### Determiner Phrases in Secwepemctsín (Shuswap)
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The purpose of this paper is to provide an analysis of the structure of the determiner phrase (DP) in Secwepemctsín[1]. It builds on the work of Matthewson and Davis 1995, Demirdache et al 1994, Gardiner 1993, Gardiner et. al. 1993 on various properties associated with determiner phrases, and is intended as a contribution to the comparative picture of determiner phrases in Salish.

I assume a standard X-bar representation for the DP as shown in (1):

(1)

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              DP
            /    \
      Specifier   D'
                 /  \
                D    Complement
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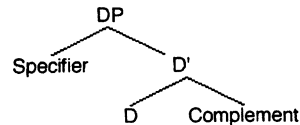
The determiner system in Secwepemctsín is discussed in (§1). In (§2), I turn to a discussion of the complements of D—in particular relative clauses (§2.1) and possessors (§2.2). Possessor scrambling is discussed in (§3) where I look at the interaction of possessors with quantifiers (§3.1), scrambling within PPs (§3.2), and scrambling out of clauses (§3.3). Demonstratives are discussed in (§4). Their interaction with possessors is discussed in (§4.1) and with quantifiers in (§4.2). The paper concludes (§5) with a summary of the findings.

1 Determiners

Determiners are obligatory on nominals in Secwepemctsín, including environments where determiners are not used in English. They appear on mass nouns (2), bare plurals (3) and on proper nouns (4-5):

(2) qwenén ken tek séwllkwe
     want I   obl water
     'I want water.'

(3) re kenkéknem   ec   re íllen es   te speqpéq
     det bears   exist det eat 3conj obl berries
     'Bears eat berries.'

(4) m-wíwk-t-en   re Mary
     compl-see-tr-1subj det Mary
     'I saw Mary.'

(5) m-wíwk-t-sem-s   re Mary
     compl-see-tr-1subj det Mary
     'Mary saw me.'

As can be observed in (4-5), determiners do not distinguish subject and object case marking on overt nominals. Rather the determiner system distinguishes direct arguments (subjects and objects) from obliques, which are prepositional.[2] The determiners are given in (6):

(6) **Determiners**

	Referential		Non-refer.
	Visible	**Non-vis.**	
Direct Determiners	re	I	k
Obliques	te		tek

The direct determiners are marked for referentiality, distinguishing referential from non-referential arguments. In addition, referential determiners are marked for spatial deixis. Non-referential determiners are common in negatives (7) and in questions (8).

(7) ta7 k s-wi7-s
     neg det nom-name-3poss
     'He's not finished.'

(8) swéty ke 7-skwest
     who   det 2poss-name
     'What is your name?'

Assuming the X-bar representation in (1) above, determiners are represented as the head of DP. The next section discusses the types of complements that D can select.

2 Complements

Determiners can select either NPs or clauses. The visible determiner /re-/ introduces direct nominal arguments (9) or dependent incompletive clauses (10):

(9) m-wíwk-t-en   re Mary
     compl-see-tr-1subj det Mary
     'I saw Mary.'

(10) tk'mlúps   re s-t7é7k wen
     kamloops   det dir-go Iconj
     'I come from Kamloops.'

The non-visible determiner /l-/ can select either NPs that are not present (11) or headless relative clauses (12-13):

(11) m-7íllen-s   l swewll
     compl-eat-(tr)-3subj det fish
     'He ate the fish.'

(12) m-wíwk-t-en   l m-qwetséts
     compl-see-tr-1subj det compl-leave
     'I saw the one who left.'

(13) m-wíwk-t-en   l xyum
     compl-see-tr-1subj det big
     'I saw the big one.'

Factive clauses may also be selected with the non-visible determiner[3]:

(14) tselxm-st-étn   l m-qwetséts
     know-tr-1subj   det compl-leave
     'I know the one who left.'
     'I know that he left.

The non-referential determiner also selects NPs or clauses:

(15) swéty k m-qwetséts   k qé7tse-s
     who   det compl-leave   det father-3poss
     'Whose father left?'

