Deictic features: Evidence from Skwxwú7mesh determiners and demonstratives

Carrie Gillon

University of British Columbia

In this paper, I describe the determiner and demonstrative system of Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish). The determiners and demonstratives have previously been described as having deictic properties (Kuipers 1967, Jacobs (in Currie 1997). I provide evidence for the presence of deictic features on most of the determiners and all of the demonstratives. I also show that one of the determiners is more accurately described as non-deictic; this determiner lacks all deictic features.

1   Introduction

Deixis is relevant to many, if not all, of the determiner systems of Salish (Matthewson 1998). In this paper, I describe the determiner and demonstrative systems of Skwxwú7mesh in terms of their deictic features. I provide evidence for these features, and argue for a presuppositional analysis of the deictic features.

In Tables 1 and 2 below, I provide my analysis of the determiner and demonstrative systems of Skwxwú7mesh, respectively.
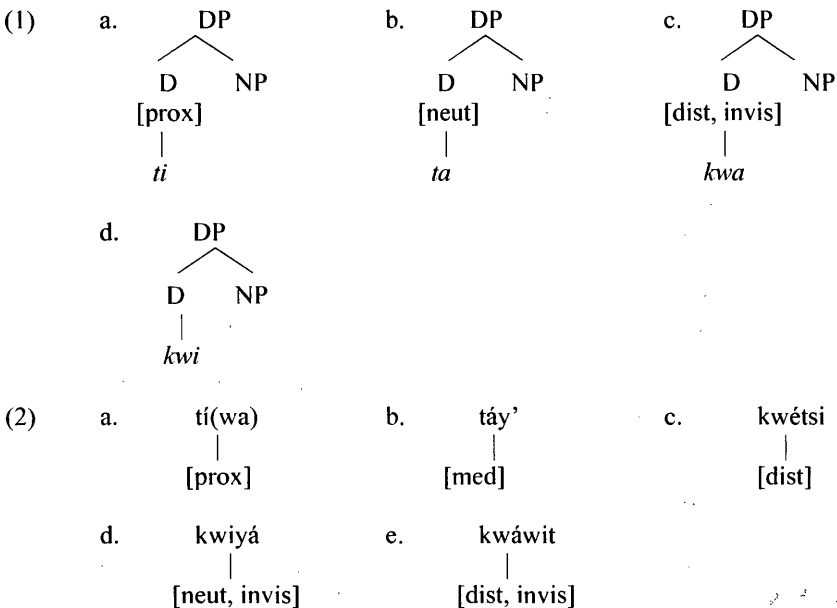
Table 1: The determiner system of Skwxwú7mesh.

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

Table 2: The demonstrative system of Skwxwú7mesh.

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

These features are treated as presuppositional in this paper, following Schlenker (2003) for the features of pronouns. The determiners and demonstratives are shown in (1) and (2), respectively.

(1) a.
```
        DP
       /  \
      D    NP
    [prox]
      |
      ti
```
b.
```
        DP
       /  \
      D    NP
    [neut]
      |
      ta
```
c.
```
         DP
        /  \
       D    NP
  [dist, invis]
       |
      kwa
```

d.
```
        DP
       /  \
      D    NP
      |
      kwi
```

(2) a.
```
    tí(wa)
      |
   [prox]
```
b.
```
    táy'
      |
   [med]
```
c.
```
    kwétsi
      |
    [dist]
```

d.
```
     kwiyá
       |
  [neut, invis]
```
e.
```
     kwáwit
       |
  [dist, invis]
```

In §2, I provide an overview of the previous analyses of the determiner and demonstrative systems of Skwxwú7mesh. In §3, I provide the evidence for the features given above. In §4, I provide the presuppositional analysis of the deictic features. In §5, I provide evidence that one of the determiners is lacking deictic features altogether. §6 concludes the paper.

2   Previous descriptions

In this section, I give a brief description of the two previous analyses of the Skwxwú7mesh determiner systems.

2.1   Kuipers' (1967) description

Kuipers' (1967) original insight (that I will build upon in this paper) is that proximity and (non-)presence are encoded in the Skwxwú7mesh 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 are explained below.)

Table 3: The determiner and demonstrative system of Skwxwú7mesh (adapted from Kuipers 1967:137).

	Definite					Indefinite
	Present			Non-present		
	Weak	Strong		Weak	Strong	
		Proximal	Distal			
plain	ta (tl'a)[1]	ti	táy'	kwa	kwétsi	kwi
feminine	lha (tl'a)	tsi	álhi	kwelha	kwélhi	kwes

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 (4a), for example, the speaker has seen the snake; in (4b), however, the speaker has not seen any snake, and therefore the "indefinite" determiner *kwi* is used.

(3)   a.   Sát-shit-ka   **ta**   stákw.
              give-appl-imper   *det*   *water*[2]
              'Give him the water!'

    b.   Sát-shit-ka   **kwi**   stákw.
              give-appl-imper   *det*   *water*
              'Give him (some) water!'   (Kuipers 1967: 138)

(4)   a.   Yúu   cháxw,   na   wa   lésiw'ilh
              take.care   *2sg.emph*   *rl*   *impf*   *under*
              t-ta   smánt   **kwetsi**   élhkay'.
              obl-det   *stone*   *dem*   *snake*
              'Careful, there is a snake under the stone.'

