Clausal Demonstratives in ʔayʔaǰuθəm (Comox-Sliammon)*

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Abstract: This paper provides a first detailed analysis of the clitics *kʷa*, *kʷi*, *ta*, and *ti* in ʔayʔaǰuθəm (a.k.a. Comox-Sliammon). Although most of these particles have been briefly described by Watanabe (2003), not much is known about their semantic contribution or their syntactic status. Based on data gathered from several speakers, we argue that these elements act as clausal demonstratives and exhibit remarkable parallels to the regular demonstratives that can be found in the language. However, while the latter locate a place or an entity relative to the speaker, the four clausal demonstratives appear to encode information that relates the event situation with the utterance situation. Adopting Ramchand and Svenonius (2014)'s model, this would place them in Fin*, above T (the domain of the event situation) and below C (the domain of the utterance situation).

Keywords: Comox-Sliammon, deixis, second-position clitics, clausal spine, functional hierarchy

1 Introduction

This paper provides a first-pass analysis of the clitics *kʷa*, *kʷi*, *ta*, and *ti* in ʔayʔaǰuθəm (a.k.a. Comox-Sliammon), a highly endangered Central Salish language. While not much is known about these particles, their existence has been noted by several researchers (e.g., Blake 2000, Watanabe 2003). The most thorough description can be found in Watanabe (2003:520–528), who describes three of these four particles in his grammar for ʔayʔaǰuθəm. In particular, he analyzes the clitic *ta* as encoding 'direct observations', i.e., the speaker must be seeing the specified event while it happens, while the clitic *kʷa* is glossed as marking 'direct evidence' and appears to be used when the speaker describes an event based on their own firsthand experience.[1] Furthermore, Watanabe (2003)

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[1] In addition to *kʷa*, Watanabe (2003:521) also mentions a seemingly separate clitic *kʷu*, which is described as not well-understood, but appears to be used when talking about past or finished events. Blake (2000:149–150) distinguishes these two particles as well. In our own elicitations, we have noticed a tendency for speakers to change *kʷu* to *kʷa* when repeating sentences back, which may indicate that *kʷa* is found in careful speech, while

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provides a few examples for the use of *kʷi*, but acknowledges that the function of this particle is not well-understood.[2] The fourth clitic, *ti*, remains undiscussed in Watanabe (2003).[3]

Cognates of the four particles we are concerned with can also be found in Sechelt, a closely-related Central Salish language. Beaumont (2011) glosses *t'a* as 'over there' and explains that this particle usually refers to the location of someone or something. The particle *t'i* (sometimes also realized as *t'e,* or *t'* before the vowels *a* and *e*) is analyzed as describing an event in the past, present, or future (whether or not it can be seen by the speaker), while *kʷu* (realized as *kʷ* before *a*) refers to events unseen by the speaker, listener, or both. Last, Beaumont (2011) also notes that Sechelt has a particle *(s)kʷa*, which seems to act as a future marker.

Taking both Watanabe (2003) and Beaumont's (2011) descriptions into account, establishing a unified analysis for these particles seems difficult. However, in this paper, we argue that – at least for ʔayʔaǰuθəm – the particles *kʷa*, *kʷi*, *ta*, and *ti* form a paradigm of clausal demonstratives. We propose this nomenclature as a result of striking phonological and semantic parallels between these four clitics on the one hand and the regular demonstratives *tiʔi, taʔa, kʷiši, kʷaʔa* on the other.

As illustrated by Table 1, the regular demonstratives in ʔayʔaǰuθəm form a paradigm where initial consonants encode visibility and vowels encode proximity. [4] While this observation appears to hold for the four clausal demonstratives as well, there seem to be significant functional differences. In particular, we will show that the regular demonstratives locate a place or an entity relative to the speaker, whereas the four clausal demonstratives appear to locate the event situation relative to the utterance situation.

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kʷu is a variation of pronunciation found in faster speech. We have also noticed a similar variation in the pronunciation of negation *xʷa*. However, more research on this matter is necessary.

