det-1sg.poss house
 'There's a ghost in my house.'



I argue that weak quantifiers can only be associated with a proportional reading if they take a DP complement.

3.1.2 Evidence from domain restriction

I therefore argue against a conflation analysis (cf. Szabolsci 1994) of quantifiers. Quantifiers, in the system developed here, do not occupy a D/Q position, but rather a Q position, separate from D. I claim that strong or proportional quantifiers attach above D.

Indirect evidence that (most) quantifiers cannot occupy a conflated Q/D position comes from Stanley and Szabó (2000). The evidence they present shows that the quantifier itself cannot be associated with domain restriction, and that the domain restriction must be located somewhere lower than the the quantifier. They argue that their evidence shows that the NPs themselves are associated with domain restriction, but, as I showed in Chapter 3, that position is untenable. Bare nouns cannot be used to refer back to a previously mentioned referent. Instead, they can only be used to introduce a new referent.

- (65) a. I saw some bears last night. They were wandering around Stanley Park. **Bears** like to hang around the park.
- b. I saw some bears last night. They were wandering around Stanley Park. # I shot **bears**.
- c. I saw some bears last night. They were wandering around Stanley Park. # **Bears** were eating garbage.

Stanley and Szabó's evidence that quantifiers themselves cannot be associated with domain restriction is given in example (66).

- (66) Most people regularly scream. **They** are crazy. (Stanley and Szabó 2000: 257)

There are two readings associated with the second sentence in (66): one where the pronoun *they* refers to all of the people in the domain (a certain village, for example), and one where it refers to those people in the village who regularly scream. They claim that this is evidence that *people* is associated with the domain restriction.

For the first reading, they claim that “there is no single node in the logical form whose associated semantic value is the set of people in the village”, if the domain variable is associated with *most*. If the nominal is associated with the domain restriction, however, there is a single node (the NP).



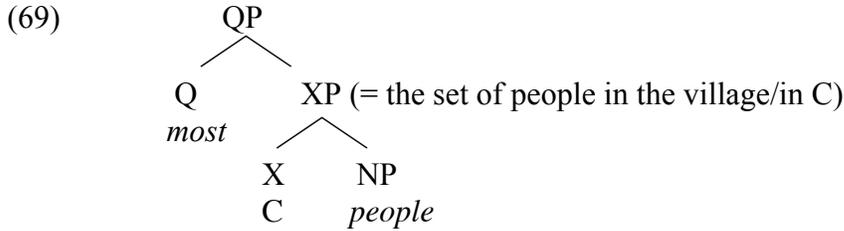
Stanley and Szabó also claim that the second reading cannot be captured by having domain restriction associated with *most*. They appeal to Neale’s (1990) analysis of *they*, where it is proxy for a description which is reconstructable from the logical form of the first sentence.

(68) If *x* is a pronoun that is anaphoric on, but not c-commanded by a non-maximal quantifier ‘[Dx:Fx]’ that occurs in an antecedent clause ‘[Dx:Fx](Gx)’, then *x* is interpreted as ‘[the *x*: Fx&Gx]’. (Neale 1990: 266)

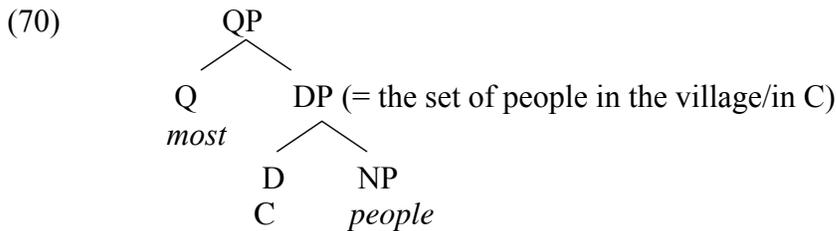
According to them, if the domain restriction is associated with *most*, *they* should be interpreted as [the *x*: person(*x*) & regularly-scream (*x*)], which should mean everyone in the universe who regularly screams (rather than everyone in the village who regularly screams).

If NPs cannot be associated with domain restriction, and quantifiers like *most* cannot be associated with domain restriction either, then the question becomes: where is the domain restriction?

My analysis of *mesh* determiners and quantifiers can be extended to English to solve this problem. For the first reading of (66) (where *they* refers to all of the villagers), we need a single node whose associated semantic value is the set of villagers.