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[1] 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.

[2] I use the following abbreviations in this paper: 1=1st person, 2=2nd person, 3=3rd person, appl = applicative, caus=causative, conj=conjunction, dem=demonstrative, det=determiner, emph=emphatic pronoun, erg=ergative morphology, f=feminine, imper=imperative, impf=imperfective, indep=independent pronoun, lc=limited control, nom=nominalizer, o=object, obl=oblique, poss=possessive morphology, pl=plural, rl=realis, s=subject, sbj=subjunctive/conjunctive morphology, sg=singular, and tr=transitivizer.

b. Yúu   cháxw,   **iw'áyti** na   wa
    take.care   *2sg.emph*   *maybe*   *rl* *impf*
            lésiw'ilh   t-ta   smánt   **kwi** élh<u>k</u>ay'.
            under   *obl-det*   *stone* *det*   *snake*
    'Careful, there may be a snake under the stone.'

<div align="right">(Kuipers 1967: 138)</div>

As Kuipers himself notes, the "definite forms" are not equivalent to the definite determiner in English.

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.

(5) a. Na   wa   n-s-7ip'á<u>k</u>w'alh   **ta**   mí<u>x</u>alh.
         rl *impf*   *1sg.poss-nom-scared*   *det*   *bear*
         'I'm afraid of bears.'

     b. Chen   <u>k</u>í-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. Kuiper 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. [3]

(6) a. Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **tay'/kwetsi/alhi/kwelhi/tí** mí<u>x</u>alh.
         1sg.s *look-tr(lc)*   *dem*   *bear*
         'I saw that/this bear.'

     b. Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **táy'/kwétsi/álhi/kwélhi/tí.**
         1sg.s *look-tr(lc)*   *dem*
         'I saw that/this.'

The "weak" determiners may not.

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[3] As we shall see below, *tsi* cannot occur without an NP anymore.

(7)   a.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **ta/ti/kwa/lha/tsi/kwelha**   míxalh.
          1sg.s   *look-tr(lc)*   *det*   *bear*
          'I saw the bear.'

    b. *   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **ta/ti/kwa/lha/tsi/kwelha.**
          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 paper.

(8)   If a determiner can occur without a following NP, it is a demonstrative, and not a determiner.

I continue to refer to the "weak" determiners as determiners.

    According to Kuipers, the determiners can be used with unique referents (the sun, for example), including proper names and pronouns.[4] This is true.

(9)   a.   **ta**   snékwm
          det   *sun*
          'the sun'

    b.   Na   éncha   **kwelha** chésha7?
          rl   *where*   *det.f*   *mother*
          'Where is your mother?'[5]

    c.   **ta**   Tám   d.   **kwa**   Tám
          det   *Tom*   *det*   *Tom*
          'Tom'   'Tom'

    e.   **ta**   éns   f.   **ta**   néw
          det   *1sg.indep*   *det*   *2sg.indep*
          'I'   'you (sg)'

    g.   **ta**   nímalh   h.   **ta**   néw-yap
          det   *1pl.indep*   *det*   *2indep-2pl*
          '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

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[4] He does not say whether demonstratives can also be used with unique referents.

[5] The second person possessive morphology (*e-*) is often lost, presumably because of the quality of the vowel (schwa).

claims that this use of *ta* is only allowed if the referent has already been previously mentioned using a demonstrative.[6] However, *ta* can be used for novel referents (see Gillon, in prep.). Examples of this can be found in the texts.

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.

(10) tí   i   táy'
      dem   conj   dem
      '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.

(11) táy'   i   tíwa   i   tsíwa
      dem   conj   dem   conj   dem.f
      '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 *ḵwá-wit*. I add them to his determiner/demonstrative table, given below.[7]

Table 4: The determiner and demonstrative system of Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (adapted from Kuipers 1967:137-143).

		Definite					Indefinite
		Present			Non-present		
		Det	Dem		Det	Dem	
			Prox	Dist			
plain	singular	ta	ti(**wa**)	tay'	kwa	kwetsi	kwi
	plural		**iya-wit**	**itsi-wit**	**ḵwa-wit**	**kwetsi-wit**	
feminine		lha	tsi(**wa**)	alhi	kwelha	kwelhi	kwes

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[6] 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.

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

2.2   Jacobs' 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 §3. 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 determiners, because of their different behaviour, shown above in (6) and (7). Here I provide the determiner system.

Table 5: The determiner system of Sk̲wx̲wú7mesh (Currie 1997:31; as suggested by Peter Jacobs).

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

The 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 §5.) The potentially visible 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 determiners, rather than demonstratives. This is because *tsi* cannot occur without a following NP.

(12)   a.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **tsi**   slhánay'.
              1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   det.f   woman
              'I saw a/the woman.'

        b. * Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **tsi/tsí.**
              1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   det.f

Unstressed *ti* also behaves like a determiner as it cannot occur on its own.[8]

(13)   a.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **ti**   swí7k̲a.
              1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   det   man
              'I saw a/the/this man.'