[2] Watanabe's (2003:521–522) chapter on clitics also contains the particles *kʷit and kʷut*. While he acknowledges that both of these clitics are not well-understood, he indicates that *kʷit* seems to encode something aspectual (having a meaning roughly corresponding to English 'already'), while *kʷut* is analyzed as a potential evidential marker. Furthermore, he speculates that *kʷit* might not be a single unit, but a combination of the clitics *kʷi* and *t*. To us, it seems plausible that the same argument can also be made for *kʷut*. For more details on the potential semantic contribution of *t*, see J. Davis (this volume).

[3] Blake (2000:149–150) presents several sentences that involve the clausal determiners *kʷa*, *kʷi*, and *kʷu.* Apart from a cautious conjecture that *kʷi* means roughly 'just now', she does not provide a detailed analysis for these particles.

[4] Thanks to Bruno Andreotti (p.c., 2018) for pointing out the parallels in vowels between the clausal demonstratives and the regular demonstratives.

Table 1: The inventory of clausal and regular demonstratives in ʔayʔaǰuθəm

	CLAUSAL DEMONSTRATIVES		REGULAR DEMONSTRATIVES	
	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
VISIBLE	*ti*	*ta*	*tiʔi*[5]	*taʔa*
NOT VISIBLE	*kʷi*	*kʷa/kʷu*	*kʷiši*	*kʷaʔa*

This paper is structured as follows. Section 2 explores the syntactic distribution of the four clausal demonstratives. Sections 3 and 4 compare the semantic properties of the regular and the clausal demonstratives, while Section 5 examines the behavior of the clausal demonstratives in embedded contexts. Subsequently, Section 6 feeds these generalizations into Ramchand and Svenonius's (2014) model of functional hierarchies and Section 7 discusses some further observations and questions regarding the distribution of clausal demonstratives. A brief summary of our results concludes this paper.

2 Syntax

In this section, we examine the four clausal demonstratives from a syntactic perspective. First, we will take a look at the basic distribution of *kʷa*, *kʷi*, *ta*, and *ti* in Section 2.1, while Section 2.2 discusses how the surface distribution of the clausal demonstratives relates to their syntactic representation.

2.1 Basic distribution

The clausal demonstratives can either precede or follow the initial word of the clause, which may be the main predicate, a verbal auxiliary, or an adverb. Examples illustrating the pre- and post-predicative use are given in (1) and (2), respectively.[6]

[5] There is also a feminine form of this demonstrative *θiʔi*.

[6] Abbreviations used in this paper are: CLF = cleft; CNJ = conjunction; COMP = complementizer; CTR = control transitivizer; DEM = demonstrative; DET = determiner; ERG = ergative; EVD = evidential; EXCL = exclusive marker; FUT = future; INCP = inceptive; INF = inferential; IPFV = imperfective; MD = middle; NEG = negation; NMLZ = nominalizer; NTR = non-control transitivizer; PASS = passive; PL = plural; POL = polarity marker; POSS = possessive; PST = past; Q = question marker; RDP = reduplicant; REFL = reflexive; RPT = reportative; SBJ= subject; SG = singular; STAT = stative; TR = transitivizer. The boundary between a reduplicant and stem is demarcated by •, and clitic boundaries are marked with =.

(1) a. **kʷa** c̓ə̓t̓-at-as
DEM cut-TR-3ERG
'He already cut it up.'

b. **kʷi** ƛaʔayin ʔaxʷ
DEM start snow
'It's started to snow.'

c. č=**ta** huǰ-əxʷ-an
1SG.SBJ=DEM finish-NTR-1SG.ERG
'I finished it.'

d. **ti** qʷə̓l̓ ɬiθ
DEM come drizzle
'It's starting to drizzle.'

(2) a. hu=**kʷa** hi•hiw-θut
go=DEM IPFV•front-CTR.REFL
'He went ahead.'

b. čigitəm=št=**kʷi** huy
almost=1PL.SBJ=DEM finish
'We're almost finished.'

c. c̓iɬ=**ta**
rain=DEM
'[I see that] it started to rain.' (adapted from Watanabe 2003:528)

d. ɬiθ-im=**ti**
drizzle-MD=DEM
'It's drizzling.'

