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. 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.

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1 Recall that this term does not include quantifiers, numerals or demonstratives.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuxalk</td>
<td>Comox</td>
<td>Sliammon, Klahoose, Homalko, Island Comox</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pentlatch*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sechelt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Salish</td>
<td><strong>Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish)</strong></td>
<td>Chilliwack/Upriver Halkomelem, Musqueam, Nanaimo/Cowichan</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Halkomelem</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nooksack*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northern Straits</td>
<td>Semiahmoo, Saanich, Lummi, Songish, Samish, Sooke</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Klallam</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lushootseed</td>
<td>Northern, Southern</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Twana*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tillamook*</td>
<td>Upper Chehalis</td>
<td>Satsop, Oakville, Tenino</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cowlitz*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower Chehalis</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Quinault*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tsamosan</td>
<td>St’át’imcets (Lillooet)</td>
<td>Mount Currie/Lower Lillooet, Fountain/Upper Lillooet</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nlèʔ kepmuxcín (Thompson)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Secwepemctsín (Shuswap)</td>
<td>Eastern, Western</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
<td>Northern, Southern/Colville</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Moses-Columbian</td>
<td>Spokane, Kalispel, Flathead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kalispel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coeur d’Alene</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Skwxwú7mesh. 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 Skwxwú7mesh D-determiner system. In §7, I provide detailed information about the D-determiner system, including a re-analysis of the structure of the Skwxwú7mesh 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender-neutral</th>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th>Non-deictic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>lha</td>
<td>tsi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2: The D-determiner system of Skwxwú7mesh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender-neutral</th>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th>Non-deictic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neutral, invisible</td>
<td>Proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>kwíya(wa)²</td>
<td>tí(wa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kwíyawit</td>
<td>iyá(wit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsíwa</td>
<td>álhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: The demonstrative system of Skwxwú7mesh.

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

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 Skwxwú7mesh. Where the context was provided in Skwxwú7mesh, the entire discourse is provided in the
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 Skwxwú7mesh 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
Skwxwú7mesh 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.’

Skwxwú7mesh 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’  
    det-1sg.poss dog  
    ‘my dog’  

b. ta skwemáy’-chet  
    det dog-1pl.poss  
    ‘our dog’  

c. ta e-skwemáy’  
    det 2sg.poss-dog  
    ‘your (sg) dog’  

d. ta skwemáy’-yap  
    det dog-2pl.poss  
    ‘your (pl) dog’  

e. ta skwemáy’-s  
    det dog-3poss  
    ‘his/her dog’  

f. ta skwemáy’-s-wit  
    det dog-3poss-3pl  
    ‘their dog’

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

(5) a. míxalh  
    bear  
    ‘bear’  

b. mex-míxalh  
    redup-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.  
    1sg.s look-tr(lc) det cat  
    ‘I saw a cat/the cat/cats/the cats.’  

b. Chen kw’ách-nexw ta pesh-púsh.  
    1sg.s look-tr(lc) det redup-cat  
    ‘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.
   1sg.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, -(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.
   1sg.s break-tr det write-instr
   ‘I broke the pencil.’

b. Chen xep’-nexw ta xel’-tn.
   1sg.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-1sg.o-3erg det.f woman.
   ‘The/a woman helped me.’

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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. 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’ap’.
    rl impf work
    ‘S/he is working.’

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.
Skwxwú7mesh is a predicate-initial language. It allows both VSO and VOS word orders (Kuipers 1967, Currie 1997, Gillon 1998b).

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 Gerdt 1988 for the same facts in Halkomelem). This is the same pattern of morphology found in relative clauses. Clefts are often introduced by nilh. Kroeker (1999) calls these ‘introduced clefts’.

Extraction of transitive subjects can also occur without the focus particle nilh. These types of constructions are referred to as ‘pseudo-clefts’ in Gerdt (1998) and ‘bare clefts’ in Kroeker (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-).

