

Chapter Two: The Background on Skwxwú7mesh

1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the semantics of Skwxwú7mesh D-determiners, and to compare them to English D-determiners.¹ In this chapter I provide some background to facilitate understanding of the proposals made in the next few chapters. In particular, I give an overview of the syntax and morphology of Skwxwú7mesh as these topics are necessary for understanding the data and analysis provided later in the thesis.

I begin with the language family. Skwxwú7mesh is a Central (or Coast) Salish language spoken in southwestern British Columbia. The list of Salish languages is given in Table 2.1 below. Languages marked with * are extinct.

¹ Recall that this term does not include quantifiers, numerals or demonstratives.

Branch		Language	Dialects
Nuxalk (Bella Coola)			
Central Salish		Comox	Sliammon, Klahoose, Homalko, Island Comox
		Pentlatch*	
		Sechelt	
		Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish)	
		Halkomelem	Chilliwack/Upriver Halkomelem, Musqueam, Nanaimo/Cowichan
		Nooksack*	
		Northern Straits	Semiahmoo, Saanich, Lummi, Songish, Samish, Sooke
		Klallam	
		Lushootseed	Northern, Southern
		Twana*	
Tillamook*			
Tsamosan		Upper Chehalis	Satsop, Oakville, Tenino
		Cowlitz*	
		Lower Chehalis	
		Quinault*	
Interior	Northern	St'át'imcets (Lillooet)	Mount Currie/Lower Lillooet, Fountain/Upper Lillooet
		Nt̓eʔkepmxcín (Thompson)	
		Secwepemcetsín (Shuswap)	Eastern, Western
	Southern	Okanagan	Northern, Southern/Colville
		Moses-Columbian	
		Kalispel Coeur d'Alene	Spokane, Kalispel, Flathead

Table 2.1: The Salish language family (adapted from Thompson and Kinkade 1990: 34-35)

The D-determiner systems of some of these languages will be addressed in Chapter 6.

Skwxwú7mesh is extremely endangered. There are fewer than twenty speakers remaining. I worked with seven native speakers (five female and two male) in order to gather the data necessary for this dissertation. The speakers did not always have the same judgments; where there is speaker variation, I note it below.

In §2, I provide information on the methodology used to gather the data for this dissertation. In §3, I provide some background on the morphology of Skwxwú7mesh. Salish languages, including Skwxwú7mesh, are quite different from English syntactically and morphologically. Salish languages are radically head-marking languages; arguments are

obligatorily marked on the predicate via pronominal agreement morphology. Pronominal agreement morphology is any affix attached to a verb marking the subject or object of the clause.

In §4, I provide some background information on the syntax of *Skw̄w̄w̄7mesh*. Null arguments (both object and subject) are commonly found in texts and in conversation. Where DPs are used, the word order is relatively free, with some important restrictions discussed below.

In §5, I provide basic information on the D-determiner system. For example, D-determiners are obligatory on any overt argument. In §6, I discuss previous analyses of the *Skw̄w̄w̄7mesh* D-determiner system. In §7, I provide detailed information about the D-determiner system, including a re-analysis of the structure of the *Skw̄w̄w̄7mesh* D-determiner system. I provide evidence for the deictic features of the deictic D-determiners and demonstratives, and show the contexts where the deictic D-determiners and demonstratives can be used. The deictic features are provided in the tables below.

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

Table 2.2: The D-determiner system of *Skw̄w̄w̄7mesh*.

		Neutral, invisible	Proximal	Medial	Distal	
					Unmarked	Invisible
gender-neutral	number-neutral	kwíya(wa) ²	tí(wa)	táy'	kwétsi	
	plural	kwíyawit	iyá(wit)	ítsi(wit)	kwétsiwit	kwáwit
feminine		kwíya(wa)	tsíwa	álhi	kwélhi	

Table 2.3: The demonstrative system of *Skw̄w̄w̄7mesh*.

2 Methodology

In gathering the data for this thesis, subtle judgments about meaning were required from the speakers. In order to get this kind of information, it was necessary to set up different contexts. This was often done in English. I would then provide the speakers with a sentence, and ask if that sentence made sense in the context given. Sometimes, I provided the context in *Skw̄w̄w̄7mesh*. Where the context was provided in *Skw̄w̄w̄7mesh*, the entire discourse is provided in the

² The suffix *-wa* is only licit if the referent is human.

examples. I then asked the speakers if the discourse I had given them made sense to them. In other cases, pictures were shown to the speakers. I sometimes elicited comments on the pictures by asking them to describe the situation. Other times I offered *Skwú7mesh* sentences and asked the speakers if that sentence could be used to describe the picture. I re-elicited the same sentences in different sessions, to test whether the judgments were firm.

3 Morphology

Skwú7mesh is a radically head-marking language. Head-marking languages indicate syntactic relationships via agreement morphology on the head of the phrase (see Nichols 1986, Baker 1996). Pronominal agreement morphology appears on predicates, as in (1).

- (1) Na ch'áw-at-**ts-as** ta swí7ka.
rl help-tr-1sg.o-3erg det man.
 'The/a man helped me.'

Skwú7mesh displays split-ergative properties. First and second person follow a nominative-accusative pattern (2), whereas third person follows an ergative pattern (3).

- (2) a. **Chen** ch'áw-at-umi.
1sg.s help-tr-2sg.o
 'I helped you.'
- b. Chexw ch'áw-at-**ts**.
2sg.s help-tr-1sg.o
 'You helped me.'
- c. **Chen** ímesh.
1sg.s walk
 'I walked.'
- (3) a. Na ch'áw-at-**ts-as**.
rl help-tr-1sg.o-3erg
 'S/he helped him/her.'
- b. Chen ch'áw-at-**Ø**.
1sg.s help-tr-3abs
 'I helped him/her.'

- c. Na ímesh-Ø.
rl walk-3abs
 ‘S/he walked.’

Assuming that all arguments are marked on the verb, third person absolutive is marked by zero morphology. For the remainder of the thesis, I will not mark third person absolutive morphology in the glosses.

Possessors are marked on the head. The possessive morphology is affixed to the head noun (Kuipers 1967).³

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------|---------------------|----|-----------------|------------------------|
| (4) | a. | ta- n | skwemáy’ | b. | ta | skwemáy’- chet |
| | | <i>det-1sg.poss</i> | <i>dog</i> | | <i>det</i> | <i>dog-1pl.poss</i> |
| | | ‘my dog’ | | | ‘our dog’ | |
| | c. | ta | e -skwemáy’ | d. | ta | skwemáy’- yap |
| | | <i>det</i> | <i>2sg.poss-dog</i> | | <i>det</i> | <i>dog-2pl.poss</i> |
| | | ‘your (sg) dog’ | | | ‘your (pl) dog’ | |
| | e. | ta | skwemáy’- s | f. | ta | skwemáy’- s-wit |
| | | <i>det</i> | <i>dog-3poss</i> | | <i>det</i> | <i>dog-3poss-3pl</i> |
| | | ‘his/her dog’ | | | ‘their dog’ | |

Plurality is also marked on the noun. This is done via a CəC- reduplicant (Kuipers 1967).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------|----|--------------------|
| (5) | a. | míxalh | b. | mex -míxalh |
| | | <i>bear</i> | | <i>redup-bear</i> |
| | | ‘bear’ | | ‘bears’ |

However, the unmarked form of the noun can still get a plural interpretation. “Usually number remains unspecified” (Kuipers 1967: 100).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|
| (6) | a. | Chen | kw’ách-nexw | ta | púsh. |
| | | <i>1sg.s</i> | <i>look-tr(lc)</i> | <i>det</i> | <i>cat</i> |
| | | ‘I saw a cat/the cat/cats/the cats.’ | | | |
| | b. | Chen | kw’ách-nexw | ta | pesh -púsh. |
| | | <i>1sg.s</i> | <i>look-tr(lc)</i> | <i>det</i> | <i>redup-cat</i> |
| | | ‘I saw (the) cats.’ | | | |

³ The first person singular possessor morphology usually attaches to the preceding D-determiner.

