

Chapter Four: The deictic D-determiners

1 Introduction

In the last chapter, I provided an analysis for English *the*. I argued that *the* asserts the uniqueness of the referent. I also argued that it (as well as all other D-determiners) includes domain restriction (C) in its denotation; this C is intersected with the denotation of the NP. With this in mind, we can now turn to the D-determiners in Skwxwú7mesh.¹ In this chapter, I will provide an analysis of the deictic D-determiners *tallha*, *ti/tsi*, and *kwal/kwelha*.² The non-deictic D-determiner is analyzed in Chapter 5.

As I suggested in Chapter 3, a D-determiner that does not assert the uniqueness of its referent can be used in both novel and familiar contexts. In Skwxwú7mesh, the deictic D-determiners are used in both novel and familiar contexts (§2).³

Unlike *the* in English, the deictic D-determiners in Skwxwú7mesh also do not assert the uniqueness of their referents, as I show in §3. However, sentences with deictic DPs usually carry an implicature of uniqueness. This implicature does not arise if the pragmatics otherwise do not allow it, and it can also be canceled in certain contexts, discussed below.

In §4, I provide an analysis of the interaction of domain restriction and lack of uniqueness in Skwxwú7mesh. The fact that the deictic D-determiners need not be familiar can be derived from the fact that, as we saw in Chapter 2, all arguments require D-determiners. This requirement forces the D-determiners to not assert the uniqueness/maximality of their referent. If it were the case that the D-determiners asserted their uniqueness, it would be difficult to begin conversations, as the domain C would never be narrowed enough for the DP to refer to a unique individual. For example, in (1), the DP *the bear* cannot refer to any particular bear because C contains all bears in the domain D_e . The intersection of *bear* and C contains the same individuals as *bear*. There is no unique individual that belongs to both *bear* and C.

¹ Recall that the term D-determiners excludes quantifiers, numerals and demonstratives.

² These are gender-neutral and feminine pairs.

³ Proper names are (usually) familiar, but this familiarity is not marked by the choice of determiner.

- (1) a. # I saw **the** bear. (novel) $C_{\text{the bear}} = D_e$
 b. $[[\text{the bear}]] = \max(\lambda x [\text{bear}'(x) \cap C(x)]) = \emptyset$

A D-determiner that does *not* assert the uniqueness of the referent of its DP allows the hearer to narrow the domain C to an entity that satisfies the descriptive content of the NP because the hearer does not need to assume that it is a unique entity. The domain includes all bears, but here the function variable assigns an individual to the property supplied by the NP.

- (2) a. Chen kwelash-t **ta** mixalh. (novel) $C_{\text{ta mixalh}} = D_e$
Isg.s shoot-tr det bear
 'I shot a bear.'
 b. $[[\text{ta mixalh}]] = f(\lambda x [\text{bear}'(x) \cap C(x)]) = \text{bear}_i$ $C = \{\text{bear}_i\}$

A D-determiner that carries an assertion of uniqueness, on the other hand, cannot be understood, unless the hearer knows how to narrow the domain.

In §5, I discuss co-reference effects of Skwxwú7mesh DPs. DPs are usually co-referent across clauses and sentences, unless pragmatics forces them to refer to different entities. I argue that this a result of having domain restriction.

The deictic D-determiners do not assert uniqueness, nor must they be used in familiar contexts; instead they encode deictic information. The D-determiners have [proximal], [neutral], [distal] and [invisible] features, as I showed in Chapter 2.

- (3) a. $\begin{array}{c} \text{DP} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{D} \quad \text{NP} \\ [\text{prox}] \\ | \\ ti \end{array}$ b. $\begin{array}{c} \text{DP} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{D} \quad \text{NP} \\ [\text{neut}] \\ | \\ ta \end{array}$ c. $\begin{array}{c} \text{DP} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{D} \quad \text{NP} \\ [\text{dist, invis}] \\ | \\ kwa \end{array}$ d. $\begin{array}{c} \text{DP}^4 \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{D} \quad \text{NP} \\ | \\ kwi \end{array}$

I treat this information in terms of presuppositional features in §6.

In this chapter I argue that domain restriction is present in the representation of all deictic D-determiners.

⁴ See Chapter 5 for arguments that *kwi* lacks deictic features.

2 No novelty/familiarity distinction in Skw̥wú7mesh

The distinction between familiar and novel DPs is lacking in Skw̥wú7mesh (Gillon 2003). This can be seen in both elicitation and textual contexts. The deictic D-determiners can be translated as either indefinite or definite, depending on the context.⁵

- (4) Chen kw'ach-nexw **ta/ti/kwa** swi7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det man
 'I saw a/the man.'

They are used when the speaker is familiar with the referent; it does not matter if the hearer is familiar with the referent or not (Kuipers 1967; see also Chapter 4).

In the next two sections, I will show that neither discourse old/new nor hearer old/new (Prince 1992; see also Chapter 3 for discussion) is encoded by the D-determiners.

2.1 Discourse new vs. discourse old

The deictic D-determiners can be used in both discourse-new and discourse-old contexts. The deictic D-determiner *ta* can be used to introduce both novel and familiar referents. In the example below, 'the barrel (full of molasses)' *ta k'ek'i7as* and 'molasses' *ta mlashis* are first introduced in the story, using the D-determiner *ta*.

- (5) Uyulh-shit-em-wit **ta** k'ek'i7as si7ich' **ta** mlashis.
canoe-appl-pass-3pl det barrel full det molasses
 'A barrel of molasses was put aboard for them.' (discourse-new)
 (Kuipers 1967: 238)

In the next example, the referent 'the big basket' is introduced using demonstrative *kwetsi*. Later in the text, the D-determiner *ta* is used to refer back to the now-familiar basket.

⁵ In elicitation contexts, *ta*, *ti* and *kwa* are often given definite interpretations, even in cases where native speakers of English would not use definites. As we will see below, the speakers provide definite (non-partitive) translations for the D-determiners even where the context provided should not allow it. In these cases, native English speakers would be required to use a partitive. A possible explanation for this difference is that the Skw̥wú7mesh consultants learned English too late to acquire the uniqueness assertion of *the*. This is evidence that we cannot rely on translations as a clue to definiteness, but must instead rely on the contexts in which sentences are used.

- (6) Na mi uys kwelhi hiyi slhanay', chem-chem'a7s-t-as
rl come in dem.f big woman redup-carry.on.back-tr-3erg
kwetsi hiyi sitn.
dem big basket
 'A big woman came in, carrying a large basket on her back.'
 ... s-e-s men tsexws-t-as ta staw'xwelh txwta7 t-ta sitn.
nom-rl-3poss just throw-tr-3erg det child into obl-det basket
 '...and she threw the children in the basket...' (discourse-old)
 (Kuipers 1967: 219-220)

This pattern is consistent in elicited data as well. In the example below, the DP *ta míxalh* can introduce the referent ('a bear'), and can be used to refer back to the familiar referent ('the bear').

- (7) Chen-t wa í-7imesh. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta** míxalh.
Isg.s-pst impf redup-walk Isg.s look-tr(lc) det bear
 'I was walking. I saw a bear.' (discourse-new)
Ta míxalh na mi ch'i-ch'áy-s-t-ts-as.
det bear rl come redup-follow-caus-tr-1sg.o-3erg
 'The bear followed me.' (discourse-old)

Similarly, *ti* can be used in both discourse-new and -old cases. In the example below, which is taken from a text, the new referent 'what he thought to be a floating island with trees on it' is introduced using the deictic D-determiner *ti*. Later in the text, the now-familiar island can be referred back to using *ti*.

- (8) Na te7úsem (t-)ta ní7ch, na kw'ách-nexw-as
rl look (obl-)det sea rl look-tr(lc)-3erg
ti tsún-t-as sesí7x skwtsá7s stíta7 **ti** stsék-tsek.
det call-tr-3erg float island on det redup-tree
 'He looked out at the sea and saw what he thought to be a floating island with trees on it.' (discourse-new)
 ...S-e-s men shich'án-t-as-wit **ti** tsún-t-as-wit
nom-rl-3poss just circle-tr-3erg-3pl det call-tr-3erg-3pl
 skwtsá7s.
island
 'Then they circled around this would-be island.' (discourse-old)
 (Kuipers 1967: 236-7)

This is seen in elicitation as well.

- (9) Chen-t wa í-7imesh. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ti** míxalh.
Isg.s-pst impf redup-walk Isg.s look-tr(lc) det bear
 'I was walking. I saw a bear.' (discourse-new)
Ti míxalh na mi ch'i-ch'áy-s-t-ts-as.
det bear rl come redup-follow-caus-tr-1sg.o-3erg
 'The bear followed me.' (discourse-old)

The distal D-determiner *kwa* can be used in discourse-new and discourse-old cases as well. The example below is of a discourse-new DP 'a spot upstream'.