When the clausal demonstratives precede the predicate, they can also host any of the subject clitics, which otherwise cannot occur pre-predicatively. [7] The sentences in (3a) to (3d) illustrate this phenomenon, while the example given in (3e) shows that a subject clitic on its own cannot precede the predicate.

[7] We assume that this pattern holds true for the entire paradigm of indicative subject clitics – at least in their reduced form. The full forms of the subject clitics (with the exception of the 2PL clitic *čap*), however, appear to be unavailable in this particular construction, as noted by Watanabe (2003:54). Consequently, a sentence like **čan=kʷi=huy* ('I am finished') will be rejected, while the same sentence with a shortened subject clitic (i.e., *č=kʷi=huy*) is generally seen as felicitous. We will return to this issue in Section 2.2.

(3) a. č=**ta** huǰ-əx^{w}-an
1SG.SBJ=DEM finish-NTR-1SG.ERG
'I finished it.'

b. čx^{w}=**k^{w}a** ʔəy•əy
2SG.SBJ=DEM good•INCP
'You are all better.' (adapted from Blake 2000:150)

c. št={**k^{w}a/k^{w}i**} huy
1PL.SBJ=DEM finish
'We're finished.'

d. čap=**k^{w}i** huy
2PL.SBJ=DEM finish
'You are finished.' (adapted from Watanabe 2003:54)

e. *št=huy
1PL.SBJ=finish
'We're finished.'

As exemplified by the sentences in (4), the clausal demonstratives may also host a following subject clitic, though this order is less common in our data so far.

(4) a. **ti**=č huy
DEM=1SG.SBJ finish
'I'm finished.'

b. **k^{w}i**=št huǰ-it
DEM=1PL.SBJ finish-STAT
'We're ready.'

c. **ta**=čx^{w} huǰ-əx^{w}
DEM=2SG.SBJ finish-NTR
'You finished it.'

The clausal demonstratives occur in a fixed order with respect to other clitics, both when preceding or following the initial prosodic word. As shown in (5), they follow the evidential clitics (e.g., *čˀa* or *kˀ^{w}a*) and the future marker *səm*.[8]

[8] While *səm* is generally analyzed as a plain future marker (e.g., Watanabe 2003:527; Davis in this volume), our data suggest that this clitic does not always convey real futurity. Under certain circumstances, namely when *səm* is directly followed by a clausal demonstrative, the future interpretation seems to be abandoned in lieu of an epistemic interpretation. In other words, a string like *səm=k^{w}i* does not express real futurity, but rather the speaker's beliefs about something. As illustrated by the examples (i) and (ii), the English modal *will* allows both of these interpretations as well.

(5) a. čˀa=**kʷi** θu ǰu Daniel
EVD.INF=DEM go home Daniel
'Daniel must have gone home.'

b. gəχ-nu-m=čˀa=**kʷa** qʷəl̓=čan kʷ
dream-NTR=PASS=EVD.INF=DEM come=1SG.SBJ COMP
qam-it
accompany-CTR
'She dreamt that I came with her.'

c. čˀiyituɬ=a=čxʷ kˀʷa=**kʷa**=piy-əw
hear=Q=2SG.SBJ EVD.RPT=DEM=separate-PL
'Did you hear they separated?'

d. niʔ=kˀʷa=**kʷa** či•čɬ-im
be.there=EVD.RPT=DEM RDP•dance-MD
'I heard there's dancing.'

e. səm=**kʷa** qʷəl̓ təs
FUT=DEM come arrive
'I guess they're already here.'

Given that the clausal demonstratives can either precede or follow the main predicate, the question arises what motivates this distributional flexibility.