Transitive predicates are usually marked as such by transitive morphology, which are often called transitivizers.

- (7) a. Kw'elh ta stakw.
spill det water
 'The water spilled.'
- b. Chen kw'elh-at ta stakw.
Isg.s spill-tr det water
 'I spilled the water.'

Transitivizers in Salish encode degrees of “control” (Thompson 1979). Kuipers (1967) originally characterized these as volitional versus non-volitional. However, I will refer to them as control versus limited control transitivizers. The control transitivizers include *-t*, *-Vt*,⁴ *-(a)n* and *-s*. The limited control transitivizer is *-nexw*. An example of the difference in meaning is given below.

- (8) a. Chen xep'-t ta xel'-tn.
Isg.s break-tr det write-instr
 'I broke the pencil.'
- b. Chen xep'-nexw ta xel'-tn.
Isg.s break-tr(lc) det write-instr
 'I accidentally broke the pencil.'

In (8) a, the agent of the action has full control of the situation. The agent intended to break the pencil. However, in (8)b, the agent did not intend to break the pencil, and the limited control transitivizer encodes this.

4 Syntax

Clauses in *Skwxwú7mesh* minimally contain a predicate and a particle or pronoun. Overt DPs are optional.

- (9) a. Na ch'áw-at-ts-as lha slhánay'.
rl help-tr-Isg.o-3erg det.f woman.
 'The/a woman helped me.'

⁴ Here the V represents an echo vowel, which matches the vowel of the stem it attaches to.

- b. Na ch'áw-at-ts-as.
rl help-tr-1sg.o-3erg
 'S/he helped me.'
- c. Chen ch'áw-at.
1sg.s help-tr
 'I helped him/her.'
- (10) a. Na ts'its'áp' ta swí7ka.
rl work det man
 'The/a man worked.'
- b. Na ts'its'áp'.
rl work
 'S/he worked.'
- c. Chen ts'its'áp'.
1sg.s work
 'I worked.'

The particle *na*, here glossed as 'realis', is obligatory, or at least highly preferred when the subject is third person, as shown in (11)a.⁵ If there is another particle in the clause, such as the imperfective marker *wa*, *na* is not required, for most speakers, as in (11)b. Both can co-occur, as in (11)c.

- (11) a. ? Ts'its'áp'.
work
 'Worked.'
Consultant's comment: "Not a full sentence."
- b. % Wa ts'its'áp'.
impf work
 'S/he is working.'
- c. Na wa ts'its'áp'.
rl impf work
 'S/he is working.'

⁵ The semantics of *na* are not fully understood. The term 'realis' is misleading. *Na* can occur in irrealis contexts, such as questions.

(i) Nu [=na +u] chexw ts'its'áp'?
rl.Q [rl Q] 2sg.s work
 'Did you work?'

More research is required into this particle.

Skwú7mesh is a predicate-initial language. It allows both VSO and VOS word orders (Kuipers 1967, Currie 1997, Gillon 1998b).

- (12) a. Na ch'áw-at-as lha Vanessa ta Peter.
rl help-tr-3erg det.f Vanessa det Peter
 'Vanessa helped Peter.' (VSO)
- b. Na ch'áw-at-as ta Peter lha Vanessa.
rl help-tr-3erg det Peter det.f Vanessa
 'Vanessa helped Peter.' (VSO)

Post-verbal word order is free for most speakers.⁶

Pre-verbal DPs are also possible. Arguments can be clefted. If transitive subjects are clefted (as in (13)b), the ergative morphology is missing/deleted (Kuipers 1967, Gillon 1998a; see also Gerdts 1988 for the same facts in Halkomelem). This is the same pattern of morphology found in relative clauses. Clefts are often introduced by *nilh*. Kroeber (1999) calls these 'introduced clefts'.

- (13) a. Nílh ta swí7ka na ts'its'áp'.
foc det man rl work
 'It's the man that worked.'
- b. Nílh ta swí7ka na ch'áw-at-ts.
foc det man rl help-tr-1sg.o
 'It's the man who helped me.'
- c. Nílh ta swí7ka na ch'áw-at-an.
foc det man rl help-tr-1sg.erg
 'It's the man that I helped.'

Extraction of transitive subjects can also occur without the focus particle *nilh*. These types of constructions are referred to as 'pseudo-clefts' in Gerdts (1998) and 'bare clefts' in Kroeber (1999).⁷ In (14), *ta swí7ka* 'the man' must be interpreted as the subject of the clause, because the object is marked by first person pronominal agreement morphology (-*ts*-).

⁶ Animacy, context and the use of proper names all seem to play roles in determining post-verbal word order.

⁷ It may be that intransitive subjects can also undergo this process, but it is impossible to tell on the surface.

(i) Ta swí7ka na ts'its'áp'(-Ø).
det man rl work-3abs
 'The man worked.'
 'It's the man who worked.'

- (14) Ta swí7ka na ch'áw-at-ts.
det man rl help-tr-1sg.o
 'It's the man who helped me.'

Objects, on the other hand, may not be clefted without the use of *nilh*. In (15), *ta swi7ka* must be interpreted as the object of the lower clause, because the subject is marked by first person pronominal agreement morphology (-*an*).

- (15) *Ta swí7ka na ch'áw-at-an.
det man rl help-tr-1sg.erg
 (It's the man that I helped.)

Subjects may also precede the verb *without* being clefted (i.e. without the loss of ergative morphology). SVO is a possible word order (Currie 1997). Some speakers use this order more frequently than others do; however, it is available to all speakers.

- (16) Lha Vanessa na kw'ách-nexw-as ta Peter.
det.f Vanessa rl look-tr(lc)-3erg det Peter
 'Vanessa saw Peter.' (SVO)

This must be distinguished from A'-extraction (as in (14)), because the ergative morphology is still present.

This fronted position is not available in embedded clauses for subjects. VSO and VOS are the only acceptable word orders.

- (17) a. Chen tsut [kwi-s-e-s kw'ách-nexw-as ta swí7ka
Isg.s say comp-nom-rl-3poss look-tr(lc)-3erg det man
 lha slhánay'].
det.f woman
 (i) 'I said that the man saw the woman' (VSO)
 (ii) 'I said that the woman saw the man.' (VOS)
- b. * Chen tsút [kwi-s-e-s ta swí7ka kw'ách-nexw-as
Isg.s say comp-nom-rl-3poss det man look-tr(lc)-3erg
 lha slhánay'].
det.f woman (SVO)

For more information on word order and fronting in Salish, see Kroeber (1999).

Recall that the pronominal agreement for third person is null (or -Ø). If this agreement is present and then deleted, it makes no overt difference. See Roberts (1999) for discussion of the presence or absence of agreement morphology in clefts in St'át'imcets. See also example (16) below.

Clauses with two DPs are rare in discourse or texts. Familiar referents are often null. After the DP *kwetsi mǐxalh* ‘a bear’ is introduced into the story, the bear can be referred back to using a null pronoun.