(16) thé7en   k s-t7ek uc
     where   det dir-go 2conj
     'Where do you come from?'

Clause (11) with a NP complement and (13) with a headless relative clause are shown in (17) and (18) respectively. Notice that in (18), I assume that empty operator movement has taken place.[4]

(17)
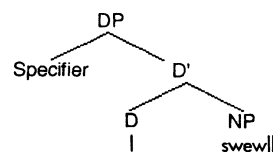
(18)

2.1 Relative Clauses

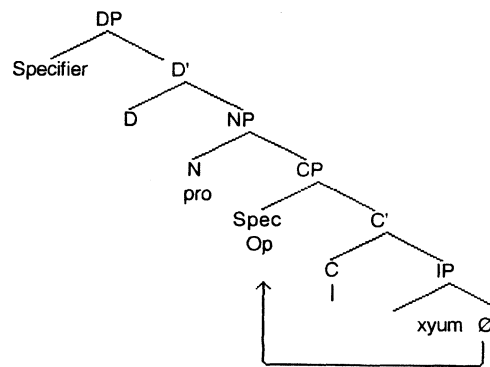Secwepemctsín has both headless and headed relative clauses. Headless relative clauses have been observed in (12-13) where they are introduced with the direct non-visible determiner. Headed relative clauses are introduced with the oblique:

(19) yirí7 ri7   re núxwenxw te tselxem-st-és
      that   that   det woman   obl know-tr-3subj
      'That's the woman that he knows.'

The head and its relative clause behave as a constituent in that they may be focussed, a position reserved for a single constituent.

(20) re núxwenxw te tselxem-st-és   lu7   I mqwetséts
      det woman   obl know-tr-3subj   that det compl-leave
      'Its the woman that he knows that left.'

It has been argued that St'at'imcéts has two types of headed relative clauses (Gardiner et al. 1993, Matthewson and Davis 1995): a head initial relative clause and a head final relative clause. Secwepemctsín lacks head final relative clauses. A head initial relative clause is given in (21). Notice that it also has a factive interpretation:

(21) tselxem-st-éten   re núxwenxw te mqwetséts
      know-tr-1subj   det woman   obl compl-leave
      'I know the woman who left.' (NP S)
   'I know that the woman left.' (preposed NP)

Example (22) appears to provide evidence of a head final relative clause.

(22) tselxem-st-éten   te m-qwetséts   re núxwenxw
      know-tr-1subj   obl compl-leave   det woman
      *'I know the woman who left.' (*S NP)
      'I know that the woman left.'

This construction is unlike the one in St'at'imcéts where the head generally does not take a determiner, and when it does, it takes the non-referential determiner. Secondly, notice that both the relative clause and factive interpretations are not available The constuction is only interpreted as a factive, and does not constitute a relative clause at all. This provides evidence that Secwepemctsín lacks the head final relative clause. The factive in (22) is the basic structure to which NP preposing has occured in (21).

A representation of a headless relative clauses was given in (17-18) above. The headed relative clause (21) is represented in (23):

(23)
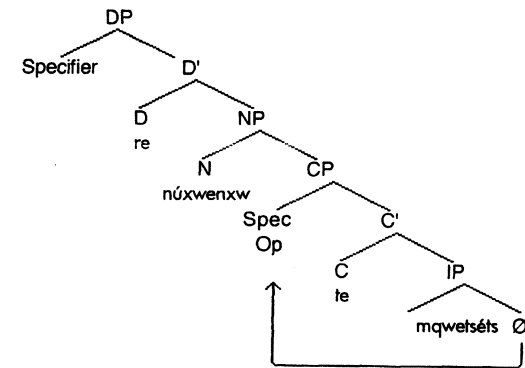
2.2 Possessors

In this section I discuss the behaviour of possessive constructions. Possessive phrases can be observed either following (24) or preceding (25) their head.

(24) wíwk-t-en   re tsitcw-s   re uqwi-s   re Mary
      see-tr-1subj   det house-3poss   det sister-3poss det Mary
      'I saw Mary's sister's house.'