2.2 Syntactic position

Because the clausal demonstratives form part of the second-position clitic string when following the predicate, questions concerning the distribution of the clausal demonstratives are linked to a broader question concerning the motivation for the position of the second-position clitic string. ʔayʔaǰuθəm is generally head-initial, with words pronounced linearly to the left semantically scoping over words to their right. The semantic scope of the clitics in the clitic string does not seem to be reflected by the linear position of the clitic string, however. Many of the second-position clitics obviously scope semantically over the word that precedes them, whether it is an adverb, auxiliary, or main verb, suggesting that there is movement taking place to derive the pronounced order.

The ordering of the initial prosodic word relative to the clitics does not exhibit the characteristics of syntactic movement, however. There is no obvious motivation for movement of elements of different syntactic categories to occur

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(i) Saoirse will be home in three hours. (real futurity)
(ii) Saoirse will be home by now. (epistemic futurity)

For a more detailed analysis of this issue, see Reisinger (this volume).

to a position preceding the clitics, subsequently blocking movement of any following adverb, auxiliary, or predicate.[9] Moreover, this movement would have to be able to take place out of syntactic islands. Second-position clitics can follow the initial prosodic word of the clause, scoping over the entire clause, even when this means interrupting conjoined predicates. For instance, in (6), the question marker *a* turns the whole clause into a question and appears after the

[9] We have not done extensive testing to differentiate the syntactic categories of predicate, auxiliary, and adverb yet. We do have evidence that predicates exhibit some different behaviors compared to auxiliaries and adverbs. For instance, predicates can stand alone in the answer to a question, whereas adverbs and auxiliaries cannot, as shown in (iii) to (v).

(iii) a. qəǰi=a=ʔut ʔi•ʔimaš?
still=Q=EXCL IPFV•walk
'Is he still walking?'

b.ii. qəǰi=ʔut ʔi•ʔimaš
still=EXCL IPFV•walk
Intended: 'Yes, he still is.'

b.i * ʔi, qəǰi=ʔut
yes still=EXCL
Intended: 'Yes, he still is.'

(iv) a. kʷən=a qʷəl̓ təs?
POL=Q come arrive
'Did he arrive?'

b.ii. ʔi, qʷəl̓ təs
yes come arrive
'Yes, he's arrived.'

b.i * ʔi, qʷəl̓
yes come
Intended: Yes, he arrived.'

(v) a. ʔi•ʔimaš=a?
IPFV•walk
'Is he walking?'

b. ʔi, ʔi•ʔimaš
yes IPFV•walk
'Yes, he's walking.'

Word order evidence also shows that adverbs precede auxiliaries – though *qəǰi* 'still' can also occur phonologically reduced as a second-position clitic (Watanabe 2003:525) – and auxiliaries precede predicates, suggesting that these are distinct categories with somewhat rigid ordering restrictions between them.

(vi) a. paya θu ʔəm•ʔimaš Marianne
always go PL•walk Marianne
'Marianne is always going walking.'

b. * θu paya ʔəm•ʔimaš
go always PL•walk
Intended: 'She's always going walking.'

c. * ʔəm•ʔimaš θu Marianne
PL•walk go Marianne
Intended: 'Marianne is going walking.'

In textual material, however, there are instances where auxiliaries follow main predicates, as in (vii). Considering this, more research on this matter will be necessary.

(vii) hihiw χaχλ̓-iṁ qʷəl̓ ɬ=χawgəs
really worry-MD come DET=grizzly
'Grizzly was starting to worry.' (adapted from Watanabe 2003:564)

initial prosodic word.[10] Similarly, both predicates are understood to be in the future, but the future marker *səm* only appears following the initial prosodic word. This means that both of these clitics are not taking scope where they appear linearly. However, if the predicate preceding them had undergone syntactic movement to a position higher in the clause to precede the clitics, it would violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967).[11]

(6) q̓aṫ̓$^{\theta}$-aθut=a=čap=səm ʔi q^{w}i•q^{w}ay=čap?
gather-CTR.REFL=Q=2PL.SBJ=FUT CNJ IPFV•talk=2PL.SBJ
'Are you going to gather together to talk?'