- (18) ...N-s-na men kw’ách-nexw-an **kwetsi mǐxalh.**
Isg.poss-nom-rl just look-tr(lc)-Isg.erg dem bear
Chet men lhá7n, chet men nam’ ch’ími, n-s-na
Ipl.s just approach Ipl.s just go close Isg.poss-nom-rl
 men kwúm, n-s-na men nam’ tl’ích-it-an.
 just ashore Isg.poss-nom-rl just go stalk-tr-Isg.erg
‘...Then I spotted a bear. We approached and went up close, and then I went ashore and sneaked up on it.’
(Kuipers 1967: 240)

Familiar referents do not need to be null, however. The speaker can still use a full DP. Later in the story, a full DP *kwetsi mǐxalh* ‘the bear’ is used for the same familiar bear.

- (19) ...Na7-kw mi ch’ít **kwetsi mǐxalh** lhe-lhá7n-t-umulh-as.
rl-already come close dem bear redup-approach-tr-Ipl.o-3erg
‘The bear had come close up to us.’
(Kuipers 1967: 241)

A full DP can even be found in a sentence immediately following one with the same DP.

- (20) N-s-na men chém’usn-t-an **ti** **mǐxalh** i hem’í.
Isg.poss-nom-rl just meet-tr-Isg.erg det bear prox come
7n-s-na men nam’ ch’ít, s-e-s men lhǐlsh
Isg.poss-nom-rl just go be.near nom-rl-3poss just stand
 kwetsi mǐxalh lhe-lhá7i...
 dem bear redup-approach
‘Then I went to meet the bear that was coming on. I went right up to it, and then the bear stood up on its hind legs and approached...’
(Kuipers 1967: 241)

It is therefore only a tendency that familiar DPs are null. (See Gerdt and Hukari 2003 for rates of overt DPs in Halkomelem.)

Within DPs, the NPs can also be null, as long as there is a demonstrative, adjective, quantifier or numeral. A D-determiner cannot occur without a following NP.

- (21) a. N-s-tl’í7 **kwetsi.**
 Isg.poss-nom-dear dem
 ‘I want that.’

- b. N-s-tl'í7 ta **hiyí.**
Isg.poss-nom-dear det big
 'I want the big one.'
- c. Chen kw'ách-nexw **í7xw.**
Isg.s look-tr(lc) all
 'I saw all, everything, everyone.'
- d. Chen kw'ách-nexw **án'us.**
Isg.s look-tr(lc) two
 'I saw (the) two (of them).'
- e. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta.**
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det

5 D-determiners

In this section, I provide the necessary background for the behaviour of D-determiners in *Skwú7mesh*: where they occur, their co-occurrence restrictions, and the gender distinctions that they encode. They often behave similarly to those of *St'át'imcets* (see Matthewson 1998). In the discussion below, I point out where the two languages differ.

In this section, I show that D-determiners are obligatory on arguments, D-determiners and demonstratives do not co-occur, and that D-determiners and quantifiers can co-occur. I also show that gender is encoded by the D-determiners.

5.1 Obligatory D-determiners

D-determiners are obligatory in argument position in *Skwú7mesh* (unless a quantifier or numeral is present; see §5.3).

- (22) a. Na wa sík **kwi/ta** kaláka.
rl impf fly det crow
 (i) ‘Crows fly.’
 (ii) ‘The crow is flying.’⁸
- b. * Na wa sík **kaláka**.
rl impf fly crow
- (23) a. 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.’
- b. * Há7lh-s-t-as **swí7ka** lha slhánay.’
good-caus-tr-3erg man det.f woman
- (24) 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

Bare plurals are not licit.

- (25) a. Há7lh-s chen **kwi/ta** mex-míxalh.
good-caus 1sg.s det redup-bear
 ‘I like (the) bears.’
- b. * Há7lh-s chen **mex-míxalh**.
good-caus 1sg.s redup-bear

Not even mass nouns (26), proper names (27), or independent pronouns (28) may be bare.

- (26) a. N-s-tl’í7 **kwi/ta** sták_w.
1sg.poss-nom-dear det water
 ‘I want (some)/the water.’
- b. * N-s-tl’í7 **sták_w**.
1sg.poss-nom-dear water

⁸ The generic reading is only obtained when translating from the English (and is available for both *ta* or *kwi*). When the speaker is asked to translate the *Skwú7mesh* back into English, the episodic reading is given. This is true of all examples, regardless of the determiner involved.

(27) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta** Peter.⁹
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det Peter
 'I saw Peter.'

b. * Chen kw'ach-nexw **Peter.**
Isg.s look-tr(lc) Peter

(28) a. Nílh **ta** éns.¹⁰
foc det Isg.indep
 'It's me.'

b. * Nílh **éns.**
foc Isg.indep

Independent pronouns vary across Salish; in St'át'imcets, for example, the independent pronouns cannot occur with D-determiners (Matthewson, p.c.), whereas Upriver Halkomelem independent pronouns do (Wiltschko 2002).

D-determiners are not licit in predicate position.

(29) a. **Slhanay'** lha Kirsten.
woman det.f Kirsten
 'Kirsten is a woman.'

b. * **Lha** slhanay' lha Kirsten.
det.f woman det.f Kirsten

D-determiners are only found on arguments.

⁹ Longobardi (1994) speculated that the lack of determiners on proper nouns in English is what allows them to be "scopeless" and rigidly referring. This can only be the case in a language where determiners are not normally found on proper names, as in English.

(i) I would like to meet **a** Bronwyn some day.

(ii) **The** Tristan I talked to last night was born in Penticton.

In Skwxwú7mesh, proper names (introduced by a D-determiner) behave like determinerless proper names in English in that they are rigidly referring.

(iii) Háw k-'an i kw'ách-nexw **ta** Peter.
neg irr-Isg.sbj prox look-tr(lc) det Peter
 'I didn't see Peter.' ≠ I didn't see anyone named Peter

Instead, to get this interpretation, the proper name must lack a D-determiner.

(iv) Háw k-'an i kw'ách-nexw kwi swí7ka s-ná-s **Peter.**
neg irr-Isg.sbj prox look-tr(lc) det man nom-call-3poss Peter
 'I don't know anyone named Peter.'

¹⁰ Unlike English, where pronouns appear to occupy D (Postal 1969, Longobardi 1994), here the pronoun must occupy NP.

5.2 D-determiners and demonstratives do not co-occur

Unlike in some Salish languages, in Skwxwú7mesh D-determiners and demonstratives cannot co-occur.

- (30) a. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwétsi ta/ti/kwa/kwi** míxalh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem det bear
 (I saw that bear)
- b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta/ti/kwa/kwi kwétsi** míxalh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det dem bear
- c. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **táy' ta/ti/kwa/kwi** míxalh
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem det bear
- d. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta/ti/kwa/kwi táy'** míxalh
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det dem bear
- e. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **tíwa ta/ti/kwa/kwi** míxalh
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem det bear
- f. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta/ti/kwa/kwi tíwa** míxalh
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det dem bear
- (31) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwétsi** míxalh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem bear
 'I saw that bear.'
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **táy'** míxalh
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem bear
 'I saw that bear.'
- c. Chen kw'ách-nexw **tíwa** míxalh
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem bear
 'I see this bear.'

In St'át'imcets, D-determiners and demonstratives *can* co-occur.