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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.
(14) Ta swi7ka 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 swi7ka 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 tsút [kwi-s-e-s kw’ách-nexw-as ta swi7ka
    Lsg.s say   comp-nom-rl-3poss look-tr(lc)-3erg det man
    det.f woman
(1i) ‘I said that the man saw the woman’
(1ii) ‘I said that the woman saw the man.’
    (VSO)

b. * Chen tsút [kwi-s-e-s ta swi7ka kw’ách-nexw-as
    Lsg.s say   comp-nom-rl-3poss det man look-tr(lc)-3erg
    det.f woman
    (SVO)

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

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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.mixalh ‘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.mixalh.
1sg.poss-nom-rl just look-tr(lc)-1sg.erg dem bear
Chet men lhá7n, chet men nam’ ch’ími, n-s-na
1pl.s just approach 1pl.s just go close 1sg.poss-nom-rl
men kwüm, n-s-na men nam’ tl’ích-it-an.
just ashore 1sg.poss-nom-rl just go stalk-tr-1sg.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.mixalh ‘the bear’ is used for the same familiar bear.

(19) ...Na7-kw mi ch’ít kwetsi.mixalh lhe-lhá7n-t-umulh-as.
rl-already come close dem bear redup-approach-tr-1pl.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 mixalh i hem’i.
1sg.poss-nom-rl just meet-tr-1sg.erg det bear prox come
7n-s-na men nam’ ch’ít, s-e-s men lhíxílsh
1sg.poss-nom-rl just go be.near nom-rl-3poss just stand
kwetsi.mixalh 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 Gerdts 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.
1sg.poss-nom-dear dem
‘I want that.’
b. N-s-tl’í7 ta hiyí.
   *1sg.poss-nom-dear det big
   ‘I want the big one.’

c. Chen kw’ách-nexw i7xw.
   *1sg.s look-tr(lc) all
   ‘I saw all, everything, everyone.’

d. Chen kw’ách-nexw án’us.
   *1sg.s look-tr(lc) two
   ‘I saw (the) two (of them).’

e. * Chen kw’ách-nexw ta.
   *1sg.s look-tr(lc) det

5 D-determiners
In this section, I provide the necessary background for the behaviour of D-determiners in Skwxwú7mesh: 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 Skwxwú7mesh (unless a quantifier or numeral is present; see §5.3).
(22) a. Na wa sík kwí/ta kaláka.
   rl impf fly det crow
   (i) ‘Crows fly.’
   (ii) ‘The crow is flying.’

b. * Na wa sík kaláka.
   rl impf fly crow

(23) a. Há7lh-s-t-as kwí/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 kwí/ta mixalh.
   good-caus 1sg.s det bear
   ‘I like (the) bear/bears.’

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

Bare plurals are not licit.

   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 kwí/ta stákw.
   1sg.poss-nom-dear det water
   ‘I want (some)/the water.’

b. * N-s-tl’í7 stákw.
   1sg.poss-nom-dear water

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8 The generic reading is only obtained when translating from the English (and is available for both ta or kwí). When the speaker is asked to translate the Skwxwú7mesh back into English, the episodic reading is given. This is true of all examples, regardless of the determiner involved.
(27) a. Chen kw’ách-nexw ta Peter.0
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det Peter
   ‘I saw Peter.’

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

(28) a. Nílh ta éns.10
   foc det 1sg.indep
   ‘It’s me.’

   b. * Nílh éns.
   foc 1sg.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.

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0 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-1sg.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 swi7ka s-ná-s Peter.
   neg irr-1sg.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.

