Chapter Five: The non-deictic D-determiner *kwi*

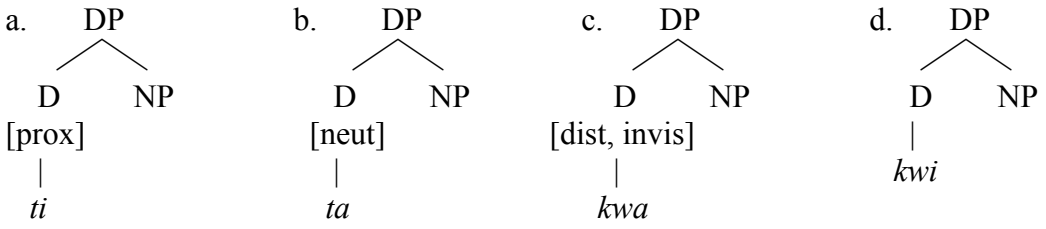
1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the non-deictic D-determiner *kwi* and its place in the Sḵwx̱wú7mesh D-determiner system.[1] Specifically, I explain why *kwi* behaves so differently from the rest of the D-determiners both syntactically and semantically.

I argue in this chapter that the Sḵwx̱wú7mesh D-determiners all occupy the same position: D. I also show that the difference between these D-determiners is purely semantic; the deictic D-determiners provide the nominal with information that the non-deictic D-determiner does not. Specifically, the deictic D-determiners minimally provide the nominal with at least one deictic feature ([proximal], [neutral], [distal] and/or [invisible]); the non-deictic D-determiner does not provide the nominal with any of these features. I will argue that this difference has implications for the interpretations available to any DP in the language. Deictic DPs can take wide scope, because the deictic features do not allow the DP to compose via Restrict.

I have argued in the last chapter that the D-determiners differ featurally, as below.

(1)



All of the D-determiners have deictic features associated with them, marking proximity to the speaker, with the exception of *kwi*. This lack of featural content forces *kwi* to be interpreted differently from the deictic D-determiners. Crucially, the deictic features allow the DP to be able take wide scope, unlike the non-deictic D-determiner *kwi*, which must take narrow scope. An example of this behaviour is in negative contexts, where *kwi* must take narrow scope with respect to the negation, and the other D-determiners can take wide scope.

[1] Recall that the term D-determiner does not include demonstratives or quantifiers.

(2) a. Háw k-'an i silh7-án **ta/ti** sts'úkwi7.
neg *irr-1sg.sbj* *prox* *buy-tr* *det* *fish*
'I didn't buy a fish.' (wide or narrow)

b. Háw k-'an i silh7-án **kwa** sts'úkwi7.
neg *irr-1sg.sbj* *prox* *buy-tr* *det* *fish*
'I didn't buy a fish.' (wide only)

c. Háw k-'an i silh7-án **kwi** sts'úkwi7.
neg *irr-1sg.sbj* *prox* *buy-tr* *det* *fish*
'I didn't buy a fish.' (narrow only)

I show that *kwi* obligatorily takes narrow scope with respect to other quantifiers (such as *i7xw* 'all') and operators (such as *u*, the question particle) as well (§3.2).

(3) a. Na múkw-s-t-as í7xw slhen-lhánay' **kwi** stáw'xwlh.
rl *kiss-caus-tr-3erg* *all* *redup-woman* *det* *child*
'Every woman kissed a child.' (narrow only)

b. Nu[2] chexw kw'ách-nexw **kwi** míxalh?
rl.Q *2sg.s* *look-tr(lc)* *det* *bear*
'Did you see a bear?' (narrow only)

I argue that this is a result of the lack of deictic features (§3); deictic features do not allow DPs to compose via Restrict.

This chapter has the following structure. In §2, I discuss some background on the nature of structure and its potential impact on scope. In §3, I provide evidence for treating *kwi* as a D-determiner, rather than occupying a lower functional projection. §4 provides an analysis of *kwi* as a non-deictic D-determiner and shows what facts it can account for. §5 discusses the impact of a featureless D-determiner. I will show that the non-deictic D-determiner *kwi* is not semantically null. *Kwi* introduces a contextual restriction over its NP, just as any other D-determiner does. §6 shows that other potential analyses will not work for Skwxwú7mesh. §7 concludes the chapter.

[2] *Nu* comes from *na u*, the realis particle + Q. In slower speech, speakers are more likely to use the full form.

2 Structure and scope

Structure has been argued to be related to scope (see Pérez-Leroux and Roeper 2003, for example). However, Skwxwú7mesh provides evidence that there is not a one-to-one correspondence to the amount of structure and the scope-taking abilities of a nominal. Here I discuss the idea that wide scope should be related to structure and compare it to the idea that semantic features drive the ability to take wide scope.

2.1 Structure = wide scope?

It is a reasonable hypothesis that nominals with more structure should be able to take wider scope than those with less structure. The presence of more structure might force a nominal to end up in a different position at LF (if it moves via QR), or it might create an argument out of a predicate. An argument could theoretically be existentially closed off at any point (assuming a particular version of a choice function analysis).

Assuming that determiners signal the presence of more structure, we might expect that determiners also signal the ability to take wide scope. Indeed, the implicit assumption of most researchers seems to be that having a determiner is a necessary and sufficient condition for the ability to take wide scope. Pérez-Leroux and Roeper (2003), for example, argue that "the semantic interpretation of bare nominals depends on their minimal syntactic structure". The data in Skwxwú7mesh shows that this cannot be true: there is one full DP that cannot take wide scope.[3] I argue that a full DP in any language can take wide scope, but only if it has featural specifications.

Determiners are usually associated with the ability to take wide scope. For example, *the* is usually interpreted with wide scope with respect to quantifiers and operators.[4]

(4) a. I didn't eat **the** apple.

b. Every woman kissed **the** child.

[3] Maori potentially also has a full DP which must take narrow scope (Chung and Ladusaw 2004). See Chapter 6 for discussion.

[4] It can be interpreted with narrow scope under quantification in certain circumstances.

(i) Every woman$_i$ kissed [the child she$_i$ loved most]. (narrow scope)

This is not possible with a DP lacking a bound pronoun.

(ii) Every woman kissed the child. (wide scope)

c. I always kiss **the** child.

Any nominal headed by *a* is also able to take wide scope (i.e., it is not restricted to narrow scope).[5]

(5) a. I didn't eat **an** apple. (wide or narrow)

b. Every woman kissed **a** child. (wide or narrow)

c. I always kiss **a** child. (wide or narrow)

On the other hand, bare plurals are restricted to narrow scope (Carlson 1977).

(6) a. I didn't eat **apples**. (narrow)

b. Every woman ate **apples**. (narrow)

c. I always eat **apples**. (narrow)

Data in English, such as (4)-(6) above, suggest that the presence of a (non-polarity) determiner is a sufficient condition for being able to take wide scope. The inverse also appears to be true: the data suggests that the lack of this functional projection forces the nominal to take obligatory narrow scope.

However, this cannot be the correct generalization. *Kwi* is a determiner, and yet *kwi* DPs can only receive narrow scope with respect to negation, a quantified DP, or a question particle, as we saw in (2)c and (3). Neither bare nouns, nor *kwi* DPs may take wide scope. Having a determiner therefore is not a sufficient condition for the ability to take wide scope.[6]

The literature on narrow scope nominals (or weak indefinites) implicitly assumes that they are "barer" than full argument types. That is, a nominal which only takes narrow scope will have less structure than a nominal which can take wide scope. This can be seen in English, where the obligatorily narrow scope nominal only has a plural marker; any nominal introduced by *a* can take wide scope.

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[5] As we will see below, I do not treat *a* as a D-determiner. However, it potentially introduces more structure than a bare noun.

[6] The non-deictic D-determiner *kwi* also behaves like the polarity item *any* in English, in taking obligatory narrow scope. However, unlike *any*, it is not limited to polarity and/or free choice environments.

(i) Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwi** míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det bear
'I saw a bear.'

I therefore dismiss the analysis of *kwi* as a polarity item immediately.

(7) a. John didn't see **spots** on the floor. (Carlson 1980:19)
(neg > ∃, *∃ > neg)

b. John didn't see **a spot** on the floor.
(neg > ∃, ∃ > neg)

This idea, that narrow scope is linked to less structure, is more explicitly expressed by Borthen (2003):

> What I expect to find [crosslinguistically] is that reduced indefinites are more likely than corresponding nominals with determiners to ... take narrow scope...
> (Borthen 2003: 341)

This does seem to be a *tendency* across languages. However, being "reduced", or lacking the D position is not a necessary condition for taking obligatory narrow scope. As I showed in Chapter 2, there are no bare nouns in Skwxwú7mesh (see also §3). However, there are nominals that take obligatory narrow scope: *kwi* DPs. Determiners do not force the ability to take wide scope.

In any language, the lack of a determiner is a *sufficient* condition for obligatory narrow scope, but it is not a *necessary* condition. That is, if a nominal has a determiner, it may still obligatorily take narrow scope. Instead, I claim that the presence of semantic features determines the scope possibilities.

2.2 Semantic features = wide scope

I show in §4 that having certain semantic features (such as deixis) is a necessary and sufficient condition for a D-determiner to have the ability to take wide scope. I also show that if the determiner lacks those features, it must take obligatory narrow scope. If a nominal lacks a determiner altogether, these semantic features cannot be present. This is why bare nouns must take obligatory narrow scope. These three possibilities are shown below (see also Farkas and de Swart 2004, for a similar point).

(8) a. if DP ⇒ able to take wide scope. b. if DP ⇒ obligatory narrow scope
|
[±F]

c. if NP ⇒ obligatory narrow scope

This is similar to Beghelli and Stowell's (1997) analysis of quantifier phrases and their potential scope. They claim that different QPs are associated with different features and that these features drive movement at LF.[7] QPs move to their scope positions so that they can check their features. In this thesis, I abstract away from the potential scope positions, and focus on the fact that the lack of features is associated with the lack of the ability to take wide scope.

Nominals must take wide scope if they are definite (i.e., they assert maximality), as we have seen with the cases in English.

(9) I married the man three times. (*3X > □, □ > 3X)

A nominal can also take wide scope if it has quantificational force.

(10) I married **every** man three times.
(3X > □, □ > 3X)

If a nominal has almost any functional projection, it can take wide scope.

(11) a. I married **a** man three times.
(3X > □, □ > 3X)

b. I married **sm** man three times.
(3X > □, □ > 3X)

Nominals which have deictic information (such as *ta* DPs in Sḵwx̱wú7mesh) can take wide scope. In the example below, the DP *ta swi7ḵa* 'a/the man' *must* take wide scope.

(12) Chanat-álh s-en melyí **ta** swí7ḵa.
three-times nom-1sg.sbj get.married det man
'I married the man three times.'
(*3X > □, □ > 3X)

I argued in Chapter 4 that the deictic D-determiners involved a choice function.

(13) [[ta]] = □P f(□x [P(x) □ C(x)])

[7] I have assumed a choice function analysis of the deictic D-determiners in Chapter 4. LF movement is not relevant for my analysis. However, Beghelli and Stowell's analysis could still be relevant for the point at which existential closure applies to the choice function.

The deictic DPs technically then do not take wide scope; rather, the choice functions are existentially closed off at some point in the derivation. In this case, the choice function must be existentially closed off at the highest point in the derivation (above *chanatalh* 'three times').[8]

(14) □f 3times [marry'(**f**(man'))(I)]

I use the short-hand "wide scope" to refer to the position that the choice function can be existentially closed off.

The non-deictic D-determiner is unlike the deictic D-determiners in that it must take narrow scope.

(15) Chanat-álh s-en melyí **kwi** swí7ka.
three-times nom-1sg.sbj get.married det man
'I married a man three times.'
(3X > □, *□ > 3X)

I argue that this is because it lacks any deictic features (§4).

3 The position of kwi

My claim is that D-determiners lacking deictic features (like *kwi*) will take obligatory narrow scope. I show in this section that *kwi* is a D-determiner (and not some other functional head) on the basis of its distribution. That is, it behaves like the other elements which are more obviously D-determiners. It also behaves more like the English D-determiner *the* in terms of its distribution than the English indefinite article *a*. I also argue that *kwi* creates an argument out of an NP, as it is used in argument positions, and not in non-argument positions. Semantically, *kwi* also behaves like the deictic D-determiners, in terms of its lack of presupposition of uniqueness and lack of familiarity effects.

I also show that a split D domain (as in Szabolcsi 1994) is unnecessary to describe the facts in Skwxwú7mesh. A split D domain reduces to the featural account I provided in Chapter 4.

[8] Recall that in some environments, deictic DPs can take narrow scope. I abstract away from that issue here.

3.1 *Kwi* is a D-determiner

In this section, I argue that *kwi* is a D-determiner, syntactically and semantically.

3.1.1 Syntactic evidence that kwi is a D-determiner

I argue that *kwi* is a D-determiner on the basis of its distribution. It occupies the same position as other D-determiners do. As I showed in Chapter 2, there is a group of elements in Skwxwú7mesh which are obligatory in argument position.[9] This group includes *kwi*. As long as one of these elements introduces the NP, it is licit in argument position. There are no bare nominals in Skwxwú7mesh in subject (16) or object position (17).