This single node must be DP: I have already shown that the D position is associated with domain restriction in both English and *Skwáwú7mesh*.



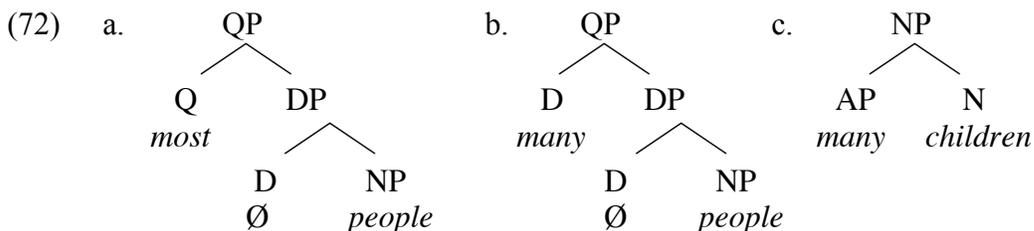
Similarly, the second reading (where *they* refers to the villagers who regularly scream) can be solved by the presence of a D position. *The* (as in [the x: Fx&Gx]) is precisely the element which contains domain restriction under the approach in this thesis. The structure provided in (70) accounts for this second reading, assuming that *they* is determined as in (68).

This argument also applies to weak quantifiers, such as *many*.

(71) Many people regularly scream. **They** are crazy.

The second sentence in (71) is ambiguous in the same way that (66) is.

Stanley and Szabó, then, provide us with evidence that domain restriction involves a lower head than Q, but not necessarily the noun itself. Since the nominal can be shown independently not to be associated with domain restriction, we are forced to assume a null D position, which is itself associated with domain restriction. In the case of strong quantifiers, this null D must be obligatory; however, with weak quantifiers, only the proportional reading would be associated with a D position.



The distinction I appeal to here is that D-determiners *usually* cannot refer to subsets of previously introduced sets, whereas demonstratives *always* can.²⁷ For example, in discourse, if a group referent has been introduced, the D-determiner *the* can only be used to refer to the supremum of the set (as discussed in Chapter 3).

(74) Pass me **the** hammers.

In (74), the speaker must be referring to the entire set of contextually relevant hammers. If the speaker wants to refer to a subset of the salient group of hammers he or she is forced to choose between a partitive and a demonstrative.

- (75) a. Pass me **two of the** hammers.
b. Pass me **those** hammers.

Informally, demonstratives can be used to refer to referents (often using a pointing gesture) from a larger set. D-determiners can never be used this way. Instead, they must refer to the entire set denoted by NP that are given in any context.²⁸

- (76) a. Look at those penguins on the other side of the room. **That** penguin just stole some guy's dinner! (pointing one out)
b. Look at those penguins on the other side of the room. **#The** penguin just stole some guy's dinner!
c. Look at those penguins on the other side of the room. **The** penguins just stole some guy's dinner!

The DP in (76)b should refer to the unique referent conforming to the NP description; however, there is more than one potential referent. The DP in (76)c refers to the maximal set of referents conforming to the NP description.

Demonstratives, on the other hand, are able to refer to subsets. If the context contains 20 girls scattered throughout a room, and I wish to refer to a subset of the girls in the room, I am

²⁷ In *Skwú7mesh*, the non-deictic D-determiner can refer to a subset, much like demonstratives can. However, the reason *kwi* can refer to a subset is due to its lack of deictic features.

²⁸ As shown in Chapter 4, in *Skwú7mesh* this is only an implicature. However, the implicature never arises with demonstratives.

forced to use a demonstrative. I can also use the demonstrative to refer to the entire set, but only if the situation allows that choice (if I am outside the room containing the girls, for example).

- (77) a. **Those** girls are really rambunctious. (= all 20 girls, or 5 girls in a corner, etc.)
 b. **The** girls are really rambunctious. (= all 20 girls)

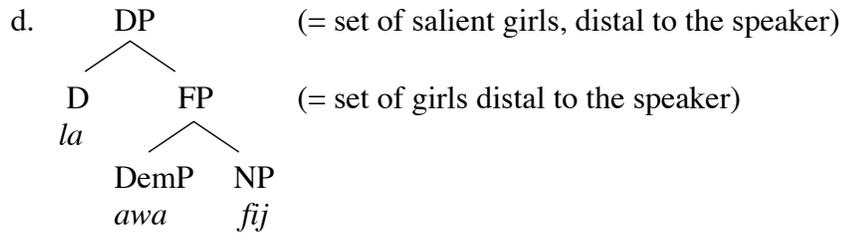
Informally, demonstratives appear to refer to a subset from a previously introduced set, whereas D-determiners can only refer to the entire set. I assume that this referring to a subset of the given set involves a (overt or covert) pointing gesture.