- (10) Na txwta7 t-**kwa** s(h)iw-s...
rl come obl-det upstream-3poss
 'He came to a spot upstream....' (discourse-new)
 (Kuipers 1967: 234)

In the example below, the D-determiner *kwa* is used in a discourse new context (where the spot upstream is introduced to the discourse), and then in a discourse old context (where that same spot is referred back to).

- (11) S-e-s men nám' kwétsi schíshn txw-nám' t-**kwa**
nom-rl-3poss just go dem messenger dir-go obl-det
 txw-7úmich, nám' k'áp'-n-m kwi tiná7
dir-upstream.region go include-tr-pass det from
 t-kwa Chiákmesh.
obl-det Chiákmesh
 'Then messengers were sent upstream as far as Chiákmesh.' (discourse-new)
 S-e-s men mi wúkw' kwétsi-wit tiná7 t-**kwa** híw...
nom-rl-3poss just come down dem-3pl from obl-det upstream
 'Then the people from upstream came down...' (discourse-old)
 (Kuipers 1967: 236-7)

The D-determiners do not differentiate between a discourse-new or -old environment. However, this is not the only possible way to encode familiarity. Familiarity effects are also sensitive to hearer-new and hearer-old status (Prince 1992).

2.2 Hearer new vs. hearer old

Theoretically, the deictic D-determiners could encode a hearer-new versus hearer-old contrast. However, all of the deictic D-determiners can be used in both hearer-new and hearer-old contexts (Prince 1992; see also Chapter 3).

The D-determiner *ta* does not distinguish between hearer-old and hearer-new referents. It can introduce a new referent to the hearer, as in (5), repeated below.

- (5) Úyulh-shit-em-wit **ta** k'ek'i7ás si7ich' **ta** mláshis.
canoe-appl-pass-3pl det barrel full det molasses
 'A barrel of molasses was put aboard for them.' (hearer-new)
 (Kuipers 1967: 238)

This same D-determiner can occur with place names, such as the place name *St'a7mes*, proper names, such as *Xwech'tal'*, as well as the sun and the moon. All of these are hearer-old referents.

- (12) a. Tiná7 **tl'a**⁶ St'a7mes **ta** Xwéch'tal'.
from obl.det St'a7mes det Xwech'tal'
 'Xwech'tal' came from the village St'a7mes.' (hearer-old)
 (Kuipers 1967: 230)
- b. An tutáw **ta** snékwem/ta lhkáych.
very bright det sun/det moon
 'The sun/the moon is very bright.' (hearer-old)

The D-determiner *ti* can also be used to refer to both hearer-old and hearer-new referents. It can be used when the speaker introduces a new referent to the hearer.

- (13) Chen kwélash-t **ti** míxalh kwi chel'áklh. An iyím.
Isg.s shoot-tr det bear det yesterday very strong
 'I shot a bear yesterday. It was very strong.' (hearer-new)

It can also be used to refer to a referent known to the hearer, such as *ti tmixw* 'the ground/earth', or for a place name, such as *ti eslha7an*.

⁶ Recall that the determiner *ta* and the oblique marker *t* combine to make *tl'a* with proper names and pronouns (Kuipers 1967).

- (14) a. Nílh melh kwi-s-e-s-kw xwákw'i-wit na tsút-wit
foc then comp-nom-rl-3poss-already got.drunk-3pl rl say-3pl
 kwi-s-e-s shich'-án-tsut í7xw, s-kwekwi-7ín'-tsut-s
comp-nom-rl-3poss circle-tr-refl all nom-behave-tr-refl-3poss
ti tmíxw.
det earth
 'Then when they got drunk they thought that everything was spinning around and
 that the ground was moving in all directions.' (hearer-old)
 (Kuipers 1967: 239)
- b. Men yálh s-en mi tl'ík **ti** eslha7án.
just finally nom-1sg.sbj come arrive det eslha7án
 'I just arrived in Eslha7an (a part of North Vancouver).' (hearer-old)

The D-determiner *kwa* can be used to introduce a referent to the hearer, as in *kwa siws* 'a spot upstream'. It can also be used when the referent is known to the hearer, as in *kwa Skwáwú7mesh* 'Squamish', or *kwa Chiákmesh*, both place names, as well as for proper names, such as *Bill*.

- (15) a. Na txwtá7 t-kwa s(h)íw-s (hearer-new)
rl come obl-det upstream-3poss
 t-kwa Skwáwú7mesh kwi-s-e-s kéw. (hearer-old)
obl-det Squamish comp-nom-rl-3poss descend
 'He came to a spot upstream from Squamish when he descended.'
 (Kuipers 1967: 233)
- b. S-e-s men nám' kwetsi schíshn txw-nám' t-kwa
nom-rl-3poss just go dem messenger dir-go obl-det
 txw-7úmich, nám' k'áp'-n-m kwi tiná7
dir-upstream.region go include-tr-pass det from
 t-kwa Chiákmesh.
obl-det Chiákmesh
 'Then messengers were sent upstream as far as Cheakamus.' (hearer old)
 (Kuipers 1967: 236-7)
- c. Na lulum kwa Bill.
rl sing det Bill
 'Bill sang.' (hearer-old)

The D-determiner *kwa* does not distinguish between hearer-old or -new referents.

Further, all of the deictic D-determiners can be used in existential contexts. The DPs in existential contexts are both hearer and discourse new.

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

The D-determiners therefore do not make reference to either the hearer-new/old distinction or the discourse-new/old distinction. In the next section, I show that the D-determiners also do not assert uniqueness.

3 Uniqueness in Skw̥wú7mesh

The D-determiners in Skw̥wú7mesh do not assert uniqueness, unlike the D-determiner *the* in English. Skw̥wú7mesh is not totally devoid of uniqueness effects, however. Sentences containing a deictic DP usually carry an implicature of uniqueness, which can be canceled in certain contexts (§3.2 and §3.3).

3.1 No assertion of uniqueness

Unlike English *the*, Skw̥wú7mesh D-determiners do not assert the uniqueness of their referent. For example, the D-determiner *ta* can be used in a context where the DP is *not* the unique referent, as in (17) below. There were two cups, equidistant from the speaker. They were exactly the same shape, size and colour. Neither was more salient than the other. In this context, (17) is perfectly felicitous. (It should be noted that the speaker is *not* asking for both of the cups.)

- (17) Mí7-shit-s chexw **ta** lapát.
come-appl-caus 2sg.s det cup
 'Bring me one of the cups.' (translated as 'bring me the cup')
Consultant's comment: "You're not asking for a specific one."

This same effect can be seen with mass nouns and plurals. In (18)a, the DP *ta slhum'* 'the/some soup' does not have to refer to the entire mass of contextually relevant soup. In (18)b, the DP *ta skwelkwelam* 'the/some berries' also does not have to refer to all of the contextually relevant berries.

- (18) a. Chen húy'-s **ta** slhúm'. Tsí7-xw **ta** slhúm' ná7
Isg.s *finish-caus* *det* *soup* *exist-still* *det* *soup* *loc*
 ta nk^{wí}7stn.
 det *pot*
 'I ate some soup. There's still some soup in the pot.'
 (translated as 'I ate the soup and there's still some soup in the pot.')
- b. Chen húy'-s **ta** skwel-kwelám, welh ná7
Isg.s *finish-caus* *det* *redup-berry* *conj* *loc*
 ta na púkw-i7. S-en men háw k-'an
 det *rl* *mould-inch* *nom-1sg.sbj* *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...')

This is different from *the*, which I argued in Chapter 3 asserts uniqueness. Instead, sentences with deictic D-determiners only carry an implicature of uniqueness, as I show in the next section.

3.2 Implicature of uniqueness

Although the D-determiners do not assert uniqueness, most sentences with a deictic DP carry an implicature of uniqueness. In the example below, *ta míxalh* refers to one bear. This sentence carries the implicature that it is the only bear in the context.

- (19) Chen kwélash-t **ta** míxalh kwi cheláklh.
Isg.s *shoot-tr* *det* *bear* *det* *yesterday*
 'I shot a bear yesterday.'

This implicature arises because of the presence of domain restriction. If the D-determiner is associated with domain restriction, then the easiest way to interpret the DP is if the intersection of the domain restriction and the set of the NP gives the unique individual that is the referent of the DP.

This implicature of uniqueness can be cancelled, as we saw in (18) above. Another example is given below.