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[8] The vowel quality changes depending on the stress. In Sk̲wx̲wú7mesh, what is represented by /i/ is actually pronounced as [e] in stressed (and sometimes unstressed) positions (Kuipers 1967, Bar-el and Watt 1998). The determiner *ti* is pronounced [ti], and the demonstrative is pronounced [te].

b. * Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **ti.**
       1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   det
       (I saw the/a)

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

(14) a.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **tí**   swí7ka.
            1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   dem   man
            'I saw a/the/this man.'

      b.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **tí.**
            1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   dem
            'I saw this one.'

In the next section, I provide my own descriptions of the Skwxwú7mesh 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 determiners cannot be captured by an "indefinite" or "invisible" analysis of *kwi*.

3   Evidence for deixis in Skwxwú7mesh

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 determiners, in the nominal domain (see Imai 2003, for example). However, in Skwxwú7mesh, deixis is a feature of both the demonstratives *and* determiners. In this section, I provide evidence that deixis is relevant to both demonstratives and 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.[9] 1) The anchor can be

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[9] 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.

speaker (typically), hearer, both, or someone or something else. 2) The space can be divided by relative distance (proximate, 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 paper, 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.

Figure 1 : Speaker and relative distances from objects
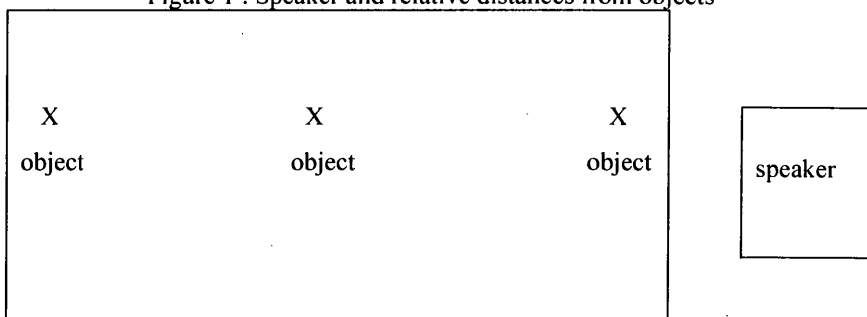
I then asked if the particular sentence was felicitous in the context. In each case, the context is given next to the English gloss.

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

Table 6: The determiner system of Skwxwú7mesh.

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

Table 7: The demonstrative system of Skwxwú7mesh.

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

There are a number of differences between this analysis and the ones provided by Kuipers and Jacobs. First, I do not analyze the determiners along

present/non-present or potentially visible/invisible lines. Instead, I distinguish non-distal determiners from distal determiners. I also distinguish between 'distal' and 'distal, invisible'. The difference between "neutral" and "medial" features is discussed below.

3.1 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 determiners and the demonstratives in Skwxwú7mesh.

3.1.1 Anchor for the 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.)

(15) 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*
          (Your face is puffy/swollen)

If the hearer were the anchor, we would expect that one of the 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.[10]

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[10] These examples do not permit the use of *kwa*; not all NPs can co-occur with *kwa*. (See §3.2.1.) It may also be a problem with the choice of example, since the water now occupies the same position as the speaker.

(16)   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)

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

(17)   a.   Chen   tákw-an **ta**   stákw.
                 1sg.s   *drink-tr det*   *water*
                 'I drank the water.'   (water near hearer)

        b. *   Chen   tákw-an **ti**   stákw.
                 1sg.s   *drink-tr det*   *water*
                 (I drank the water)   (water near hearer)

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

(18)   a.   Chen   tákw-an **ta**   stákw.
                 1sg.s   *drink-tr det*   *water*
                 'I drank the water.'   (water far from speaker and hearer)

        b. *   Chen   tákw-an **ti**   stákw.
                 1sg.s   *drink-tr det*   *water*
                 (I drank the water)   (water far from speaker and hearer)

Again, if the hearer were the anchor, we would expect a different determiner choice for the context in (17) versus the context in (18). That is, we would expect that at least one of the determiners would be used for referents close to the hearer, and that another determiner would be used for referents far from the hearer.

3.1.2   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.

(19)   a.   Chen   tákw-an **tí**   stákw.
                 1sg.s   *drink-tr dem*   *water*
                 'I drank this water.'   (near speaker; holding it)

b. * Chen   tá<u>k</u>w-an **táy'**   stá<u>k</u>w.
      1sg.s   drink-tr dem   *water*
      (I drank that water.)   (near speaker; holding it)

c. * Chen   tá<u>k</u>w-an **kwetsi** stá<u>k</u>w.
      1sg.s   drink-tr dem   *water*
      (I drank that water)   (near speaker; holding it)

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

(20)   a.   Chen   tá<u>k</u>w-an **tí**   stá<u>k</u>w.
               1sg.s   drink-tr dem   *water*
               'I drank this water.'   (near speaker; within reach)

       b.   Chen   tá<u>k</u>w-an **táy'** stá<u>k</u>w.
               1sg.s   drink-tr dem   *water*
               'I drank that water.'   (near speaker; within reach)

       c. * Chen   tá<u>k</u>w-an **kwetsi** stá<u>k</u>w.
               1sg.s   drink-tr dem   *water*
               (I drank that 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 determiner *kwa* is acceptable.