It is still possible, however, that the demonstratives in English denote deictic features *and* domain restriction. This would be similar to the denotation of the Skwú7mesh deictic D-determiners. In languages other than English, there is evidence that demonstratives must be distinguished from D-determiners, as I showed in Chapter 3. For example, in Michif, a D-determiner is required if a demonstrative is used (Rosen 2003), as in (78).

- (78) awa la fij
dem det girl
 'that girl' (Michif; Rosen 2003: 41)

As in the cases with the quantifiers, I argue that the D-determiner provides the domain restriction: a narrowing of the relevant set to the salient individuals which match the descriptive content of the NP. The demonstrative also narrows the set, but only to the set of individuals which are close or far (depending on the demonstrative; see also Chapter 4 for discussion of deictic features) from the anchor (usually speaker). I assume that the demonstrative is an adjective (following Giusti 1993 and Bernstein 1997); the set denoted by *awa* intersects with the set denoted by *fij*.

- (79) a. [[awa]] = set of individuals which are distal with respect to the speaker
 b. [[fij]] = set of girls
 c. [[awa fij]] = set of girls which are distal with respect to the speaker.



Only the D-determiner provides C (the contextually salient set); this C intersects with the set provided by *awa fij*.²⁹ I assume that *la* has the same semantics as *the* does.³⁰

- (80) a. $\llbracket \text{fij} \rrbracket = \lambda x [\text{girl}'(x)]$
 b. $\llbracket \text{awa fij} \rrbracket = \lambda x [\text{girl}'(x) \cap \text{distal-from-speaker}'(x)]$
 c. $\llbracket \text{la awa fij} \rrbracket = \max(\lambda x [\text{girl}'(x) \cap \text{distal-from-speaker}'(x) \cap C(x)])$

There is no direct evidence that English (or *Skwú7mesh*) also has a D-determiner that co-occurs with demonstratives.³¹ However, given that quantifiers do seem to occupy a different position from D-determiners, even in English, and that many languages distinguish between demonstratives and D-determiners, I suggest that demonstratives always occupy a different position from D-determiners.

This can explain why, in some languages, D-determiners are overtly required: the position D is always present. A D-determiner is needed to introduce domain restriction; demonstratives and quantifiers are unable to do this. I assume that English has the same structure, and that the D-determiner must be null (as it is with quantifiers). (81)a has the same interpretation as (80)c.

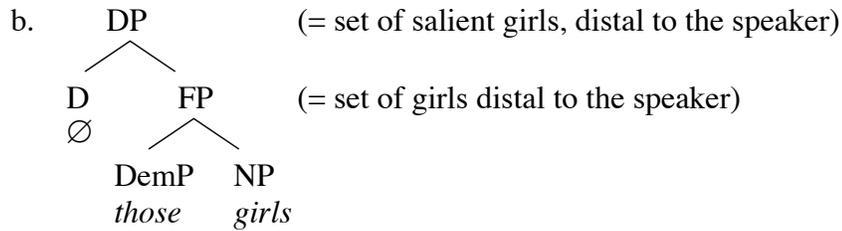
- (81) a. those girls

²⁹ For independent reasons, Rosen (2003) argues that the demonstrative originates in a position lower than the determiner and raises to a fronted position.

³⁰ Only the domain restriction is critical for the analysis presented in this thesis; more research is required to determine if *la* asserts the uniqueness of its referent.

³¹ There is some data that suggests that demonstratives may occupy a different position. D-determiners are preferred over demonstratives when occurring with the adjectival version of weak quantifiers. D-determiners and demonstratives are equally good in partitive constructions.

- (i) **The** many girls were dancing by the fire.
- (ii) ?? **Those** many girls were dancing by the fire.
- (iii) Many of **the** girls were dancing by the fire.
- (iv) Many of **those** girls were dancing by the fire.



Languages may choose to allow this position to be covert because the presence of the demonstrative suggests the presence of higher structure.