   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det dem bear
   (I saw that bear)

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

c. * Chen kw’ách-nexw táy’ ta/ti/kwa/kwi míxalh
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det dem bear

d. * Chen kw’ách-nexw ta/ti/kwa/kwi táy’ míxalh
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det dem bear

e. * Chen kw’ách-nexw tíwa ta/ti/kwa/kwi míxalh
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det dem bear

f. * Chen kw’ách-nexw ta/ti/kwa/kwi tíwa míxalh
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det dem bear

(31) a. Chen kw’ách-nexw kwétsi míxalh.
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) dem bear
   ‘I saw that bear.’

b. Chen kw’ách-nexw táy’ míxalh
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) dem bear
   ‘I saw that bear.’

c. Chen kw’ách-nexw tíwa míxalh
   1sg.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-1sg.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’.  
     1sg.s look-tr(lc) all det redup-dog  
     ‘I saw all the dogs.’

     b. Chen kw’ách-nexw ta i7xw skwem-kwemáy’.  
     1sg.s look-tr(lc) det all redup-dog  
     ‘I saw all the dogs.’

     c. Chen kw’ách-nexw kex ta skwem-kwemáy’.  
     1sg.s look-tr(lc) many det redup-dog  
     ‘I saw lots of dogs.’

     d. Chen kw’ách-nexw ta kex skwem-kwemáy’.11  
     1sg.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. it’-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)

     bad(redup)mouth-appl-1sg.s each det man-exis see-tr-1sg.conj  
     ‘Each man I saw, I swore at.’

     d. kwán-lhkan ku mulc lhél-tí zí7zeg’-a sk’úk’wmit.  
     take(tr)-1sg.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 tsí/tá/kwi án’ús míxalh
       1sg.s look-tr(lc) det two bear
       ‘I saw (the) two bears/two of the bears.’

   b.  * Chen kw’ách-nexw án’ús tsí/tá/kwi míxalh
       1sg.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.
       1sg.s look-tr(lc) all bear
       ‘I saw all the bears.’

   b.  Chen kw’ách-nexw kex míxalh.
       1sg.s look-tr(lc) many bear
       ‘I saw many bears.’

   c.  Chen kw’ách-nexw án’ús míxalh.
       1sg.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 smelhmúlhat.
       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 úcwalmícw 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-lhkán n7án’was smúlhat.
       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 slhán’ya na ts’its’áp’.
      two    woman    rl    work
      ‘Two women worked.’

     b. Í7xw slhen-lhán’ya na ts’itsáp’.
       all     redup-woman     rl    work
       ‘All the women worked.’

     c. Kéx slhen-lhán’ya 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 Skwxwú7mesh 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 adverbal quantifier in that it can unselectively bind variables throughout a sentence. Jelinek provides an example from Lummi, a dialect of Straits.

\[(41) \text{ mek}^*=\emptyset \quad '\text{e}\overset{\text{w}}{\text{\textbackslash e}} \quad \overset{\text{\textbackslash q}}{\text{\textbackslash q}} \quad \text{ts}\overset{\text{\textbackslash a}}{\text{\textbackslash a}} \quad \overset{\text{\textbackslash p}\text{\textbackslash e}}{\text{\textbackslash q}}\text{\textbackslash e}\overset{\text{\textbackslash n}}{\text{\textbackslash n}} \]
\[
\text{all=3abs link white det sprout}
\]
‘They are all/completely white, the flowers.’

(Lummi; Jelinek 1995: 514)

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

\[(42) \text{ a. } \text{Chen } \text{kw\'\textbackslash a\textbackslash c}\text{-nexw } \overset{\text{\textbackslash i\textbackslash 7\textbackslash w}}{\text{\textbackslash i\textbackslash 7\textbackslash w}} \overset{\text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash u\textbackslash s\textbackslash h}}{\text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash u\textbackslash s\textbackslash h}}.
\]
\[
\text{1sg.s look-tr(lc) all cat}
\]
‘I saw all the cats.’ (at a particular time)
≠ I always saw cats

\[
\text{ b, Chen } \text{kw\'\textbackslash a\textbackslash c}\text{-nexw } \overset{\underline{\text{\textbackslash k\textbackslash e\textbackslash x}}}{\underline{\text{\textbackslash k\textbackslash e\textbackslash x}}} \overset{\text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash u\textbackslash s\textbackslash h}}{\text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash u\textbackslash s\textbackslash h}}.
\]
\[
\text{1sg.s look-tr(lc) many cat}
\]
‘I saw many (of the) cats.’
≠ I often see cats/a cat.