(16) a. Na wa sík **kwi/ta** kaláka.
rl impf fly det crow
(i) 'Crows fly.'
(ii) 'The crow is flying.'[10]

b. * Na wa sík **kaláka**.
rl impf fly crow
(Crows fly)

c. Há7lh-s-t-as **kwi/ta** swí7ka lha slhánay.'
good-caus-tr-3erg det man det.f woman
(i) 'Men like women.'
(ii) 'A/the man likes a/the woman.'

d. * Há7lh-s-t-as **swí7ka** lha slhánay.'
good-caus-tr-3erg man det.f woman

(17) a. Há7lh-s chen **kwi/ta** míxalh.
good-caus 1sg.s det bear
'I like the bear/bears.'

b. * Há7lh-s chen **míxalh**.
good-caus 1sg.s bear

Secondly, if *kwi* were not in D, but rather in a different position (either lower or higher), we might expect it to co-occur with the other D-determiners. This is impossible, in either order.

[9] The picture is actually more complicated than this, as Skwxwú7mesh allows arguments to be introduced solely with a numeral. I address this in Chapter 2.
[10] The generic reading is only obtained when translating from the English (and is true for both *ta* or *kwi*). When the speaker is asked to translate the Skwxwú7mesh back into English, the episodic reading is given. This is true of all examples, regardless of the D-determiner involved.

(18) a. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta/kwa/ti** **kwi** míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det kwi bear

b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwi** **ta/kwa/ti** míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det det bear

Co-occurrence restrictions may arise from some other source, however. In English, for example, *a* and *the* also may not co-occur, despite the fact that *a* and *the* may not occupy the same position (Perlmutter 1970, Epstein 1999, Lyons 1999, Borer 2005). In Epstein's system, *a* occupies some position within NumP.[11] We can show that this is not a viable position for *kwi* because *kwi* cannot occur in non-argument positions, unlike *a* in English.

(19) a. **Slhánay'** lha Kirsten.
woman det.f Kirsten
'Kirsten is a woman.'

b. * **Kwi** slhánay' lha Kirsten.
det woman det.f Kirsten

Moreover, *kwi* can co-occur with numerals (20), unlike *a* in English (21).

(20) Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwi** nch'ú7 skwemáy'.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det one dog
'I saw one dog.'

(21) a. I saw one dog.

b. * I saw one **a** dog.

c. * I saw **a** one dog.

In English, determiners *can* co-occur with numerals (22), leading us to conclude that *kwi* is also a determiner.

(22) a. I saw **the** three dogs.

b. ? I saw **some** three dogs. (archaic)

All of the Skwxwú7mesh D-determiners must precede any other head in the noun phrase, including possessive morphology, adjectives, numerals, etc. This is also true of *kwi*.

[11] See Chapter 6 for more discussion of the position of *a* versus *the*.

(23) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta**-n án'us hiyí sk̲wemáy'.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det-1sg.poss two big dog
'I saw my two big dogs.'

b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwi**-n án'us hiyí sk̲wemáy'.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) kwi-1sg.poss two big dog
'I saw my two big dogs.'

c. * Chen kw'ách-nexw án'us-n[12] **ta/kwi** hiyí sk̲wemáy'.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) two-1sg.poss det/kwi big dog

d. * Chen kw'ách-nexw án'us **ta/kwi**-n hiyí sk̲wemáy'.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) two det/kwi-1sg.poss big dog

e. * Chen kw'ách-nexw án'us **ta/kwi** hiyí-n sk̲wemáy'.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) two det/kwi big-1sg.poss dog

The non-deictic D-determiner *kwi* also does not occur in other non-argument positions, such as inside complex predicates. This is unlike St'át'imcets, where *ku* (the closest element to *kwi*) can occur in many non-argument positions. See §6.1 for discussion.

On the basis of the above facts (*kwi* introduces an argument, and never a predicate or other non-arguments), I assume that *kwi* must be in D position. It must be a real D-determiner, and not the head of a lower functional projection.

3.1.2 Semantic evidence that kwi is a D-determiner

Despite the difference between the non-deictic and deictic D-determiners, *kwi* behaves like the deictic D-determiners in that it can be used in both familiar and novel cases. It also does not carry a presupposition of uniqueness.

3.1.2.1 Kwi does not presuppose familiarity/novelty

Further evidence that *kwi* occupies D comes from the properties it shares with the rest of the D-determiner system. The non-deictic D-determiner can be used in both novel and familiar contexts. For example, the D-determiner *kwi* can be used in an existential context, which is both discourse and hearer new (see Prince 1992 and Chapters 3 and 4 for more discussion).

[12] The possessive morphology usually encliticizes to the first element in the DP, which happens to be the D-determiner. The fact that the possessive morphology is hosted by something else is not relevant to the ungrammaticality, which can be seen in the next example.

(24) Tsí7 **kwi** shá7yu ná7 ta-n lám'.
exist *det* *ghost* *loc* *det-1sg.poss* *house*
'There's a ghost in my house.' (discourse-new; hearer-new)

In one of the texts in Kuipers (1967), the D-determiner *kwes* (the feminine non-deictic D-determiner) is used to introduce the speaker's wife.[13] This is an instance of a discourse-new referent, and possibly a hearer-new referent. The same D-determiner is used when the speaker refers back to the same referent.

(25) N-s-na men k'anatsut-nit-an kwetsi snexwilh-chet
1sg.poss-nom-rl *just* *return-appl-1sg.erg* *dem* *canoe-1pl.poss*
s-men tsun-t-an **kwes** n-skw'u7-t: ...
nom-just *tell-tr-1sg.erg* *det.f* *1sg.poss-wife-pst*
'Then I returned to our canoe and told my wife: ...' (discourse-new)

...N-s-na men k'anatsut nam' t-ta n-snexwilh,
1sg.poss-nom-rl *just* *return* *go* *obl-det* *1sg.poss-canoe*
n-s-na men wilk'-t-an **kwes** n-skw'u7 –t: ...
1sg.poss-nom-rl *just* *ask-tr-1sg.erg* *det* *1sg.poss-wife-pst*
'I returned to my canoe and asked my wife: ...' (discourse-old)
(Kuipers 1967: 241)

Another novel use of *kwi* can be seen below.

(26) Na=kw hem'i syetsm kwi s-es hem'i **kwi** stl'alkm wa
rl=already *come* *report* *comp* *nom-[rl]3poss* *come* *det* *monster* *impf*
nan-t-em Sinulhkay'.
name-tr-pass *S.*
'News was received that a monster named Sinulhkay' was coming.'
(discourse-new)
(Kuipers 1967: 230)

In elicitation contexts, *kwi* can be used for novel or familiar referents.

(27) Chen-t wa í-7imesh. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwi** míxalh.
1sg.s-pst *impf* *redup-walk* *1sg.s* *look-tr(lc)* *det* *bear*
'I was walking. I saw a bear.' (discourse-new; hearer-new)

...Na mi chi-cháy-(t)-ts-as **kwi** míxalh.
rl *come* *redup-follow-tr-1sg.o-3erg* *det* *bear*
'The bear followed me.' (discourse-old; hearer-old)

[13] Unfortunately, this is not the best example of a novel use of *kwi*, because the hearer could presumably accommodate the speaker's wife.

As with the deictic D-determiners, *kwi* can be used in novel and familiar contexts. The semantics are consistent with the other D-determiners in Skwxwú7mesh.

3.1.2.2 Kwi *does not assert uniqueness*

As with the deictic D-determiners, *kwi* does not assert the uniqueness/maximality of its referent. For example, in(28) below, there may be many cups in the cupboard; the speaker is only asking for any one of the cups.

(28) Mí7-shit-s chexw **kwi** lapát.
come-appl-caus 2sg.s det cup
'Bring me a cup.'

Similarly, in (29)a, *kwi slhum'* 'soup' does not have to refer to the entire mass of soup, and in (29)b, *kwi skwelkwelam* 'berries' does not have to refer to all of the berries.

(29) a. Chen húy'-s **kwi** slhúm'. Tsí7-xw **ta** slhúm' ná7
1sg.s finish-caus det soup exist-still det soup loc
ta nkwí7stn.
det pot
'I ate some soup. There's still some soup in the pot.'

b. Chen húy'-s **kwi** skwel-kwelám, welh ná7
1sg.s finish-caus det redup-berry conj loc
ta na púkw-i7. S-en men háw k-'an
det rl mould-inch nom-1sg.poss just neg irr-1sg.sbj
i húy'-s ta na púkw-i7.
prox finish-caus det rl mould-inch
'I ate some of the berries, but some of them were mouldy, so I didn't eat the mouldy ones.'
(translated as 'I ate the berries...')

As with the deictic D-determiners, *kwi* does not assert the uniqueness of its referent. It can, however, be used to refer to all members of a previously introduced set.

(30) Chen nam' ch'áatl'am. Chen kw'ách-nexw kwi xa7útsn míxalh.
1sg.s go hunt/track 1sg.s look-tr(lc) det four bear
Chen kwélash-t **kwi** mex-míxalh.
1sg.s shoot-tr det redup-bear
'I went hunting. I saw four bears. I shot all of the bears/some of the bears.'

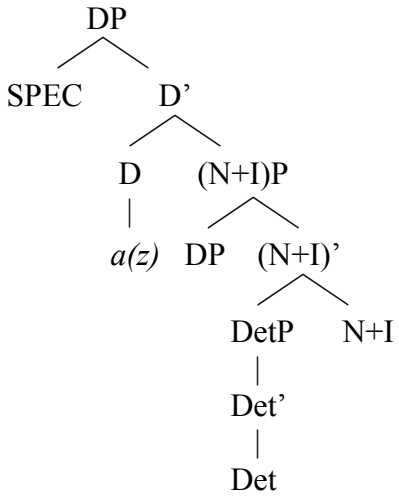
Sentences containing *kwi* DPs do not carry an implicature of uniqueness, unlike sentences containing deictic DPs.

3.2 No split DP domain in Skwxwú7mesh

So far I have shown that *kwi* is a D-determiner. However, the possibility that the other D-determiners occupy a different position than *kwi* is still possible. The deictic D-determiners could occupy a different position, adjacent to the position that *kwi* occupies. There is no overt evidence for an analysis like this, because, as we saw above, the deictic and non-deictic D-determiners never co-occur. This section discusses whether a structural difference could drive the semantic differences outlined in §2. If structure alone can do this work for us, then I do not need to argue that the semantic differences follow from a featural difference. A different structure could still derive obligatory narrow scope. I will show in this section that the structural analysis is not possible for Skwxwú7mesh. In §4, I will provide evidence that, for independent reasons, *kwi* must lack deictic features.

An example of a structural analysis is Szabolcsi's (1994) of double determiners in Hungarian and Greek. She distinguishes between two determiner positions in Hungarian: (i) a higher 'subordinator' position, which she claims is analogous to C(omp) - both 'enable the clause or noun phrase to act as arguments' (p.214) and (ii) a lower quantifier/demonstrative position, which is analogous to T(ense). The subordinating determiner is labeled simply as 'D'. The quantifier/demonstrative determiner is labeled as 'Det'. I provide her structure below.

(31)

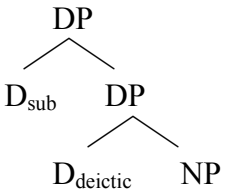


(Szabolcsi 1994: 214)

The DetP is the complement of the (inflected) noun, whereas the D head takes the NP as its complement. These details are not relevant to the main point of the split between subordinating and deictic D-determiners. For simplicity and ease of exposition, I will argue against a simpler

version of Szabolcsi's structure, as in (32), where D_{sub} refers to the 'subordinator' position, and $D_{deictic}$ refers to the quantifier/demonstrative position.

(32)



That (at least) two positions are necessary in some languages can be seen in the examples below. Greek DPs can have both a subordinating determiner (*to* - 'the') and a quantifier determiner (*kathe* 'every'). Hungarian can also have both a subordinating determiner (*a* – 'the') and a quantifier or deictic determiner (*minden* 'each', *ezen* 'this', or *melyik* 'which'), as long as there is some intervening syntactic material. Rumanian, St'át'imcets and Colloquial Norwegian (among many other languages) also allow a D-determiner and a demonstrative to co-occur.

(33) a. **to**[14] **kathe** pedhi
det *every* *child*
'every child' (Greek; Szabolcsi 1994:213)

b. **a** [vel-ed való] **minden/ezen/melyik** találkozás
the with-2sg being every/this/which meeting
'every/this/which meeting with you' (Hungarian; Szabolcsi 1994:219)

c. om-**ul** **acesta**
man-det *dem*
'this man' (Rumanian; Giusti 1993: 111)

d. nilh-s qwatsáts-s **ti7** **ti** sqaycw-a.
foc-nom *leave-3sg.poss* *dem* *det* *man-exis*
'And then the man left.' (St'át'imcets; van Eijk and Williams 1981: 58)

e. **den** **herre** klokka
det *here* *watch*
'this watch' (Colloquial Norwegian; Cheng and Sybesma 1999: 539)

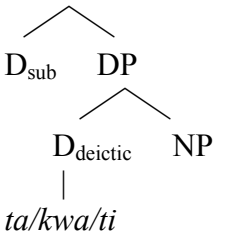
Szabolcsi further claims that there are two options for determiners in a language. That is, the subordinating and quantifier/demonstrative positions can be occupied by two different

[14] This is the accusative form of the D-determiner.

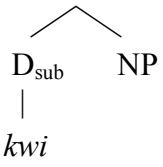
morphemes (e.g., Hungarian or Greek determiners), or they may be conflated into one morpheme (e.g., English *the*, *every*, etc.).