(21)   a. * Chen   tá<u>k</u>w-an **tí**   stá<u>k</u>w.
               1sg.s   drink-tr dem   *water*
               (I drank this water.)   (far from speaker; near or far from hearer)

       b. * Chen   tá<u>k</u>w-an **táy'** stá<u>k</u>w.
               1sg.s   drink-tr dem   *water*
               (I drank that water.)   (far from speaker; near or far from hearer)

       c.   Chen   tá<u>k</u>w-an **kwetsi** stá<u>k</u>w.
               1sg.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.

3.2   Spatial demarcation

The determiners mark out space by relative distance: proximate, neutral and distal. The choice of a Sḵwx̱wú7mesh 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.

3.2.1   Distal

The distal determiner and the distal demonstrative behave differently. The behaviour of each is shown below. Neither the distal 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.

Figure 2 : Distal object
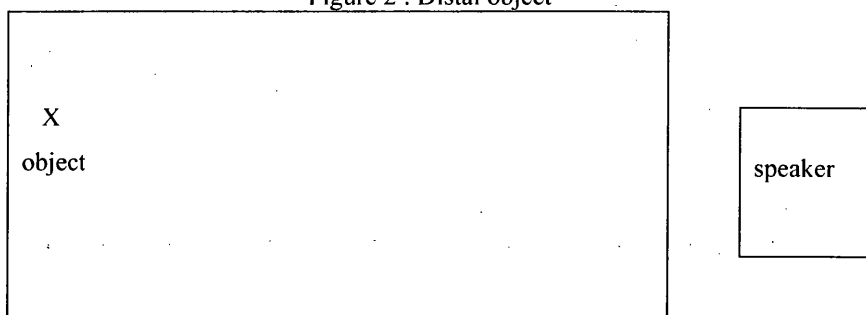
However, distance is not the only important factor in the determiner system. Invisibility also plays a role, as is shown in §7.3.

3.2.1.1   The distal determiner

The distal 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 determiner *kwa*. If the person is in the room, *kwa* cannot be used.

(22)   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)

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

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

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

      b. *   Men   yálh   s-en   mi   tl'ík   tiná7
              just   *finally*   *nom-1sg.sbj*   *come*   *arrive*   *from*
                   tl'a   Skwxwú7mesh.
                   obl.det   *Skwxwú7mesh*

      c. *   Men   yálh   s-en   mi   tl'ík   tiná7
              just   *finally*   *nom-1sg.sbj*   *come*   *arrive*   *from*
                   t-ti   Skwxwú7mesh.
                   obl-det   *Skwxwú7mesh*

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.

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

      b.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **kwa**   míxalh
           1sg.s   *look-tr(lc)*   *det*   *bear*
                   wa   an   kw'áy'.
                   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.

(25)   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **ta**   mixalh.
       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.

3.2.1.2 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.

(26) *Chen kw'ách-nexw **kwetsi** swí7ka.
         1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   *dem*   *man*
      (I saw that man)   (near speaker)

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

(27) a. * Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **kwa**   swí7ka.
              1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   *dem*   *man*
           (I saw that 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.*

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

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

(29) a.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **kwawit** swi7ka.
              1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   *dem.pl   man*
            'I saw those men.'   (far from speaker, not in room)

      b. *   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **kwawit** ⁾swi7ka.
              1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   *dem.pl   man*
           (I saw those men)   (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.

3.2.2   Neutral

There are two elements which can be used to refer to entities at any location: the determiner *ta* and the demonstrative *kwiya*. I call these neutral (and hence deictic) because they are not used for referents which cannot be located at all. In §5, I discuss the non-deictic determiner which can be used for referents that cannot be located.

3.2.2.1   The neutral determiner

The 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.

(30)   a.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **ta**   swí7<u>k</u>a.
              1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   det   man
              'I see the man.'   (man near speaker)

        b.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **ti**   swí7<u>k</u>a.
              1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   det   man
              'I see the man.'   (man near speaker)

        c.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **ta**   swí7<u>k</u>a.
              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'.

3.2.2.2   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.

(31)   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.

3.2.3   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 3 : Medial object
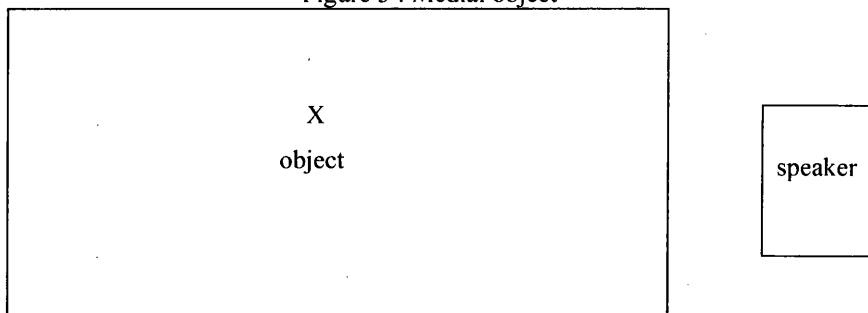
Unlike the neutral determiner *ta*, the medial demonstrative *tay'* is truly medial (i.e. in the middle distance from the speaker; approximately 3 feet away). It is not neutral, and must be used for referents that are somewhat close to the speaker.