3.3 Distinguishing D-determiners from indefinite articles

I have argued that D-determiners (i) occupy D, and (ii) obligatorily include domain restriction in their denotation. The question so far has been what counts as a D-determiner? I have argued that quantifiers and demonstratives do not occupy D, nor include domain restriction in their denotation. Therefore, they cannot be D-determiners. In this section, I argue that indefinite articles are also not D-determiners, for both syntactic and semantic reasons.

3.3.1 The semantic contribution of indefinite articles

A is semantically quite different from *the*. Similarly to the definite D-determiner, the indefinite articles cannot be used to refer to a referent that belongs to a previously introduced set. However, they cannot refer to the entire set either. For example, in (82)a, *a penguin* cannot refer to a member of the set of penguins introduced by *those penguins*; neither can *sm penguins* refer to a subset of the set of penguins in (82)b. In both cases, the nominal would have to introduce another referent, which is odd, given that the speaker has just pointed out a salient group of penguins. In (82)c, *a penguin* cannot refer to the same penguin introduced by *that penguin*; neither can *sm penguins* refer to the entire set of penguins introduced by *those penguins* in (82)b.

- (82) a. Look at those penguins on the other side of the room. #**A** penguin just stole that guy's dinner!
- b. Look at those penguins on the other side of the room. #**Sm** penguins just stole that guy's dinner!

- c. Look at that penguin on the other side of the room. #A penguin just stole that guy's dinner!

Unlike the definite D-determiner, *a* and *sm* can only be used to introduce new referents.

I have argued above that the definite D-determiner cannot refer to a member of a previously introduced set because its domain is set by the context. A definite DP must refer to the entire set given in the context. I argue here that the indefinite article can only introduce new referents because it does not introduce domain restriction. I claim that an indefinite DP has no access to the context.

There are, however, examples of nominals referring to a member or members of a previously mentioned discourse set using *a* or *sm*. In (83)a, *a student* can refer to one of the students who were standing outside the factory gate, and in (83)b, *sm tires* can refer to some of the tires of the car Fred bought last week.

- (83) a. Some students were standing outside the factory gate. Bill kept his eye on them. After a little while, **a** student came up to him and asked him his name.
- b. Fred bought a car last week, and then sold **sm** tires to his friend.
(adapted from Hawkins 1978: 174)

I claim that this is similar to accidental co-reference. The speaker is introducing a new referent, but it can refer to a member of the group if the group has been made/is less salient. In (83)a, the group of students is “demoted” as a salient group by the introduction of *Bill*. This allows *a student* to introduce a new referent which can just happen to be a member of the original group. In (83)b, the tires of the car that Fred bought are never mentioned as a discourse topic at all. This allows *sm tires* to (indirectly) refer to the tires of the car.³²

Further, the examples in (83) do not *have* to refer to a member of the discourse set (Hawkins 1978). In fact, some English speakers disprefer the reading where the referent is part of the previously introduced set. These speakers are forced to use a partitive to force the partitive reading.³³

³² In fact, if *sm tires* refers to the tires of the car, it can refer to all of them, or all of them plus some other tires, from a different car.

³³ I find it especially difficult to interpret *sm tires* partitively; other speakers cannot interpret either the plural or singular examples partitively.

- (84) a. Some students were standing outside the factory gate. Bill kept his eye on them. After a little while, **one of the** students came up to him and asked him his name.
- b. Fred bought a car last week, and then sold **some of the** tires to his friend.

I argue this is because nominals with *a* and *sm* do not have access to the context.

3.3.2 *The syntactic position of indefinite articles*

My analysis forces me to claim that *a* occupies a different position than *the*. On independent grounds, the indefinite article *a* is argued to occupy a different position than that of *the* (Epstein 1999, Lyons 1999, Borer 2005). One of Epstein's arguments is based on the distribution of *the*, *two*, *such* and *a*. *The* must precede the cardinal *two* (85)a and *two* must precede *such* (85)b. However, *such* must precede *a* (85)d. *The* and *a* occupy different syntactic positions.³⁴

- (85) a. **The two** cars are safe.
- b. **Two such** cars are safe.
- c. Most of the cars here are unsafe. But a couple of cars have been built more sturdily. **The two such** cars are safe.
- d. **Such a** car is safe.
- e. * **Such the** car is safe.³⁵

Epstein argues that *a* occupies a lower projection than *the* (NumP).

While the syntactic evidence given here is not strong, it is at least consistent with the idea that *a* and *the* occupy different positions. It is also not important exactly which position the indefinite article occupies, only that it does not occupy D (and is therefore not a D-determiner).