The deictic and non-deictic D-determiners in Skwxwú7mesh could be analyzed as occupying two distinct positions: deictic D and subordinating D respectively (see Gillon 2004).

(34) a.



b.



The deictic D-determiners provide the NP with deictic information, and it seems likely that that would be their position. There is also some evidence that *kwi* is a subordinator. It is also used as a complementizer of embedded clauses (Kuipers 1967, Gillon 2002), unlike the deictic D-determiners.

(35) a. Chen lhchíws [**kwi**-n-s wa ts'its'áp'].
1sg.s tired comp-1sg.poss-nom impf working
'I am tired of working.'

b. * Chen lhchiws [**ta/kwa/ti**-n-s wa ts'its'áp'].
1sg.s tired det-1sg.poss-nom impf working

A problem that is raised by this analysis is that the non-deictic D-determiner cannot co-occur with the deictic D-determiners, as shown in (18), partially repeated here.

(18) a. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta** **kwi** míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det kwi bear

b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwi** **ta** míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det det bear

Further, quantifiers can co-occur with any of the D-determiners, suggesting that *kwi* and the rest of the system are in the same position.[15]

[15] To be fair, the examples with *i7xw* 'all' are not very telling, because *i7xw* is probably generated higher than either determiner position (under the assumption that the D-determiners can move past the Q). On the other hand, *kex* 'many' should occupy the deictic/quantifier position, at least under certain assumptions. The point here is that the D-determiners seem to behave as a class.

(36) a. i. Chen kw'ách-nexw í7xw **ta/kwi** mex-míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) all det redup-bear
'I saw all the bears.'

ii. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta/kwi** í7xw mex-míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det all redup-bear
'I saw all the bears.'

b. i. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta/kwi** kex mex-míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det many redup-bear
'I saw lots of bears.'

ii. Chen kw'ách-nexw kex **ta/kwi** mex-míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) many det redup-bear
'I saw lots of bears.'

A further problem is found in the Korean data Szabolcsi herself provides: demonstratives can co-occur with quantifiers in Korean (37)a. This is also true of Skwxwú7mesh (37)b and c.

(37) a. i/ku motun salan
dem/det every person
'all the(se) people' (Korean; Scabolcsi 1994: 213)

b. Chen kw'ách-nexw kex **kwetsi-wit** mex-míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) many dem-3pl redup-bear
'I saw lots of bears.' (Skwxwú7mesh)

c. Chen kw'ách-nexw í7xw **kwetsi-wit** mex-míxalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) all dem-3pl redup-bear
'I saw all those bears.' (Skwxwú7mesh)

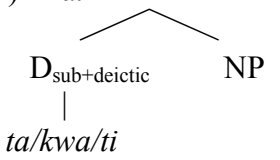
It appears that Szabolsci would actually need three functional projections: D_{sub}, $D_{deictic}$, and $D_{quantifier}$ (or Q), each of which can be conflated. Hungarian would conflate $D_{deictic}$ and Q, Korean would conflate D_{sub} and $D_{deictic}$, and English would conflate all three. In that case, we predict a fourth type of language which conflates none of them. St'át'imcets appears to be this kind of language.[16]

(38) lán-lhkan tu7 wa7 páqw-ens **takem iz' i** púkw-a.
already-1sg.s compl be look-tr all dem det book-exis
'I already looked at all these books.' (St'át'imcets; Matthewson 1998)

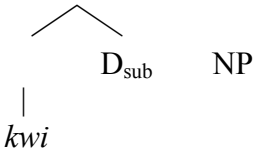
[16] Szabolcsi would have to claim that the demonstratives and quantifiers can move past the D-determiner head. In Chapter 6, I make a similar claim.

While it appears Szabolsci is correct in that languages need more structure than just a single D position for D-determiners, quantifiers and demonstratives (including S<u>k</u>w<u>x</u>wú7mesh), there does not seem to be any evidence for a split between the deictic and non-deictic D-determiners in the position that they occupy. The only way to extend Szabolcsi's analysis to the D-determiners in S<u>k</u>w<u>x</u>wú7mesh would be to conflate the two positions in the case of the deictic D-determiners, and for the non-deictic D-determiner to occupy the higher, subordinating D, as shown in (39).

(39) a.



b.



This would mean that conflation is a lexical choice. While there is no evidence against this analysis of the D-determiners, it reduces to being equivalent to the featural account I have provided in Chapter 4. The head D would have both labels (which are presumably associated with some kind of semantic information) when occupied by the deictic D-determiners, and only the subordinate label when occupied by *kwi*.

I claim that deictic D-determiners have deictic features, but that these features are not projected in the syntax. Thus, the two D-determiner types occupy the same position. In S<u>k</u>w<u>x</u>wú7mesh, it is only the presence or absence of features in the DP domain that has semantic effects, not syntactic structure.

4 The analysis: *kwi* as a non-deictic D-determiner

In this section, I show that *kwi* is not associated with any deictic features. It can only be used where the speaker cannot locate the referent, or does not wish to provide the location of the referent.

4.1 The non-deictic D-determiner *kwi*

The D-determiner *kwi* does not have deictic features. It can be used for referents at varying distances away from the speaker. It can be used for internal body parts (40)a, referents which may be in the same room (40)b, referents which are relatively far away (40)c, or non-existent referents (40)d.

(40) a. Na pum **kwi**-n kw'el'.
rl swell det-1sg.poss stomach
'My stomach is swelling.'

b. N-s-tl'i7 **kwi** shukwa.
1sg.poss-nom-dear det sugar
'I want some sugar.' (sugar might be on counter, or in cupboard, for example)

c. Chen kat **kwi** smanit.
1sg.s climb det mountain
'I climbed a mountain.' (not necessarily nearby)

d. N-s-tl'i7 kwi-n-s yeltx **kwi** kwtams.
1sg.poss-nom-dear comp-1sg.poss-nom find det husband
'I want to find a husband.'

If the speaker can locate the referent, s/he will usually use another D-determiner or demonstrative, as in (41).[17]

(41) N-s-tl'i7 **ta** shukwa.
1sg.poss-nom-dear det sugar
'I want the sugar.' (sugar is on the table, for example)

[17] This difference is even found in wh-questions, as in (i) and (ii) versus (iii).

(i) Stam **ti** na wa ta7-s-t-axw?
what det rl impf make-caus-tr-2sg.erg
'What are you making?'
(lit: what is the thing you are making?)
"Here the speaker is questioning an addressee whom sees [sic] at work on something."
(Kuipers 1967: 138)

(ii) Stam **ta** na wa takw-an-t-axw?
what det rl impf drink-tr-tr-2sg.erg
'What are you drinking?' (speaker can see the liquid that the hearer is drinking, but cannot identify it)

(iii) Stam **kwi** na wa kw'ach-nexw-axw?
what det rl imperf look-tr(lc)-2sg.erg
'What did you see?' (speaker did not see the object)

St'át'imcets only allows *ku* (the closest equivalent to *kwi*) to be used in wh-questions (Matthewson, p.c.).

In some cases, the speaker may be able to locate the referent and still choose to use *kwi* (as in (40)a, b and c). In these cases I argue that the speaker can pretend not to know where the referent is located because there is no visible counter-evidence to their claim that they cannot locate the referent. In (40)a, for example, the speaker's stomach is not visible to the hearer. In (40)b, the speaker can use the non-deictic D-determiner *kwi* because he or she is asking for a *part* of the mass of sugar.

If the referent is not locatable by the speaker (because, for example, it is not seen by him/her, or it may or may not exist), *kwi* must be used.

(42) a. Nam' yélx̲-t **kwi** u7ús.
go find-tr det egg
'Go find some eggs!'

b. Yúu cháxw, iw'áyti na wa lésiw'ílh
take.care 2sg.emph maybe rl impf under
t-ta smánt **kwi** élhk̲ay'.
obl-det stone det snake
'Careful, there may be a snake under the stone.' (Kuipers 1967: 138)

c. Chen wa yélx̲-t **kwes**[18] slhánay' kwi s-ts'its'áp'-s
1sg impf find-tr det.f woman comp nom-work-3poss
tl'a éns.
obl.det 1sg.indep
'I am looking for a woman to work for me.' (Kuipers 1967: 138)

d. Tsí7 u **kwi** e-lám'?
exist Q det 2sg.poss-house
'Do you have a house?'
(lit: Is there a house of yours?)

e. N-s-tl'í7 kwi-n-s tá7 **kwi** lem-lám'.
1sg.poss-nom-dear comp-1sg.poss-nom make det redup-house
'I want to build houses.'

[18] This is the original feminine form of *kwi*. It appears to have been lost. The feminine forms are not particularly stable: *ta* is often used for females, especially when they are pluralized.

(i) Chen kw'ach-nexw ta slhen-lhanay'.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det redup-woman
'I saw the women.'

f. Tsí7 u **kwi** e-mén'-men?
exist Q det 2sg.poss-redup-child
'Do you have any children?'
(lit: Are there children of yours?)

If the deictic D-determiner *ta* is used instead, the referent is locatable. By 'locatable', I mean that the speaker at some point knew where the referent was located, even if the speaker cannot locate the referent at the time of speaking. If the referent is locatable, the DP often receives a definite interpretation when translated into English. In some cases, the referent is not locatable to the speaker, but *ta* is still licit. I argue this is because *ta* allows the DP to take narrow scope. The fact that this is not the best choice of determiner can be seen in the variable judgments. In (43)f, for example, *ta* may not be used.

(43) a. Nam' yélx̲-t **ta** u7ús.
go find-tr det egg
'Go find the egg!'

b. Iw'áyti na wa lésiw'ílh t-ta smánt **ta** élhk̲ay'.
maybe rl impf under obl-det stone det snake
'Maybe the snake is under the stone.'

c. Chen wa yélx̲-t **lha** slhánay' kwi s-ts'its'áp'-s
1sg impf find-tr det woman comp nom-work-3poss
tl'a éns.
obl.det 1sg.indep
'I am looking for the woman who works for me.'

d. Tsí7 u **ta** e-lám'.
exist Q det 2sg.poss-house
'Do you own a house?'
(lit: Is there a house of yours?)

e. N-s-tl'í7 kwi-n-s tá7 **ta** lem-lám'.
1sg.poss-nom-dear comp-1sg.poss-nom make det redup-house
'I would like to make houses.'

f. * Tsí7 u **ta** e-mén'-men?
exist Q det 2sg.poss-redup-child

The non-deictic D-determiner is also used for things like *sna* 'name', or when introducing one's name, which are both non-locatable.

(44) a. Peter **kwi** n-s-ná.[19]
Peter det 1sg.poss-nom-call
'My name is Peter.'

b. * Peter **ta**-n s-ná.
Peter det-1sg.s nom-name

c. Chen wa nán-t-em t-**kwi** Sx̲áltxw.
1sg.s impf call-tr-pass obl-det Sx̲altxw
'I am called Sx̲altxw.' (Kuipers 1967: 138)

d. * Chen wa nan-t-em **tl'a** Sx̲altxw.
1sg.s impf call-tr-pass obl.det Sx̲altxw

e. **Kwi** s-wé7u Pita nam' héwa7 tl'a éns.
det nom-call Peter go accompany obl.det 1sg.indep
'The one called Peter is to accompany me.' (Kuipers 1967: 138)

This lack of deictic information is often represented in the English gloss as an emphasized *a*.

(45) Ha7lh-s chen **kwi** mix̲alh.
good-caus 1sg.s det bear
'I like *a* bear.'

Complex numerals also take *kwi*. This is expected since numerals are not locatable.

(46) Úpen i **kwi** nch'ú7
ten conj det one
'eleven'

If the referent is plural, and there is a chance these individuals might not be in the same location as each other, the speaker often chooses to use *kwi*. Most of the deictic D-determiners may be used as well, but it is not the first choice.

(47) a. Chánat **kwi** n-lem-lám'.
three det 1sg.poss-redup-house
'I have three houses.'
(lit: my houses are three)

b. Chánat **ta**-n lem-lám'.
three det-1sg.poss redup-house
'I have three houses.'

[19] The first person possessive marking does not always encliticize to *kwi*; in this case, it procliticizes to the following word. This marking seems to always encliticize to the other D-determiners. I do not know if this is a significant difference.

c. Chánat **ti**-n lem-lám'.[20]
three *det-1sg.poss* *redup-house*
'I have three houses.'

Often, deceased relatives are introduced by *kwi* as well. As they are no longer locatable, it makes sense to use the non-deictic D-determiner. The "past tense" marker *-t* is also used in these constructions. (See Burton 1997 for a discussion of the equivalent of this marker in Halkomelem.)

(48) a. **kwi** n-kwúpits-**t**
det *1sg.poss-older.sibling-past*
'my deceased older brother' (Kuipers 1967: 138)

b. **kwi** Tina-**t**
det Tina-pst
'the late Tina'

If the referent is still alive, *kwi* cannot be used. This is because the speaker knows that the referent is located somewhere, even if the speaker does not know the exact location. The distal D-determiner can be used if the referent is not visible (and therefore the exact location is likely to be unknown to the speaker).