- (32) Lán-lhkan tu7 wa7 páqw-ens takem **iz' i** púkw-a.
already-Isg.s compl impf look-tr all dem det.pl book-exis
 'I already looked at all these books.' (St'át'imcets; Matthewson 1998)

5.3 D-determiners and quantifiers or numerals do co-occur

D-determiners can co-occur with quantifiers and numerals. Both weak (*kex* ‘many/lots’) and strong (*i7xw* ‘all’) quantifiers can precede or follow the D-determiner.

- (33) a. Chen kw’ách-nexw **i7xw** **ta** skwem-kwemáy’.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) all det redup-dog
 ‘I saw all the dogs.’
- b. Chen kw’ách-nexw **ta** **i7xw** skwem-kwemáy’.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det all redup-dog
 ‘I saw all the dogs.’
- c. Chen kw’ách-nexw **kex** **ta** skwem-kwemáy’.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) many det redup-dog
 ‘I saw lots of dogs.’
- d. Chen kw’ách-nexw **ta** **kex** skwem-kwemáy’.¹¹
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det many redup-dog
 ‘I saw lots of dogs.’

This is different from St’át’imcets, where only the strong quantifiers may precede or follow the D-determiner; post-verbal weak quantifiers must follow the D-determiner.¹²

- (34) a. ít’-em **i** **cw7ít-a** smúlhats.
sing-intr pl.det many-det woman
 ‘A lot of women sang.’
- b. * qwatsáts **cw7ít i** sk’wemk’uk’wmi’it-a.
leave many pl.det children-exis
 (Many children left)
- c. qvlqvl-ts-mín-lhkan **zí7zeg’** **ta** sqáycw-a áts’x-en-an.
bad(redup)mouth-appl-Isg.s each det man-exis see-tr-Isg.conj
 ‘Each man I saw, I swore at.’
- d. kwán-lhkan ku mulc lhél-ti **zí7zeg’-a** sk’úk’wmit.
take(tr)-Isg.s det stick from-det each-exis child
 ‘I took a stick from each of the children.’ (St’át’imcets; Matthewson 1998)

¹¹ The order of D-determiner and weak quantifier is variable, but within an elicitation session, the speakers choose one order over another.

¹² Preverbal weak quantifiers must precede the D-determiner in St’át’imcets (Matthewson 1998).

Numerals in Skwxwú7mesh must follow the D-determiner.

- (35) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **tsi/ta/kwi** **án'us** míxalh
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det two bear
 'I saw (the) two bears/two of the bears.'
- b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **án'us** **tsi/ta/kwi** míxalh
Isg.s look-tr(lc) two det bear

Quantifiers and numerals may occur without the presence of a D-determiner; however, the presence of a D-determiner is strongly preferred.

- (36) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **i7xw** míxalh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) all bear
 'I saw all the bears.'
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kex** míxalh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) many bear
 'I saw many bears.'
- c. Chen kw'ách-nexw **án'us** míxalh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) two bear
 'I saw (the) two bears/two of the bears.'

This is unlike St'át'imcets, where a D-determiner is *always* required, regardless of whether a quantifier or numeral is present.

- (37) a. q'weláw'-em **tákem i** syáqts7-a.
pick.berries-intr all pl.det woman-det
 'All the women pick berries.'
- b. * q'weláw'-em **tákem** smelhmúlhats.
pick.berries-intr all woman(redup)
- c. i cw7áoz-as kw-s cin'-s, zúqw-as
when.past neg-3sg.conj det-nom long.time-3sg.poss die-3sg.conj
i n7án'was-a úcwalmicw wa7 zwát-en-an.
pl.det two(human)-det person prog know-tr-1sg.conj
 'Not long ago two people died that I knew.'
- d. * áts'x-en-lhkan **n7án'was** smúlhats.
see-tr-1sg.s two(human) woman
 (I saw two women) (St'át'imcets; Matthewson 1998)

When a DP containing a quantifier/numeral occupies a pre-predicate position, the D-determiner is usually dropped.

- (38) a. **Án'us** slhánay' na ts'its'áp'.
two woman rl work
 'Two women worked.'
- b. **Í7xw** slhen-lhánay' na ts'itsáp'.
all redup-woman rl work
 'All the women worked.'
- c. **Kéx** slhen-lhánay' na ts'its'áp'.
many redup-woman rl work
 'Many women worked.'

One speaker allowed the D-determiner to be dropped even without the presence of other functional material in this fronted position.¹³

- (39) **Kaláka** wa k'exk'ix.
crow impf black
 'Crows are black.'

I should note that the examples in (36) and (38) are ruled out by Jelinek's (1995) analysis of Salish. Jelinek claims that there are no D-quantifiers in Salish. (Note that this term is completely independent of my use of the term D-determiner.) The distinction between D-quantification and A-quantification is a distinction between quantification over individuals and quantification over events, times, or situations (Partee et al. 1987). The D stands for 'determiner', but D-quantification can refer to any DP-internal quantification (that is, the quantifier does not have to occupy D). The A stands for adverbs, auxiliaries, affixes, and argument-structure adjusters (Partee 1991). An example of each is given below.

- (40) a. **Most** birds eat insects. (D-quantification)
- b. Kitty **usually** eats cat food. (A-quantification)

¹³ Demirdache et al (1994) argue that S_kw_xwú7mesh does not allow DPs to occur without the presence of a D-determiner, even when quantifiers or numerals are present, in examples like (36). It may be that we asked different speakers, and each group had different judgments regarding the presence or absence of D-determiners. It is my impression that speakers prefer the D-determiners, but do not require them.

In (40) a, the quantifier *most* ranges over individuals who are birds, and in (40)b, the quantifier *usually* quantifies over situations where my cat eats.

Jelinek (1995) argues that Straits only has A-quantification. According to her, the universal quantifier behaves like an adverbial quantifier in that it can unselectively bind variables throughout a sentence. Jelinek provides an example from Lummi, a dialect of Straits.

- (41) **mek**^w=Ø 'e^w pəq tsə spēqəŋ.
all=3abs link white det sprout
 'They are all/completely white, the flowers.' (Lummi; Jelinek 1995: 514)

However, the quantifiers in (42) range over individuals, and not situations.

- (42) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **í7xw** púsh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) all cat
 'I saw all the cats.' (at a particular time)
 ≠ I always saw cats
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kéx** púsh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) many cat
 'I saw many (of the) cats.'
 ≠ I often see cats/a cat.

This is also true when the determiner is present.

- (43) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **í7xw ta** púsh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) all det cat
 'I saw all the cats.' (at a particular time)
 ≠ I always saw cats
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kéx ta** púsh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) many det cat
 'I saw many (of the) cats.'
 ≠ I often see cats/a cat.

The data in (42) above also appear to be counter-evidence to Matthewson's (1998) claim that there are no Det-quantifiers in Salish. Unlike D-quantifiers, Det-quantifiers must occupy D. However, the data in (42) are only apparent counterexamples because *all* quantifiers in Skw_xwú7mesh can *always* co-occur with D-determiners (as shown in (43)). Recall that this is not the case for English. In English, some quantifiers cannot co-occur with a D-determiner.

- (44) a. I saw **every** cat.

- b. * I saw **the every** cat.
 c. * I saw **every the** cat.

In Salish (including Skw̥wú7mesh), there are no quantifiers which *cannot* co-occur with a D-determiner. Therefore I still propose, in spite of the data in (42), that there are no Det-quantifiers in Skw̥wú7mesh.

5.4 Gender

The female D-determiners are used when the referents are female humans or animals, as shown in (45)a. Otherwise, gender-neutral determiners are used (Kuipers 1967), (45)b and c.