- (20) a. Chen kwélash-t **ta/tsi** míxalh kwi cheláklh. Chen kw'ách-nexw
Isg.s shoot-tr det bear det yesterday rl look-tr(lc)
 ta/tsi chánat míxalh, welh na tl'íw'-numut-wit.
det three bears conj rl escape-refl-3pl
 'I shot a bear yesterday. I saw three bears, but some escaped.'
- b. Chen múkwts **kwa** si-wí7ka welh háw k'an i
Isg.s kiss det redup-man conj neg irr-Isg.sbj prox
 múkwts kwa John.
kiss det John
 'I kissed some of the men, but I didn't kiss John.'
 (translated as 'I kissed the men, but I didn't kiss John.')

3.3 Implicature of maximality

Mass nouns behave very similarly to the singular count nouns. A mass DP usually refers to the entire mass.

- (21) Chen húy'-s **ta** slhúm'.
Isg.s finish-caus det soup
 'I ate the soup.' (all of the soup in your bowl, for example)

Like singular count nouns, this implicature of uniqueness can be canceled. This can be seen in the examples below.⁷

- (22) a. Chen húy'-s **ta** slhúm'. Tsí7-xw **ta** slhúm' ná7
Isg.s finish-caus det soup exist-still det soup loc
 ta nkúwí7stn.
det pot
 'I ate some soup. There's still some soup in the pot.'
 (translated as 'I ate the soup and there's still some soup in the pot.')
- b. Chen tákw **ta/ti** stákw.
Isg.s drink det water
 'I drank some of the water.'
 (translated as 'I drank the water')
 Context: I drank some water from my cup, but left some behind.

⁷ Examples of mass nouns with *kwa* are difficult (if not impossible) to construct. As discussed in Chapter 3, *kwa* is only used when the referent is "interesting" enough.

Sentences containing a deictic DP carry an implicature of uniqueness: the hearer expects the referent to be unique in any given context, unless the context rules that uniqueness out, or the implicature is canceled. They cannot carry an assertion of uniqueness, as the DP is often interpreted as non-unique.

Plural nouns behave similarly to the singular and mass nouns. When a plural referent is introduced into the discourse, a following DP with the same descriptive content will (usually) refer to the entire group. If a plural DP is introduced, it is difficult to get a subset of that group, even when the speaker uses a number-neutral DP. For example, in (23), the DP *lha slhanay'* cannot refer to a subset of the group.

- (23) Xa7útsn slhánay' na mi úy's.
four woman rl come inside
 ?? Chen kwíkwí-s **lha** slhánay'.
Isg.s talk-caus det.f woman
 'Four women came in. I talked to all of the women/*one of the women/*some of the women.'

Instead, the DP must refer to the maximal set denoted by the NP.⁸ Sentences containing plural deictic DPs carry an implicature of the maximality of their referents.

- (24) a. Chen nam ch'áatl'am kwi chel'áklh. Chen kw'ách-nexw
Isg.s go hunt/track det yesterday Isg.s look-tr(lc)
 tsi xa7útsn míxalh. S-en men kwélash-t
det four bear nom-Isg.sbj just shoot-tr
ta/tsi mex-míxalh.
det redup-bear

'I went hunting yesterday. I saw four bears. I shot all the/*some of the bears.'
Consultant's comment: "How can you shoot all four bears?"

- b. Xa7útsn swí7ka na mi úy's.
four man rl come inside
 Chen múkwts **kwa** si-wí7ka.
Isg.s kiss det redup-man
 'Four men came inside. I kissed all the men.'

⁸ As the DP refers to a plural referent, the speakers prefer the DP to be marked plural.

- (i) Xa7útsn slhánay' na mi úy's.
four woman rl come inside
 Chen kwíkwí-s **lha** slhen-lhánay'.
Isg.s talk-caus det.f redup-woman

'Four women came in. I talked to all of the women/*one of the women/*some of the women.'

Regardless, only the plural interpretation is available for the DP *lha slhanay'*.

This effect is often seen in ‘out-of-the-blue’ cases. The consultants typically offer an ‘all of the’ translation.

- (25) a. Chen húy-s **ta** **skwel-kwelám.**
Isg.s finish-caus det redup-berry
 ‘I ate all the berries.’⁹
- b. Chen múkwts **kwa** **si-wí7ka.**
Isg.s kiss det redup-man
 ‘I kissed all the men.’

This effect is strong, but it too can be canceled. For example, in (26)a, the DP *ta mexmixalh* ‘the bears’ is interpreted as referring to all four bears until the clause *welh na tl’íw’numut ta nch’u7 mixalh* ‘but one bear managed to escape’ cancels the implicature of maximality.¹⁰ When collecting this piece of data, one of the speakers translated every sentence as I gave the *Skwxwú7mesh*. She translated *sen men kwelasht ta mexmixalh* as ‘I shot all the bears’. Only after I finished the last clause *welh na tl’íw’numut ta nch’u7 mixalh* ‘but one bear escaped’ did the consultants understand *sen men kwelahst ta mexmixalh* as ‘I shot some of the bears’.

- (26) Chen nam ch’áatl’am kwi chel’áklh. Chen kw’ách-nexw
Isg.s go hunt/track det yesterday Isg.s look-tr(lc)
 ta xa7útsn míxalh. S-en men kwélash-t
det four bear nom-Isg.sbj just shoot-tr
ta mex-míxalh, welh na tl’íw’-numut
det redup-bear conj rl escape-refl
ta nch’u7 míxalh.
det one bear

‘I went hunting yesterday. I saw four bears. I shot some of the bears, but one of them escaped.’

(translated as ‘...I shot the bears, but one of them escaped.’)

Similarly, in (27), *ta skwelkwelam* is interpreted as referring to all of the berries, until the second clause *welh na7 ta na pukwi7* ‘but some of them were mouldy’ is added.

⁹ In this case, the plural can refer to all different kinds of berries.

¹⁰ In English, *shot* allows the sentence to be true if the animal is only wounded. In *Skwxwú7mesh*, however, the verb *kwelasht* strongly implies the death of the animal.

- (27) Chen húy-s **ta** **skwel-kwelám,** welh ná7
Isg.s *finish-caus* *det* *redup-berry* *conj* *loc*
 ta na púkw-i7. S-en men háw k-’an
 det *rl* *mould-inch* *nom-Isg.poss* *just* *neg* *irr-Isg.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...’)

In cases where the number is unmarked, the effect is the same.

- (28) a. Chen húy-s **ta** **skwelám,** welh ná7-t
 Isg.s *finish-caus* *det* *berry* *conj* *loc-pst*
 ta na púkw-i7. S-en men háw k-’an
 det *rl* *mould-inch* *nom-Isg.sbj* *just* *neg* *irr-Isg.sbj*
 húy’-s ta na púkw-i7.
 finish-caus *det* *rl* *mould-inch*
- ‘I ate some berries, but some of them were mouldy, so I didn’t eat the mouldy ones.’
 (translated as ‘I ate the berries...’)
- b. Chen húy-s **ti** **skwelám,** welh ná7-t
 Isg.s *finish-caus* *det* *berry* *conj* *loc-pst*
 ti na púkw-i7. S-en men háw k-’an
 det *rl* *mould-inch* *nom-Isg.sbj* *just* *neg* *irr-Isg.sbj*
 húy’-s ti na púkw-i7.
 finish-caus *det* *rl* *mould-inch*
- ‘I ate some berries, but some of them were mouldy, so I didn’t eat the mouldy ones.’
 (translated as ‘I ate the berries...’)
- c. Xa7útsn swí7ka na mi úys. Chen múkwts **kwa** swí7ka
 four *man* *rl* *come* *inside* *Isg.s* *kiss* *det* *man*
 welh háw k-’an i múkwts kwa John.
 conj *neg* *irr-Isg.sbj* *prox* *kiss* *det* *John*
- ‘Four men came inside. I kissed some of the men, but I didn’t kiss John.’
 (translated as ‘I kissed the men, but I didn’t kiss John.’)

Skwwú7mesh plurals are different from definite plurals in English in that they do not assert the maximality of their NP.

3.4 Summary

D-determiners in $S_{kwxwú7}$ mesh do not assert the uniqueness/maximality of their referent. However, sentences containing deictic DPs carry an implicature of uniqueness which can be canceled or does not arise, if the situation does not allow it. The deictic D-determiners are different from the definite D-determiner in English, which asserts the uniqueness of its referent. The last remaining D-determiner (the non-deictic determiner) is also not a candidate for a definite D-determiner (see Chapter 5). If there is no set of definite D-determiners in $S_{kwxwú7}$ mesh, then by definition there can be no definite/indefinite distinction.

4 Domain restriction and the deictic D-determiners

So far, I have shown that deictic D-determiners are unlike English *the* in that they lack assertion of uniqueness. In general, however, sentences containing deictic D-determiners carry an implicature of uniqueness. In this section, I argue that domain restriction is necessary to capture this implicature. The deictic D-determiners have something in common with *the*: domain restriction.