The analysis given in this thesis provides us with a way to explain the observation that *a* seems to be different from *the*, both syntactically and semantically. There is a unified syntactic

³⁴ This argument does not work in other Germanic languages (Greg Carlson, p.c.). The syntactic arguments may be different in each language.

³⁵ Independently, however, *the* and *such* cannot co-occur (Bresnan 1973), unless something follows *the*, such as *first*, *only* or numerals (Landman 2006).

- (i) * **The such** car is safe.
 (ii) **The only such** car is safe.
 (iii) **The one such** car is safe.
 (iv) **The first such** car was safe.

and semantic constraint on D-determiners. *A* and *sm* do not occupy D, nor do they include domain restriction in their denotation. Therefore, neither of them are D-determiners.

There is still a remaining problem: if other indefinites can co-occur with D, why can't *a* co-occur with *the*? One way around this problem is to claim that *the* and *a* can co-occur, but the effects are masked. Perlmutter (1970) argues that *a* is the unstressed variant of *one*, since wherever stressed *a* would be expected, *one* is found instead.

- (86) a. I bought **a** *book*.
b. * I bought **a** book.
c. * I bought **one** *book*.
d. I bought **one** book.

If this is correct, *the* and *a* can co-occur, but only if the numeral receives stress.

- (87) I bought **the one** book.

However, in certain contexts, *a* can still be stressed, as shown in (88).

- (88) a. That wasn't **a** reason I left Pittsburgh, it was **the** reason.
b. He was **a** friend; I had others. (Abbott 1999)

On the other hand, it is only possible to stress *a* when it is explicitly contrasted with the alternatives, and is metalinguistically negated by the use of *the* (cf. Horn 1985).

- (89) a. * That wasn't **a** reason I left Pittsburgh.
b. * He was **a** friend.

I therefore adopt this analysis of *a* as unstressed *one*.

3.4 Summary

I argue that only elements which occupy D and have domain restriction in their denotations are D-determiners. I provided indirect evidence that quantifiers do not occupy D, even in English.

Demonstratives do not occupy D, at least in some languages; I claimed that English demonstratives could be analyzed the same way. Indefinite articles were also shown not to occupy D, nor to include domain restriction in their denotation.

I claimed that only elements which are constrained by the context in a very particular way can be called D-determiners. I make the strong claim that D is sensitive to the context and that nothing else is.

- (90) If a nominal is introduced by a D (overtly or covertly), it will be restricted by C.
If a nominal lacks D, it will not be restricted by C.

Bare nouns are not restricted by the domain because they lack a determiner. Only quantifiers under a cardinal reading, indefinite nominals and bare nouns lack a D-determiner, which in turn means they lack domain restriction.

- (91) a. strong/proportional Q
- ```

 QP
 / \
 Q DP
 / \
 D NP

```
- b. cardinal Q/indefinite<sup>36</sup>
- ```

      QP
     /  \
    Q   NP
  
```
- c. full DP
- ```

 DP
 / \
 D NP

```
- d. bare noun
- ```

      NP
  
```

By my arguments given above, it follows that English has only two D-determiners: *the* and the null D that co-occurs with quantifiers. However, other languages (such as *Słoweński*) have more than one overt D-determiner. There is no reason why a language should have more than one overt D-determiner, unless other features are encoded, such as deictic features.

I therefore argue for the special status of D, not only in *Słoweński*, but in English as well. I argue that D-determiners occupy a different position from quantifiers and demonstratives.

- (92) Determiners are D-determiners iff they occupy D.

³⁶ I am ignoring the exact position of *a*, which may be in a different position than the weak quantifiers. Nothing hinges on the exact position of any of these; the only restriction is that they cannot occupy D.

4 Implications for “articleless” languages

My claim that only D is sensitive to the context has implications for languages which lack overt D-determiners. Unfortunately, I cannot do these languages justice here, and it must remain a topic for future research. I briefly outline the predictions of my analysis for articleless languages here.

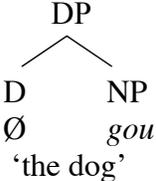
On the surface, languages like Mandarin Chinese do not have D-determiners. However, bare nouns can get definite interpretations in many contexts ((93)b and c), as well as indefinite ((93)a) (Cheng and Sybesma 1999).