- (45) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **lha/tsi/kwelha** stáw'xwelh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det.f child
 'I saw a/the girl.'
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta/ti/kwa** stáw'xwelh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det child
 'I saw a/the boy.'
- c. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta/ti** lapát.¹⁴
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det cup
 'I saw a/the cup.'

The female D-determiners are not obligatorily used with female referents, however, as shown in (46).

- (46) Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta/lha** slhánay'.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det/det.f woman
 'I saw a/the woman.'

Gender-neutral D-determiners are licit in any context; female determiners *can* but do not have to be used for female referents.

¹⁴ The D-determiner *kwa* is more restricted than the other D-determiners. See §7.2.1.1 for more discussion.

6 Previous discussions of the determiner system

The determiner system of *Skw̥wú7mesh* was first described by Kuipers in his 1967 grammar of the language. I will retain some aspects of his analysis and put it in more formal terms in Chapters 4 and 5. In this section I also discuss Peter Jacobs’ analysis of the determiner system as recorded in Currie (1997).

6.1 Kuipers’ (1967) description of the *Skw̥wú7mesh* determiner system

Kuipers’ (1967) original insight (that I will build upon in this thesis) is that proximity and (non-)presence are encoded in the *Skw̥wú7mesh* D-determiner and demonstrative systems.¹⁵ I give his system in the table below. He divides the system into definite and indefinite forms; the definite forms into present and non-present; and the (non)-present into weak and strong. (All of these terms will be explained below.)

	Definite					Indefinite
	Present			Non-present		
	Weak	Strong		Weak	Strong	
		Proximal	Distal			
plain	ta (tl’a) ¹⁶	ti	táy’	kwa	kwétsi	kwi
feminine	lha (tl’a)	tsi	álhi	kwelha	kwélhi	kwes

Table 2.4: The D-determiner and demonstrative system of *Skw̥wú7mesh* (adapted from Kuipers 1967:137).

Kuipers states that “[t]he definite forms are used for objects which are individually identified for the speaker in an independent way” (1967: 137). That is, the referents are known to the speaker. Some examples of this are given below. In (47)a, for example, the speaker has seen the snake; in (47)b, however, the speaker has not seen any snake, and therefore the “indefinite” D-determiner *kwi* is used.

¹⁵ I continue to make a distinction between D-determiners and demonstratives.

¹⁶ The determiner *tl’a* is the oblique version of *ta* or *lha* when the NP is a proper name or pronoun (Kuipers 1967). For all other determiners and common nouns, if the DP is marked oblique, the oblique marker *t-* is added.

- (47) a. Yúu cháxw, na wa lésiw'ilh t-ta smánt
take.care 2sg.emph rl impf under obl-det stone
kwetsi élhkay'.
dem snake
 'Careful, there is a snake under the stone.'
- b. Yúu cháxw, **iw'áyti** na wa lésiw'ilh
take.care 2sg.emph maybe rl impf under
 t-ta smánt **kwi** élhkay'.
obl-det stone det snake
 'Careful, there may be a snake under the stone.' (Kuipers 1967: 138)
- (48) a. Sát-shit-ka **ta** stákw.
give-appl-imper det water
 'Give him the water!'
- b. Sát-shit-ka **kwi** stákw.
give-appl-imper det water
 'Give him (some) water!' (Kuipers 1967: 138)

As Kuipers himself notes, the “definite forms” are not equivalent to the definite determiner in English (a point that I will discuss further in Chapter 4).

Within the category he labels definite, Kuipers makes a distinction between referents which can be pointed out in the speech-situation (present) and referents which cannot be pointed out in the speech-situation (non-present). He also notes that the present form is used when the DP refers to a class of individuals, rather than a particular individual.

- (49) a. Na wa n-s-7ip'ákw'alh **ta** míxalh.
rl impf 1sg.poss-nom-scared det bear
 'I'm afraid of bears.'
- b. Chen kí-s **ta** slhém'xw.
1sg.s bad-caus det rain
 'I dislike rain.' (Kuipers 1967: 139)

Kuipers also notes that the present form can also be used for referents which are absent, especially in texts. That is, *ta* can be used for referents which are not in the same vicinity as the speaker (e.g. not in the same room). The absent form *kwa* cannot be used for referents in the same vicinity as the speaker, and can only be used for absent referents. Kuipers claims that the present forms are “unmarked”; the absent “marked”. (See §7 for more discussion and data, where I provide an analysis of this phenomenon.)

e.	ta	éns	f.	ta	néw	
	<i>det</i>	<i>1sg.indep</i>		<i>det</i>	<i>2sg.indep</i>	
	'I'			'you (sg)'		
g.	ta	nímalh	h.	ta	néw-yap	
	<i>det</i>	<i>1pl.indep</i>		<i>det</i>	<i>2indep-2pl</i>	
	'we'			'you (pl)'		(Kuipers 1967: 140)

Kuipers claims that *ta* (the present, gender-neutral determiner) can be used for previously mentioned (i.e., familiar) non-unique referents. He further claims that this use of *ta* is only allowed if the referent has already been previously mentioned using a demonstrative.²¹ However, this cannot be correct, as *ta* can be used for novel referents, as I will show in Chapter 4. Examples of novel *ta* can also be found in the texts in Kuipers (1967).

Within the “present” category of the demonstratives, Kuipers identifies a proximal-distal opposition, but does not discuss which contexts each of *tí* and *táy'* can be used in.

(54)	<i>tí</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>táy'</i>	
	<i>dem</i>	<i>conj</i>	<i>dem</i>	
	'this one and that one'			(Kuipers 1967: 140)

He claims that there are also a few independent forms (those that cannot occur with following NPs), which he only briefly discusses. The element *-wa* is usually added to the demonstrative *tí* if it occurs without an NP.

(55)	<i>táy'</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>tíwa</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>tsíwa</i>	
	<i>dem</i>	<i>conj</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>conj</i>	<i>dem.f</i>	
	'that one and this one and this one (f)'					(Kuipers 1967: 140)

Other elements which Kuipers claims can only be used without NPs are *ía-wit*, *ítsi-witi*, *kwétsi-wit* and *kwá-wit*. I add them to his determiner/demonstrative table, given below.²²

²¹ He does not say explicitly which demonstratives are used in these introductory cases, but I assume he means *kwétsi*, which is often - though not always - used for novel referents.

²² I do this because they *do* behave like the other demonstratives, in that they can occur with an NP.

		Definite					Indefinite
		Present			Non-present		
		D-determiner	Demonstrative		D-determiner	Demonstrative	
Proximal	Distal						
plain	singular	ta (tl'a)	ti/ tiwa	tay'	kwa	kwetsi	kwi
	plural		ia-wit	itsi-wit	kwa-wit	kwetsi-wit	
feminine		lha (tl'a)	tsi/ tsiwa	alhi	kwelha	kwelhi	kwes

Table 2.5: The D-determiner and demonstrative system of *Skwú7mesh* (adapted from Kuipers 1967:137-143).

6.2 Jacobs' (1997) analysis

Another analysis of the determiner system was done by Peter Jacobs. I provide this here to compare with Kuipers' analysis, and for comparison with my own analysis, given in §7. Jacobs re-analyzes the determiner system on the basis of his own fieldwork, as below (given by Currie 1997). Unlike Kuipers, Jacobs treats the demonstratives separately from the D-determiners, because of their different behaviour, shown above in (50) and (51). Here I provide the D-determiner system.