Nevertheless, ʔayʔajuθəm otherwise shows standard Coordinate Structure Constraints, as illustrated by the rejected example sentences given in (7).

(7) a. * gət k̓^{w}ən-əx^{w}-əx^{w}-uł higa Gloria?
who see-NTR-2SG.ERG-PST CNJ Gloria
Intended: 'Who did you see ___ and Gloria?'

b. * tatam=čx^{w} ʔi q̓aq̓sim-uθin-əm=čx^{w} s-nanat
do.what=2SG.SBJ CNJ play-mouth-MD=2SG.SBJ NMLZ-night
Intended: 'What are you doing and singing tonight?'

Considering this, it seems likely that some sort of prosodically driven linearization is occurring.[12] Most of the second-position clitics are prosodically deficient, not meeting the bimoraic requirement for a prosodic word (Blake 2000:117–123). This means that they require a prosodic host. ʔayʔaǰuθəm prosodic structure shows influence of Kwak'wala, which famously lacks both prefixes and proclitics, with all independent, prosodically light material realized as enclitics (e.g., Anderson 2005). Like Kwak'wala (but unlike other Salish languages), ʔayʔaǰuθəm lacks prefixes. However, the language clearly allows proclitics, as evident from the examples given in (1) and (3). Not all clitics are permitted as proclitics, however. Notably, the clitics from the second-position clitic string which lack a vowel never occur as proclitics. Therefore, reduced

[10] Unlike the question marker and the future marker, the person clitics must occur in both conjuncts. The reason behind this requires further investigation. It could be that the subject clitics are too low in the syntactic structure to scope over both conjuncts, but then we have an additional puzzle as to their linear order with respect to other clitics that can scope over both conjuncts, such as *səm*.

[11] See Davis (2013) for arguments that the predicate in St'at'imcets does not move to a position as high as C.

[12] See Huijsmans (2016) for a similar analysis in SENĆOŦEN.

forms of person clitics (the most common realizations) cannot occur as proclitics unless they are accompanied by a clausal demonstrative (8).[13]

(8) * št=huy
1PL.SBJ=finish
'We're finished.'

This indicates that enclisis is the least marked option available to all the clitics.

It should also be noted that, having a full vowel, the clausal demonstratives have the same monomoraic weight as the verbal auxiliary *θu/hu* 'go' which also occurs preceding the predicate; Blake (2000:119) notes that this auxiliary seems to be an exception to the usual requirement for prosodic words to be bimoraic. It is possible, then, that clausal demonstratives occurring initially in the clause behave as independent prosodic words, even though the clausal demonstratives do not meet the usual bimoraic requirement. Indeed, when the person clitics follow the clausal demonstratives, the clausal demonstratives behave in parallel to verbal auxiliaries. When the person clitics precede clausal demonstratives (a position unavailable with verbal auxiliaries), the clausal demonstrative is still likely acting as the host; the availability of proclisis for the person clitic is then probably the result of pressure to maintain ordering within the second-position clitic string, reflecting the relative syntactic positions of the clitics. The two different positions of the subject clitics relative to clausal demonstratives are then likely a reflection of competing pressures between a realization that represents their relative syntactic positions and one which conforms better to the prosodic norms of the language.

3 (Regular) Demonstratives

Documentation of demonstratives in ʔayɬaǰuθəm is limited. Both Watanabe (2003:79–80) and Davis (1978:25–26) list a large number of demonstratives, providing glosses, but do not explore their semantic contributions in detail. In this paper, we focus only on one set of demonstratives that closely resembles the clausal demonstrative system and for which we have conducted the most extensive documentation. This set includes the *t*-demonstratives *tiʔi* and *taʔa* and the *kʷ*-demonstratives *kʷiši* and *kʷaʔa.*

The demonstrative *tiʔi* indicates that something is proximate and visible, and is commonly used when handing something to someone. In contrast, the demonstrative *taʔa* indicates that something is further away, but still visible. Examples highlighting this distinction are given in (9) and (10) below.

[13] A similar observation has been made by Watanabe (2003:54).