(32)   a.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **táy'**   swí7ḵa.
              1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   dem   man
              'I see the man.'   (halfway across the room)

        b. * Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **táy'**   swí7ḵa.
              1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   dem   man
              (I saw that man)   (across the room)

The medial demonstrative *tay'* can be used for referents that are somewhat close to the speaker; however, the speaker cannot be holding or touching the referent.

(33)   a.   P'éḵ'   **táy'**   lapát.
              white   dem   cup
              'That cup is white.'   (within reach)

        b. * P'éḵ'   **táy'**   lapát.
              white   dem   cup
              (That cup is white)   (in hand of speaker)

        c.   P'éḵ'   **tí**   lapát.
              white   dem   cup
              'This cup is white.'   (in hand of speaker, or near
                                          speaker)

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

3.2.4   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 4 : Proximal object
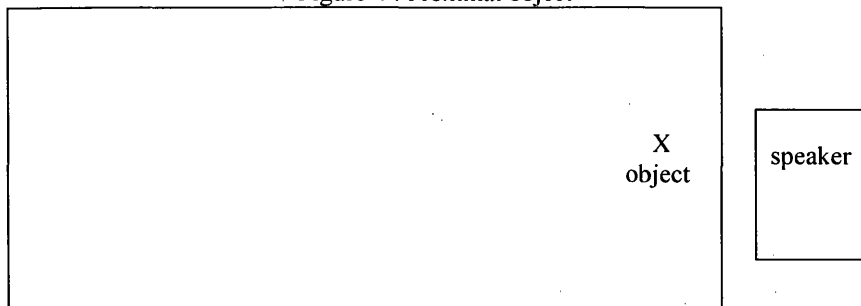
Unlike the distal and medial/neutral categories, the proximal determiner and the proximal demonstrative behave similarly.

3.2.4.1 The proximal determiner

The proximal 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 determiner must be used with the place name.

(34)   a.   Men   yálh   s-en   mi   tl'ík
              just   *finally*   *nom-1sg.sbj*   *come*   *arrive*
                      ti   eslha7án.
                      det   *eslha7án*
              'I just arrived in Eslha7an (a part of North Vancouver).'

        b. *   Men   yálh   s-en   mi   tl'ík
                  just   *finally*   *nom-1sg.sbj*   *come*   *arrive*
                          ta   eslha7án.
                          det   *eslha7án*
                  (I just arrived in Eslha7an)

        c. *   Men   yálh   s-en   mi   tl'ík
                  just   *finally*   *nom-1sg.sbj*   *come*   *arrive*
                          kwa   eslha7án.
                          det   *eslha7án*
                  (I just arrived in Eslha7an)

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

(35) 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*
           (I see the man)   (in the middle distance/far away from
                                      speaker)

3.2.4.2 The proximal demonstrative

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

(36) a.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **tí(wa)**   swí7ka.
           1sg.s   *look-tr(lc)*   *dem*   *man*
           'I see this man.'   (near speaker)

      b. * Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **tí(wa)**   swí7ka.
           1sg.s   *look-tr(lc)*   *dem*   *man*
           (I see this man)   (in the middle distance/far away from
                                      speaker)

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

3.3   Region configuration: (in)visibility

In Skwxwú7mesh, there are three elements that must only be used for invisible referents: the distal 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).

3.3.1   The invisible determiner

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

(37) a.   Chen   kw'ách-nexw   **kwa**   Peter.
           1sg.s   *look-tr(lc)*   *det*   *Peter*
           'I saw Peter.'   (no longer visible, in a different location)

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b. * Chen   kw'ách-nexw   ·kwa   Peter.
   1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   det   Peter
   (1 saw Peter)   (Peter is in room or Peter is still visible in
                         another room)

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

(38)   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
            (Peter is hiding) (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.

(39)   P'é<u>k</u>' **ta**   lapát.
      white det   cup
      'The cup is white.'   (within reach/in middle distance/far away,
                                   not visible)

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

(40)   a.   Chen kw'ách-nexw   **kwetsi** Peter.
           1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   det   Peter
           'I saw Peter.'   (no longer visible)

      b.   Chen kw'ách-nexw   **kwetsi** Peter.
           1sg.s   look-tr(lc)   det   Peter
           'I saw Peter.'   (Peter is in the 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.

3.3.2   The invisible demonstratives

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

(41) a. Chen tkwaya7n **kwiya-wit** na wa
          1sg.s *hear* *dem-3pl* *rl* *impf*
          ḵwiḵwi.
          talk
          'I heard them talking.' (invisible to speaker and very close to speaker/in same room/outside room)

      b. * Chen tkwaya7n **kwiya-wit** na wa
          1sg.s *hear* *dem-3pl* *rl* *impf*
          ḵwiḵwi.
          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. The distal invisible demonstrative can only be used if the referent is far from the speaker and invisible.