This is also true when the determiner is present.

\[(43) \text{ a. } \text{Chen } \text{kw\'\textbackslash a\textbackslash c}\text{-nexw } \overset{\text{\textbackslash i\textbackslash 7\textbackslash w}}{\text{\textbackslash i\textbackslash 7\textbackslash w}} \overset{\text{\textbackslash t\textbackslash a}}{\text{\textbackslash t\textbackslash a}} \overset{\text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash u\textbackslash s\textbackslash h}}{\text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash u\textbackslash s\textbackslash h}}.
\]
\[
\text{1sg.s look-tr(lc) all det cat}
\]
‘I saw all the cats.’ (at a particular time)
≠ I always saw cats

\[
\text{ b, Chen } \text{kw\'\textbackslash a\textbackslash c}\text{-nexw } \overset{\underline{\text{\textbackslash k\textbackslash e\textbackslash x}}}{\underline{\text{\textbackslash k\textbackslash e\textbackslash x}}} \overset{\text{\textbackslash t\textbackslash a}}{\text{\textbackslash t\textbackslash a}} \overset{\text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash u\textbackslash s\textbackslash h}}{\text{\textbackslash p\textbackslash u\textbackslash s\textbackslash h}}.
\]
\[
\text{1sg.s look-tr(lc) many det cat}
\]
‘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 Skwxwú7mesh 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.

\[(44) \text{ a. I saw } \text{every } \text{cat.}
\]
b. * I saw the every cat.

c. * I saw every the cat.

In Salish (including Skwxwú7mesh), 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 Skwxwú7mesh.

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.

    1sg.s look-tr(lc) det.f child
    ‘I saw a/the girl.’

    b. Chen kwáč-nexw ta/ti/kwa stáw’xwelh.
       1sg.s look-tr(lc) det child
       ‘I saw a/the boy.’

    c. Chen kwáč-nexw ta/ti lapát.14
       1sg.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 kwáč-nexw ta/lha slhánay’.
    1sg.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 Skwxwú7mesh 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 Skwxwú7mesh determiner system

Kuipers’ (1967) original insight (that I will build upon in this thesis) is that proximity and (non-)presence are encoded in the Skwxwú7mesh D-determiner and demonstrative systems. 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definite</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Non-present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>Distal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain</td>
<td>ta (tl’a)</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>táy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>lha (tl’a)</td>
<td>tsi</td>
<td>álhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4: The D-determiner and demonstrative system of Skwxwú7mesh (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 kwetsí élhkay’.
   take.care 2sg.emph rl impf under obl-det stone
dem snake
   ‘Careful, there is a snake under the stone.’

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

   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 mixalh.
   rl impf 1sg.pos-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.)
The “strong” and “weak” determiners behave differently syntactically. Only the “strong”
determiners (ti/tsi, tay’/alhi, and kwelhi/kwetsi) can occur without an NP. 17

\[(50)\]

   1sg.s look-tr(lc) dem bear
   ‘I saw that/this bear.’

   1sg.s look-tr(lc) dem
   ‘I saw that/this.’

The “weak” determiners may not.

\[(51)\]

   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det bear
   ‘I saw the bear.’

   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det

On the basis of this difference, Kuipers suggest that the “strong” determiners are demonstratives.
This is a universal definition of demonstratives which I adopt for the remainder of the thesis.

\[(52)\] If a deictic determiner can occur without a following NP, it is a demonstrative, and not a
D-determiner. 18

I continue to refer to the “weak” determiners as D-determiners.

According to Kuipers, the D-determiners can be used with unique referents (the sun, for
example), including proper names and pronouns. 19 This is true.

\[(53)\]

a. ta snékwm
   det sun
   ‘the sun’

b. Na éncha kwelha chésha7?
   rl where det.f mother
   ‘Where is your mother?’

   c. ta Tám
      det Tom
      ‘Tom’

   d. kwa Tám
      det Tom
      ‘Tom’

17 As we shall see below, tsi cannot occur without an NP anymore.
18 I assume that all demonstratives have some deictic information. Other determiners may also occur without a
following NP, such as quantifiers and pronouns (in English). However, these are unlikely to have deictic information
and I do not treat them as demonstratives.
19 He does not say whether demonstratives can also be used with unique referents.
20 The second person possessive morphology (e-) is often lost, presumably because of the quality of the vowel
(schwa).
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.