4.1 Why choice functions?

Before I provide the analysis of the deictic D-determiners as being associated with domain restriction, it is necessary to explain the formalism I have adopted. Here I explain why I adopt a choice function analysis of the deictic D-determiners.

I treat the deictic D-determiners in $S_{kwxwú7}$ mesh as choice functions (cf. Reinhart 1997, Winter 1997, Matthewson 1999, among many others).

$$(29) \quad [[ta]] = \lambda P \lambda x [P(x) \wedge C(x)]$$

The function variable assigns an individual to the property supplied by the NP. Existential closure can apply at any point in the clause. In other words, they compose via Specify (cf. Chung and Ladusaw 2004).

(30) $[[ta\ mi\grave{x}alh]] = f(\lambda x [\text{bear}'(x) \cap C(x)])$

The DP *ta mi \grave{x} alh* will refer to an individual which is assigned by the choice function. This individual will also be a member of the set C. The choice of individual will therefore not be random, but determined by the context.

I treat the deictic D-determiners as choice functions for two reasons. First, because deictic DPs can escape islands, as mentioned in Chapter 3. In example (31) below, the DP *ta s7ixwelh* ‘a child’ can take wide scope with respect to the universal quantifier. The DP escapes the conditional clause.

(31) $\begin{array}{lllllllll} i7\grave{x}w & ta & nexw7usi\grave{a}lh & wa7 & ek' & seselkw & [u & \underline{k} & huya7-as \\ all & det & teacher & impf & fut & sad & if & irr & leave-3sbj \\ & ta & s7ixwelh]. & & & & & & \\ & det & child & & & & & & \end{array}$

‘All the teachers will be sad if a child leaves.’

$\lambda x [\text{*child}'(x) \cap [\text{leave}'(x) \cap \lambda y [\text{*teacher}'(y) \cap \text{sad}'(y)]]]$

Second, in novel contexts, the choice function becomes necessary in order for the DP to refer to a particular individual, and not the entire domain of entities matching the description of the NP.

(32) a. $\begin{array}{llllll} \text{Chen} & kw\acute{e}lash-t & \mathbf{ta} & mi\grave{x}alh. & (\text{novel}) & C_{ta\ mi\grave{x}alh} = D_e \\ Isg.s & shoot-tr & det & bear & & \\ \text{'I shot a bear.'} & & & & & \end{array}$

b. $[[ta\ mi\grave{x}alh]] = f(\lambda x [\text{*bear}'(x) \cap C(x)]) = bear_i$ $C_{ta\ mi\grave{x}alh} = \{bear_i\}$

There is a problem with this analysis, however. Most deictic DPs (*ta* and *ti* DPs) can take narrow scope with respect to negation ((33)a), but must take wide scope with respect to other operators ((33)b and c).

(33) a. $\begin{array}{llllll} H\acute{a}w & \underline{k}\text{'-}an & i & y\acute{e}l\grave{x}\text{-}t & ta & swi7ka. \\ neg & irr-Isg.sbj & prox & find-tr & det & man \\ \text{'I didn't find a man.'} & & & & & \end{array}$
 $\lambda f \lambda I [\text{find}'(f(\text{*man}'))(I)]$
 $\lambda I \lambda f [\text{find}'(f(\text{*man}'))(I)]$

- b. Chanat-álh s-en melyí ta swí7ka.
three-times nom-1sg.sbj get.married det man
 ‘I married a/the man three times.’
 $\square f$ 3times [marry’(f(*man’))(I)]
 \neq 3times $\square f$ [marry’(f(*man’))(I)]
- c. i7xw slhen-lhanay’ na mukwts ta s7ixwelh.
all redup-woman rl kiss det child
 ‘Every woman kissed a/the child.’
 $\square f \square y$ [\square woman’(y) \square kiss’(f(*child’))(I)]
 $\neq \square y \square f$ [\square woman’(y) \square kiss’(f(*child’))(I)]

The scopal behaviour of the deictic DPs is mysterious.

I have adopted a Specify analysis of choice functions for $S_{kw}wú7$ mesh DPs. Choice functions, under a Specify analysis, should either be existentially closed (i) at any point of the derivation, or (ii) at the top-most point, depending on the language (Chung and Ladusaw 2004). However, in $S_{kw}wú7$ mesh, the existential closure appears to apply either at the top of the clause, or at the top of the sentence. If this is true, I must assume that negative sentences are bi-clausal, as argued by Davis (2005) (contra Gillon 2002), and that the existential closure can apply at the highest level of the embedded clause, or the highest level of the sentence

More research is required into this behaviour. In this thesis I focus on the ability of the deictic DPs to take wide scope, and not the exact position of their scope.

4.2 Domain restriction and implicature of uniqueness

In $S_{kw}wú7$ mesh, none of the D-determiners assert the uniqueness of their referents. However, sentences containing deictic D-determiners carry an implicature of uniqueness. I argue that this follows from domain restriction. This restriction is part of the denotation of the D-determiners, as given in (34)b below. I compare this denotation to the one I gave for *the* in Chapter 3.

- (34) a $\llbracket \text{the} \rrbracket = \square P \max(\square x [P(x) \square C(x)])$
 b $\llbracket \text{ta} \rrbracket = \square P f(\square x [P(x) \square C(x)])$

Domain restriction is a necessary part of the denotation of $S_{kw}wú7$ mesh D-determiners just as much as they are of the English definite D-determiner. This is because DPs in

S_kw_xwú7mesh are also sensitive to the context they are used in. For example, across sentences, DPs must refer to the same individual.

- (35) a. Chen nam ch'áatl'am kwi chel'áklh. S-en men
Isg.s go hunt/track det yesterday nom-Isg.sbj just
kw'ách-nexw ta míxalh. S-en men
look-tr(lc) det bear nom-Isg.sbj just
kw'élash-t ta míxalh.
shoot-tr det bear
'I went hunting. I saw a bear. I shot the bear.'
- b. Sen men kw'áchnexw ta míxalh. $C_{ta\ míxalh} = D_e$
- c. [[ta míxalh]] = {bear_i}
- d. Sen men kw'élasht ta míxalh. $C_{ta\ míxalh} = \{bear_i\}$
- e. [[ta míxalh]] = {bear_i}

In (36)a, the DP *ta slhum'* 'some soup' refers to the same soup under discussion, not another, entirely new, pot of soup. Nor does it mean all of the soup in the world.

- (36) a. Chen húy'-s ta slhúm'. Tsí7-xw ta slhúm' ná7
Isg.s finish-caus det soup exist-still det soup loc
ta nk_wí7stn.
det pot
'I ate some soup. There's still some soup in the pot.'
(translated as 'I ate the soup and there's still some soup in the pot.')
- b. Chen húy's ta slhúm'. $C_{ta\ slhum'} = D_e$
- c. [[ta slhum']] = {soup_i}
- d. Tsí7-xw ta slhum' ná7 ta nk_wí7stn. $C_{ta\ slhum'} = \{soup_i\}$
- e. [[ta slhum']] = {soup_i}

Similarly, in (37), the DP *ta mexmíxalh* 'the bears' refers to the set of bears already under discussion, not a wholly new set of bears, or the entire set of bears in the world. In (37)b, the DP *tsi xa7utsn míxalh* 'four bears' is used in a novel context. The domain restriction is the entire domain. However, in (37)d, the DP *tsi mexmíxalh* 'the bears' is used in a familiar context, and

the domain is restricted to the previously introduced bears. The DP refers to all four of those bears (37)e.

- (37) a. Chen nam ch'áatl'am kwi chel'áklh. Chen kw'ách-nexw
Isg.s go hunt/track det yesterday Isg.s look-tr(lc)
 tsi xa7útsn míxalh. S-en men kwélash-t
det.f four bear nom-Isg.sbj just shoot-tr
 tsi mex-míxalh.
det.f redup-bear
 'I went hunting yesterday. I saw four bears. I shot all the/*some of the bears.'
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw tsi xa7útsn míxalh. $C_{tsi\ xa7tsn\ míxalh} = D_e$
- c. $[[tsi\ xa7útsn\ míxalh]] = bear_i, bear_j, bear_k, bear_l$
- d. Sen men kwélasht tsi mexmíxalh $C_{tsi\ míxalh} = \{bear_i, bear_j, bear_k, bear_l\}$
- e. $[[tsi\ mexmíxalh]] = bear_i+bear_j+bear_k+bear_l$

Domain restriction normally forces the DP to refer to the set of elements already under discussion. In a context where a bear has been introduced, the DP *ta míxalh* 'the bear' normally refers to that same bear.