3.4 Summary

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

Figure 5 : Relative distances between distal, medial and proximal objects

X	X	X	
distal object	medial object	proximal object	speaker
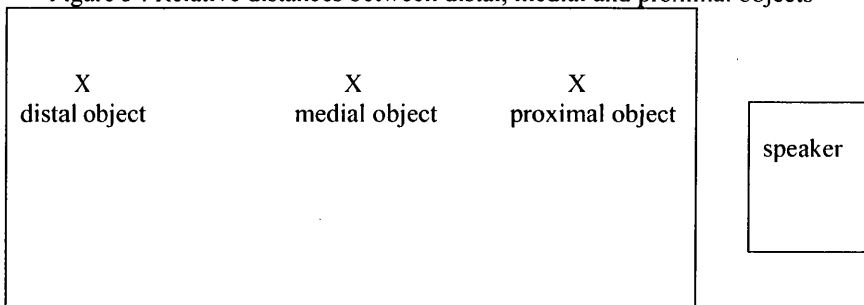
Neutral objects can be anywhere in this field, or invisible to the speaker. Invisible objects must be invisible. The theoretical status of all of these features will be discussed in the next section. The non-deictic determiner *kwi*, which I have not discussed here, is analyzed in §5. Below I repeat the analysis of the determiners argued for in this section.

Table 8: The determiner system of Sḵwxwú7mesh.

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

Table 9: The demonstrative 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	

4   Deixis as presuppositional features

The evidence for deixis playing a role in the determiner and demonstrative systems was shown above. These features are instantiated as in the examples below.

(42)   a.   DP
    D   NP
   [prox]
    ti

b.   DP
    D   NP
   [neut]
    ta

c.   DP
    D   NP
  [dist, invis]
    kwa

d.   DP
    D   NP
    kwi

(43)   a.   tí(wa)
    [prox]

b.   táy'
    [med]

c.   kwétsi
    [dist]

d.   kwiyá
  [neut, invis]

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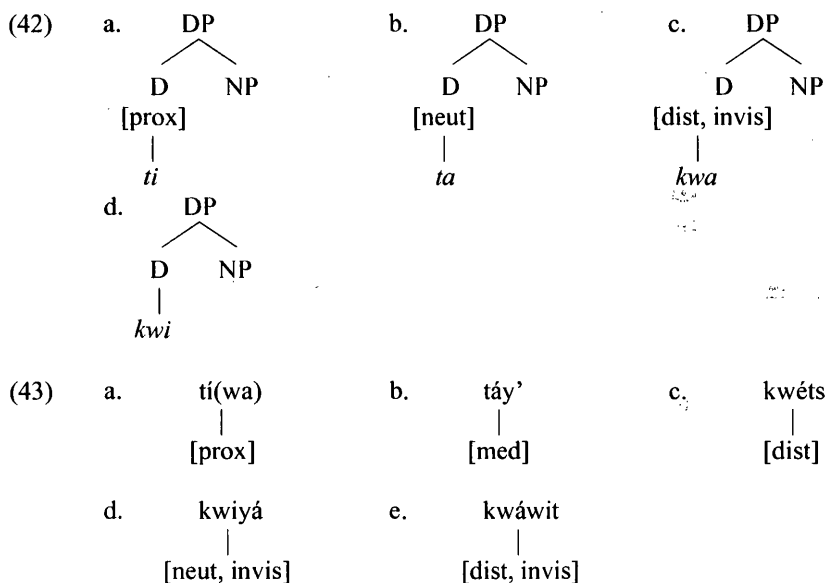
The determiners and demonstratives are associated with some of the same features. Recall that *tay'*, unlike *ta*, can only be used for middle distance referents, and that *kwetsi*, unlike *kwa*, can be used for visible, distal objects. *Kwiya* can be used for a referent at any distance, as long as the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

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

(44)   a.   /he/   ↔   [-author, -hearer, +masculine, -plural]
    b.   /she/   ↔   [-author, -hearer, -masculine, -plural]

c.	/I/	↔	[+author, -hearer, -plural]
d.	/you/	↔	[-author, +hearer]

Similarly, I assume that the determiners in Skwx̱wú7mesh spell out the bundle of gender (where relevant) and deictic features.

(45)
a.	/ti/	↔	[proximal]
b.	/tsi/	↔	[proximal, female]
c.	/ta/	↔	[neutral]
d.	/lha/	↔	[neutral, female]
e.	/kwa/	↔	[distal, invisible]
f.	/kwelha/	↔	[distal, invisible, female]

I define these features anaologously to Schlenker's analysis of the pronominal features.

(46)
a. proximal(x) is true iff s(x) is close to the speaker. Otherwise it is false.
b. neutral(x) is true iff s(x) is locatable to the speaker. Otherwise it is false.
c. distal(x) is true iff s(x) is far away from the speaker. Otherwise it is false.
d. invisible(x) is true iff s(x) is invisible to the speaker. Otherwise it is false.
e. female(x) is true iff s(x) is female. Otherwise it is false.

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

These determiners cannot involve features like [±author] or [±hearer], as the determiners can be used for all persons: pronouns co-occur with *ta*.