(49) a. Chen kw'ach-nexw **ta** Peter.
1sg.s *look-tr(lc)* *det* *Peter*
'I saw Peter.'

b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwa** Peter
1sg.s *look-tr(lc)* *det* *Peter*
'I saw Peter.' (not in same room and not visible to speaker)

b. * Chen kw'ach-nexw **kwi** Peter.
1sg.s *look-tr(lc)* *det* *Peter*

The referents in cases like (48) are as identifiable to the speaker as the referent in (49) is, so identifiability cannot be the relevant feature (or lack thereof). "In some cases the mere impossibility of the object's conceivably being pointed out by the speaker allows or necessitates the use of an indefinite form [i.e. *kwi* - CG], even though the object is independently identified

[20] The distal D-determiner is ungrammatical here, for independent reasons, as I discussed in Chapter 2. The D-determiner *kwa* can only be used for referents that are human, or somehow made more "interesting".

by the speaker" (Kuipers 1967: 138). In the same vein, referents that do not yet exist also must be introduced by *kwi* (50)a, as well as referents which may never have existed (50)b.[21]

(50) a. Wa cháxw ek' xi-xí-t-em
impf 2sg.emph fut redup-laugh-tr-pass
t-**kwi** á-7aw't stélmexw.
obl-det redup-future people
'The future generation will be laughing at you.'

b. Ná7 t-kwi kwekwín' wa yán'-t-m
loc obl-det long.time impf take.care-tr-pass
ta stáw'xwlh yúu-as-wit, háw k-w-'as
det children take.care-3erg-3pl neg irr-impf-3sbj
p'i7-t-ás-wit kwi stám tiná7 t-**kwi**
get-tr-3erg-3pldet what from obl-det
háw k-w-'as lhk'í7-s-t-as-wit.
neg irr-impf-3sbj know-caus-tr-3erg-3pl
'In the old days they used to warn the children to be careful not to accept anything from anyone they didn't know.' (Kuipers 1967: 219)

The fact that *kwi* is non-locating can also be seen in cases where pictures are involved. Despite involving the same environment given purely with words, as soon as there is a picture to look at, *kwi* is ungrammatical. In the example below, there were a number of girls, and I was trying to say something about one girl in particular. In this case, *kwi* is normally given. Instead, the demonstrative was required.

(51) a. Na wa séselkw **álhi** (slheny'-úllh).
rl impf lonely/sad dem.f woman-young
'She/the girl's unhappy.'

b. * Na wa séselkw **kwi** slheny'-úllh.
rl impf lonely/sad det woman-young

[21] People who already do exist but do not yet bear a relationship to you are introduced by *ta*.
(i) Chen chem'-ús-n **ta**-n kwtáms ek'.
1sg.s meet-face-tr det-1sg.poss husband fut
'I met my husband-to-be.'
(ii) * Chen chem'-ús-n **kwi**-n kwtáms ek'.
1sg.s meet-face-tr det-1sg.poss husband fut
This is because the speaker can locate the referent at the time of the meeting.

In this case, the deictic D-determiners are only licit if the DP is interpreted as referring to the entire group, as I discussed in Chapter 4. The speakers prefer a number-neutral DP to refer to a singular entity, and so the sentence in (52) is dispreferred.

(52) ??Na wa séselkw **lha** slheny'-úllh.
rl impf lonely/sad det.f woman-young
'The girls are unhappy.'

Past and future time periods are also introduced by *kwi*.

(53) a. **kwi** chel'áklh
det yesterday
'yesterday'

b. **kwi** tepánu
det year
'last year'

c. **kwi** xáw's lhkáych'
det new moon
'next month'

d. **kwi** kwekwín'
det long.time
'a long time ago'

While we might expect distal D-determiners to be used for time distant from the present, only *kwi* can introduce non-present times. Consultants do not have any intuition as to what a deictic D-determiner + *chel'aklh* would even mean.

(54) a. * Chen kw'ách-nexw ta míxalh **kwa** chel'áklh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det bear det yesterday

b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw ta míxalh **ta** chel'áklh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det bear det yesterday

The only time that can be introduced with a deictic D-determiner is a time period during the present day.

(55) a. **ti** s-tsí7-s
det nom-exist-3poss
'today'
(lit: the it is being there)

b. **ti** nátlh
det morning
'this morning'

c. **ti** txw-ná-nat
det dir-redup-night
'tonight'

The obvious question raised by all of this is why time is not locatable in the same way space is. Time and space are often linked, especially in Salish languages. However, time is still

more abstract than space, and it is not a necessary result that once something marks distance it will then mark time. Languages should be able to use many different resources to mark time; D-determiners would be one possible way. Within the D-determiner system, the language could still mark whether time was locatable to them or not. Sk̲wx̲wú7mesh has chosen to mark time as non-locatable; hence *kwi* is used to introduce non-present time periods.

In all cases where the speaker chooses not to locate the referent (either because s/he cannot, or because it is unimportant), the DP is introduced by the non-deictic D-determiner. If the speaker can and wants to locate the referent, any of the other D-determiners or demonstratives can be used instead.

In this section, I will show how lacking deictic features can derive the behaviour of *kwi*. The behaviour discussed here includes narrow scope interpretations, restricted word order, the lack of (non-)uniqueness, and the lack of familiarity or novelty. I also discuss the lack of number marking on *kwi*, to show that it lacks any potential feature.

4.2 Narrow scope and *kwi*

Any DP introduced by *kwi* takes narrow scope with respect to many different quantifiers and operators. It takes narrow scope with respect to negation (56). The sentence in (56)a can be continued by the sentence in (b), where there can be no possible referent, but not by (c).

(56) a. Háw k̲-'an i kw'ách-nexw **kwi** míx̲alh.
neg irr-1sg.sbj prox look-tr(lc) det bear
'I didn't see a bear.'

b. Hák̲ míx̲alh.
be.not bear
'There weren't any bears.'

c. # Na kwáy.
rl hide
'It was hidden.'

It also takes narrow scope under a quantified subject DP (57) or an adverbial quantifier (58).

(57) Na múkst-s-t-as í7xw slhen-lhánay' **kwi** stáw'xwlh.
rl kiss-caus-tr-3erg all redup-woman det child
'Every woman kissed a (different) child.'
(∀ > ∃, *∃ > ∀)

(58) a. Lhík' chen wa múkwts-t **kwi** swí7ka.
always 1sg.s impf kiss-tr det man
'I always kiss a man.'
(always > ∃, *∃ > always)

b. Chanat-alh s-en melyí **kwi** swí7ka.
three-times nom-1sg.sbj get.married det man
'I married a man three times.'
(3X > ∃, *∃ > 3X)

DPs introduced by *kwi* also take narrow scope under intensional verbs, as in (59).The sentence in (59)a can be continued by (59)b, but this sentence can only be interpreted to mean that I was unsuccessful in finding *any* boy, not a specific one.

(59) a. Chen wa yélx-t **kwi** swi7ka-7úllh.
1sg.s impf look.for-tr det man-young
'I am looking for a boy.'

b. Háw chen k-alh mi kw'ách-nexw.
neg 1sg.s irr-times come look-tr(lc)
'I didn't see one.' *narrow*
* 'I didn't see him.' *wide*

4.3 Non-deictic D-determiners: composition via Restrict

Non-deictic D-determiners do not have any features associated with them. This means that they must take obligatory narrow scope. In order to derive this, I appeal to the notion of Restrict (Chung and Ladusaw 2004), which only allows narrow scope interpretation.

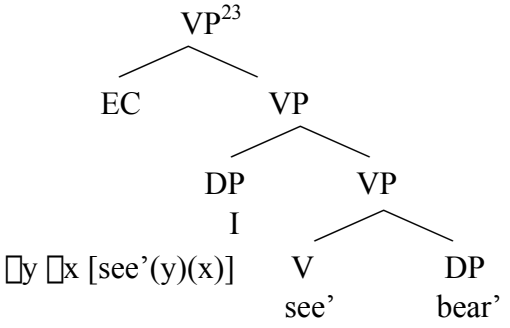
Narrow scope nominals in Skwxwú7mesh are composed via Restrict.[22] In (60), Restrict adds the property of the NP *mixalh* ('bear') as a restriction on the argument of the predicate *kw'achnexw* ('see'), leaving that argument unsaturated.

[22] Werle (2000) argues that St'át'imcets *ku* is a marker of predicate modification. This is a very similar approach to Restrict. The analysis for *kwi* will also apply to *ku*.

(60) Chen kw'ach-nexw **kwi** mix̲alh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det bear
'I saw a bear.' (I bear-saw)

Existential closure is required to resolve the unsaturated argument of the predicate.

(61)



∃y [see'(y)(I) ∧ bear'(y)]

∃y [see'(y)(I) ∧ bear'(y)]

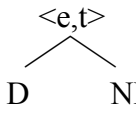
∃x ∃y [see'(y)(x) ∧ bear'(y)]

∃z [bear'(z)]
Restrict

The DP *kwi mix̲alh* and the verb *kw'achnexw* are composed together in such a way that the predicate becomes something like 'bear-see'.

Narrow scope nominals, on this analysis, are predicates. The D-determiner does not change the type of the NP predicate. The type of a Restrict-type nominal is therefore <e,t>. The structure of a narrow scope nominal with a featureless D-determiner is given in (62).

(62)



∃x [bear'(x)] [to be revised]

∃x [bear'(x)]

D in these cases does not change the type of the NP.

The reason why *kwi* DPs compose via Restrict, instead of some other semantic composition (e.g. choice function/Specify) is because *kwi* is a non-deictic D-determiner. I claim that only featureless D-determiners can compose via Restrict. If a D-determiner has deictic features, it must be interpreted via Specify. This is because the deictic features are not compatible with a predicative interpretation.

Non-deictic D-determiners must be composed via Restrict; anything composed via Restrict must take narrow scope. Deictic D-determiners cannot be composed via Restrict because

[23] The syntax of the clause in Sk̲wx̲wú7mesh still needs more research (see Davis 1999 for a discussion of word order in St'át'imcets); I ignore the clause above the VP level. Obviously, to get verb-initial order from the tree here, the verb must raise past the subject. The issue of word order raises many questions of its own. Sk̲wx̲wú7mesh word order deserves its own dissertation.

they are associated with features that do not allow them to be interpreted as a predicate. Anything that does not compose via Restrict can have a wide scope interpretation.

Rullmann and You (2003) argue that bare nouns must take narrow scope. They further argue that bare nouns are number-neutral, and suggest that low-scope indefinites can compose via Restrict because they are number-neutral. I extend this idea to deictic features in Skwxwú7mesh. The data in Skwxwú7mesh provide evidence that deictic features do not allow DPs to compose via Restrict.

Because *kwi* DPs are composed via Restrict, they are forced to take narrow scope. This is because the variable in the predicate must be existentially closed within the VP (following Diesing's 1992 insight). For example, under negation, *kwi* cannot take wide scope.

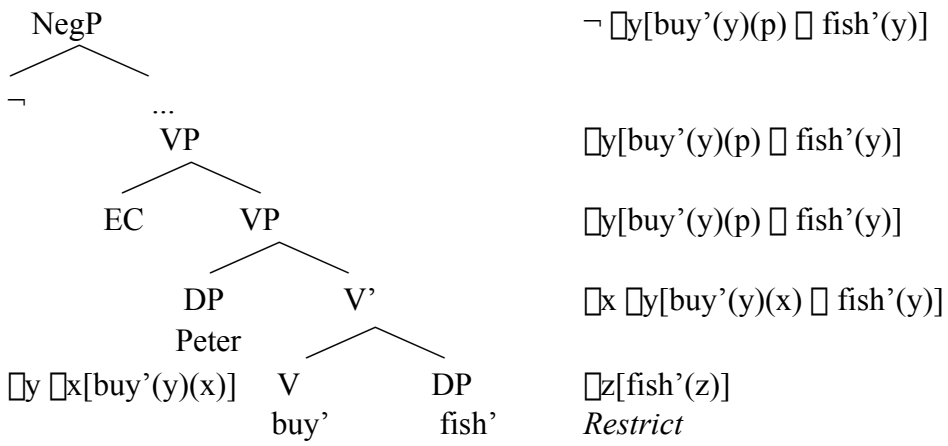
(63)

Háw	k-'as	i	silh7-án-t-as	**kwi**	sts'úkwi7	ta	Peter.
neg	*irr-3sbj*	*prox*	*buy-tr-tr-3erg*	*det*	*fish*	*det*	*Peter*

'Peter didn't buy a fish.'

= ¬ [∃x[fish (x) & buy (x) (P)]]

(64)



This is because the object must be closed off long before the negation can apply. The nominal is within the nuclear scope of negation.

4.4 Predictions

The analysis of *kwi* as a non-deictic D-determiner that composes via Restrict makes certain predictions about its use. Certain word orders are more likely to be used for obligatorily narrow scope nominals (§4.4.1). Similarily, certain contexts will be more likely to allow non-deictic D-

determiners than others (§4.4.2). The fact that proper names can co-occur with *kwi* is unexpected for a Restrict analysis of *kwi* (§4.4.3); I discuss the consequences of proper names for the theory of Restrict. I also discuss consequences for Cheng and Symbesma's (2005) discussion of determiners (§4.4.4), as well as the use of *kwi* as a complementizer (§4.4.5).

4.4.1 Restrict and word order

The analysis of *kwi* makes certain predictions about its word order. Chung and Ladusaw (2004) argue that Restrict nominals must be closed off within the VP. In that case, we expect that these types of nominals cannot move outside of the VP.

As we saw in Chapter 2, word order in Sḵwx̱wú7mesh is fairly free, in general. VSO, VOS and SVO are all viable word orders in Sḵwx̱wú7mesh. Unlike with the deictic D-determiners, a DP introduced by the non-deictic D-determiner may not be fronted. That is, SVO word order is not acceptable when the DP is introduced by *kwi*.