- (38) a. S-en men kw'elásh-t ta míxalh.
nom-Isg.sbj just shoot-tr det bear
 'I went hunting. I saw a bear. I shot the bear.' $C_{ta\ míxalh} = \{bear_i\}$
- b. $[[ta\ míxalh]] = f(\lambda x [*bear'(x)] C(x)) = bear_i$

In a context where more than one bear has been introduced, the DP *ta mexmíxalh* usually refers to the maximal individual sum of bears

- (39) a. S-en men kwélash-t ta mex-míxalh.
nom-Isg.sbj just shoot-tr det redup-bear
 'I shot all the bears.' $C_{ta\ mexmíxalh} = \{bear_i, bear_j, bear_k, bear_l\}$
- b. $[[ta\ mexmíxalh]] = f(\lambda x [bear'(x)] C(x)) = bear_i+bear_j+bear_k+bear_l$

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the 'singular' DP is not singular, but rather number-neutral. In a context where more than one bear has been introduced, the DP *ta míxalh* will also usually refer to the maximal individual sum of bears.

(40) a. S-en men kwélash-t ta míxalh.
nom-1sg.sbj just shoot-tr det bear
 ‘I shot all the bears.’ $C_{\text{ta míxalh}} = \{\text{bear}_i, \text{bear}_j, \text{bear}_k, \text{bear}_l\}$

b. $[[\text{ta míxalh}]] = f(\lambda x [\text{*bear}'(x) \square C(x)]) = \text{bear}_i + \text{bear}_j + \text{bear}_k + \text{bear}_l$

If a D-determiner does not assert uniqueness, the hearer does not need to be familiar with the referent. The hearer does not need to narrow the domain to ensure that the DP is unique. In novel contexts, C includes D_e , and the function variable assigns an individual to the property supplied by the NP.

(41) a. Chen kwélash-t ta míxalh. (novel) $C_{\text{ta míxalh}} = D_e$
1sg.s shoot-tr det bear
 ‘I shot a bear.’

b. $[[\text{ta míxalh}]] = f(\lambda x [\text{*bear}'(x) \square C(x)]) = \text{bear}_i$ $C_{\text{ta míxalh}} = \{\text{bear}_i\}$

This is similar to the analyses of Matthewson (1999) and Giannakidou (2004), who both argue that domain is narrowed by the choice function itself. I argue that the choice function does not always narrow the domain. The choice function *can* narrow the domain as well (as we saw in cases like (26) above). However, it will not further narrow the domain unless there is a reason for it to do so.

Matthewson (1999) and Giannakidou (2004) also did not address the question of how the choice function narrowed the domain. Without C, the choice function could theoretically choose any individual, or set of individuals. Having C in the representation of the D-determiners allows us to predict that the DP will refer to the individual already in the discourse to the property supplied by the NP.

DPs are not definites in *Skwxwú7mesh*, as I’ve argued above, but in familiar contexts, they do behave *more* like definites, in that they usually refer to a previously introduced discourse referent. However, I do not adopt Giannakidou’s (2004) analysis of *St’át’imcets*, where the DPs are argued to be definite. DPs in *Skwxwú7mesh* do not behave like definites. However, they do behave like some intermediate category, with definite-like behaviour in familiar contexts. Giannakidou’s intuition that DPs in *St’át’imcets* are definite-like in familiar contexts is explained by the presence of domain restriction.

In the cases where an implicature of uniqueness does not even arise, as in (42)a, the function variable also assigns an individual to the property supplied by the NP.

- (42) a. *Mí7-shít-s* *chexw ta* *lapát.* $C_{ta\ lapat} = \{cup_i, cup_j\}$
come-appl-caus *2sg.s det* *cup*
‘Bring me one of the cups.’ (translated as ‘bring me the cup’)
- b. $[[ta\ lapat]] = f([\lambda x [*cup'(x) \cap C(x)]] = cup_i\ or\ cup_j$

Here, I claim that the pragmatics force the speaker to use *ta* to refer to a single cup (but neither one in particular), because it would be strange to ask for more than one cup in the context where I am asking for a cup to use to drink out of.¹¹

4.3 Domain restriction and quantifiers

Domain restriction is part of the representation of deictic D-determiners in *Skwú7mesh*. What about other elements? In English, quantifiers and demonstratives also appear to involve domain restriction. I show here that quantifiers in *Skwú7mesh* do not involve domain restriction.¹²

As I showed in Chapter 2, quantifiers can co-occur with D-determiners.

- (43) a. *Chen kw'ách-nexw í7xw ta púsh.*
Isg.s look-tr(lc) all det cat
‘I saw all the cats.’
- b. *Chen kw'ách-nexw kex ta púsh.*
Isg.s look-tr(lc) many det cat
‘I saw many cats.’

In these cases, I argue that the domain restriction is provided by the D-determiner.

- (44) a. *S-en men kwélash-t í7xw ta mex-míxalh.*
nom-Isg.sbj just shoot-tr all det redup-bear
‘I shot all of the bears.’ $C_{ta\ mexmíxalh} = \{bear_i, bear_j, bear_k, bear_l\}$
- b. $[[ta\ mexmíxalh]] = f([\lambda x [bear(x) \cap C(x)]] = bear_i + bear_j + bear_k + bear_l$

¹¹ Under the right circumstances, this sentence *can* be used to refer to both cups (i.e. when I am washing dishes, and want to collect all dirty cups, plates, etc.).

¹² On the basis of the *Skwú7mesh* discussion, I argue in Chapter 6 that quantifiers in English are not associated with domain restriction.

- c. $[[i7\underline{x}w \text{ ta } m\underline{e}x\underline{m}i\underline{x}a\underline{l}h] = \exists P \exists y \exists f(\exists x [\text{bear}'(x) \wedge C(x)) [\text{atom}(y) \wedge P(y) = 1]]^{13}$

However, as I also showed in Chapter 2, quantifiers do not obligatorily occur with D-determiners.

- (45) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **i7\underline{x}w** púsh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) all cat
 'I saw all the cats.'
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kéx** púsh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) many cat
 'I saw many (of the) cats.'

I claim that the D position is still present in these cases. I do this because the sentences have the same interpretation regardless of the presence or absence of the D-determiner. I also do this because the speakers usually give examples with the D-determiner present. It is also more coherent to suggest that only one position is associated with domain restriction than to suggest that sometimes *i7\underline{x}w* is associated with domain restriction, and sometimes it is not.

4.4 Domain restriction and demonstratives

Demonstratives, unlike quantifiers, appear to be associated with domain restriction. As I showed in Chapter 2, they never occur with a D-determiner.

- (46) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **táy'** púsh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem cat
 'I saw that cat.'
- b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **táy'** **ta** púsh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem det cat
- c. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta** **táy'** púsh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det dem cat

They behave differently than D-determiners, however, in that they can refer to individuals from within the domain, without any extra signalling. In the example below, *lha slhanay'* must refer to

¹³ I am treating *i7\underline{x}w* as a distributive operator. Another possibility is to treat it as forcing a "good fit" over the domain (see Brisson 2003).

all of the women. Speakers generally prefer the plural reduplicant when the referent is plural, especially when the number involved is over three. The example (47)a below is degraded because of this. (47)b is perfect.

- (47) a. Xa7útsn slhánay' na mi úys.
four woman rl come inside
 ?? Chen kwíkwí-s **lha** slhánay'.
Isg.s talk-caus det.f woman
 'Four women came in. I talked to all of the women.'
- b. Xa7útsn slhánay' na mi úys.
four woman rl come inside
 Chen kwíkwí -s **álhi** slhánay'.
Isg.s talk-caus dem.f woman
 'Four women came in. I talked to one of the women/that woman.'

This effect can be seen with all of the demonstratives.

- (48) a. Xa7útsn swí7ka na mi úys.
four man rl come inside
 ?? Chen kwíkwí-s **ta** swí7ka.
Isg.s talk-caus det man
 'Four men came in. I talked to all of the men.'
- b. Xa7útsn swí7ka na mi úys.
four man rl come inside
 Chen kwíkwí -s **tay'/kwetsi** swí7ka.
Isg.s talk-caus dem man
 'Four men came in. I talked to one of the men/that man.'

In these contexts, the D-determiner *ti* and the demonstrative *tí(wa)* can also be semantically teased apart.

- (49) a. Xa7útsn swí7ka na mi úys.
four man rl come inside
 ?? Chen kwíkwí-s **ti** swí7ka.
Isg.s talk-caus det man
 'Four men came in. I talked to all of the men.'
- b. Xa7útsn swí7ka na mi úys.
four man rl come inside
 Chen kwíkwí -s **tí/tíwa** swí7ka.
Isg.s talk-caus dem man
 'Four men came in. I talked to one of the men/that man.'

This difference between D-determiners and demonstratives has also been shown in Nuxalk (Bella Coola) by Davis and Saunders (1975). The question in (50) can be answered by (50)a or b, but not c.