(9) *Context: Handing someone something they've asked for, like salt at the table.*
niš **tiʔi**
be.here DEM
'Here it is.'

(10) niʔ **taʔa**
be.there DEM
'It's over there.'
Consultant's comment: You're talking about something over there…; you still see it.

To indicate that something is close by, but not visible, the demonstrative *kʷiši* is used, as exemplified by the sentence in (11). If the referent is not visible and further away, speakers use the demonstrative *kʷaʔa*, as shown in (12).

(11) *Context (volunteered): It's in the closet [which is right beside the table where we were talking].*
niʔ **kʷiši**
be.there DEM
'It's right there.'

(12) niʔ **kʷaʔa**
be.there DEM
'It's over there.'
Consultant's comment: You don't see it.

In sum, we can classify *tiʔi* as proximal and visible, *taʔa* as distal and visible, *kʷiši* as proximal and not visible, and *kʷaʔa* as distal and not visible.

While the examples given in (9) to (12) illustrate that the four particles *tiʔi*, *taʔa*, *kʷiši*, and *kʷaʔa* can function as demonstrative adverbs, they sometimes also act as demonstrative determiners, as shown in (13), or as demonstrative pronouns, as shown in (14).

(13) θəqʔay=a **tiʔi** ǰanxʷ
sockeye.salmon=Q DEM fish
'Is this fish a sockeye salmon?' (adapted from Watanabe 2003:88)

(14) čəṁ ʔə=xʷ=hihiw-s qaʔṯ-əm-(m)ut **tiʔi**
why CLF=NMLZ=really-3POSS heavy-MD-very DEM
'Why is this so heavy?'

4 The semantics of clausal demonstratives

While Section 3 examined the regular demonstratives in terms of form and meaning, this section will take a closer look at the semantic contribution of their clausal cognates. In general, our data suggest that the clausal demonstratives function as deictic markers encoding both proximity and visibility. However,

while regular demonstratives encode the spatial distance between the speaker and an entity, the clausal demonstratives express the spatial or temporal distance between the utterance situation and the event situation.

Analogous to the regular *t*-demonstratives, both clausal *t*-demonstratives are used to indicate that the described event was observed by the speaker. This is exemplified by the sentences give in (15) and (16).[14]

(15) **ti** ƛaʔayin ʔax^{w}
DEM start snow
'It's starting to snow.'
✓ *Context 1: It's starting to snow and I'm looking at it.*
✘ *Context 2: It's starting to snow, but I'm looking at Daniel and not out of the window. [Consultant's comment:* ti ƛaʔayin ʔax^{w} *is when you're looking at it.]*
✓ *Context 3: Gloria is facing the window and can see the snow, but I can't. She says* ti ƛaʔayin ʔax^{w} *to me.*

(16) *Context: Betty and I are weaving baskets. She leaves, returns, and asks me if I am still weaving.*
č=**ta** huǰ-əx^{w}-an
1SG.SBJ=DEM finish-NTR-1SG.ERG
'I've finished it.'
Consultant's comment: It [the basket] is right there.

In contrast, the clausal *k^{w}*-demonstratives can only be used in contexts where the speaker is not directly observing the described event, as shown in (17). Once again, this matches the observations we made for the regular *k^{w}*-demonstratives in Section 3.

(17) **k^{w}i/k^{w}a** ƛaʔayin ʔax^{w}
DEM start snow
'It's starting to snow.'
✘ *Context 1: Gloria is facing the window and can see the snow, but I can't. She says* k^{w}i/k^{w}a ƛaʔayin ʔax^{w} *to me.* [*Consultant's comment: If she's not looking at it [she can use it]*.]
✓ *Context 2 (volunteered): You're telling someone inside that it's snowing outside.*

[14] Whether the listener observed the event or not seems to be irrelevant. This is in contrast to some observations made by Beaumont (2011) for the cognates of these clausal demonstratives in Sechelt.