(25) wíwk-t-en   re tsitcw-s   re Mary   re uqwi-s
      see-tr-1subj   det house-3poss   det Mary   det sister-3poss
      'I saw Mary's sister's house.'

I assume that the head initial construction is basic with DP scrambling taking place in (25).[5] In instances of stacked possessors there is evidence of an adjacency requirement. The possessor must occur either right or left adjacent to the possessed DP (26).

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[5]Some St'at'imcéts speakers only permit the head initial possessive construction (Matthewson and Davis 1995). I have not observed this restriction in Secwepemctsín.

5

6

(26) wíwkten re tsitcws re uq́wis re Mary
      wíwkten re tsitcws re Mary re uq́wis
      wíwkten re Mary re uq́wis re tsitcws
      wíwkten re uq́wis re Mary re tsitcws
      *wíwkten re Mary re tsitcws re uq́wis
      *wíwkten re uq́wis re tsitcws re Mary
      'I saw Mary's sister's house.'

Possessive phrases are analysed as complements of the head N as shown in (27). As is common in head-initial languages, there is possessor agreement on the head in Secwepemctsín.

(27)
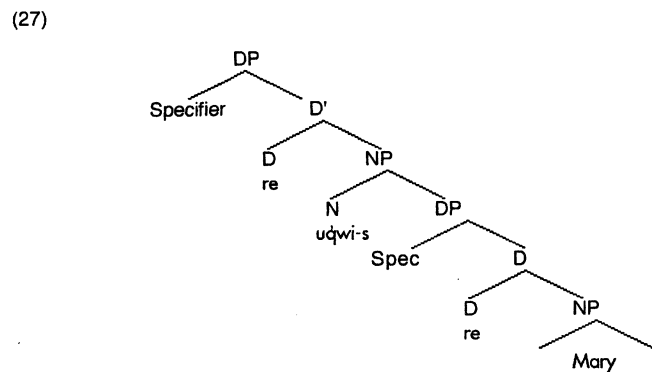
Possessor scrambling is discussed in the next section (§3).

3 Possessor Scrambling

As can be observed in the following pair, the possessor can occur either in base position following the head or scramble to precede the head:
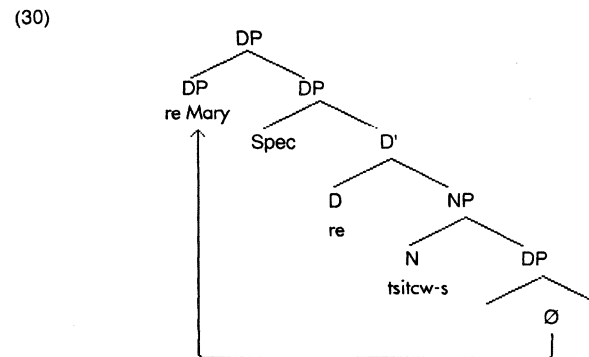
(28) wíwk-t-en   re uq́wi-s   re Mary
      see-tr-1subj det sister-3poss det Mary
      'I saw Mary's sister.'

(29) wíwk-t-en   re Mary   re uq́wi-s
      see-tr-1subj det Mary   det sister-3poss
      'I saw Mary's sister.'

I analyse (29) as involving possessor scrambling with DP adjunction as represented in (30).

(30)

3.1 Interaction with Strong Quantifiers

DP scrambling can be seen to interact with the strong quantifier /xwexwéyt/. While it is preferred to have the possessor adjacent to the head (31-32), the quantifier appears to be possible between the head and the possessor (33). This interaction provides evidence that both the quantifier and the possessor DP are adjoining to DP, as shown in (34).

(31) m-t7é7y-en   xwexwéyt   re kwséltkten-s   re John
      compl-meet-1subj   all   det relative-3poss   det John
      'I met all John's relatives.'

(32) m-t7é7y-en   xwexwéyt   re John   re kwséltkten-s
      compl-meet-1subj   all   det John   det relative-3poss
      'I met all John's relatives.'