- (50) A: kaks **ti-ʔimlk** ti-sp̣-ct?
which det-man hit-3abs-1sg.s
 ‘Which man hit you?’
- B: a. **ti-ʔimlk-ṭayx**
det-man-dem
 ‘this man’
- b. **ta-ʔimlk-ṭax**
det-man-dem
 ‘that man’
- c. # **ti-ʔimlk-tḥ**
det-man-det
 ‘the man’

This is because the D-determiner “...cannot be used to single out a particular member of a set” (Davis and Saunders 1975: 846).

I argued in Chapter 2 that *alhi* is a medial demonstrative. This deictic information and the descriptive content of the DP must be intersected to refer to the appropriate individual. The question is, does *alhi* also provide domain restriction over the NP? There are two possibilities: either the demonstrative does (51)b, or there is a null D which provides the domain restriction (51)c.

- (51) a. [[slhanay’]] = $\lambda x[\text{woman}'(x)]$
- b. [[alhi slhanay’]] = $f(\lambda x [\text{woman}'(x) \cap \text{medial-from-speaker}'(x) \cap C(x)])$
- c. [[alhi slhanay’]] = $\lambda x[\text{woman}'(x) \cap \text{medial-from-speaker}'(x)]$
 [[\emptyset_D alhi slhanay’]] = $f(\lambda x[\text{woman}'(x) \cap \text{medial-from-speaker}'(x) \cap C(x)])$

Much like with D-determiners, if a DP has a demonstrative, it usually refers to a previously introduced discourse referent. Unlike D-determiners, demonstratives can refer to one member out of a previously introduced plural DP.

- (52) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw lha slhánay'.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det.f woman
 An nach'im' **álhi** slhánay'.
very pretty dem.f woman
 'I saw a woman_i. That woman_i is pretty.'
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw án'us slhánay'.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) two woman
 An nach'im' **álhi** slhánay'.
very pretty dem.f woman
 'I saw two women. That woman is pretty.'

Domain restriction still plays a role in demonstratives.

There is indirect evidence that Skw̥wú7mesh demonstratives occupy a different position from the D-determiners. As I showed in Chapter 2, D-determiners may precede or follow quantifiers. Demonstratives, however, may only follow.

- (53) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta** **kex** mex-míxalh..
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det many redup-bear
 'I saw a lot of bears.'
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kéx** **ta** mex-míxalh..
Isg.s look-tr(lc) many det redup-bear
 'I saw a lot of bears.'
- c. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwétsi** **kex** mex-míxalh..
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem many redup-bear
- d. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kex** **kwétsi** mex-míxalh..
Isg.s look-tr(lc) many dem redup-bear
 'I saw a lot of bears.'
- (54) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta** **í7xw** mex-míxalh..
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det all redup-bear
 'I saw all the bears.'
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **í7xw** **ta** mex-míxalh..
Isg.s look-tr(lc) all det redup-bear
 'I saw all the bears.'
- c. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwétsi** **í7xw** mex-míxalh..
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem all redup-bear

- d. Chen kw'ách-nexw í7xw kwétsi me_x-míxalh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) all dem redup-bear
 'I saw all the bears.'

Demonstratives are different from the D-determiners in that they can more easily refer to subsets of the set of NPs given by the context; they also appear to occupy a different position. I discuss the issue of the position of demonstratives further in Chapter 6 and postulate that they occupy a different position from D-determiners based on cross-linguistic data. I also claim that demonstratives obligatorily co-occur with a null D-determiner, which provides the domain restriction over the NP.

5 Co-reference effects

The presence of domain restriction on the D-determiners strongly predicts cross-sentential co-reference of DPs with the same descriptive content. Generally, this is the case. Here I discuss a few cases in detail.

5.1 Cross-sentential co-reference

DPs are normally co-referent across clauses (or sentences), as we saw in §3.3. We can also see this in the examples below, where the DPs must refer to the same individual. It is impossible to conjoin a positive statement with its negative counterpart, using the same D-determiner. This is the Law of Contradiction (Heim and Kratzer 1998): only elements of type e (i.e., entities) obey this law.¹⁴

- (55) a. # Na huyá7 ta swí7ka i háw k-'as i huyá7
rl leave det man conj neg irr-3sbj prox leave
 ta swí7ka.
 det man
 'The man left and the man didn't leave.'
Consultant's comment: "It's a contradiction."

¹⁴ Some quantifiers also are infelicitous in these contexts.

- b. # Na huyá7 **ti** swí7ka i háw k-'as i huyá7
 rl leave det man conj neg irr-3sbjprox leave
ti swí7ka.
 det man
 'The man left and the man didn't leave.'
- c. # Na huyá7 **kwa** swí7ka i háw k-'as i huyá7
 rl leave det man conj neg irr-3sbj prox leave
kwa swí7ka.
 det man
 'The man left and the man didn't leave.'
- (56) a. # Chen kwélash-t **ta** míxalh i háw k-'an i
 Isg.s shoot-tr det bear conj neg irr-1sg.sbj prox
 kwélash-t **ta** míxalh.
 shoot-tr det bear
 'I shot the/a bear and I didn't shoot the/a bear.'
- b. # Chen kwélash-t **ti** míxalh i háw k-'an i
 Isg.s shoot-tr det bear conj neg irr-1sg.sbj prox
 kwélash-t **ti** míxalh.
 shoot-tr det bear
 'I shot the/a bear and I didn't shoot the/a bear.'

It is also impossible to use different D-determiners.

- (57) a. # Na huyá7 **kwa** swí7ka i háw k-'as i huyá7
 rl leave det man conj neg irr-3sbj prox leave
ta swí7ka.
 det man
 'The man left and the man didn't leave.'
- b. # Na huyá7 **ti** swí7ka i háw k-'as i huyá7
 rl leave det man conj neg irr-3sbj prox leave
ta swí7ka.
 det man
 'The man left and the man didn't leave.'
- c. # Na huyá7 **ti** swí7ka i háw k-'as i huyá7
 rl leave det man conj neg irr-3sbj prox leave
kwa swí7ka.
 det man
 'The man left and the man didn't leave.'

When the speaker makes it explicit that he or she is talking about two different situations, sentences like the ones in (55) above become felicitous. The two DPs must refer to the same individual.

- (58) Háw k-’as i huyá7 **ta/ti/kwa** swí7ka kwi chel’áklh.
neg irr-3sbj prox leave det man det yesterday
 Na nam’ huyá7 **ta/ti/kwa** swí7ka ti stsí7s.
rl go leave det man det today
 ‘The man didn’t leave yesterday. The man left today.’

This is expected if the D-determiner is associated with domain restriction.

- (59) a. Na huyá7 ta swí7ka. $C_{ta\ swí7k_a} = D_e$
rl leave det man
 ‘The man left.’
- b. $[[ta\ swí7k_a]] = f(\lambda x [*man'(x) \cap C(x)]) = man_i$ $C_{ta\ swí7k_a} = \{man_i\}$
- c. Háw k-’as i huyá7 ta swí7ka. $C_{ta\ swí7k_a} = \{man_i\}$
neg irr-3sbj prox leave det man
 ‘The man didn’t leave.’
- d. $[[ta\ swí7k_a]] = f(\lambda x [*man'(x) \cap C(x)]) = man_i$ $C_{ta\ swí7k_a} = \{man_i\}$

This co-reference across sentences does not always arise. Pragmatically, the two DPs cannot refer to the same individual in some cases. For example, the two occurrences of the DP *ta míxalh* below must refer to two different bears.

- (60) Chen kwélash-t **ta** míxalh kwi chel’áklh.
1sg.s shoot-tr det bear det yesterday
 S-en men kiyát kwélash-t **ta** míxalh ti stsí7s.
nom-1sg.poss just again shoot-tr det bear det today
 ‘I shot a bear yesterday and I shot a bear today.’
Consultant’s comment: “Calls for a drink; you shot two bears.”

Each bear is killed on a different day: one yesterday and one today. In English, the D-determiner *the*, which asserts uniqueness, is not (usually) felicitous in this environment.¹⁵

¹⁵ As mentioned above in footnote 9, the Skwáwú7mesh word *kwelasht* strongly implies the death of the animal, much more than in English. The sentence (60) cannot mean that I shot and wounded the animal one day, and then shot it again another day.

(61) #I shot **the** bear yesterday, and I shot **the** bear today.¹⁶

In (60), the DP is unique in each situation (one bear per day, for example), but it is not unique in the discourse context.

Similarly, in example (62) below, the pragmatics force the two DPs to refer to different individuals.