We also have evidence that proximity is involved in the choice of clausal demonstratives, parallel to the regular demonstratives that we examined in Section 3. For instance, *kʷi* encodes a proximal relationship between the speaker and the event, while *kʷa* encodes a more distal relationship. This distribution is exemplified by the sentences in (18) and (19) below.

(18) **kʷi**=θu ǰu
DEM=go home
'He's just going home.'
Consultant's comment: [It's] more recent, he's just left to go home.

(19) **kʷa**=θu ǰu
DEM=go home
'He's gone home.'
Consultant's comment: If it was a little longer, over a longer time that he left…

Similarly, *ti* is preferred in (20) when referring to the speaker's work, while *ta* is preferred in (21) when referring to the addressee's work.

(20) ti huy tə=tᶿ ṗaṗim
DEM finish DET=1S.POSS work
'My work is finished.'

(21) ta huy tə=θ ṗaṗim
DEM finish DET=2S.POSS work
'Your work is finished.'

5 Embeddability

While the examples presented so far show that the clausal demonstratives can be found in matrix clauses, our data suggest that they can occur initially in embedded clauses as well. This is exemplified by the sentence given in example (22), which consists of two clauses: [$_{CP}$ kʷən-at-as [$_{CP}$ ti qʷəl̓ ʔaxʷ]].

(22) *Context: Amaya (little girl) is excited to see snow because she thought there would be no school.*
kʷən-at-as **ti**=qʷəl̓ ʔaxʷ
see-CTR-3ERG DEM=come snow
'She saw it started to snow.'
Consultant's comment: 'cause you're there too, you're looking at the snow…

However, as indicated by the consultant's comment, the contribution of the demonstrative is still speaker-oriented. It cannot be coerced into being oriented towards the matrix subject, as shown in (23).

(23) a. *Context: Amaya is watching the snow, but I'm somewhere else doing laundry or something.*
kʷən-at-as **ti**=qʷəl̓ ʔaxʷ
see-CTR-3ERG DEM=come snow
'She saw it started to snow.'
Consultant's comment: Because you didn't see it yourself, you wouldn't say ti qʷəl̓ ʔaxʷ.

b. *(21a) was corrected to:*
kʷənatas **kʷi**=qʷəl̓ ʔaxʷ
see-CTR-3ERG DEM=come snow
'She saw it started to snow.'

6 Analysis of syntax-semantics mapping

Considering all of this, the clausal demonstratives appear to encode information that relates the event situation with the utterance situation, specifically to the speaker of the utterance. In Ramchand and Svenonius's (2014) model of functional hierarchies, this would place them in Fin*, above T (the domain of the event situation) and below C (the domain of the utterance situation). This is compatible with what we know of their linear order relative to other functional material. As shown in (24), they must follow evidential modals, which belong to the propositional zone (C domain) since they involve information about speaker knowledge. On the other hand, like other elements within the clitic string, they scope above the VP domain of the clause.

(24) a. kʷayimut=č̓a=**kʷi** Daniel
hid=EVD.INF=DEM Daniel
'Daniel must have hid.'

b. * kʷayimut=**kʷi**=č̓a Daniel
hid=DEM=EVD.INF Daniel
'Daniel must have hid.'

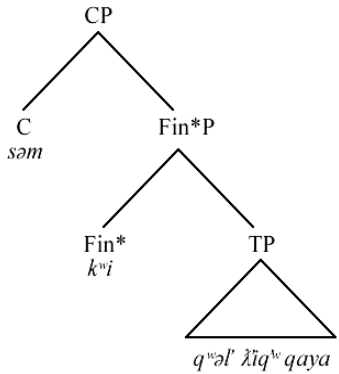
It is less clear based on distribution alone that they occur above T, since the past tense marker (*-uɬ*) is a suffix and its scope relative to these clitics is not apparent from linear order, while the future marker *səm* precedes the clausal demonstratives, but seems to act as an epistemic modal rather than a future marker when it co-occurs with the clausal demonstratives and precedes them (25).

(25) səm=**kʷi** qʷəl̓ ƛ̓iq̓ʷ qaya
FUT=DEM come tide.high water
'The tide is up now (I'm guessing).'