\((54)\)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{tí} & \text{i} & \text{táy’} \\
\text{dem} & \text{conj} & \text{dem} \\
& &
\end{array}
\]

‘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.

\((55)\)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{táy’} & \text{i} & \text{tíwa} & \text{i} & \text{tsíwa} \\
\text{dem} & \text{conj} & \text{dem} & \text{conj} & \text{dem.f} \\
& & & &
\end{array}
\]

‘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-wti, 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 *kwetsi*, 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.
Table 2.5: The D-determiner and demonstrative system of Skwxwú7mesh (adapted from Kuipers 1967:137-143).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>ti/tiwa</td>
<td>tay’</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>kwes</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.6: The D-determiner system of Skwxwú7mesh (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.
The second reason has to do with the interaction of stress and ti. 

Ti can be stressed or unstressed. The difference between stressed \( \text{tí} \) and unstressed \( \text{ti} \) is audible because the vowel quality changes. In Skwxwú7mesh, 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 \( \text{ti} \) is pronounced [ti], then it must be unstressed. If \( \text{ti} \) is pronounced [te], then it stressed.

Unstressed \( \text{ti} \) also behaves like a D-determiner as it cannot occur on its own.

\[
\begin{align*}
56 & \quad \text{a. } & \text{Chen } & \text{kw’ách-nexw } & \text{tsi} & \text{slhánay’}. \\
 & & _{1sg.s} & \text{look-tr(lc)} & _{det.f} & \text{woman} \\
 & & \text{‘I saw a/the woman.’} \\

& \quad \text{b. } & \ast & \text{Chen } & \text{kw’ách-nexw } & \text{tsi/tsí}.
\end{align*}
\]

Stressed \( \text{tí} \) behaves like a demonstrative, as it can occur without a following NP.

\[
\begin{align*}
57 & \quad \text{a. } & \text{Chen } & \text{kw’ách-nexw } & \text{tí} & \text{swí7ka.} & \left[ \text{ti swé’qa} \right] \\
 & & _{1sg.s} & \text{look-tr(lc)} & _{det} & \text{man} \\
 & & \text{‘I saw a/the/this man.’} \\

& \quad \text{b. } & \ast & \text{Chen } & \text{kw’ách-nexw } & \text{tí} & \left[ \text{ti} \right]
\end{align*}
\]

In the next section, I provide my own descriptions of the Skwxwú7mesh 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 \( kwi \).

\[\text{Note: There are rare cases of an unstressed vowel having the stressed vowel quality (Bar-el and Watt 1998).}\]
7  Deixis

The previous descriptions of the determiner system captured the fact that deictic features, such as presence, or visibility, play a role in Skwxwú7mesh. 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 Skwxwú7mesh. 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 Skwxwú7mesh, 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 Iami (2003) in assuming that there are three parameters: 1) anchor, 2) spatial demarcation, and 3) referent and region configuration.\(^2\)

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.

\(^2\) Imai argues that there are four. I ignore his fourth parameter (function) as it does not seem to be relevant for the Skwxwú7mesh determiner system.
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.

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<td>ti</td>
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<td></td>
<td>lha</td>
<td>tsi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.7: The D-determiner system of Skwxwú7mesh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Neutral, invisible</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender-neutral</td>
<td>number-neutral</td>
<td>kwíya</td>
<td>tí, tíwa</td>
<td>táy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>kwíyawit</td>
<td>iáwit</td>
<td>ítsiwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>kwsá</td>
<td>tsíwa</td>
<td>álhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Skwxwú7mesh.