(47)
a.	ta	éns	b.	ta	néw
	det	*1sg.indep*		*det*	*2sg.indep*
	'I/me'			'you (sg)'	

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

(48)
a.	ta	púsh	b.	ta	pesh-púsh
	det	*cat*		*det*	*redup-cat*
	'a cat/the cat(s), cats'			'(the) cats'	

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

(49) a. Há7lh-s   chen   .lha   slhánay'.
          like-caus   *1sg.s* *det.f* *woman*
          'I like the/a woman.'

      b. Há7lh-s   chen   ta   swí7ka.
          like-caus   *1sg.s* *det*   *man*
          'I like the/a man.'

      c. Há7lh-s   chen   ta   lápat.
          like-caus   *1sg.s* *det*   *cup*
          'I like the/a cup.'

      d. * Há7lh-s   chen   lha   lápat.
          like-caus   *1sg.s* *det.f* *cup*
          (I like the/a cup)

Unlike Schlenker, I assume that features are privative, rather than binary. Binary features would make incorrect predictions for some of the data in Skwxwú7mesh.

For example, the [female] feature cannot be reinterpreted as [+female] with a [-female] counterpart. Female referents may co-occur with non-female determiners.

(50) a. An   tl'áktay'kwem   **lha**   slhánay'.
          very   *tall*   *det.f*   *woman*
          'The woman is very tall.'

      b. An   tl'áktay'kwem   **ta**   slhánay'.
          very   *tall*   *det*   *woman*
          'The woman is very tall.'

If the use of *ta* presupposed a [-female] referent, (50b) should be infelicitous. Similarly, if *ta* were [-proximal], it could not be used in cases where the referent were close, as with body parts.

(51) a. Chen   lhá7n   **ti-n**   kwek'tan.
          1sg.s *touch*   *det-1sg.poss* *shoulder*
          'I touched my shoulder.'

      b. Chen   lhá7n   **ta-n**   kwek'tan.
          1sg.s *touch*   *det.n-1sg.poss* *shoulder*
          'I touched my shoulder.'

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

(52) a. An   há7lh **ta**   swí7k̲a.
          very   *good* *det*   *man*
          'The man is good.'   (man in room)

      b. An   há7lh **ta**   swí7k̲a.
          very   *good* *det*   *man*
          'The man is good.'   (man outside room)

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

(53) a. Chen   há7lh-s   **ta**-n   púsh.
          1sg.s *good-caus* *det-1sg.poss* *cat*
          'I like my cat.'   (visible to speaker)

      b. Chen   há7lh-s   **ta**-n   púsh.
          1sg.s *good-caus* *det-1sg.poss* *cat*
          'I like my cat.'   (out of sight of speaker)

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

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

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

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

(55) a. P'ék̲'   **ti**   lapát.
          white   *det*   *cup*
          'This/the cup is white.'   (speaker holding cup, or cup very close to speaker)

      b. * P'ék̲'   **ti**   lapát.
            white   *det*   *cup*
          (The cup is white)   (cup in middle distance)

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

(56) a. Chen lhá7n **ti**-n <u>k</u>we<u>k</u>'t'án.
   1sg.s *touch* *det-1sg.poss* *shoulder*
   'I touched my shoulder.'

  b. Na áa **ti**-n <u>k</u>wél'.
   rl *hurt* *det-1sg.poss* *stomach*
   'My stomach hurts.'

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

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

5 The non-deictic determiner *kwi*

 Unlike the rest of the determiner system, the determiner *kwi* does not have deictic features. It can be used for referents at varying distances away from the speaker. It can be used for internal body parts (57a), referents which may be in the same room (57b), referents which are relatively far away (57c), or non-existent referents (57d).

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

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

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

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

If the speaker can locate the referent, s/he will usually use another determiner or demonstrative, as in (58).[11]

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

In some cases, the speaker may be able to locate the referent and still choose to use *kwi* (as in (57a-c)). In these cases I argue that the speaker can pretend not to know where the referent is located because there is no visible counter-evidence to their claim that they cannot locate the referent. In (57a), for example, the speaker's stomach is not visible to the speaker or hearer. In (57b), the speaker can use the non-deictic determiner *kwi* because he or she is asking for a *part* of the mass of sugar.

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

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

       b.   Yúu   cháxw,   iw'áyti   na
            take.care   *2sg.emph*   *maybe*   *rl*
                  wa   lésiw'ílht-ta   smánt   **kwi**   élhḵay'.
                  impf   *under*   *obl-det*   *stone*   *det*   *snake*
            'Careful, there may be a snake under the stone.'
                                        (Kuipers 1967: 138)

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[11] This difference is even found in wh-questions, as in (i) and (ii)

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

(ii)   Stam   **ta**   na   wa   takw-an-t-axw?
           what   *det*   *rl*   *impf*   *drink-tr-tr-2sg.erg*
           'What are you drinking?'

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

c. Chen   wa   yélx̱-t   **kwes**[12] slhánay'
    1sg   *impf* *find-tr* *det.f*   *woman*
              kwi   s-ts'its'áp'-s   tl'a   éns.
              comp   *nom-work-3poss*   *obl.det* *1sg.indep*
    'I am looking for a woman to work for me.'
                                          (Kuipers 1967: 138)

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

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

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

If the deictic determiner *ta* is used instead, the referent is locatable. This is often
represented by translating *ta* as *the* into English. In some cases, the referent is
not locatable to the speaker, but *ta* is still licit. I argue this is because *ta* allows
the DP to take narrow scope. The fact that this is not the best choice of
determiner can be seen in the variable judgments. In (60f), for example, *ta* may
not be used.