(33) ?m-t7é7y-en   re John   xwexwéyt   re kwséltkten-s
      compl-meet-1subj   det John   all   det relative-3poss
      'I met all John's relatives.'

(34)
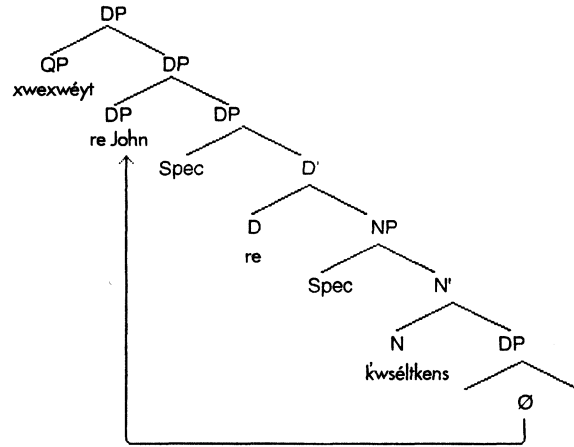
3.2 Scrambling within PPs

It can be observed that the scrambling operation is DP internal by looking at the behaviour of DP scrambling within PPs. A clause with a prepositional phrase containing a possessed DP is given in (35). Its representation is given in (36).

(35) me7   i7tc ken   ne tsitcw-s   re kúkpi7
      exp   sleep 1subj   at house-3poss   det chief
      'I will be sleeping at the chief's house.'

(36)
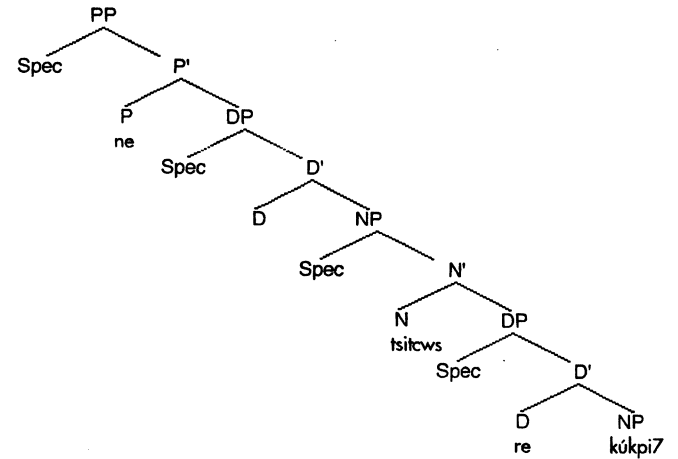
When the possessor DP scrambles as shown in (37) it does so within the DP.

(37) me7   i7tc ken .   ne   kúkpi7   re tsitcw-s
      exp   sleep 1subj   at   chief   house-3poss
      'I will be sleeping at the chief's house.'

That the scrambling operation is DP internal can be seen by the fact that the DP is inside of the prepositional head. Notice that the first member of the possessive construction loses its determiner. Another pair is provided in (38-39):

(38) me7   t7e7k ken   te   tsitcw-s   re kúkpi7
      exp   go   1subj by   house-3poss   det chief
      'I will be going by the chiefs house.'

(39) me7   t7e7k ken   te   kúkpi7   re tsitcw-s
      exp   go   1subj by   chief   det house-3poss
      'I will be going by the chiefs house.'

3.3 Scrambling out of Clauses

In the previous section it was shown that possessor scrambling is strictly DP internal. This predicts that there will be no scrambling out of clauses. First, I show that possessors cannot scramble out of transitives. However, there is evidence that scrambling of DPs out of intransitives is possible.

A transitive construction is given in (40):

(40) melce-nt-és   re nts'e7sqéxe7-s   re Mary   re John
      kick-tr-3subj det horse-3poss   det Mary   det John
      'John kicked Mary's horse.'
      *'Mary's horse kicked John.'