	Potentially Visible				Invisible
	Visible		Non-Visible		
	Proximal	Distal			
non-feminine	ti	ta	kwa	kwi	
feminine	tsi	lha	kwelha	kwes	

Table 2.6: The D-determiner system of *Skwú7mesh* (Currie 1997:31; as suggested by Peter Jacobs).

The D-determiners, instead of being split along “definite”/“indefinite” lines (i.e., whether the speaker knows the referent or not), are split into potentially visible and invisible. A potentially visible referent would be something the speaker may have previously seen. An invisible referent, on the other hand, would not have been seen by the speaker at any time. (I discuss these issues further in Chapter 5.) The potentially visible D-determiners are then further split into visible and non-visible, and the visible into proximal and distal.

Jacobs' analysis differs from Kuipers' in another way. Unlike Kuipers, Jacobs treats *ti* and *tsi* as D-determiners, rather than demonstratives. This is because *tsi* cannot occur without a following NP.

- (56) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **tsi** slhánay'.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det.f woman
 'I saw a/the woman.'
- b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **tsi/tsí.**
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det.f

The second reason has to do with the interaction of stress and *ti*.

Ti can be stressed or unstressed. The difference between stressed *tí* and unstressed *ti* is audible because the vowel quality changes. In *Skwú7mesh*, what is represented by /i/ is pronounced [e] in stressed positions (Kuipers 1967, Bar-el and Watt 1998); /i/ is pronounced [i] in unstressed positions.²³ If *ti* is pronounced [ti], then it must be unstressed. If *ti* is pronounced [te], then it stressed.

Unstressed *ti* also behaves like a D-determiner as it cannot occur on its own.

- (57) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ti** swí7ka. [ti swé'qa]
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det man
 'I saw a/the/this man.'
- b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **ti.** [ti]
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det

Stressed *tí* behaves like a demonstrative, as it *can* occur without a following NP.

- (58) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **tí** swí7ka. [te swé'qa]
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem man
 'I saw a/the/this man.'
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **tí.** [te]
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem
 'I saw this one.'

In the next section, I provide my own descriptions of the *Skwú7mesh* D-determiner and demonstrative systems. I provide more evidence for deictic features, and show that neither Kuipers' nor Jacobs' characterizations capture all of the data. In particular, the obligatory narrow scope of the non-deictic D-determiners cannot be captured by an "indefinite" or "invisible" analysis of *kwi*.

²³ There are rare cases of an unstressed vowel having the stressed vowel quality (Bar-el and Watt 1998).

7 Deixis

The previous descriptions of the determiner system captured the fact that deictic features, such as presence, or visibility, play a role in *Skwú7mesh*. Here I delve deeper into the deictic features of the determiner system.

The term “deixis” can be used to refer to many different notions, including person deixis, space deixis, time deixis, social deixis, etc. (see Fillmore 1997 [1975]; Lyons 1979; Levinson 1983). The common feature in all of these is the notion of distance, anchored to the speech actors, or utterance. This distance can involve distance in time, space, social hierarchies, etc. Here I will be focusing on space and time deixis, as these are the only notions relevant to the determiners of *Skwú7mesh*. Spatial deixis is especially relevant here.

Deixis is often assumed to apply only to demonstratives rather than D-determiners, in the nominal domain (see Imai 2003, for example). However, in *Skwú7mesh*, deixis is a feature of both the demonstratives *and* D-determiners. In this section, I provide evidence that deixis is relevant to both demonstratives and D-determiners.

Deictic elements can differ along many different axes. Here I follow Imai (2003) in assuming that there are three parameters: 1) anchor, 2) spatial demarcation, and 3) referent and region configuration.²⁴ 1) The anchor can be speaker (typically), hearer, both, or someone or something else. 2) The space can be divided by relative distance (proximal, medial, and distal, for example) or by notions such as up/down, uphill/downriver, north/west/south/east, etc. 3) The configuration of the referent and the region can involve motion, visibility, posture and the overlap between the referent and the region.

In gathering most of the data in this section, I placed objects at certain distances away from the consultants. In Figure 1, the Xs mark various distances from the speaker. The rectangle is representative of a room, as that is the size of the area where the elicitation was conducted. The rectangle may be representative of the speaker’s visual field; more elicitation outdoors would have to be undertaken to test this hypothesis.

²⁴ Imai argues that there are four. I ignore his fourth parameter (function) as it does not seem to be relevant for the *Skwú7mesh* determiner system.

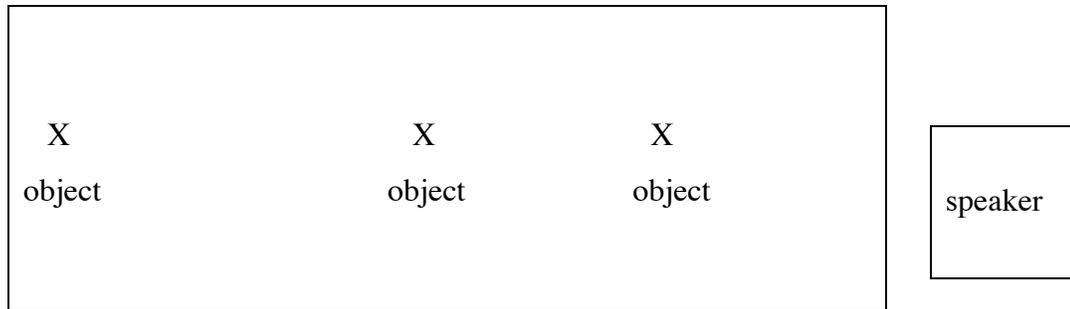


Figure 2.1 : Speaker and relative distances from objects

I then asked if the particular sentence was felicitous in the context. For each piece of data given in the next few sections, the context is given next to the English gloss.

On the basis of the data given below, I argue for the following categorizations of the D-determiner and demonstrative systems in *Skwxwú7mesh*.

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

Table 2.7: The D-determiner system of *Skwxwú7mesh*.

		Neutral, invisible	Proximal	Medial	Distal	
					Unmarked	Invisible
gender-neutral	number-neutral	kwíya	tí, tíwa	táy'	kwétsi	
	plural	kwíyawit	iáwit	ítsiwit	kwétsiwit	kwáwit
feminine		kwsá	tsíwa	álhi	kwélhi	

Table 2.8: The demonstrative system of *Skwxwú7mesh*.

There are a number of differences between this analysis and the ones provided by Kuipers and Jacobs. First, I do not analyze the D-determiners along present/non-present or potentially visible/invisible lines. Instead, I distinguish non-distal D-determiners from distal D-determiners. I also distinguish between ‘distal’ and ‘distal, invisible’. The difference between “neutral” and “medial” features is discussed below.

7.1 Anchor

The anchor is the reference point for deictic elements: the base to which referents are related. Crosslinguistically, the anchor for deixis is typically the speaker, although the hearer is the

anchor in some languages (Imai 2003). In the next sections, I show that the speaker is the anchor for both the D-determiners and the demonstratives in *Skwú7mesh*.

7.1.1 Anchor for the D-determiners

In *Skwú7mesh*, the anchor is the speaker. This can be seen with body parts. The speaker can use either proximal *ti* or neutral *ta* to refer to their own body parts, but only neutral *ta* for someone else's. (See §7.2 for more discussion of the fact that proximal *ti* and neutral *ta* can often be used interchangeably.)