- (93) a. Hufei mai **shu** qu le.
Hufei buy book go sfp
‘Hufei went to buy a book/books.’
- b. Hufei he-wan-le **tang**.
Hufei drink-finish-LE soup
‘Hufei finished the soup.’
- c. **Gou** yao guo malu.
dog want cross road
‘The dog wants to cross the road.’ (Mandarin; Cheng and Sybesma 1999: 510)

Indefinite interpretations are expected for NPs; as I have argued, bare nouns are not associated with C, and must introduce a new set to the discourse. It is the definite interpretation which concerns us here. How, under the analysis I have given in this thesis, can a bare noun be interpreted as a definite?

The analysis presented in this thesis allows for only two analyses of languages like Mandarin Chinese. If these nominals are in fact bare NPs, then the only way that they can be co-referent is “accidentally”, as with indefinite nominals in English. We would then expect readings where the nominal refers to the previously introduced referent and other referents.

The other potential analysis is to claim that, when the nominals are interpreted as definites, there is a null D, and it is that D which is supplying the domain restriction.

- (94) a.  b. $D = \max(\{x [P(x) \cap C(x)]\})^{37}$

This is the analysis which I adopt here. There is no syntactic evidence for this functional structure, but semantically, it is a more coherent picture of the split between the indefinite and definite readings.

5 Implications for Māori

There are many other languages that have determiners which would be relevant to the discussion here. I restrict the discussion to one more language: Māori.

Māori has six different articles which potentially occupy D. Three of these articles are indefinite and four are definite (Chung and Ladusaw 2004).³⁸

	indefinite	definite	aforementioned
singular	he, tētahi	te	taua
plural	ētehi	ngā	aua

Table 6.27: The article system of of Māori (adapted from Chung and Ladusaw 2004: 23-33).

In the system developed in this thesis, indefinite articles cannot occupy D. Anything that occupies D should have domain restriction in its denotation. Semantically, the indefinite articles do not appear to introduce domain restriction over their NP. They can only introduce new referents (Chung and Ladusaw 2004). In (95)a, *ētehi* ‘some’ in the first clause must refer to a different set of individuals than the *ētehi* ‘others’ in the second clause. Similarly, in (95)b, *he* must refer to a different part of the fort than the previously mentioned part (*tēnā wāhi* ‘that place’).

³⁷ Again, I am assuming that the null determiner asserts the uniqueness of its referent. This is not necessarily true, and needs to be tested.

³⁸ Bauer (1993) also argues that there is a separate D-determiner *a* for proper names and pronouns.

- (95) a. Ka moe ētehi, ka ara ko ētehi ki ta rātou mahi.
T sleep art.pl T awake Ident art.pl to their work
 ‘While some slept, others stayed awake to keep up the work.’
- b. Ta rāua mahi he whakaputa ake i tēnā wāhi
their.du work Pred.a appear up at dem place
 o te pā, ka rere, ā ka whakaputa ake
of det fort T rush and T appear up
he wāhi anō.
art place again
 ‘They appear at [that] part of the fort, then rushed to another part.’
 (Māori; Jones and Biggs 1995: 191, cited by Chung and Ladusaw 2004: 33)

Furthermore, two of the indefinite articles (*tētahi* and *ētehi*) appear to be demonstratives or weak quantifiers, as they can occur without a following NP, as shown for the plural in (95)a. They do not occupy D.

What about the remaining indefinite article, *he*? It has a much more restricted distribution than the other indefinite articles do (Hale and Hohepa 1969; Chung and Ladusaw 2004). Chung and Ladusaw discuss four differences: (i) only *he* can act as a pivot of an existential sentence, (ii) *he* cannot follow a preposition, (iii) *he* can only introduce an internal subject and (iv) *he* nominals are predicational.

The most telling difference between *tētahi* and *he* is the final difference. The article *he* is predicational, whereas the other indefinite articles are identificational.

- (96) a. Ko **tētahi** pakanga kaha tēnā.
Ident art battle strong dem
 ‘It was a fierce battle.’
 (Māori; Jones and Biggs: 369, cited in Chung and Ladusaw 2004: 62)
- b. **He** kōrero ātaahua tēnā.
art speech beautiful dem
 ‘That’s a beautiful saying.’
 (Māori; Karetu 1974: 61, cited in Chung and Ladusaw 2004: 63)
- c. * **Tētahi** kōrero ātaahua tēnā.
art speech beautiful dem (Māori; Chung and Ladusaw 2004: 64)

T_tahi nominals cannot be used as predicates, whereas *he* nominals can. This is strikingly similar to the use of *a* in English in predicate position. *A* nominals can be used in predicate position, while the English quantifier *some* is degraded.