While the entire possessive construction can be focussed, questionned or relativized, it is not possible to extract the possessor.
      A focus construction is given in (41):

(41) nts'e7sqéxe7-s   re Mary   lu7   I melce-nt-és   re John
      horse-3poss   det Mary   foc   det kick-tr-3subj   det John
      'It's Mary horse that John kicked.'

It is not possible to scramble the possessor out of the DP:

(42) Mary   lu7   I melce-nt-és   re nts'e7sqéxe7-s   re John
      Mary   foc   det kick-tr-3subj   det horse-3poss   det John
      *'It's Mary whose horse John kicked.'
      'It's Mary that kicked kicked John's horse.'

Possessives exhibit the same behaviour in wh-questions. The entire DP containing the possessor may be questioned (43), but the possessor cannot scramble out of the DP (44):

(43) swéti7   k nts'e7sqéxe7-s   k melcentés   re John
      who   det horse-3poss   det kick-tr-3subj   det John
      'Whose horse did John kick?'

(44) *swéti7   k melcentés   k nts'e7sqéxe7s   re John
      who   det kick-tr-3subj   det horse   det John
      'Whose horse did John kick?'

Headed relative clauses also do not permit the scrambling of the possessor:

(45) m-qwetséts   re kí7ce-s   re núxwenxw te wíwk-t-en
      compl-leave det mother-3poss   det woman   det see-tr-1subj
      'The woman's mother who I saw, left.'

(46) *m-qwetséts   re núxwenxw   te wíwk-t-en   re kí7ce-s
      compl-leave det woman   det see-tr-1subj   det mother-3poss
      'The woman whose mother I saw left.'

Transitive constructions are problematic in general. First, notice that in (40) the possessor can only be associated with the object.[6] Second, the difficulty with scrambling possessors out of transitive objects may reside in the fact that there is a preferred strategy for possessive objects (under disjoint reference). This involves the use of the applicative /cít/ and possessor raising to object as shown in (47):

(47) m-wíwk-ct-en   re John   te qé7tse-s
      compl-see-appl-1subj   det mother-3poss   det woman
      'I saw John's mother.'

In this construction it is expected that objects can extract and this is the case. Give the problem of ergative possessors and the disjoint reference strategy for possessors of objects[7], it is best to turn to intransitive constructions to investigate whether possessors are able to scramble out of clauses.
      While there are apparent examples of possessor scrambling in some intransitive constructions, many of these can be eliminated. Notice that in the pair (48-49), the possessor appears to scramble:

(48) xyum   re tsitcws   re John
      big   house-3poss   det John
      'John's house is big.'

(49) re John   xyum   re tsitcws
      det John   big   house-3poss
      'John's house is big.'

In Gardiner (1993) constructions like (49) with putative possessor scrambling are argued to be external topics. Under this analysis, the possessor has not scrambled at all, but rather is binding an empty pronoun.
      A different analysis can eliminate the claim of possessor scrambling in wh-constructions:

(50) swéti7   k tsitcw-s   k xyum
      who   det house-3poss   det big
      'Whose house is big.'

(51) swéti7   k xyum   k tsitcw-s
      who   det big   det house-3poss
      'Whose house is big.'

---

[6] The inability to get both interpretations in (40) is unexpected and needs further research. There may be some constraint on ergative possessors or on 'heavy NPs'.

[7] Binding Condition C will block all coreferential constructions with an overt possessor in object position.

In Davis et al. (1993), and Gardiner (1993), wh-constructions are analysed as being base generated, involving empty operator movement in the dependent clause. Therefore, while there may be movement associated with the possessor in (51), it is an empty operator and not the wh-word that is moving.

A third type of construction, however, provides evidence that possessors can scramble when they behave as internal topics. The entire possessive construction can scramble to preverbal position in (52):

(52)   łhé7en   re John   re qé7tse-s   k ł7ek wes
      where   det John   det father-3poss   det go 3conj
      'Where is John's father going?'

It is also possible to scramble the possessor to preverbal position stranding the head:

(53)   łhé7en   re John   k ł7ek wes   re qé7tse-s
      where   det John   det go 3conj det father-3poss
      'Where is John's father going?'