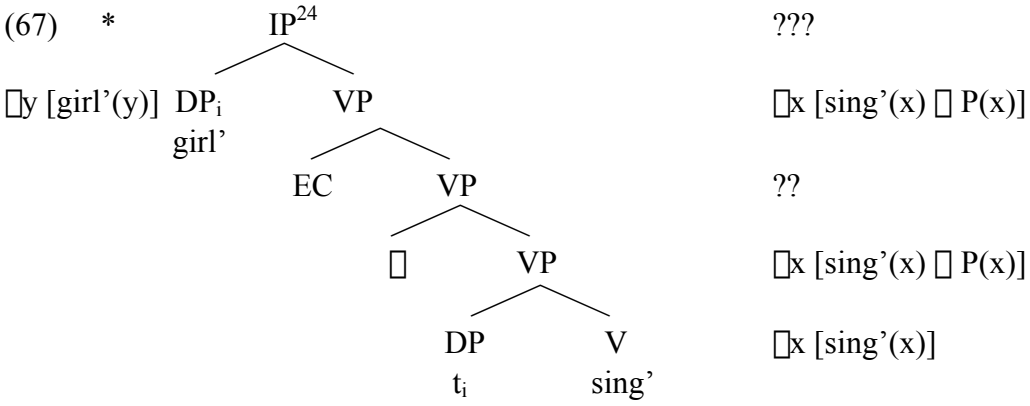
(65) a. Na lúlum [**kwi** slheny'-úllh]. non-deictic D
rl sing det woman-young
'A girl was singing/sang.'

b. * [**Kwi** slheny'-úllh] na lúlum. non-deictic D
det woman-young rl sing

(66) a. Na lúlum [**lha/tsi/kwelha** slheny'-úllh]. deictic D
rl sing det.f woman-young
'A/the girl was singing.'

b. [**Lha/tsi/kwelha** slheny'-úlh] na lúlum. deictic D
det.f woman-young rl sing
'A/the girl was singing.'

A DP introduced by a non-deictic D-determiner cannot be fronted because it must be composed via Restrict. In order for the variable in the predicate to be existentially closed off, it must be closed off within the VP.

(67) * 

While some languages allow their nominals to move back to inside the VP at LF (e.g. English), Skwxwú7mesh does not.[25]

4.4.2 Contexts for non-deictic D-determiners

I have argued that non-deictic D-determiners are used when the speaker cannot locate the referent. Contexts where a non-deictic D-determiner is more likely to be used are under negation, under quantifiers, in questions, and in intentional contexts.

(68) a. Háw k-'as i teh-ím' **kwi** lám'.
neg irr-3sbj prox make-act.intr det house
'S/he didn't build a house.'

b. Lhík' na teh-ím' **kwi** lem-lám'.
always rl make-act.intr det redup-house
'S/he's always making houses.'

c. Nú chexw **kwi** e-lám'?
rl.Q 2sg.s det 2sg.poss-house
'Do you have a house?'

d. N-s-tl'í7 kwi-n-s teh-ím' **kwi** lám'.
1sg.poss-nom-dear comp-1sg.poss-nom make-act.intr det house
'I want to build a house.'

[24] IP may not be the right label for the category where subjects move to. More work is required on the functional domain of the clause in Skwxwú7mesh.
[25] This seems to be consistent in languages with relatively free word order, which tend to mark scope by means of surface word order.

In factive contexts, it is more likely that the speaker will be able to locate the referent, so deictic D-determiners are more likely to be found.

In the five texts collected by Kuipers (1967), this trend can be seen. The neutral D-determiners are used far more than any other D-determiner, as is to be expected for a neutral element. The proximal D-determiner is the next most common D-determiner. The non-deictic D-determiner is used more than the distal D-determiner. Recall that the distal D-determiner must be used for invisible referents, and is usually only used for place names or for reference to humans. The low number reflects these other constraints.

	proximal[26]	neutral	distal, invisible	non-deictic[27]
gender-neutral	22	121	8	16
female	0	1	0	3
total	22	122	8	19

Table 5.1: Number of occurrences of D-determiners in the texts collected by Kuipers (1967).

That distal elements are used in the texts can be seen in the number of distal demonstratives used, which are by far the most of any of the demonstratives.

	proximal	medial	distal
gender-neutral	3	2	85
female	0	19	13
plural	1	0	0
total	4	21	98

Table 5.2: Number of occurrences of demonstratives in the texts collected by Kuipers (1967).

More important is the contexts in which *kwi* and *kwes* are used: in more than half the cases (11/19), they are used in non-factive environments, such as under negation, with the future marker, and in conditional clauses. The neutral D-determiner *ta*, on the other hand, is rarely used in non-factive contexts (9/122).

[26] As Kuipers originally characterized this as a "strong" determiner (a demonstrative), this count may be inflated. I discounted the one instance where *ti* occurred without a following NP, where is most certainly behaving as a demonstrative.

[27] This count does not include the instances of *kwi* as a complementizer.

4.4.3 Proper names

If, as I am arguing, *kwi* must compose via Restrict, then I predict that proper names should not be able to co-occur with *kwi*. However, we already saw that this was perfectly licit, as long as the referent was deceased.

(69) Chen lhk̲'í7-s **kwi** Tina-t.
1sg.s know-caus det Tina-pst
'I knew the late Tina.'

The sentence in (69) should mean something like 'I Tina-knew'. Worse, the non-deictic DPs in this case can take wide scope.

(70) Háw k̲-'an i lhk̲'í7-s **kwi** Tina-t.
neg irr-1sg.sbj prox know-caus det Tina-pst
'I didn't know Tina.'
* 'I didn't know any Tinas.'

This is a potential problem for my analysis so far. However, I claim that proper names are already of type e (and are therefore scopeless). The D-determiner does not have any effect on this; *kwi* does not change *Tina* into a predicate. If it is already of type e, it cannot compose with the predicate via Restrict.

What does this tell us about Restrict? Restrict appears to be a repair strategy, brought in when there is nothing to change the type of the NP to e, or to type-shift via a choice function (Specify). The non-deictic D-determiner cannot change the type of its NPs, nor does it allow the DP to compose via Specify. The predicate is left with no choice but to compose via Restrict, and to force the nominal to become a predicate modifier.

4.4.4 Individuation, subordinating, and non-deictic D-determiners

Cheng and Sybesma (2005) claim that the most basic function of a determiner is its deictic function. They further claim that the "subordinating" function of determiners (i.e., the ability of determiners to create arguments) and the "individuating" function (i.e., the ability to pick out an individual from the NP predicate) both arise from the deictic function.[28] "We think that these two functions which D is supposed to perform (individuation, syntactic subordination) are closely

[28] Note that, as far as I can tell, they are only referring to D-determiners, and not quantifiers, which do not refer to individuals.

related to, or even different manifestations of, a more fundamental property of the DP domain: its deictic property - the property to be able to refer at all" (Cheng and Sybesma 2005). They claim that there is a division of labour between the lexical and functional domains: lexical units describe and functional units refer. The subordinating function for them appears to be dependent on the rest: the individuation arises from the deictic features, and the subordination arises from the individuation. I schemetize this idea below.

(71) a. If a determiner subordinates, then it must individuate.

b. If a determiner individuates, then it must be deictic.

However, I explicitly claim that *kwi* lacks deictic features. It *does*, however, create an argument. Therefore, the deictic features cannot be driving the subordinating function. On the other hand, the individuating function does seem to arise from the deictic features, as *kwi* does not pick out referents in the same way the rest of the D-determiner system does. I assume that individuation can involve type shift from type <e,t> to e; in other words, be a choice function. *Kwi* does not do either of these things. Adapting Cheng and Sybesma's (2005) description of the functions of D, I claim instead that D must at least subordinate (thereby creating an argument). It may also individuate, but only if it has deictic features. The two functions of D-determiners (subordination and individuation) must therefore be separate.

4.4.5 Non-deictic D-determiners as complementizers

I argued above that *kwi* is only used for referents that cannot be located in space. I also showed that *kwi* is used as a complementizer in Sḵwx̱wú7mesh.

(72) Ha7lh **kwi**-s paym-chet.
good comp-nom rest-1pl.poss
'It'd be good if we rest.'

I also argued that this was *not* because *kwi* occupied a different position than the other D-determiners. If they do occupy the same position, then why is it only *kwi* that is used as a complementizer? I argue that *kwi* is used because it does not locate in space. Events are locatable in time and space; however, states are difficult to locate in space. The most likely candidate for a complementizer from the D-determiner system then is one with the fewest number of features:

the non-deictic D-determiner then is the best choice, as it has none. I predict that if temporal locatability were to be encoded in the complementizer system, then other D-determiners would likely be used.

4.5 Summary

The D-determiner *kwi* does not encode information about uniqueness or familiarity. If this analysis is correct, then it raises the question of what, if any, features *kwi* does have. Further, if the D-determiner does not encode any features, then what does it mean to be a D-determiner?

I have argued that *kwi* is non-deictic. Previous analyses of Sḵwx̱wú7mesh have not addressed this issue directly. The labels of "indefinite" and "invisible" have been applied to *kwi* (by Kuipers 1967 and Currie 1997, respectively). However, these descriptions fall to explain why *kwi* only takes narrow scope, and *kwa* only takes wide, as we saw in (2), repeated here.[29]

(2) a. Háw ḵ-'an i silh7-án **ta/ti** sts'úḵwi7.
neg *irr-1sg.sbj* *prox* *buy-tr* *det* *fish*
'I didn't buy a fish.' (wide or narrow)

b. Háw ḵ-'an i silh7-án **kwa** sts'úḵwi7.
neg *irr-1sg.sbj* *prox* *buy-tr* *det* *fish*
'I didn't buy a fish.' (wide only)

c. Háw ḵ-'an i silh7-án **kwi** sts'úḵwi7.
neg *irr-1sg.sbj* *prox* *buy-tr* *det* *fish*
'I didn't buy a fish.' (narrow only)

I argue that *kwi* does not have any features. Only the non-deictic analysis proposed here can account for this data.

The D-determiner *kwi* does not encode any features which could force it to be individuated in any way (such as [proximal], [invisible], etc., or assertion of uniqueness). I claim that these features force deictic DPs to compose with the predicate via Specify. I further claim that the lack of a choice function is what forces a non-deictic DP to take narrow scope. If a D-determiner (or any other part of the functional domain) provides any of these features, it must be

[29] Recall that *kwa* can only be used if the referent is human, or has been made "interesting" enough. This need to be interesting may be why *kwa* must take wide scope. See Tunstall (1998) for discussion of the link between being "interesting" and taking wider scope.

able to take wide scope, because it composes via Specify. If a D-determiner asserts uniqueness, then it is forced to take wide scope.

This raises the question of *why* this correlation between lack of features and scope should exist in the first place. The intuitive answer is that nominals which compose via Restrict are still predicates, regardless of whether they are introduced by a D-determiner or not. Featureless D-determiners do not change the type of the NP. The link between featureless D-determiners and scope is therefore indirect; featureless D-determiners (and nominals lacking determiners altogether) must compose via Restrict. Anything else will compose normally.

5 Featureless D-determiners and the context

So far, I have shown that *kwi* DPs must take narrow scope. I argued that this was because *kwi* DPs lack features and that this prevents them from being able to take wide scope. Bare nouns have also been argued to take obligatory narrow scope (Carlson 1980). Potentially, these also lack features that prevent them from taking wide scope.

However, this tells us nothing about whether bare nouns are in fact "bare" or not. I have argued above that structure, in itself, does not matter. I claimed that the presence of features allowed a nominal to take wide scope.

(73) a. if DP $\rightarrow$ able to take wide scope. b. if DP $\rightarrow$ obligatory narrow scope
|
[±F]

c. if NP $\rightarrow$ obligatory narrow scope

Instead of the schema in (73) above, it could be that bare nouns be introduced by a null, featureless D. The non-deictic DPs and bare nouns would be predicted to behave essentially the same.

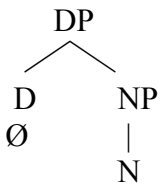
(74) a. if DP $\rightarrow$ able to take wide scope. b. if DP $\rightarrow$ obligatory narrow scope
|
[±F]

In this section, I show that this cannot be the case, on the basis of the availability of partitive readings with *kwi*.

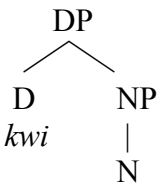
5.1 D-determiners matter

So far, it appears that *kwi* DPs and bare nouns (bare plurals and bare numberless nominals) behave similarly.[30] They both involve fewer features than *ta* DPs (or other DPs with features). Bare nouns get narrow scope interpretations, at least in English (Carlson 1980), Chinese (Rullmann and You 2003), Brazilian Portuguese (Müller 2005) and Blackfoot (Glougie 2000), just as *kwi* DPs do. It could be possible that *kwi* DPs and bare nouns are even more similar: that the structure involved in both cases is the same. Both bare nouns and *kwi* DPs could have a D position that is featureless. This featureless D position would mark the NP as composing via Restrict and would explain the scope facts for both.