- (97) a. I am **a** linguist.
 b. ?? We are **some** linguists.

Recall that *Skwxwú7mesh kwi*, which I showed to be a D-determiner in Chapter 5, also cannot be used in predicate position.

- (98) a. **Slhánay'** lha Kirsten.
woman det.f Kirsten
 'Kirsten is a woman.'
- b. * **Kwi** slhánay' lha Kirsten.
det woman det.f Kirsten

It is plausible that *he* is not a D-determiner, and occupies a position in NumP, like English *a*. Assuming this is correct, Māori has only four D-determiners: *te*, *ngā*, *taua* and *aua*.

This language also makes a distinction between (potentially) wide scope nominals and obligatorily narrow scope nominals (Chung and Ladusaw 2004). *Tētahi* or *ētehi* allow the nominal to take wide or narrow scope; *he* nominals can only take narrow scope.

- (99) a. Kāore **tētahi** tangata i waiata mai.
T.not art person T sing to.here
 'A (particular) person didn't sing.'
 (= There was a person who didn't sing; *wide*)
- b. Kāore anō **tētahi** tangata kia taha i te ara.
T.not yet art person T pass on det path
 'No one had yet passed along the track.' (H.M. Ngata 1994: 304; *narrow*)
- c. Kāore **he** take kotahi.
T.not art reason one
 'There's no reason at all.'
 (lit. there is not one reason; *narrow*)

I have already suggested that none of these are D-determiners. However, my analysis predicts that there should be a difference between the articles that take wide or narrow scope and the article which only takes narrow scope. If *tētahi* or *ētehi* are demonstratives, they should have deictic features. As they do not contrast with other indefinite demonstratives, the feature involved would have to be [neutral] (following Imai 2003). On the other hand, if they are weak

quantifiers, the quantificational feature would allow the nominals to take any scope.³⁹ *He*, which I have suggested occupies a position lower than D, would have to lack all of these features.

Furthermore, only the definite and aforementioned articles would occupy D and have domain restriction in their denotations. The rest of the system would not.

6 Conclusion

In this thesis I have made the following claims.

- (100) a. A determiner is a D-determiner iff it occupies D.
- b. Domain restriction is only associated with the position D. True bare nouns do not have domain restriction.
- c. D-determiners share a core semantics (domain restriction); D-determiners may have other features (such as assertion of uniqueness, deictic features, etc.)
- d. Salish D-determiners are split into two groups: those that have deictic features, and those that do not.
- e. Deictic features force DPs to be able to take wide scope/be composed via Specify. Non-deictic DPs must take narrow scope.
- f. Restrict is a last-resort composition type: non-deictic DPs must be composed via Restrict because they lack features that would otherwise force them to compose via Specify.
- g. Definite articles are D-determiners; indefinite articles are not.

The claims had implications for other Salish languages. While some of the main claims could not be tested without fieldwork, the presence of a non-deictic D-determiner is at least a plausible analysis of many of the Salish languages for which there is enough data. Some languages do not have anything like a non-deictic D-determiner.

³⁹ See Bauer (1993) who suggests *tētahi* and *ētehi* are quantifiers on the basis of the fact that they can take partitive structures.

(i) Ka mahue mai ētahi o ōna tāngata.
T/A leave hither art.pl gen gen.pl people
 ‘Some of the people were left behind.’

(Māori; Bauer 1993: 300)

These claims also had implications for what is a D-determiner in other languages, including English. The behaviour of weak quantifiers was explained in terms of the presence or absence of the D position. At least some strong quantifiers were shown to obligatorily occur with a null D-determiner. I argued that demonstratives in some languages could not be associated with domain restriction (as they co-occur with D-determiners); this analysis was extended to English and *Skwú7mesh* demonstratives.

The claims were also extended to “articleless” languages, such as Mandarin Chinese. I claimed that a D-determiner must be (covertly) present in certain contexts. The determiner system of Māori was also investigated in light of my claims. Māori indefinite articles were claimed not to occupy D, based on their semantics.

The data in *Skwú7mesh* also provide us with evidence for a third category: definite, indefinite and non-definite. Non-definites can be used in both novel and familiar cases, but behave much like definites in familiar contexts.