7.1.1 Anchor for the D-determiners
In Skwxwú7mesh, 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)  
\[
\text{(a) } \text{Chen tákw-an } \text{ta sták.} \\
\text{1sg.s drink-tr det water} \\
\text{‘I drank the water.’} \\
\text{(water near hearer)}
\]

\[
\text{(b) * Chen tákw-an } \text{ti sták.} \\
\text{1sg.s drink-tr det water} \\
\text{(water near hearer)}
\]

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

(62)  
\[
\text{(a) } \text{Chen tákw-an } \text{ta sták.} \\
\text{1sg.s drink-tr det water} \\
\text{‘I drank the water.’} \\
\text{(water far from speaker and hearer)}
\]

\[
\text{(b) * Chen tákw-an } \text{ti sták.} \\
\text{1sg.s drink-tr det water} \\
\text{(water far from speaker and hearer)}
\]

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)  
\[
\text{(a) } \text{Chen tákw-an } \text{tí sták.} \\
\text{1sg.s drink-tr dem water} \\
\text{‘I drank this water.’} \\
\text{(near speaker; holding cup)}
\]

\[
\text{(b) * Chen tákw-an } \text{táy’ sták.} \\
\text{1sg.s drink-tr dem water} \\
\text{‘I drank that water.’} \\
\text{(near speaker; holding cup)}
\]

\[
\text{(c) * Chen tákw-an } \text{kwetsi sták.} \\
\text{1sg.s drink-tr dem water} \\
\text{(near speaker; holding cup)}
\]

If the referent is within grasping reach, then either proximal *tí* or medial *táy’* is licit. The distal demonstrative *kwetsi* cannot be used.
If the referent is far from the speaker, regardless of the relative distance to the hearer, then only the distal demonstrative *kwetsi* is acceptable.

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 determinant 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
to objects that are within reach or half-way across a room. An object on the other side of the room (or further) from the speaker is usually considered to be distal, as shown in Figure 2.2.

```
X
object
```

Figure 2.2 : Distal object

However, distance is not the only important factor in the determiner system. Invisibility also plays a role, as is shown in §7.3.

### 7.2.1.1 The distal D-determiner

The distal D-determiner *kwa* can only be used if the referent is not in the same vicinity (e.g., if the referent is not in the same room) as the speaker. If a person is not in the room, the speaker can choose to use the distal D-determiner *kwa*. If the person is in the room, *kwa* cannot be used.

(66) a. Kw’áy’ *kwa* Bill.
    hungry det Bill
    ‘Bill is hungry.’
    (Bill not in room)

    b. Kw’áy’ *ta* Bill.
    hungry det Bill
    ‘Bill is hungry.’
    (Bill in room)

    c. * Kw’áy’ *kwa* Bill.
    hungry det Bill
    (Bill in room)

If someone has arrived from somewhere else, and they wish to name the place, they must use the distal determiner.

(67) a. Men yálh s-en mi tl’ík tiná7 *t-kwa* Skwxwú7mesh.
    just finally nom-1sg.sbj come arrive from obl-det Skwxwú7mesh
    ‘I just arrived from Squamish.’

    b. * Men yálh s-en mi tl’ík tiná7 *tl’a* Skwxwú7mesh.
    just finally nom-1sg.sbj come arrive from obl.det Skwxwú7mesh
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.
    1sg.s look-tr(lc) det bear

b. Chen kw’ách-nexw kwa míxalh wa an kw’áy’.
    1sg.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.
    1sg.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.
    1sg.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.
    1sg.s look-tr(lc) dem man (in room, far from speaker)
b. Chen kw’ách-nexw **kwetsi** swí7ka.
   1sg.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 t’ílk 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.
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) dem.pl man
   ‘I saw those men.’
   (far from speaker, not in room)

   b. *Chen kw’ách-nexw **kwawit** swí7ka.
      1sg.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.
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det man
   ‘I see the man.’
   (man near speaker)
b. Chen kw’ách-nexw ta swí7ka.
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det man
   ‘I saw the man.’ (man no longer near speaker; possibly no longer visible)

I therefore treat *ta* as neutral. This is similar to the locational adverb *da* ‘there’ in German, which Imai (2003) claims is neutral, in contrast to proximal *hier* ‘here’ and distal *dort* ‘there’.