(75) a. bare noun



b. full DP



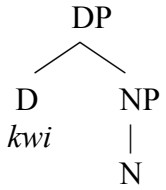
There would be three possibilities here, were we to adopt the structure in (75)a for bare nouns: i) *kwi* has meaning and the null D is semantically null, ii) both the null D and *kwi* are semantically null or iii) both the null D and *kwi* have meaning. I argue that the first two possibilities are untenable. As Wiltschko (to appear) argues, phonologically null elements must have meaning. The null D position should have some semantics. This leaves us with the third possibility: that *kwi* and the null D have the same semantics.[31]

I argue that this third possibility is also untenable. This is because bare nouns and *kwi* DPs have different semantics. I argue that bare plurals in English are actually barer than full DPs. Bare plurals lack the D position. This has implications for how and where bare plurals can be used.

[30] Bare numberless nominals are nominals without any overt number marking which can receive either a singular or plural interpretation, as in Mandarin (Rullmann and You 2003), or Brazilian Portuguese (Müller 2005).
[31] However, see Sobin (1985), among others, who argues that there are null expletives in Slavic.

(76) a. bare noun

b. full DP



I argue that *kwi* contributes something semantically, based on its behaviour in certain contexts, and that bare nouns lack this semantics. I extend this idea by postulating that the correlation between a D and the semantics of *kwi* is universal. All D-determiners in Skwxwú7mesh share the core semantics of domain restriction.

(77) a. [[ta]] = λP f(ιx [P(y) ∧ **C(x)**])

b. [[kwi]] = λP ιx [P(y) ∧ **C(x)**]

I also argued that English *the* contains this core semantics.

(78) [[the]] = λP max(ιx [P(x) ∧ C(x)])

I therefore hypothesize that all D-determiners share this core semantics.

Bare nouns must introduce a new discourse referent. DPs must refer back to a previously introduced referent.

(79) a. I saw four women walk into the store. # Women were looking for clothes.

b. I saw four women walk into the store. The women were looking for clothes.

Kwi DPs behave like other DPs in Skwxwú7mesh in that they can refer back to a previously introduced referent. Further, unlike the deictic D-determiner *ta*, *kwi* can refer to a part of the set already introduced in the discourse as (80). That is, *kwi* can have a partitive reading.

[32] I am agnostic as to the presence of any intervening syntactic nodes, such as NumP or ιP (see Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002 for arguments that some nominal phrases are bigger than NP but smaller than DP). It is only necessary that bare nouns lack D-determiners.

(80) X̲a7útsn slhánay' na mi úys.
four *woman* *rl* *come* *inside*
Chen kwík̲wi -s **kwi** slhánay'.
1sg.s *talk-caus* *det* *woman*
'Four women came in. I talked to one of women.'

The D-determiner *kwi* does not have to refer to a new referent, as we might expect with an obligatorily narrow scope nominal. When a deictic D-determiner is used instead, the DP strongly prefers to be interpreted as referring to the entire set, as we saw in Chapter 4.

(81) X̲a7útsn slhánay' na mi úys.
four *woman* *rl* *come* *inside*
?? Chen kwík̲wi-s **lha** slhánay'.
1sg.s *talk-caus* *det.f* *woman*
'Four women came in. I talked to all of the women.'

When the context allows for only one individual, then a deictic D-determiner may be used. If the context for (82) has more than one boy (two boys and one girl), then *kwi* must be used. Otherwise, if there is only one boy (two girls and one boy), *ta* can be used.

(82) a. Chánat mén'-men wa k̲w'shétsut ná7 ta áts k̲.
three *redup-child* *impf* *play* *be.there* *det* *outside*
Chen kwík̲wi-s **kwi** swíw'lus.
1sg.s *talk-caus* *det* *boy*
'Three children were playing outside. I talked with a boy.'

b. Chánat mén'-men wa k̲w'shétsut ná7 ta áts k̲.
three *redup-child* *impf* *play* *be.there* *det* *outside*
Chen kwík̲wi-s **ta** swíw'lus.
1sg.s *talk-caus* *det* *boy*
'Three children were playing outside. I talked to the boy.'

Other examples of *kwi* being used partitively are given below.

(83) a. Chen wa lhém-n ta schí7i.
1sg.s *impf* *pick-tr* *det* *strawberry*
Chen húy-s **kwi** schí7i.
1sg.s *finish-caus* *det* *strawberry*
'I picked strawberries. I ate one strawberry.'

b. Chen teh-ím' ta slhúm'.
1sg.s *make-act.intr* *det* *soup*
Chen húy-s **kwi** slhúm'.
1sg.s *finish-caus* *det* *soup*
'I made some soup. I ate some of the soup.'

The ability for *kwi* to be interpreted partitively, unlike the deictic D-determiners, arises from its lack of deictic features. As I discussed above, non-deictic D-determiners can only be used in contexts where the speaker cannot locate the referent. Partitive contexts allow the use of *kwi* because the speaker does not locate the indvidual within the group. The speaker is behaving as if he or she cannot locate the referent; the referent can be any member of the group. If the speaker wishes to provide information about the location, then he or she must use a demonstrative. The use of *kwi* in the cases above is only acceptable because the speaker is not providing information about the location. Unlike demonstratives, which can also be used partitively, *kwi* does not refer to a particular object, that the hearer will also likely be able to locate.

This behaviour of *kwi*, where it can be used in partitive contexts, is in opposition to the behaviour of bare nouns, as we will see below. I argue that D-determiners must be interpreted with respect to some contextual domain in a way that bare nouns are not. The D-determiner *kwi* restricts the domain of its NP. Empirically, we can see that bare nouns cannot have their domain restricted. I claim that this is a result of the lack of the necessary syntactic apparatus: a D-determiner.

5.2 Bare nouns

Bare nouns provide crucial evidence that D-determiners do something important. This is because they do *not* have the same properties as DPs. In some respects, they behave similarly to *kwi* DPs. However, they behave differently in a crucial way.

5.2.1 Bare nouns, narrow scope and Restrict

Like *kwi* DPs, bare nouns (when interpreted existentially) are interpreted with narrow scope (84). Bare plurals, bare singulars (or bare numberless nominals) and incorporated nouns all take narrow scope with respect to negation in each example.

(84) a. bare plural
John didn't see **spots** on the floor. (Carlson 1980:19)
(neg > ∃, *∃ > neg)

b. *bare singular*
ni-maats-iyapi-hpa **piita**.
1-neg-pst.see.intr-1nonaffirm *eagle*
'I didn't see an eagle.' (Blackfoot; Glougie 2000:127)
(neg > ∃, *∃ > neg)

c. *bare singular*
El niñito no trajo **pelota**.
det boy neg brought ball
'The boy didn't bring a ball.' (Spanish; Miller and Schmitt 2005: 92)
(neg > ∃, *∃ > neg)

d. *bare singular*
anu **kitaab** nahiiN paRhegii.
Anu book not read
'Anu won't read any book.' (Hindi; Dayal 1999)
(neg > ∃, *∃ > neg)

e. *bare numberless nominal*
João não viu **mancha** no chão.
João neg see spot on floor
'João didn't see spots on the floor.'
(neg > ∃, *∃ > neg) (Brazilian Portuguese; Schmitt and Munn 1999)

f. *incorporated noun*
Juuna Kaali-mit **allagar**-si-nngi-l-a-q.
J.abs K-abl letter-get-neg-ind-[intr]-3sg
'Junna didn't get a letter/letters from Kaali.' (Inuktitut; Bittner 1994:118)
(neg > ∃, *∃ > neg)

This is in contrast to other nominals in each system. In some languages, the full DPs can take narrow or wide scope.

(85) a. John didn't see **a spot** on the floor. (Carlson 1980:19)
(neg > ∃, ∃ > neg)

b. El niñito no trajo **una** **pelota**.
det boy neg brought a ball
'The boy didn't bring a ball.' (Spanish; Miller and Schmitt 2005: 92)
(neg > ∃, ∃ > neg)

c. anu **ek/koii** **kitaab** nahiiN paRhegii.
Anu one/some book not read-F
'Anu won't read a book.' (Hindi; Dayal 1999)
(neg > ∃, ∃ > neg)

In other languages, full DPs or non-incorporating nouns must only take wide scope.

(86) a. ni-maats-ino-a-waatsiiks **om-i** **piita**
1-neg-see-3-nonaffirm dem-3' eagle
'I didn't see the/an eagle.' (Blackfoot; Glougie 2000:127)
(*neg > ∃, ∃ > neg)

b. Taqqialu-up **tuktu** taku-lau-nngit-t-a-(ng)a
Taqqialu.-erg caribou(abs) see-pst-neg-part-[tr]-3sg.erg.3sg.abs
'Taqqialu didn't see a caribou.' (Inuktitut; Wharram 2003:39)
(*neg > ∃, ∃ > neg)

Having a narrow scope option does not force all other nominals to take wide scope.

In all the above cases, the bare nominals are forced to take narrow scope because, like *kwi*, they lack the features that would allow them to take wide scope. They do not encode deictic information, number, or, as we shall see below, familiarity.

I claim that, like *kwi* DPs, bare nouns take obligatory narrow scope because they compose via Restrict (following Chung and Ladusaw 2004). In sentences lacking any other operator, bare nouns (like *kwi* DPs) will take narrow scope with respect to existential closure.

I do not, therefore, adopt Carlson's (1980) account of bare nouns in English. Carlson claims that bare nouns denote kinds, which are a type of individual (see also Carlson 1989 and Chierchia 1998). Due to the realization relation adopted by Carlson, the kind analysis and the Restrict analysis end up truth-conditionally equivalent. However, the kind analysis does not apply straightforwardly to Sḵwx̱wú7mesh. This is because kind readings of DPs are difficult to get. The speakers will produce sentences like (87), but when asked for a translation of the sentence (87)a, they will always give an episodic translation. For (87)b, they often give a "specific" reading.

(87) a. Na wa sík **kwi/ta** kaláka.
rl impf fly det crow
(i) 'Crows fly.'
(ii) 'The crow is flying.'

b. Ha7lh-s chen **kwi/ta** pesh-push.
good-caus 1sg.s det redup-cat
(i) 'I like cats.'
(ii) 'I like the cats.'

Note that either *ta* or *kwi* is used to translate an English generic sentence. I therefore cannot adopt Carlson's analysis of bare nouns for *kwi* DPs. As the Restrict and kind-plus-realization analyses are truth-conditionally equivalent, I adopt a Restrict analysis for English for consistency with Skwxwú7mesh. (See Wilkinson 1991, Diesing 1992, Gerstner and Krifa 1993, and Kratzer 1995 for arguments that bare nouns are ambiguous between a kind reading and an indefinite reading.)

5.2.2 Bare nouns and the lack of context

As I have already argued in Chapter 3, bare nouns are not sensitive to the context. They cannot refer to a subset of a previously mentioned set. This is 'non-specificity' as defined by Enç (1991). In (88) - (90), a bare noun cannot be used after the set under discussion has already been introduced.

(88) bare plurals
A: There are **five children** playing in the yard.
B: What are they doing?
A: # **Boys** are digging in the sand.

(89) incorporated nouns
A: Nillataartitsivim-mi **tallima-nik** **manne**-qar-p-u-q.
fridge-loc five-inst.pl egg-have-ind-[intr]-3sg
'There are five eggs in the fridge.'

B: Jensi-p **uku-nannga** **qassi-t** neri-ssa-v-a-i?
Jensi-erg dem-abl.pl how.many-abs.pl eat-fut-inter-[tr]-3sg.3pl
'How many from those will Jensi eat?'

A: # Jensi **marlun-nik** **manni**-tu-ssa-q.[33]
Jensi.abs *two-inst.pl* *egg-eat-fut-ind-[intr]-3sg*
'Jensi will eat two eggs.'
* 'Jensi will eat two of the eggs.' (West Greenlandic; van Geenhoven 1998)

(90) bare singular
?? Det var igjen mange sykler etter salget, så jeg ga
it *was* *left* *many* *bikes* *after* *sale-def,* *so* *I* *gave*
sykkel til Kari.
bike *to* *Kari*
'There were many bikes left after the sale, so I gave Kari a bike (any bike).'
(Norwegian; Borthen 2003: 29-30)

There are some bare nouns that can be used anaphorically. However, this only occurs in languages that lack overt D-determiners.[34] In Hindi, for example, bare nouns can receive a definite interpretation. The bare plural *bacce* 'children' in the second sentence appears to refer to the entire set introduced in the first sentence.

(91) kuch bacce andar aaye. **bacce** bahut khush the.
some *children* *inside* *came* *children* *very* *happy* *were*
'Some children came in. The children were very happy.' (Hindi; Dayal 1999)

I set these examples aside here, and discuss articleless languages further in Chapter 6.

Bare nouns are unable to be used in partitive contexts. They are usually used in novel contexts. Bare nouns in languages which otherwise use overt D-determiners, or in languages which allow noun incorporation, cannot refer back to a subset or the entire set.

5.3 The contribution of D-determiners to DPs

If a D-determiner can be featureless, and yet still allow a nominal to be used in a partitive context, then what exactly is the D-determiner doing? We know that D-determiners can do at least the following four things: i) create an argument out of a predicate, ii) assert maximality, iii) encode specificity/non-specificity or deictic features (or some other contrast), and iv) restrict the domain from which the individual is picked out. The non-deictic D-determiner in S<u>k</u>w<u>x</u>wú7mesh

[33] This is not independently bad because of the stranded *marlun*; Inuktitut allows this kind of incorporation (van Geenhoven 1996).
[34] Mithun (1984) discusses examples of incorporated nouns that also receive definite interpretations. I set them aside and leave them for further research.

provides us with evidence that all D-determiners restrict the domain. It does not have any features, and is composed via Restrict, yet it still has domain restriction in its denotation.