This construction provides evidence that the possessor can scramble when it behaves as an internal topic. More research is needed on scrambling in internal topic constructions.

4   Demonstratives

In this section, I discuss the general properties of demonstratives. Then the interaction of demonstratives with possessors (§4.1) and quantifiers (§4.2) is discussed, in order to determine their syntactic status.

There are three common demonstratives, that mark spatial deixis in relation to the speaker:[8]

(54)

Demonstratives	Proximal	Medio-Prox.	Distal
	ye7éne	yeréy	yerí7

A DP containing a demonstrative is given in (55):

(55)   xwent yeréy re nts'e7sqéxe7
      fast   that   det horse
      'That horse is fast.'

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[8]I have only investigated the visible demonstratives, shown in (54). There is another set of demonstratives used to mark non-visible deixis.

Demonstratives occur to the left of the direct determiner and may occur in positions where DPs occur:

(56)   xwent yeréy
      fast   that
      'That one is fast.'

A reduced form of the visible distal demonstrative /ri7/ and the invisible one /lu7/ are very common:

(57)   xwent ri7
      fast   that
      'That one is fast.'

(58)   m-7íllen-s   lu7
      compl-eat-3subj   that
      'He ate that.'

These reduced deictics appear to have grammaticized as focus particles:

(59)   nwi7s   ri7   re xwent
      3emph   that   det fast
      'It's that one that is fast.'

(60)   swewll   lu7   l m-7íllen-s
      fish   that   det comp-eat-3subj
      'It's fish that he ate.'

Finally demonstratives cannot occur as predicates:

(61)   yeréy re nts'e7sqéxe7
      that   det horse
      'that horse'
      *'The horse is that.'

Next we need to look at the interaction of demonstratives with possessors and quantifiers in order to determiner their syntactic status.

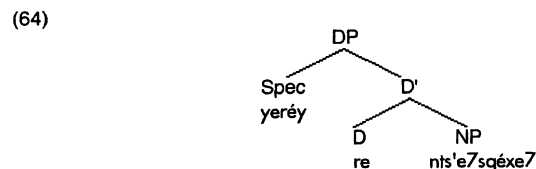### 4.1   Interaction of Possessors with Demonstratives

Demonstratives may introduce DPs that contain possessors:

(62)   xwent yeréy re nts'e7sqéxe7-s   re kúkpi7
      fast   that   det horse-3poss   det chief
      'That horse of the chief's is fast.'

The possessor in (62) is not able to scramble to a position preceding the head DP:

(63) xwent yeréy re kúkpi7   re nts'e7sqéxe7-s
      fast   that   det chief   det horse-3poss
      *'That horse of the chief's is fast.'
      'That chief's horse is fast.'

This construction provides evidence that the demonstrative occupies Spec of DP and that the possessor cannot adjoin to D':

(64)

                    DP
                   / \
                Spec   D'
                yeréy / \
                      D   NP
                      re   nts'e7sqéxe7

Interestingly, when there is a demonstrative in specifier position, the possessor cannot scramble outside of the DP:

(65) *xwent   re kúkpi7   yeréy   re nts'e7sqéxe7-s
       fast   det chief   that   det horse-3poss
       'That horse of the chief's is fast.'

However the possessor may occur as an external topic, binding an empty pronoun within the possessed DP:

(66) re kúkpi7   xwent   yeréy   re nts'e7sqéxe7-s
      det chief   fast   that   det horse-3poss
      'The chief, that horse of his is fast.'

4.2 Interaction of Demonstratives and Quantifiers

Recall that possessors are able to intervene between strong quantifiers and the head as shown in (67):

(67) m-t7é7y-en   xwexwéyt   re John   re kwséltkten-s
      compl-meet-1subj   all   det John   det relative-3poss
      'I met all John's relatives.'

This contrasts with (68) where the possessor cannot intervene between the specifier and the head:

(68) xwent yeréy re kúkpi7   re nts'e7sqéxe7-s
      fast   that   det chief   det horse-3poss
      *'That horse of the chief's is fast.'
      'That chief's horse is fast.'