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

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

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[12] This is the original feminine form of *kwi*. It appears to have been lost. The feminine
forms are not particularly stable: *ta* is often used for females, especially when they are
pluralized.
(i)   Chen   kw'ach-nexw   ta   slhen-lhanay'.
       1sg.s *look-tr(lc)*   *det*   *redup-woman*
       'I saw the women.'

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

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

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

f. * Tsí7 u **ta** e-mén'-men?
   exist *Q* *det* *2sg.poss-redup-child*
   (Do you have children?)

The non-deictic determiner is also used for things like *sna* 'name', or when introducing one's name. In both cases, the referent is non-locatable.

(61) a. Peter **kwi** n-s-ná.[13]
     Peter *det* *1sg.poss-nom-call*
     'My name is Peter.'

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

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

   d. * Chen wa nan-t-em **tl'a** Sx̱altxw.
      1sg.s *impf* *call-tr-pass* *obl.det* *Sx̱altxw*
      (I am called Sx̱altxw)

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

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

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

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

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

(63)   úpen   i   **kwi**   nch'ú7
       ten   *conj*   *det*   *one*
       'eleven'

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

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

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

       c.   Chánat   **ti-n**   lem-lám'.[14]
            three   *det-1sg.poss*   *redup-house*
            'I have three houses.'

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

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[14] The distal determiner is ungrammatical here, for independent reasons, as I discuss in §4. The determiner *kwa* can only be used for referents that are human, or somehow made more "interesting".

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

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

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

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

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

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

The referents in cases like (65) are as identifiable to the speaker as the referent in (66) is, so identifiability cannot be the relevant feature (or lack thereof). "In some cases the mere impossibility of the object's conceivably being pointed out by the speaker allows or necessitates the use of an indefinite form [i.e. *kwi* - CG], even though the object is independently identified by the speaker" (Kuipers 1967: 138). In the same vein, referents that do not yet exist also must be introduced by *kwi* (67a), as well as referents which may never have existed (67b).[15]

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

(67) a.

Wa	cháxw	ek'	xi-xí-t-em
impf	*2sg.emph*	*fut*	*redup-laugh-tr-pass*

	t-**kwi**	á-7aw't	stélmexw.
	obl-det	*redup-future*	*people*

'The future generation will be laughing at you.'

b.

Ná7	t-kwi	kwekwín'		wa	yán'-t-m
loc	*obl-det*	*long.time*		*impf*	*take.care-tr-pass*

	ta	stáw'xwlh	yúu-as-wit,		háw
	det	*children*	*take.care-3erg-3pl*		*neg*

	k-w-'as	p'i7-t-ás-wit	kwi	stám
	irr-impf-3sbj	*get-tr-3erg-3pl*	*det*	*what*

	tiná7	t-**kwi**	háw	k-w-'as
	from	*obl-det*	*neg*	*irr-impf-3sbj*

	lhk'í7-s-t-as-wit.
	know-caus-tr-3erg-3pl

'In the old days they used to warn the children to be careful
not to accept anything from anyone they didn't know.'

(Kuipers 1967: 219)

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

(68) a.

Na	wa	séselkw	**álhi**	(slheny'-úllh).
rl	*impf*	*lonely/sad*	*dem.f*	*woman-young*

'She/the girl's unhappy.'

b. *

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

(The girl is unhappy)

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

(69) a.

kwi	chel'áklh		b.	kwi	kwekwín'
det	*yesterday*			*det*	*long.time*

'yesterday'   'a long time ago'

c.

kwi	tepánu		d.	kwi	xáw's	lhkáych'
det	*year*			*det*	*new*	*moon*

'last year'   'next month'

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

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

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

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

(71) a. **ti**   s-tsí7-s   b. **ti**   nátlh
          det   *nom-exist-3poss*   *det*   *morning*
          'today'   'this morning'
          (lit: the it is being there)

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

The obvious question raised by all of this is why time is not locatable in the same way space is. Time and space are often linked, especially in Salish languages. However, time is still more abstract than space, and it is not a necessary result that once something marks distance it will then mark time. Languages should be able to use many different resources to mark time; determiners would be one possible way. Within the determiner system, the language could still mark whether time was locatable to them or not. Skwxwú7mesh has chosen to mark time as non-locatable; hence *kwi* is used to introduce non-present time periods.

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

6   Conclusion

I have shown that most of the determiners and all of the demonstratives are deictic in nature; they encode distance from the speaker. I claim that most of

the determiners have deictic features, and that one lacks deictic features. The divide of the determiners into deictic and non-deictic captures the non-locatability of *kwi*, and the locatability of all the other determiners.

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Carrie Gillon
1866 Main Mall
Buchanan E270
University of British Columbia
Vancouver BC
V6T 1Z1
carrieg@interchange.ubc.ca