(92) a. [[kwi]] = λP λx [P(x) ∧ C(x)]

b. [[kwi mixalh]] = λy [*bear'(y) ∧ C(y)]

On the basis of this, I argue that D-determiners must at least create a syntactic argument out of a predicate (cf. Higginbotham 1985, Szabolsci 1987, 1994; Stowell 1989; Longobardi 1994) and restrict the domain.

The purely syntactic requirement (that the D-determiner create a syntactic argument) is obviously not a universal requirement. Some languages (like Skwxwú7mesh) require a D-determiner to create a syntactic argument. *Kwi* does not change the semantic type of the nominal, and yet is required because Skwxwú7mesh requires that all arguments have a D. This must be language-specific and not related to any semantic function. In English, for example, there is no such syntactic requirement, and so it allows bare nouns as arguments.

(93) a. I saw bears.

b. [[bears]] = λx [bear'(x)]

c. [[I saw bears]] = λy [see'(y) ∧ bear'(y)]

The non-deictic D-determiner *kwi* creates an argument (as it is one of a set of elements that are obligatory with arguments), and restricts the domain of the NP. Bare nouns, while being arguments, do not have a restricted domain.

As we saw above, *kwi* DPs must be different from bare nouns, since *kwi* can be used in instances where the domain must be restricted.

(94) a. Chen men sk'i7-s **kwi** men nch'e-nch'u7.
1sg.s just know-caus det just redup-one
'I knew one of them.'
λy [know'(y)(I) ∧ one'(y) ∧ C(y)]

b. Chen kwikwi-s **kwi** swíw'lus.
1sg.s talk-caus det boy
'I talked to a boy.'
λy [talk'(y)(I) ∧ *boy'(y) ∧ C(y)]

This can and must be extended to all uses of *kwi*. If there is a D, this D must introduce C.

(95) Chen kw'ach-nexw **kwi** mixalh.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det bear
'I saw a bear.'
∃y [see'(y)(I) ∧ *bear'(y) ∧ C(y)]

Bare nouns are not context-dependent, and therefore cannot introduce C. This is due to the lack of a D-determiner.

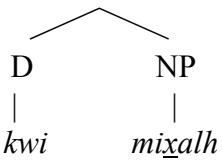
(96) I saw **bears**.
∃y [see'(y) (I) ∧ ^bear'(y)]
* ∃y [see'(y) (I) ∧ ^bear'(y) ∧ C(y)]

Earlier, I provided no denotation for *kwi* whatsoever ((62), repeated here).

(62) *kwi* DP ∃x [bear'(x)] [to be revised]
D NP ∃x [bear'(x)]

However, in this section, we have seen evidence for *kwi* having domain restriction in its denotation. As it lacks any other features, the non-deictic *kwi* is only a function which introduces C.

(97) ∃P ∃y [P(y) ∧ C(y)]



∃z [*bear'(z) ∧ C(z)]
∃x [*bear'(x)]

C is a predicate of type <e,t>, and is the domain restriction on the NP.

The non-deictic D-determiner is still different from the deictic D-determiners. It stands out as different from the rest in that it can more easily refer to a subset of the NPs in the given context: that is, it get a partitive reading without any extra work. This D-determiner can "see" inside of the set. I claim that it able to do this because it is non-deictic. When a speaker uses *kwi* they are making a claim that they cannot locate the referent. If the referent is within a larger group, the speaker is not locating the referent individually, just making a claim that that referent is somewhere within that previously mentioned group.

5.4 Implications

So far, I have made two main claims. First, if a nominal is not associated with any features, such as deixis, presupposition of uniqueness, etc., it must take obligatory narrow scope. Having more structure does not mean being able to take wider scope; having more features does. Structure does not determine scope - only the presence or absence of features do.

(98) a. if DP ⇏ able to take wide scope. b. if DP ⇒ obligatory narrow scope
|
[±F]

c. if NP ⇒ obligatory narrow scope

This means that the presence of the head D, by itself, does not matter for scope purposes, only the features associated with that D projection. On the other hand, my second claim is that bare nouns are structurally different from *kwi* DPs: they lack the D head. Bare nouns then are not DPs, but rather NPs (or something in between).

(99) D introduces domain restriction; NPs lack domain restriction.

All D-determiners must introduce C - that is, they must be constrained by the context. If there is no context, and the D-determiners do not assert the uniqueness of their referents, then the referents can be accommodated into C. Bare nouns are not be constrained by the context because they lack a D-determiner.

All of this raises questions about the nature of D-determiners. Are there any semantically null D-determiners? That is, do bare nouns have null D-determiners, present only to create a syntactic argument? The answer must be no, if D-determiners really do introduce C.

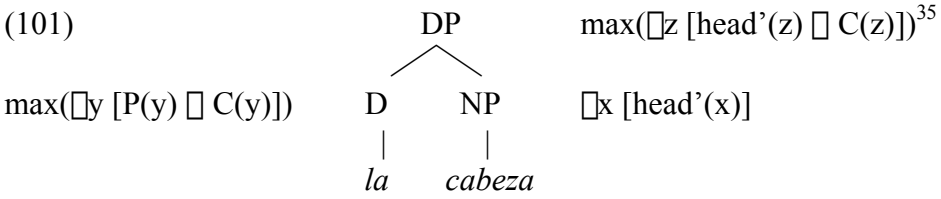
Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) claim that expletive determiners are used in constructions where they are syntactically required, but provide no semantic information. An example of an expletive determiner is given below, in the Construction of Inalienable Possession in languages like Spanish. (See also §6.4, where I show their analysis cannot apply to *kwi*.)

(100) Los niños volvieron **la** cabeza. (Spanish; Baauw 2001: 3)
det.pl boys turn det head
'The boys turned their heads.'

In (100), *la cabeza* 'the head' does not refer to a specific head in the discourse. Instead, it is interpreted distributively with respect to the subject of the sentence.

In cases such as these, we can reanalyze the expletive determiner as a D-determiner that introduces C: here the domain would be the set of boys. The D-determiner does not enforce a singular reading here, because the DP is bound by the subject DP.

(101)



It is not clear why all languages cannot do this, however.[36]

A second environment where these 'expletive' determiners are used is the generic environment. In languages which do not allow bare plurals to be generic, a determiner is inserted.

(102) **Los** leones son carnívoros. (Spanish; Baauw 2001: 3)
det.pl lions are carnivores
'Lions (in general) are carnivores.

The "expletive" determiner here could be a D-determiner, "restricting" the domain to the entire domain of lions. Recall that the domain includes all members of the domain of individuals (D_e) in novel contexts. C is not narrowing the domain in these cases. The GEN operator (Krifka et al 1995) allows us to understand the generic DP as including any lion-entity.

(103) GEN [max (∃x [*lion'(x) ∩ C(x))] [*carnivore'(x)]] $C_{\text{los leones}} = \{D_e\}$

Then the question becomes why generics in other languages are *not* introduced by a D-determiner. English generics sometimes lack D-determiners.

(104) a. **Crows** are black.

b. * **The** crows are black. (for generic reading)

[35] I assume that Spanish *la* asserts maximality; it is only crucial that the D-determiner have domain restriction.
[36] The real question might be why these languages are not required to have possessive morphology, since possessives are arguably a kind of D-determiner anyway. So these kinds of determiners are not 'expletive', but do lack person features.

c. **The** crow is black.

If, as I claim, all D-determiners have domain restriction, (104)c must also involve domain restriction, whereas (104)a must not. In the formulae below, example (104)a corresponds to (105)a and (104)c corresponds to (105)b.

(105) a. GEN [*crow'(x)] [black'(x)]

b. GEN [max(□x [crow'(x) □ C(x))]] [black'(x)]

For languages which require arguments to be marked as such in the syntax (like Skwxwú7mesh or French), the necessity of the presence of the D-determiner is explained. English bare singulars are not licit arguments, and so the presence of the D-determiner is also explained. The point is merely that D-determiners still have the same semantic core, regardless of the context they are used in.[37]

Finally, 'expletive' determiners are used for proper names.

(106) a. **O** Nikos agapai **ti** Maria.
det Nikos loves det Mary
'Nikos loves Mary.' (Greek; Marinis 1997: 171)

b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **lha** Kirsten.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det.f Kirsten
'I saw Kirsten.' (Skwxwú7mesh)

My analysis raises the question of the correct treatment of proper names, and touches on large and unsolved problems in the literature on proper names. Here I offer some speculations of how proper names and domain restriction could interact.

[37] I predict that in familiar contexts, the "generic" DPs will no longer be interpreted generically, but rather as referring to a previously introduced referent. This prediction is born out in English.

(i) **The** lion is a carnivore. (generic)

(ii) I saw a lion, a panda and a lizard at the zoo yesterday. **The** lion is a carnivore. (familiar)

However, it is not born out in French.

(i) J'ai vu des ours hier soir. Ils erraint dans Stanley Park.
I.have seen of.the bears last night they wander in Stanley Park
J'adore les ours.
I.love det bears
'I saw some bears last night. They were wandering around in Stanely Park. I love bears.'
(Hamida Demirdache, p.c.)

The status of generics in languages is still unclear, and deserves more discussion than that given here.

In example (106)b above, the D-determiner *lha* provides the context by which the name can be evaluated, and gives us the particular Kirsten we are talking about. Therefore, there could always be more than one Kirsten in the context. The D-determiner *lha* narrows the context down to the one under discussion. If there is only one such person in the world (like Gwyneth Paltrow's baby Apple, who is presumably the only person with that name), the domain restriction would end up being vacuous.

Historically, it is unclear whether people ever shared names in the Sḵwx̱wú7mesh community. Within the last 200 years, it was uncommon for people to share the same name, but it did still occur, perhaps because some of the names were lost (Peter Jacobs, p.c.) Even if there had been a ban on name-sharing, the D-determiner would still behave as if there were no such ban.

Matthewson (1998) claims that names are predicates in Salish; on this view the D-determiner would already be necessary to create an argument. However, I claimed above that names are not predicates, but entities. I also claim that the requirement that all arguments have D-determiners is still playing a role. Again, Salish languages require arguments to be marked syntactically as such, regardless of their semantic type. I further claim that the D-determiner is not only creating a syntactic argument, it is also narrowing the domain.

(107) a. $[\![\text{lha}]\!] = \lambda P\, f\iota x\, [P(y) \wedge C(x)]$

b. $[\![\text{lha Kirsten}]\!] = f(\iota x\, [\text{Kirsten}(y) \wedge C(x)])$

This leads us to another question. What about languages which lack D-determiners with proper names (as in English)? There are two options for the analysis of D-determinerless proper names. Proper names could differ across languages, where some require a D-determiner to create an argument (like Salish), whereas others do not require a D-determiner. This is similar to the expletive analysis. As a result the proper name in a Salish-type language would also have its domain narrowed, and in an English-type language, the proper name would not have its domain narrowed.

(108) Argument parameter:
Setting A: all arguments require D-determiners (regardless of semantic type)
Setting B: arguments do not require D-determiners

This analysis may explain why some languages seem to allow D-determiners, but do not force them. If a language has Setting B, the language is free to add D-determiners to any argument (including proper names). An example of a language which allows D-determiners (but does not require them) is Italian.

(109) a. **Gianni** mi ha telefonato. (Longobardi 1994: 622)
Gianni me has called
'Gianni called me up.'

b. **Il** Gianni mi ha telefonato.
det Gianni me has called
'Gianni called me up.'

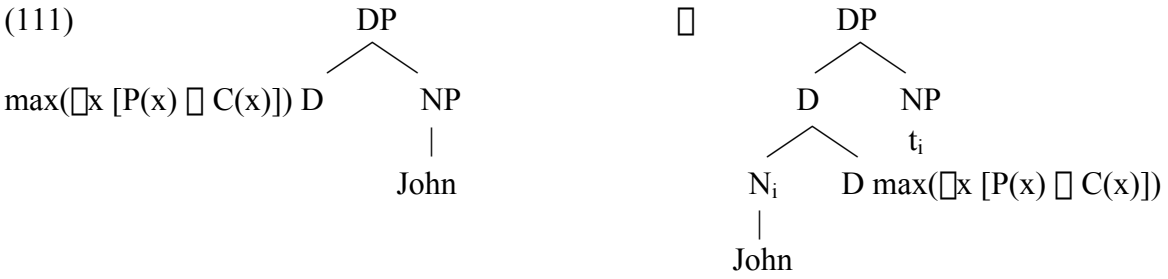
Here the D-determiner can be overt or covert. I take this as evidence that the D-determiner position is always available for proper names.

This leads to an analysis where *all* proper names have D-determiners. In this case, I predict that phonetically null D-determiners would restrict the domain of "articleless" proper names. Longobardi (1994) argued that null determiners were possible; however, the interpretation of his null D was existential. This is the wrong result for a proper name, under any normal assumption. Instead, he claimed that proper names moved to the empty D position, substituting for the D position.

(110)

If all proper names have (c)overt D-determiners, the N must not substitute for the D position because the D position must be able to restrict the domain. Further, this null D would only be phonetically null, not semantically null. So if there is N to D movement, it will involve adjunction, rather than substitution.

(111)



The fact that proper names appear to move to D (in Italian) could be motivated by a ban on phonetically null D positions.