That the strong quantifer is analysed as adjoined to DP and the demonstrative as Specifier of DP makes a prediction. The quantifier will not intervene between the specifier and its head. This prediction seems to be good with a small twist. Quantifiers can intervene but the determiner is oblique.
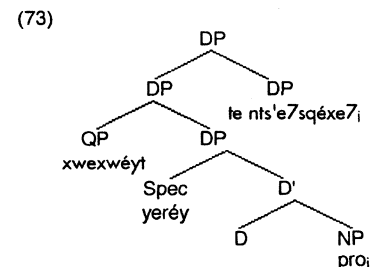
(69) m-wi7   re n-s-pipqw   xwexwéyt   ri7   te speqwéltcw
      compl-finish   det 1poss-nom-look   all   those obl book
      'I've stopped looking at all books.'

(70) m-wi7   re n-s-pipqw   ri7   xwexwéyt   te speqwéltcw
      compl-finish   det 1poss-nom-look   those all   obl book
      'I've stopped looking at all books.'

(71) xwent   xwexwéyt   yeréy   te nts'e7sqéxe7
      fast   all   those   obl horse
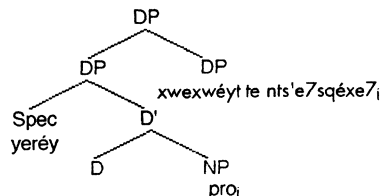   'All those horse's are fast.'

(72) xwent yeréy xwexwéyt   te nts'e7sqéxe7
      fast   those all   obl horse
      'All those horse's are fast.'

These constructions should be possible if the oblique is counted as evidence that there is a DP adjunct. Under this analysis, the strong quantifier and the demonstrative are in a projection with an empty pronoun. This predicts structures (73) and (74), for (71) and (72) respectively:

(73)

                      DP
                     / \
                   DP   DP
                  / \   te nts'e7sqéxe7ᵢ
                QP   DP
              xwexwéyt / \
                     Spec   D'
                     yeréy / \
                           D   NP
                                proᵢ

15   16

(74)

```
                DP
          ┌──────┴──────┐
         DP            DP
      ┌───┴───┐    xwexwéyt te nts'e7sqéxe7ᵢ
    Spec     D'
    yeréy  ┌──┴──┐
          D     NP
                proᵢ
```

The structures in (73-74) correctly predict the order of the demonstrative and the quantifier. Future research will hopefully help to determine whether the right-adjuncts are base generated or result from movement. The analysis also predicts that demonstratives in structures such as (74) ought to be able to scramble and this is the case.
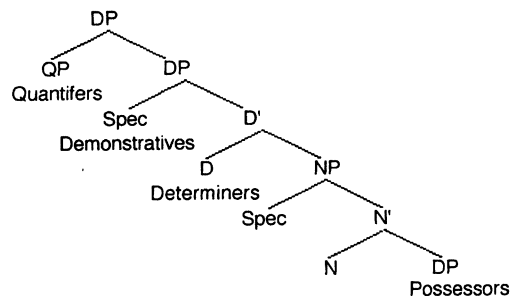
(75) ḏup-st-és   ye7éne   te suk̉wmíṅ
      break-caus-3subj this   obl knife
      'He broke this knife.'

(76) ye7éne   ḏup-st-és   te suk̉wmíṅ
      this   break-caus-3subj obl knife
      'He broke this knife.'

5   Conclusion

In this paper I have provided an analysis of the structure of determiner phrases in Secwepemctsín. The interaction of determiners, quantifiers, demonstratives and possessives provide evidence for the structure represented in (77):

(77)

```
                    DP
             ┌───────┴───────┐
            QP              DP
         Quantifers    ┌─────┴─────┐
                     Spec         D'
                  Demonstratives ┌──┴──┐
                                D      NP
                            Determiners ┌──┴──┐
                                      Spec    N'
                                           ┌───┴───┐
                                          N       DP
                                              Possessors
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