### 7.2.2.2 The neutral demonstrative

There is a demonstrative that Kuipers did not mention. This demonstrative *kwiya* may also be used for referents which are close or far from the speaker.

(75) Chen tkwaya7n kwiya kw’i7xwm.
    1sg.s hear dem owl
    ‘I heard an owl.’ (near speaker/in middle distance/far from speaker)

I also treat this demonstrative as neutral. As I will show, this demonstrative can only be used for invisible referents. See §7.3 for more discussion.

### 7.2.3 The medial demonstrative

Medial objects are usually out of reach from the speaker’s grasp, but are not as far away as a distal object. For example, a medial object may be halfway across the room from the speaker.

![Figure 2.3: Medial object](image)

Unlike the neutral determiner *ta*, the medial demonstrative *tay’* is truly medial (i.e. in the middle distance from the speaker; approximately 3 feet away). It is not neutral, and can only be used for referents that are somewhat close to the speaker.
(76)  a.  Chen kw’ách-nexw táy’ swí7ka.
    1sg.s look-tr(lc) dem man
    ‘I see the man.’  (halfway across the room)

    b.  * Chen kw’ách-nexw táy’ swí7ka.
    1sg.s look-tr(lc) dem man  (across the room)

The medial demonstrative tay’ 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.
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 yáhl s-en mi tl’ík *ti* eslha7án.
   *just finally nom-1sg.sbj come arrive det eslha7án*
   ‘I just arrived in Eslha7án (a part of North Vancouver).’

   b. * Men yáhl s-en mi tl’ík *ta* eslha7án.
   *just finally nom-1sg.sbj come arrive det eslha7án*

   c. * Men yáhl 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.’

   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 tî(wa) swí7ka.
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) dem man
   ‘I see this man.’

   (near speaker)

   b. * Chen kw’ách-nexw tî(wa) swí7ka.
   1sg.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 Skwxwú7mesh, there are three elements that must only be used for invisible referents: the distal D-determiner kwa, the neutral demonstrative kwîya(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.
   1sg.s look-tr(lc) det Peter
   ‘I saw Peter.’

   (no longer visible, in a different location)

   b. * Chen kw’ách-nexw kwa Peter.
   1sg.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’ kwâ 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)  

\[ \text{P’ék’ ta lapát.} \]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{white} & \text{det} & \text{cup} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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.  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
1sg.s & \text{look-tr(lc)} & \text{det} & \text{Peter} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I saw Peter.’ (no longer visible)

b. Chen kw’ách-nexw kwetsi Peter.  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
1sg.s & \text{look-tr(lc)} & \text{det} & \text{Peter} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

(85)  

a. Chen tkwaya7n kwíya-wit na wa kwikwi.  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
1sg.a & \text{hear} & \text{dem-3pl} & rl & \text{impf} & \text{talk} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I heard them talking.’ (invisible to speaker and very close to speaker/in same room/outside room)

b.  * Chen tkwaya7n kwíyawit na wa kwikwi.  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
1sg.a & \text{hear} & \text{dem-3pl} & rl & \text{impf} & \text{talk} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I heard them talking.’ (visible to speaker)

The invisible demonstrative *kwíya* 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.  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
1sg.a & \text{hear} & \text{dem-pl} & rl & \text{impf} & \text{talk} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I heard them talking.’ (invisible to speaker and outside room)
b. * Chen tkwaya7n kwawit na wa kwikwi.  
\[ Isg.a \quad \text{hear} \quad \text{dem.pl} \quad \text{rl} \quad \text{impf} \quad \text{talk} \]  
‘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](image)

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.

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<th>Non-deictic</th>
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<td>Distal, invisible</td>
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Table 2.9: The D-determiner system of Skwxwú7mesh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>gender-neutral</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>feminine</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.10: The demonstrative system of Skwxwú7mesh.