

## Disjoint Reference and Possessor Raising in Shuswap\*

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Shuswap exhibits peculiar referential properties with respect to possessive pronouns, such that coreferential possibilities for the possessive pronouns interact with a syntactic phenomenon called Possessor Raising (henceforth PR), in which the possessor of an object 'raises' to become grammatical object. Possessor Raising is obligatory in this language when the possessor of an object is disjoint in reference from the subject of the same clause, otherwise the possessor of an object must be coreferential with the subject. This phenomenon has been mentioned by Gardiner (1993), but no syntactic analysis has been provided up to the present. This paper proposes an analysis of Possessor Raising, arguing that the possessors are overtly moved out of the object DP.

### 1 Introduction

Possessor Raising, in which the possessor of the direct object 'raises' to become the grammatical object of the clause, is attested in many languages, like Bantu languages (see among others, Baker 1988; Keach Rochemont 1992; Yoon, 1990). Shuswap also exhibits PR, however, what is interesting about Shuswap PR is that this phenomenon interacts with coreferential possibilities for possessive pronouns. In regular transitive clauses, the possessive pronoun in object position must be coreferential with the subject of the same clause. In order for the possessive pronoun to be disjoint in reference from the subject, the possessor must undergo PR. The goal of this paper is to answer the following questions; (i) why disjoint reference obligatorily requires Possessor Raising; (ii) why coreferential reading is obligatory in non-PR constructions. At least the obligatory coreference between the possessor in object and the subject raises a problem for standard binding theory. To answer the first question, I will argue that Possessor Raising of this language involves overt movement of possessors. Since the possessive pronoun is raised out of DP, which is the governing category for the possessive pronoun, it would be governed by its potential antecedent such as the subject and thus violate binding condition B. Therefore disjoint reference is forced to obey the binding condition B. In order to answer the second question, I will propose that it is a side effect of the use of PR as a grammaticalized strategy for disjoint reference.

This paper is structured as follows; in §2, I will provide some background on

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\* Shuswap (Secwepemctsin) is a Northern Interior Salish language, spoken in British Columbia. I would like to thank my language consultant Mona Jules, who has been helping and encouraging me to learn the language. I would also like to thank Henry Davis and my classmates in LING518 for their comments. Fieldwork in Kamloops has been supported by SSHRCC grant #410-95-1519 to Henry Davis. All errors and mistakes are the author's responsibility.

Shuswap syntax. In §3, I will discuss the referential properties of possessive pronouns and how they interact with PR. In §4, I will provide a movement analysis of possessors in the PR constructions. Finally in §6, I will summarize the analysis of Shuswap PR developed in this paper.

## 2 Background of Shuswap

### 2.1 Determiner system

In Shuswap, nominals obligatorily take determiners. The direct determiner *re* marks referential arguments (subjects and objects) that are linked to person marking on the predicate. Whereas the oblique determiner *te* marks locatives, instrumentals, passive agents, or other nominals that are not linked to person marking on the predicate.

### 2.2 Word order

The normal word order is VOS as in (1a). However, a subject can precede an object and also a verb, allowing VSO and SVO word orders as in (1b) and (1c). The object cannot precede a verb as in (1d,e, and f):

- (1) 'Mary saw John.'
- |    |      |                |           |           |
|----|------|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| a. | VOS  | wik-t-Ø-s      | re John   | re Mary   |
|    |      | see-tr-3sO-3sS | det John  | det Mary  |
| b. | VSO  | wik-t-Ø-s      | re Mary   | re John   |
| c. | SVO  | re Mary        | wik-t-Ø-s | re John   |
| d. | *OVS | re John        | wik-t-Ø-s | re Mary   |
| e. | *OSV | re John        | re Mary   | wik-t-Ø-s |
| f. | *SOV | re Mary        | re John   | wik-t-Ø-s |

In the possessive DP such as 'Mary's mother', the possessor *Mary* may follow or precede its head *mother*.<sup>2</sup>

- (2) 'Mary's mother'
- |    |                                      |
|----|--------------------------------------|
| a. | [ <sub>DP</sub> re kí7ce-s re Mary ] |
|    | det mother-3sP det Mary              |
| b. | [ <sub>DP</sub> re Mary re kí7ce-s ] |

Given this basic background on Shuswap syntax, let us turn to the coreferential possibilities of possessive pronouns and PR.

## 3 Possessive pronouns

### 3.1 Obligatory disjointness in PR

In regular transitive clauses in Shuswap, possessive pronouns in object must be

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner (1996) proposes that the head-initial construction is a basic structure for a possessive DP and the head-final construction is derived by possessor scrambling.

coreferential with the subject. As shown in (3), a third person possessive pronoun inside an object DP must be interpreted as John, the subject of the clause:

- (3) re John wik-t-Ø-s re kí7ce-s  
 det John see-tr-3sO-3sS det mother-3sP  
 'John<sub>i</sub> saw his<sub>i/j</sub> mother.'

In order for a possessive pronoun to be disjoint in reference from the subject, the transitive predicate must occur with an applicative morpheme-*c*(1, as in (4):

- (4) re John wik-c-t-Ø-s te kí7ce-s  
 det John see-APPL-tr-3sO-3sS obl mother-3sP  
 'John<sub>i</sub> saw his<sub>\*i/j</sub> mother.'