- (62) a. Nu7-kw kwétk na xutsnalhshá7 **ta** swí7ka i xwe7áxw
rl-already *past* *rl* *forty* *det* *man* *conj* *not.yet*
 k-'as wétl'ch' **ta** swí7ka.
 irr-3sbj *twenty* *det* *man*
 'The man is past forty and the other man is not twenty yet.'
- b. An tl'áktaykwem **ta** swí7ka i etsím **ta** swí7ka.
very tall *det* *man* *conj* *small* *det* *man*
 'There's a tall man and a short man.'

In (55) (the law of contradiction cases), the DPs must co-refer, but the pragmatics should force them not to co-occur. I argue that within the same situation, the hearer expects the speaker to refer to the same individuals, unless they are overtly marked otherwise. If the speaker is talking about two different situations, or two different states, then the DPs will still co-refer, unless the pragmatics forces the DPs to refer to different individuals.

I argue that co-reference is usually expected because of domain restriction. However, since the deictic D-determiners do not assert maximality, co-reference is not always forced. When the pragmatics disallow co-reference (and the speaker is obviously talking about two different situations), the DPs do not co-refer. When the speaker is talking about a single situation, the DPs are forced to co-refer, even if the pragmatics should disallow it.

If the hearer can add entities to the domain when forced to by the pragmatics, why can't they do it every time? Why is there a preference for the DP to be co-referent across clauses? I argue that the hearer has to do less work if the intersection C and the set provided by the NP happen to give the referent. If the referent is instead a smaller group, the only way that the hearer will know this is if the speaker explicitly tells them to ignore some members of the intersection.

¹⁶ This sentence is felicitous if every day exactly one bear walks by the speaker. Normally the speaker doesn't shoot any of the bears, but yesterday he or she shot the bear (that walked by) and today he or she shot the bear (that walked by).

In the example below, the choice function will be existentially closed off at some point in the derivation. This choice function will pick out some set of three bears from the four.

- (17) a. S-en men kwélash-t **ta** mex-míxalh,
nom-1sg.sbj *just* *shoot-tr* *det* *redup-bear*
 welh na tl'íw'-numut ta nch'ú7 míxalh.
 conj *rl* *escape-refl* *det* *one* *bear*
 'I shot some of the bears, but one of them escaped.'
 $C_{ta\ mex\ míxalh} = \{bear_i, bear_j, bear_k, bear_l\}$
- b. $[[ta\ mex\ míxalh]] = f(\lambda x [bear'(x) \cap C(x)])$

5.2 Co-reference and the effect of transitivizers

The choice of transitivizers has an effect on co-reference effects in Skwxwú7mesh. Certain transitivizers do not allow different reference cross-sententially, even where there are two different situations, and the pragmatics should force the DPs to refer to different referents.

As I showed in Chapter 2, the transitivizer encodes the amount of control the agent has over the situation. In most cases, if the transitivizer encodes control of the agent, cross-sentential DPs can refer to different referents. In the example below, there are two bears that are killed (one per situation); the pragmatically odd interpretation where the same bear is killed is disallowed only because there is a more pragmatically viable interpretation available.

- (63) Chen kwélash-t tsi míxalh kwi chel'áklh s-en men kiyát
1sg.s *shoot-tr* *det.f* *bear det* *yesterday* *nom-1sg.sbj* *just* *again*
 kwélash-t tsi míxalh ti stsí7s.
 shoot-tr *det.f* *bear det* *today*
 'I shot a bear yesterday and I shot a bear today.'

However, if the transitivizer encodes limited control of the agent, cross-sentential DPs must refer to the same referent. In the example below, the DP *tsi míxalh* must refer to the very same bear.

- (64) #Chen kw'úy-nexw tsi míxalh kwi chel'áklh s-en men kiyát
1sg.s *die-tr(lc)* *det.f* *bear det* *yesterday* *nom-1sg.sbj* *just* *again*
 kw'úy-nexw tsi míxalh ti stsí7s.
 die-tr(lc) *det.f* *bear det* *today*
 #'I managed to kill the bear yesterday and I managed to kill the bear today.'

Only the very pragmatically odd reading, where the bear comes back to life only to be killed again, is allowed. Similarly, in example (65), the speaker must refer to the same man with *ti swi7ka* or *ta swi7ka*.

- (65) Chen kw'ách-nexw ti/ta swi7ka kwi chel'áklh s-en men kiyát
Isg.s look-tr(lc)(lc) det man det yesterday nom-Isg.sbj just again
kw'ách-nexw ti/ta swi7ka ti stsí7s.
look-tr(lc)(lc) det man det today
'I saw the man yesterday and I saw the man today.'
Consultant's comment: "it's the same man"

This looks like an effect of assertion of uniqueness. However, the uniqueness cannot be asserted, because the same non-maximality effects are found with the limited control transitivizer as were found with the control transitivizer in §3.

- (66) a. Chen húy-nexw ta slhúm'. Tsí7-xw ta slhúm'
Isg.s finish-tr(lc) det soup exist-still det soup
ná7 ta nkwi7stn.
loc det pot
'I ate the soup, and there's still some soup left in the pot.'
- b. Chen nam' ch'áatl'am kwi chel'áklh. Chen kw'ách-nexw
Isg.s go hunt det yesterday Isg.s look-tr(lc)
ta xa7útsn míxalh. S-en men kw'úy-nexw
det four bear nom-Isg.poss just die-tr(lc)
ta mex-míxalh, welh na tl'íw-numut
det redup-bear conj rl escape-refl
ta nch'ú7 míxalh.
det one bear
'I went hunting yesterday. I saw four bears. I killed the bears, but one escaped.'

Co-reference is therefore only indirectly tied to uniqueness. In English, co-reference is required across the discourse, because the D-determiner asserts uniqueness. In *Skwxwú7mesh*, co-reference is required within a situation, but is not required in different situations, unless the limited control transitivizer is used. Clearly, more work needs to be done on the effects of the transitivizers in *Skwxwú7mesh*. I set these facts aside and focus on the lack of assertion of uniqueness associated with the D-determiners themselves.

6 Deictic features

So far I have argued that the deictic D-determiners do not assert uniqueness and are not associated with the effects of familiarity seen in a language like English. I have also argued that they introduce domain restriction over their NP, as do all D-determiners. Here I will provide an analysis of their deictic information.

Recall that the deictic D-determiners are constrained in their use by the location relative to the speaker. The proximal D-determiners were only licit when the referent was within reach of the speaker. In (67), proximal *ti* can only be used if the referent is close to the speaker.

- (67) a. P'ék' **ti** lapát.
white det cup
 'The cup is white.' (near speaker; in hand of speaker)
- b. * P'ék' **ti** lapát.
white det cup
 'The cup is white.' (halfway across room; across room)

The neutral D-determiners were licit when the referent was visible, invisible, close to the speaker, or far from the speaker.

- (68) P'ék' **ta** lapát.
white det cup
 'The cup is white.' (near speaker; in hand of speaker; halfway across room; across room; invisible to speaker)

The distal, invisible D-determiners were only licit when the referent outside of the room *and* invisible to the speaker.

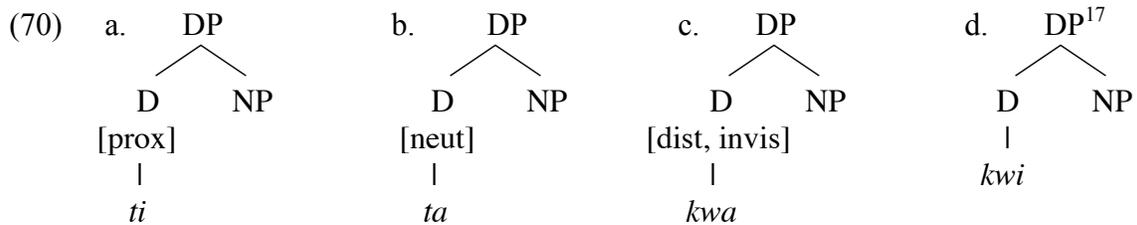
- (69) a. Kw'áy' **kwa** Bill.
get.hungry det Bill
 'Bill is hungry.' (Bill not in room and invisible)
- b. * Kw'áy' **kwa** Bill.
get.hungry dist Bill
 (Bill in room; Bill not in room and visible)

Unlike the other D-determiners, *kwa* has two features. I summarize the necessary features for the determiner system in the table below.

	Deictic			Non-deictic
	Neutral	Proximal	Distal, invisible	
gender-neutral	ta	ti	kwa	kwi
female	lha	tsi	kwelha	kwes

Table 4.1: The D-determiner system of *Skwxwú7mesh*.

These features are instantiated as in the example below.



The demonstratives are associated with some of the same features. Recall that *tay'*, unlike *ta*, can only be used for middle distance referents, and that *kwetsi*, unlike *kwa*, can be used for visible, distal objects. *Kwiya* can be used for a referent at any distance, as long as the referent is invisible; *kwawit* can only be used for plural invisible, distal referents.