- (59) a. Na mi púm **ti**-n s7átsus.
rl come swell det-1sg.poss face
 'My face is puffy/swollen.'
- b. Na mi púm **ta**-n s7átsus.
rl come swell det-1sg.poss face
 'My face is puffy/swollen.'
- c. Na mi púm **ta** e-s7átsus.
rl come swell det 2sg.poss-face
 'Your face is puffy/swollen.'
- d. * Na mi púm **ti** e-s7átsus.
rl come swell det 1sg.poss-face

If the hearer were the anchor, we would expect that one of the D-determiners would only be used for the hearer's body parts (and not for the speaker's).

The fact that the speaker is the anchor can also be seen in other contexts. For example, if the referent is closer to the speaker than the hearer, either proximal *ti* or neutral *ta* may be used.²⁵

- (60) a. Chen tákw-an **ta** stákw.
1sg.s drink-tr det water
 'I drank the water.' (water near speaker)
- b. Chen tákw-an **ti** stákw.
1sg.s drink-tr det water
 'I drank the water.' (water near speaker)

²⁵ These examples do not permit the use of *kwa*; not all NPs can co-occur with *kwa*. (See §7.2.1.) It may also be a problem with the choice of example, since the water now occupies the same position as the speaker.

If the referent is closer to the hearer than the speaker, then only the neutral *ta* can be used.

- (61) a. Chen *tákw-an* **ta** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr det water
 ‘I drank the water.’ (water near hearer)
- b. * Chen *tákw-an* **ti** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr det water (water near hearer)

Furthermore, if the referent is far from the speaker *and* the hearer, only neutral *ta* is licit.

- (62) a. Chen *tákw-an* **ta** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr det water
 ‘I drank the water.’ (water far from speaker and hearer)
- b. * Chen *tákw-an* **ti** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr det water (water far from speaker and hearer)

Again, if the hearer were the anchor, we would expect a different D-determiner choice for the context in (61) versus the context in (62). That is, we would expect that at least one of the D-determiners would be used for referents close to the hearer, and that another D-determiner would be used for referents far from the hearer.

7.1.2 Anchor for the demonstratives

The anchor for the demonstratives is also the speaker. If the referent is held by the speaker, only the proximal demonstrative *tí* can be used.

- (63) a. Chen *tákw-an* **tí** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr dem water
 ‘I drank this water.’ (near speaker; holding cup)
- b. * Chen *tákw-an* **táy’** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr dem water
 ‘I drank that water.’ (near speaker; holding cup)
- c. * Chen *tákw-an* **kwetsi** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr dem water (near speaker; holding cup)

If the referent is within grasping reach, then either proximal *tí* or medial *táy’* is licit. The distal demonstrative *kwetsi* cannot be used.

- (64) a. Chen *tákw-an* **tí** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr dem water
 ‘I drank this water.’ (near speaker; within reach)
- b. Chen *tákw-an* **táy’** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr dem water
 ‘I drank that water.’ (near speaker; within reach)
- c. * Chen *tákw-an* **kwetsi** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr dem water (near speaker; within reach)

If the referent is far from the speaker, regardless of the relative distance to the hearer, then only the distal demonstrative *kwetsi* is acceptable.

- (65) a. * Chen *tákw-an* **tí** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr dem water (far from speaker; near or far from hearer)
- b. * Chen *tákw-an* **táy’** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr dem water (far from speaker; near or far from hearer)
- c. Chen *tákw-an* **kwetsi** *stákw.*
Isg.s drink-tr dem water
 ‘I drank that water.’ (far from speaker; near or far from hearer)

Again, if the hearer were the anchor, then we would expect distance from the hearer to affect the choice of demonstrative.

7.2 Spatial demarcation

The determiners mark out space by relative distance: proximal, neutral and distal. The choice of a *Skwxwú7mesh* determiner is directly tied to the distance between the object and the speaker. The examples above have already shown that distance is encoded; however, here I will show it more systematically. I begin with the distal category, the furthest from the speaker.

7.2.1 *Distal*

The distal D-determiner and the distal demonstrative behave differently. The behaviour of each is shown below. Neither the distal D-determiner nor the distal demonstrative can be used to refer

- c. * Men yálh s-en mi tl'ík tiná7 t-ti Skwǰwú7mesh.
just finally nom-1sg.sbj come arrive from obl-det Skwǰwú7mesh

Kwa cannot be used for referents that are proximal to the speaker.

There is a further complication with *kwa*. This determiner can only be used if the referent is interesting enough to warrant the use of it. For example, *kwa* can be used for people and places. However, it can only be used for animals if the particular animal has been made interesting enough.

- (68) a. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwa** míxalh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det bear
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwa** míxalh wa an kw'áy'.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det bear impf very hungry
 'I saw a bear that was very hungry.' (elicited by Elizabeth Currie)

If the animal is not “interesting”, the neutral determiner is used instead.

- (69) Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta** míxalh.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det bear
 'I saw the bear.' (not in room; invisible)

What counts as “interesting enough” is unclear at this point. Further research into this behaviour is required.

7.2.1.2 The distal demonstratives

There are two distal demonstratives: *kwetsi(wit)* and *kwawit*. The distal demonstrative *kwetsi* behaves very differently from the distal determiner *kwa*. Similarly to the determiner, *kwetsi* also cannot be used for referents that are near the speaker.

- (70) *Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwetsi** swí7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem man (near speaker)

However, the demonstrative *kwetsi* can be used for referents that are closer to the speaker than the determiner *kwa* can be.

- (71) a. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwa** swí7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem man (in room, far from speaker)

- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwetsi** swí7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem man
 'I see that man.' (in room, far from speaker)

Kwetsi also cannot be used for place names, unlike *kwa*.

- (72) *Men yálh s-en mi tl'ík tina7 t-**kwetsi** Skwxwú7mesh.
just finally nom-1sg.sbj come arrive from obl-dem Skwxwú7mesh

Kwawit, on the other hand, is like *kwa* in that it can only be used for referents that are remote from the speaker.

- (73) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwawit** swí7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem.pl man
 'I saw those men.' (far from speaker, not in room)
- b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwawit** swí7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem.pl man
 (far from speaker, in room)

Simply referring to one feature “distal” is not enough to explain the data in Skwxwú7mesh. This will also be discussed in §7.3.

7.2.2 Neutral

There are two elements which can be used to refer to entities at any location: the D-determiner *ta* and the demonstrative *kwiya*. I call these neutral because they are not used for referents which cannot be located at all. They are only used for referents which can be located or were locatable at some point by the speaker. Neutral D-determiners are therefore still deictic. In Chapter 5, I discuss the non-deictic D-determiner which can be used for referents that cannot be located.

7.2.2.1 The neutral D-determiner

The D-determiner *ta* can be used for (nearly) any referent. If the referent is in the same location as the speaker (near or far), or was at some earlier point visible to the speaker, *ta* may be used.

- (74) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ta** swí7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det man
 'I see the man.' (man near speaker)

- (76) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **táy'** swí7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem man
 'I see the man.' (halfway across the room)
- b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **táy'** swí7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem man (across the room)

The medial demonstrative *táy'* cannot be used when the speaker is holding or touching the referent.

- (77) a. P'ék' **táy'** lapát.
white dem cup
 'That cup is white.' (within reach)
- b. * P'ék' **táy'** lapát.
white dem cup (in hand of speaker)
- c. P'ék' **tí** lapát.
white dem cup
 'This cup is white.' (in hand of speaker, or near speaker)

The feature medial must be present in the demonstrative system; however, only neutral is present in the determiner system.

7.2.4 Proximal

Proximal objects are usually those within reach of the speaker (e.g. within arms-length or closer), or in the hand of the speaker.