Determining more precisely the relationship between clausal demonstratives and T will require further research into the nature of T in ʔayʔaǰuθəm. However,

since their distribution seems to be sensitive to the temporal location of the event, not just the properties of the VP, we feel they are best represented as occurring above T.

(26)



Semantically, we propose that the clausal demonstratives take an expression of type ⟨s, t⟩, i.e., the TP node which embeds the event and has an unsaturated event situation argument (following Ramchand & Svenonius 2014), and outputs an expression of type ⟨s, t⟩ that can combine with higher modal clitics. They place restrictions on the contexts of use, such that the event situation *s* is proximal/distal to the utterance situation s^* and visible/not-visible at the utterance situation. We assume that the utterance situation is given by the context and includes the speaker, relative to whom the constraints can be evaluated, as well as a world and time parameter. The clausal demonstrative *kʷi*, then, would get the denotation in (27).

(27) $[\![k^wi]\!]^{s*}=\lambda P \in D_{\langle s,t\rangle}.\lambda s : [proximal(s, s^*)\ \&\ not\text{-}visible(s, s^*)].P(s)$

Because the event situation is evaluated relative to the utterance situation, clausal demonstratives never express a relationship between an embedded and a matrix clause. When embedded in a subordinate clause, as in (20) and (21), they express a relationship between the embedded event situation and the utterance situation.

7 Further notes and puzzles

While the clausal demonstratives occur quite frequently in dialogue, their contexts of use are fairly restricted. Currently, we are still working to understand the exact nature of the contexts which license their occurrence. Based on the data we have presented in this paper, they seem to be common in contexts that involve a punctual event that can be situated relative to the speaker, such as a change in weather, someone's arrival or leaving, or the completion of a task. In contrast, they are often incompatible with imperfective predicates, as illustrated by the examples given in (28) and (29). We speculate that the use of clausal

demonstratives in these scenarios is not felicitous because the predicates are not temporally bounded in a way that makes them accessible for deictic reference.

(28) * **ti** qəǰi=ʔut ʔa•ʔax^{w}
DEM still=EXCL IPFV•snow
'It's still snowing.'

(29) * **ti** t̓i•t̓iχ-im
DEM IPFV•sunshine-MD
'It's sunshining.'

Nevertheless, we encountered some contexts where the clausal demonstratives were accepted with imperfective predicates, as shown in (30).

(30) *Context: You see Freddie coming towards the house.*
ti q^{w}ə•q^{w}ət̓ Freddie
DEM IPFV•come Freddie
'Freddie is coming.'

8 Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued that the four second-position clitics *k^{w}a*, *k^{w}i*, *ta*, and *ti* form a paradigm of clausal demonstratives, which parallels the regular demonstrative system in several regards. Specifically, we show that both the clausal demonstratives and the regular demonstratives encode visibility and proximity. However, while the regular demonstratives encode the deictic relationship between the speaker and an entity, we propose that the clausal demonstratives deictically link the event situation to the utterance situation.

Ramchand and Svenonius (2014) propose that structure is built in a way such that information complexity is monotonically increasing, with events embedded in situations which are embedded in propositions. The clausal demonstratives in ʔayʔaǰuθəm fit well in this model since their position relative to other functional material indicates that they occur above the domain of the event/situation and below modals that belong to the propositional domain. Considering this, we propose that they belong in Fin*, where we expect material that links the situation to the utterance context to occur.

This means that their ability to appear following an initial adverb, verbal auxiliary or predicate, patterning with other second-position clitics, cannot reflect base Merge positions. Further, we provide preliminary evidence that the linearization of clausal demonstratives relative to the preceding word cannot be derived by syntactic movement. Instead, we suggest that the linearization of second-position clitics, including clausal demonstratives, may be sensitive to prosodic preferences in the language. When they occur preceding an initial adverb, auxiliary, or predicate, we speculate that they are functioning as independent prosodic words, despite not meeting the usual requirement for words to be bimoraic (Blake 2000:117–123).

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