What is the status of these features? I assume that these features are presuppositional, following Schlenker's (2002) analysis of pronouns. Schlenker assumes that pronouns are the spell out of bundles of person, gender and number features.

- (72) a. /he/ : [-author, -hearer, +masculine, -plural]
b. /she/ : [-author, -hearer, -masculine, -plural]
c. /I/ : [+author, -hearer, -plural]
d. /you/ : [-author, +hearer]

Similarly, I assume that the D-determiners and demonstratives in *Skwxwú7mesh* spell out the bundle of gender (where relevant), number (where relevant) and deictic features.

- (73) a. /ti/ : [proximal]
b. /tsi/ : [proximal, female]
c. /ta/ : [neutral]

¹⁷ See Chapter 5 for arguments that *kwi* lacks deictic features.

- d. /lha/ : [neutral, female]
 - e. /kwa/ : [distal, invisible]
 - f. /kwelha/ : [distal, invisible, female]
- (74)
- a. /tiwa/ : [proximal]
 - b. /tsiwa/ : [proximal, female]
 - c. /tay’/ : [medial]
 - d. /alhi/ : [medial, female]
 - e. /kwetsi/ : [distal]
 - f. /kwelhi/ : [distal, female]
 - g. /kwiya/ : [neutral, invisible]
 - h. /kwsa/ : [neutral, invisible, female]
 - i. /iyawit/ : [proximal, plural]
 - j. /itsiwit/ : [medial, plural]
 - k. /kwetsiwit/ : [distal, plural]
 - l. /kwawit/ : [distal, invisible]
 - m. /kwiyawit/ : [neutral, invisible, plural]

As I am focusing on the D-determiners in this thesis, I will not discuss the features of the demonstratives further.

I define these features analogously to Schlenker’s analysis of the pronominal features.

- (75)
- a. proximal(x) is true iff s(x) is close to the speaker. Otherwise it is false.
 - b. neutral(x) is true iff s(x) is locatable to the speaker. Otherwise it is false.
 - c. distal(x) is true iff s(x) is far away from the speaker. Otherwise it is false.
 - d. invisible(x) is true iff s(x) is invisible to the speaker. Otherwise it is false.
 - e. female(x) is true iff s(x) is female. Otherwise it is false.

The D-determiners are then only felicitous if their features match the context of use. *Ti*, for example, is only felicitous if the referent is close to the speaker. *Lha* is only felicitous if the speaker is able to locate the referent and if the referent is female.

These D-determiners cannot involve features like [\pm author] or [\pm hearer], as the determiners can be used for all persons. As we saw in Chapter 2, pronouns co-occur with *ta*.

- (76)
- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. ta éns <li style="padding-left: 2em;"><i>det 1sg.indep</i> <li style="padding-left: 2em;">‘I/me’ | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> b. ta néw <li style="padding-left: 2em;"><i>det 2sg.indep</i> <li style="padding-left: 2em;">‘you (sg)’ |
|---|---|

These D-determiners also do not encode [\pm plural], as they can co-occur with singular (strictly speaking, number neutral) NPs or plural NPs.

- (77) a. ta púsh b. ta pesh-púsh
det cat *det redup-cat*
 ‘a cat/the cat(s), cats’ ‘(the) cats’

They also do not encode [\pm masculine], as only female human and animal referents are marked via gender on the D-determiners.

- (78) a. Há7lh-s chen lha slhánay’.
like-caus 1sg.s det.f woman
 ‘I like the/a woman.’
- b. Há7lh-s chen ta swí7ka.
like-caus 1sg.s det man
 ‘I like the/a man.’
- c. Há7lh-s chen ta lápat.
like-caus 1sg.s det cup
 ‘I like the/a cup.’
- d. * Há7lh-s chen lha lápat.
like-caus 1sg.s det.f cup

Unlike Schlenker, I assume that features are privative, rather than binary. Binary features would make incorrect predictions for some of the data in Skwǎwú7mesh.

For example, the [female] feature cannot be reinterpreted as [+female] with a [-female] counterpart. Female referents may co-occur with non-female D-determiners (as shown in Chapter 2).

- (79) a. An tl’áktay’kwem **lha** slhánay’.
very tall *det.f woman*
 ‘The woman is very tall.’
- b. An tl’áktay’kwem **ta** slhánay’.
very tall *det woman*
 ‘The woman is very tall.’

If the use of *ta* presupposed a [-female] referent, (79)b should be infelicitous. Similarly, if *ta* were [-proximal], it could not be used in cases where the referent were close, as with body parts.

- (80) a. Chen lhá7n ti-n kwek’tan.
1sg.s touch det-1sg.poss shoulder
 ‘I touched my shoulder.’

- b. Chen lhá7n **ta**-n kwek'tan.
Isg.s touch det.n-Isg.poss shoulder
 'I touched my shoulder.'

If *ta* were [-distal], it could not be used in cases where the referent was far away from the speaker.

- (81) a. An há7lh **ta** swí7ka.
very good det man
 'The man is good.' (man in room)
- b. An há7lh **ta** swí7ka.
very good det man
 'The man is good.' (man outside room)

Similarly, if *ta* were [-invisible], it could not be used in cases where the referent was invisible to the speaker.

- (82) a. Chen há7lh-s **ta**-n púsh.
Isg.s good-caus det-Isg.poss cat
 'I like my cat.' (visible to speaker)
- b. Chen há7lh-s **ta**-n púsh.
Isg.s good-caus det-Isg.poss cat
 'I like my cat.' (out of sight of speaker)

Even for the proximal and distal D-determiners, the features cannot be binary. If the feature were merely [\pm proximal], we would expect the distal, invisible D-determiner to be used for referents that were relatively close (say, in the same room), but hidden. This is not the case.

- (83) a. Na kwáy **ta** Peter ná7 ta úys.
rl hide det Peter loc det inside
 'Peter is hiding inside.' (speaker inside the same room)
- b. * Na kwáy **kwa** Peter ná7 ta úys.
rl hide det Peter loc det inside
 (speaker inside the same room)

Similarly, if the feature were [\pm distal], we would expect the proximal D-determiner to be used for object that were in the middle distance. This is also not the case.

- (84) a. P'ék' ti lapát.
white det cup
 'This/the cup is white.' (speaker holding cup, or cup very close to speaker)
- b. * P'ék' ti lapát.
white det cup (cup in middle distance)

Finally, if the feature were [\pm invisible] for the proximal and distal D-determiners, we would also expect the proximal D-determiner not to be used for invisible referents. This is also not the case.

- (85) a. Chen lhá7n ti-n kwek't'án.
Isg.s touch det-1sg.poss shoulder
 'I touched my shoulder.'
- b. Na áa ti-n kwél'.
rl hurt det-1sg.poss stomach
 'My stomach hurts.'

I therefore assume all of the features are privative, rather than binary.

The advantage of treating these as features is that classes can be created across the demonstratives and D-determiners. The proximal D-determiners and demonstratives are used for referents that are very close to the speaker. The distal D-determiners and demonstratives only share one feature ([distal]), but they can be used in overlapping circumstances. If the referent is invisible and far from the speaker, then either can be used. Further, given a Schlenker-type analysis, features end up having the same import as presuppositions.

7 Summary

In this chapter, I have made the following claims.

- (86) a. Skwwú7mesh deictic D-determiners do not presuppose the familiarity of their referents.
- b. Skwwú7mesh deictic D-determiners do not assert the uniqueness of their referents. Sentences containing deictic determiners carry an implicature of uniqueness.
- c. Skwwú7mesh deictic D-determiners spell out deictic and gender features.

- d. $\text{S}\underline{\text{k}}\underline{\text{w}}\underline{\text{x}}\text{w}\acute{\text{u}}\text{7}$ mesh deictic D-determiners have domain restriction in their representations.

I also argued that the lack of presupposition of familiarity is a direct result of the lack of the assertion of uniqueness. As long as the DP does not need to be unique, the domain does not need to be shared between speaker and hearer.

I argued that DPs are usually co-referent across clauses because they have domain restriction in their representation. Unless the DP cannot refer to a previously introduced referent (for pragmatic reasons), the domain will be restricted to the previously introduced referents.

The determiners are deictic in nature; they encode distance from the speaker. I claim that all of the determiners discussed so far have features. I claim that *ta* has features, and is not underspecified. That this is necessary will be seen in the next chapter.

There are two exactly opposite proposals that attempt to account for the data in Salish. Matthewson (1998) argues that Salish DPs are indefinite, based on their ability to occur in both novel and familiar contexts. Demirdache (1997) and Giannakidou (2004) both argue that Salish DPs are definite, based on their behaviour in familiar contexts. The analysis given in this chapter can capture the data that each proposal was trying to account for.