6 Alternative analyses?

Now that I have demonstrated what claiming that *kwi* is a non-deictic D-determiner can explain, it is necessary to show that any other analysis will run into problems when accounting for the data.

6.1 *Kwi* is not like *ku* in St'át'imcets

An obvious analogy to *kwi* in Sḵwx̱wú7mesh is *ku* in St'át'imcets, described by Matthewson (1998). There are immediately apparent differences between these two elements. First, *ku* can only be used in polarity contexts (112), or as the object in morphologically intransitive clauses (113).

(112) a. túp-un'-as s-John **ti** plísmen-**a**.
punch-tr-3erg nom-John det policeman-exis
'John hit a policeman.'

b. * túp-un'-as s-John **ku** plísmen.
punch-tr-3erg nom-John det policeman
(St'át'imcets; Matthewson 1998)

(113) cuz' k'ác-cal **ku** stsáqwem kw s-Lémya7.
going.to dry-act.intr det saskatoon det nom-Lémya7
'Lémya7 is going to dry saskatoons.' (St'át'imcets; Davis and Matthewson 2003)

St'át'imcets *ku* may also be used on non-arguments, such as inside complex predicates, as we saw in §2.1. This is very different from Skwxwú7mesh *kwi*, which may only be used with arguments. I repeat the example (31) below.

(31) a. [gélgel (**ku**) sqaycw] kw-s John.
strong det man det-nom John
'John is a strong man.' (St'át'imcets; Matthewson 1998)

b. [íyim swí7ka] ta John.
strong man det John
'John is a strong man.' (Skwxwú7mesh)

c. * [íyim **kwi** swí7ka] ta John.
strong det man det John (Skwxwú7mesh)

Ku may also appear inside a relative clause, on the head, provided it is head-final. In Skwxwú7mesh, head-final relative clauses do not seem to be grammatical anymore. (See Kuipers 1967 for examples of head-final relative clauses.) In initial position, *kwi* may not co-occur with a deictic D-determiner.

(114) a. áts'x-en-lhkan [ta [xzúm-a (**ku**) spzúza7]].
see-tr-1sg.s det big-exis det bird
'I saw a big bird.' (St'át'imcets; Matthewson 1998)

b. Chen kw'ach-nexw [ta swi7ka [na hiyi]].
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det man rl big
'I saw the man who is big.' (Skwxwú7mesh)

c. * Chen kw'ach-nexw [ta **kwi** swi7ka [na hiyi]].
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det det man rl big (Skwxwú7mesh)

St'át'imcets *ku* may also be used with demonstratives. This is not true of *kwi*.[38]

(115) a. tecwp-mín-lhkan ti7 **ku** kaoh.
buy-appl-1sg.s dem det car
'I bought that car.' (St'át'imcets; Matthewson 1998)

b. Chen silh7-án táy' sts'úkwi7.
1sg.s buy-tr dem fish
'I bought that fish.' (Skwxwú7mesh)

[38] However, demonstratives and D-determiners never co-occur, so this difference may be irrelevant.

c. * Chen silh7-án táy' **kwi** sts'úkwi7.
1sg.s buy-tr dem det fish (Skwxwú7mesh)

Furthermore, *ku* may be used inside certain adverbial clauses. This is also not true of *kwi*.

(116) a. úxwal'-lhkan (**ku**) xwem.
go.home-1sg.s det fast
'I went home right away, quickly.' (St'át'imcets; Matthewson 1998)

b. Chen tskwátsut ts'áts'i7x.
1sg.s run quickly
'I ran quickly.' (Skwxwú7mesh)

c. * Chen tskwátsut **kwi** ts'áts'i7x.
1sg.s run det quickly (Skwxwú7mesh)

Whatever *ku* is, it is not the same as *kwi*. Some of the properties of *ku* may arise from the fact that it is also non-deictic (see Matthewson 1998, who argues exactly this), but it must also have other properties (such as polarity). See also Chapter 6 for more discussion of *ku*.

6.2 *Kwi* is not Longobardi's existential D

Since *kwi* takes obligatorily narrow scope, we may expect that it is the pronounced version of Longobardi's (1994) existential D-determiner. His description of the behaviour of the empty determiner in Italian is given below.

(117) Empty determiners may occur at S-Structure in Italian only under the following conditions:
a. They are restricted to plural or mass nouns like several other determiners.

b. They are subject to a lexical government requirement like other empty heads.

c. They receive an indefinite interpretation corresponding to an existential quantifier unspecified for number and taking the narrowest possible scope (default existential). (Longobardi 1994:617)

Longobardi also claims that the empty D-determiner cannot be used for proper names, days, months, etc. because they do not have the existential reading, or mass/plural reading required by empty D.

Assuming that this is true of all languages, any empty existential D-determiner should have the properties listed in (117). However, a pronounced version of this existential D-determiner should not be subject to a lexical government requirement, as it is no longer empty. The putative Skwxwú7mesh existential D-determiner should have the following features.

(118) *kwi* may occur at S-Structure in Skwxwú7mesh only under the following conditions:
a. It is restricted to plural or mass nouns.

b. It receives an indefinite interpretation corresponding to an existential quantifier unspecified for number and taking the narrowest possible scope.

(118)b does seem to be true for *kwi*. However, (118)a does not seem to be true, as *kwi* can occur with singular count nouns. As we have seen, some languages allow bare singulars (or numberless nominals), so this is not necessarily an argument against treating *kwi* as an existential D-determiner. A more compelling argument comes from the fact that *kwi* can be used to introduce proper names, if the referent is dead, or time periods, as long as it is not the present day (§3) .

Calling *kwi* an existential D-determiner would also not explain the lack of deictic features or its abilitity to be used partitively. Further, Longobardi does not explain why his existential D-determiner must take narrow scope. In this chapter I have appealed to Restrict as an explanation for the narrow scope behaviour.

6.3 *Kwi* is not an expletive D-determiner

Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) claim that in certain contexts languages require an expletive D-determiner. I have already claimed that there is no such thing as an expletive D-determiner; however, if expletive D-determiners really did exist, we might predict that *kwi* was the expletive version of the deictic D-determiners. There are many reasons not to think this is correct. First, expletive determiners are used for the Construction of Inalienable Possession, generics and names. However, there is no equivalent of the Construction of Inalienable Possession in Skwxwú7mesh. Possessive morphology is always preferred.

(119) a. Na kéxw-en-tsut ta stálmexw kwi-s sát-shit-as
rl *gather.together-tr-refl* *det* *people* *comp-nom* *give-appl-3erg*
ta stsátsi7n-s.
det *blood-3poss*
'The people donated their blood.'

b. Na kéxw-en-tsut ta stálmexw kwi-s sát-shit-as
rl *together-tr-refl* *det* *people* *comp-nom* *give-appl-3erg*
kwi stsátsi7n-s.
det *blood-3poss*

When translating from English, "generic" DPs can be introduced by either *kwi* or *ta*, suggesting that either both are 'expletive', or that Skwxwú7mesh DPs are not equivalent to kinds.

(120) a. Há7lh-s chen **ta** púsh.
good-caus *1sg.s* *det* *cat*
'I like cats.'

b. Há7lh-s chen **kwi** púsh.
good-caus *1sg.s* *det* *cat*
'I like cats.'

Finally, proper names are not introduced by *kwi*, unless the referent is dead (as we saw in §3).

(121) a. Na ílhen **ta** John.
rl *eat* *det* *John*
'John ate.'

b. * Na ílhen **kwi** John.
rl *eat* *det* *John*

We also saw above that *kwi* introduces some meaning to the NP: the contextual set. For all of these reasons I conclude that the D-determiner *kwi* is not an expletive determiner.

6.4 *Kwi* is not a Skwxwú7mesh-type quantifier

Another potential analysis of *kwi* is that it is a quantifier of some kind. Skwxwú7mesh has two quantifiers that are found in DPs: *i7xw* 'all' and *kex* 'many'. The non-deictic D-determiner *kwi* does not behave like either of them: *kwi* can be used with the verb of existence *tsi7*.

(122) a. Tsí7 **kwi** shá7yu ná7 ta-n lám'.
exist det ghost loc det-1sg.poss house
'There is a ghost in my house.'

b. * Tsí7 ta/kwi **kex** shá7yu ná7 ta-n lám'.[39]
exist det many ghost loc det-1sg.poss house

c. * Tsí7 **i7xw** ta/kwi shá7yu ná7 ta-n lám'.
exist all det ghost loc det-1sg.poss house

One of the quantifiers *kex*, like the numerals, can also be used in predicate position, unlike *kwi*.

(123) a. **Kex** kwi n-skwem-kwemáy'.
many det 1sg.poss-redup-dog
'I have many dogs.'

b. **Kex** ta-n skwem-kwemáy'.
many det-1sg.poss redup-dog
'I have many dogs.'

c. * **Kwi** ta-n skwem-kwemáy'.
det det-1sg.poss redup-dog
(Intended meaning: I have some dogs)

The quantifier *i7xw* 'all' also cannot be used in predicate position.

(124) * **Í7xw** kwi/ta skwem-kwemay'.
all det redup-dog
(Indended meaning: I have all the dogs.)

However, it is not possible to analyze *kwi* as a vague 'all'. The meaning of *kwi* is, if anything, the opposite of 'all', as it can be used to refer to a subset of the context.

6.5 *Kwi* and *ta* are not different kinds of definite determiners

The fact that *kwi* can be used in familiar contexts (i.e. the partitive contexts) means that it could be some kind of definite determiner. Of course, we would have to redefine what "definite" means, as all Skwxwú7mesh determiners can occur in novel contexts, including existential

[39] Matthewson (1998) argues that, in argument position, weak quantifiers in St'át'imcets are only given a proportional reading, and never a cardinal reading. If this is also true in Skwxwú7mesh, then the fact that the weak quantifier is as ungrammatical as the strong quantifier in this construction is explained.

sentences. Assuming, for the moment, that we can redefine definiteness in this way, *kwi* and *ta* could be different kinds of definite determiners, where *kwi* is used partitively and *ta* is used to refer to the entire set.

Some German dialects make a distinction between two definite determiners: North Frisian (Ebert 1971), Bavarian (Scheutz 1988), Armen (Heinrichs 1954) and Mönchengladbach (Hartmann 1982). One of the determiners, called the A-article by Ebert (1971), is used if the referent is known to the speaker by world knowledge (i.e. for uniquely referring DPs or generic DPs). The other one, called the D-article, is used for anaphoric and deictic use, where the referent has been introduced in the discourse.

		A-article	D-article
singular	masculine	a	di
	feminine/neutral	at	det
plural		a	dön

Table 5.3: The article system of Fering (adapted from Ebert 1971).

The D-article can be used anaphorically (125)a, or where the referent is visible in the physical context (125)b.

(125) a. Oki hee an hingst keeft. **Di** hingst haaltet.
Oki have? a horse bought D.m.sg horse lame
'Oki bought a horse. The horse was lame.'

b. **Dön** kaater kleesi
D.pl cat.pl scratch
'The/those cats are scratching.'

The A-article is used with unique objects (126)a, generics (126)b, or referents which are unique within a situation (126)c.

(126) a. **a** san
A.m.sg sun
'the sun'

b. * **di** san
D.m.sg sun (Frisian; Ebert 1971:160)

c. **A** kaater kleesi.
A.pl cat.pl scratch
'Cats scratch'

d. Ik skal deel tu **a** kuupmaan.
I must go to A.m.sg grocer
'I must go (down) to the grocer.'

If Sḵwx̱wú7mesh determiners made the same distinction, we would predict that the determiner used for the uniquely referring NPs (such as *sun*) should be used in generic contexts (if they indeed exist). However, generic contexts allow either determiner.

(127) Ha7lh-s chen **ta/kwi** push.
good-caus 1sg.s det cat
'I like cats.'

Further, we would predict that different determiners should be used in anaphoric and deictic contexts from the uniquely referring DPs. However, the deictic determiner *ta* is used in anaphoric contexts *and* for uniquely referring NPs. The non-deictic D-determiner *kwi* can be used in anaphoric contexts, but not for uniquely referring DPs, because the speaker is able to locate them.

(128) a. Na te7ús-em (t-)**ta** ní7ch'.
rl look.out-intr (obl-)det sea
'He looked out at the sea.' (Kuipers 1967:236)

b. * Na te7ús-em t-**kwi** ní7ch'.
rl look.out-intr obl-det sea

(129) a. An tutáw **ta** lhḵáych'.
very bright det moon
'The moon is bright.'

b. * An tutáw **kwi** lhḵáych'.
very bright det moon

The distinction cannot be along these lines.

7 Conclusions and Implications

I have argued that the D-determiner *kwi* is crucially non-deictic. Further, I have argued that it is a non-deictic D-determiner with no other features (such as assertion of uniqueness). This has

implications for how the D-determiner can be interpreted. I have argued that it is composed via Restrict, which entails that it must be interpreted with narrow scope. It also has implications for which subject position it may occupy (crucially, a lower subject position).

I have also argued that *kwi*, as a D-determiner, must have domain restriction in its denotation.

(130) [[kwi]] = □P □x [P(y) □ C(x)]

This allows *kwi* to be used to refer to a previously introduced discourse referent, unlike bare nouns.

When a *kwi* DP is used in a sentence, that sentence does not carry an implicature of uniqueness, unlike sentences containing deictic D-determiners. I argued that this lack of uniquness is derived from the lack of deictic features. The non-deictic D-determiner can be used partively precisely because it has no deictic features.