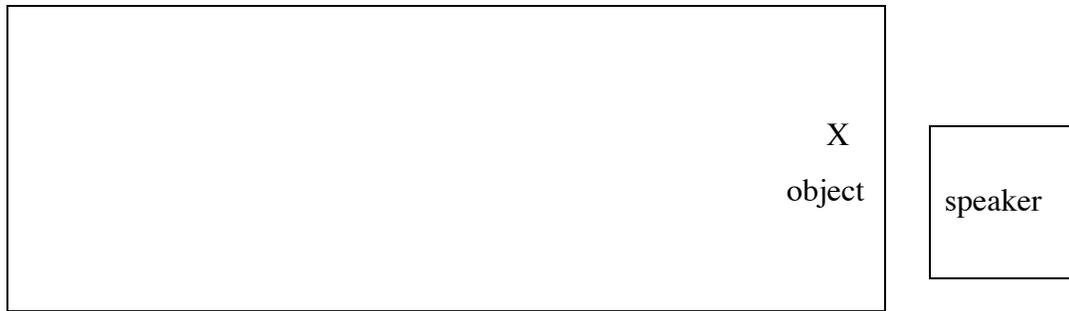


Figure 2.4 : Proximal object

Unlike the distal and medial/neutral categories, the proximal determiner and the proximal demonstrative behave similarly.

7.2.4.1 The proximal D-determiner

The proximal D-determiner *ti* can be used only if the referent is located very close to the speaker. For example, if someone has just arrived somewhere, the proximal D-determiner must be used with the place name.

- (78) a. 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).'
- b. * Men yálh s-en mi tl'ík **ta** eslha7án.
just finally nom-1sg.sbj come arrive det eslha7án
- c. * Men yálh s-en mi tl'ík **kwa** eslha7án.
just finally nom-1sg.sbj come arrive det eslha7án

The proximal D-determiner cannot be used if the referent is moderately or very far away from the speaker.

- (79) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **ti** swí7ka.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det man
 'I see the man.' (near speaker)
- b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **ti** swí7ka.
1sg.s look-tr(lc) det man (in the middle distance/far away from speaker)

7.2.4.2 The proximal demonstrative

The proximal demonstrative must also be used where the referent is very close to the speaker.

- (80) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **tí(wa)** swí7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem man
 'I see this man.' (near speaker)
- b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **tí(wa)** swí7ka.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) dem man (in the middle distance/far away
 from speaker)

Both the proximal D-determiner and demonstrative must be used for referents that are close to the speaker.

7.3 Region configuration: (in)visibility

In *Skw̥wú7mesh*, there are three elements that must only be used for invisible referents: the distal D-determiner *kwa*, the neutral demonstrative *kwiya(wit)* and the distal demonstrative *kwawit*. Cross-linguistically, distal elements are more likely to also be invisible (Fillmore 1982).

7.3.1 The invisible D-determiner

The distal, invisible determiner *kwa* is only used for invisible referents.

- (81) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwa** Peter.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det Peter
 'I saw Peter.' (no longer visible, in a different location)
- b. * Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwa** Peter.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det Peter (Peter is in room or Peter is still visible in
 another room)

This D-determiner cannot be used for referents which are close to the speaker, even if the referent is invisible. It cannot be simply an invisible D-determiner.

- (82) a. Na kw'ay' **kwa** Peter.
rl hide det Peter
 'Peter is hiding.' (in a different location)
- b. * Na kw'ay' **kwa** Peter.
rl hide det Peter (in the same room)

If the referent is not important enough to use *kwa* (see §7.2.1), then *ta* is used instead, even if it is invisible and distal.

- (83) P'ék' **ta** lapát.
white det cup
 'The cup is white.' (within reach/in middle distance/far away, not visible)

The distal demonstrative, unlike the distal D-determiner, can be used for visible referents.

- (84) a. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwetsi** Peter.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det Peter
 'I saw Peter.' (no longer visible)
- b. Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwetsi** Peter.
Isg.s look-tr(lc) det Peter (Peter is in room or Peter is still visible in another room)

The distal feature has different effects in the two systems. I assume that more features are involved: *kwa* must also have an invisibility feature which the demonstrative *kwetsi* lacks.

7.3.2 The invisible demonstratives

There are two invisible demonstratives: *kwiya(wit)* and *kwawit*. The invisible demonstrative *kwiya(wit)*, unlike the invisible D-determiner *kwa*, is not distal, but instead neutral.

- (85) a. Chen tkwaya7n **kwiya-wit** na wa kwikwi.
Isg.a hear dem-3pl rl impf talk
 'I heard them talking.' (invisible to speaker and very close to speaker/in same room/outside room)
- b. * Chen tkwaya7n **kwiyawit** na wa kwikwi.
Isg.a hear dem-3pl rl impf talk
 'I heard them talking.' (visible to speaker)

The invisible demonstrative *kwiya* can be used for referents in any location, as long as the speaker is unable to see them, and is able to hear them. The distal invisible demonstrative *kwawit* can only be used if the referent is far from the speaker and invisible.

- (86) a. Chen tkwaya7n **kwawit** na wa kwikwi.
Isg.a hear dem.pl rl impf talk
 'I heard them talking.' (invisible to speaker and outside room)

- b. * Chen tkwaya7n kwawit na wa kwikwi.
Isg.a hear dem.pl rl impf talk
 ‘I heard them talking.’ (invisible to speaker and inside room)

7.4 Summary

Distal, medial and proximal objects have varying degrees of distance between them and the speaker.

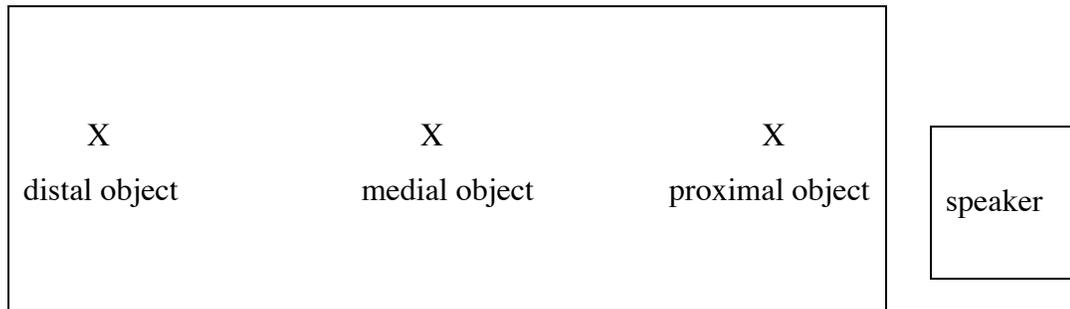


Figure 2.5 : Relative distances between distal, medial and proximal objects

Neutral objects can be anywhere in this field, or invisible to the speaker. Invisible objects must be invisible. The theoretical status of all of these features will be discussed in Chapter 4. The non-deictic D-determiner *kwi*, which I have not discussed here, is analyzed in Chapter 5. Below I repeat the analysis of the D-determiners argued for in this chapter.

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

Table 2.9: The D-determiner system of Skwxwú7mesh.

		Neutral, invisible	Proximal	Medial	Distal	
					unmarked	invisible
gender-neutral	number-neutral	kwiyá(wa)	tí(wa)	táy'	kwétsi	
	plural	kwiyáwit	iyá(wit)	ítsi(wit)	kwétsiwit	kwáwit
feminine		kwsá(wa)	tsíwa	álhi	kwélhi	

Table 2.10: The demonstrative system of Skwxwú7mesh.