In this sentence, the possessor cannot be coreferential with the subject. This structure has been termed 'Possessor Raising' (Gardiner 1993), since the possessor acquires object properties that the THEME object is expected to bear. In other words, the possessor 'raises' to become grammatical object of the clause. For PR sentences, the THEME object loses its own object properties, such as triggering object agreement on the predicate and selecting direct determiner. Interestingly, PR is obligatory whenever a possessor inside an object DP and a subject DP have disjoint reference. As shown in (5) and (6), PR must take place even if there is no possibility of coreference:

- (5) re John wiwk-c-t-sm-s te n-kík7ce  
 det John see-APPL-tr-1sO-3sS obl 1sP-mother  
 'John saw my mother.'
- (6) re John wik-c-t-s-s te 7-qé7tse  
 det John see-APPL-tr-2sO-3sS obl 2sP-father  
 'John saw **your** father.'

### 3.2 Object properties of possessors

As discussed in §2, objects in regular clauses of Shuswap are marked by the direct determiner *re*. Under PR as in (7), the grammatical object *kí7ce* is marked by the oblique determiner *te*, whereas the possessor *Mary* is marked by the direct determiner *re*:

- (7) re John wik-c-t-Ø-s te kí7ce-s re Mary.  
 det John see-APPL-tr-3sO-3sS obl mother-3sP det Mary  
 'John saw Mary's mother.'

Another object property is the ability to trigger agreement on the predicate. In the transitive clauses as in (8), the object marks its person agreement on the predicate (i.e., the 3rd person singular  $\emptyset$ ):



- (8) *Regular Transitive in Shuswap*  
 re Mary wik-t-~~ø~~-s re John  
 det Mary see-tr-3sO-3sS det John  
 'Mary saw John.'

Under PR, the object agreement is triggered by the possessor rather than the grammatical object. Let us look at the sentences in (9) and (10):

- (9) Possessor = 1<sup>st</sup> person  
 a. re John wiwk-c-t-sm-s te n-kík7ce  
 det John see-APPL-tr-1sO-3sS obl 1sP-mother  
 'John saw **my** mother.'  
 b. \*re John wik-c-t-~~ø~~-s te n-kík7ce-s  
 det John see-APPL-tr-3sO-3sS obl 1sP-mother
- (10) Possessor = 2<sup>nd</sup> person  
 a. re John wik-c-t-s-s te 7-qé7tse  
 det John see-APPL-tr-2sO-3sS obl 2sP-father  
 'John saw **your** father.'  
 b. \*re John wik-c-t-~~ø~~-s te 7-qé7tse  
 det John see-APPL-tr-3sO-3sS obl 2sP-father

In (9), the object agreement is triggered by the first person possessive pronoun. The grammatical object *te n-kík7ce* ('my mother') fails to trigger the object agreement. If it does, then the sentence becomes ungrammatical, which is shown in (9b).

In the following section, I will propose the analysis of Possessor Raising.

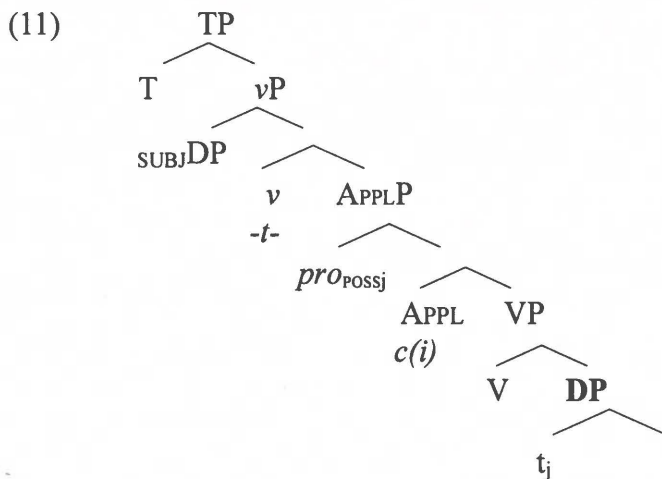
#### 4 Analysis of disjoint reference in PR

In this section, I will first propose an analysis of PR and show evidence from temporal adjunct and possessor extraction to support my overt movement of possessors in PR.

##### 4.1 Possessor Raising

I propose that the obligatory disjoint reference results from the structure in (11), in which the applicative morpheme *-c(i)-* projects its own syntactic head (labeled APPL<sup>0</sup>):<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> I do not make a specific claim about where a subject is base-generated, since it is not crucial in the present analysis.



According to (11), a direct object DP (THEME) is generated within the lowest V and a possessor is base-generated as a *pro* within the object DP. Obligatory disjoint reference can be accounted for by assuming that the object DP forms a governing category (GC) for the possessive pronoun, and the possessive pronoun is moved out of the DP, i.e., its GC. The possessive pronoun cannot be bound by the subject DP, since it will violate binding condition B.

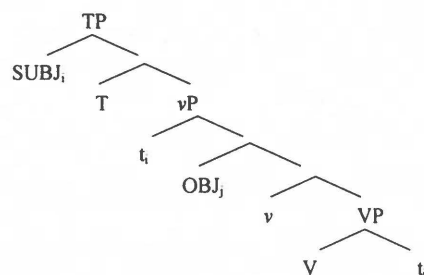
Following Chomsky (1995), a subject DP and an object DP check their nominal features at a Spec of T and a Spec of the higher head of the VP-shell, namely *v*, respectively.<sup>4</sup> In order to account for the objecthood of the possessors, I assume that the possessor further moves to a Spec of *v* to check features on *v*. The THEME DP fails to move to a Spec of *v* and hence cannot be in feature-checking relation with *v*. This is why the THEME DP does not bear object properties under PR. We can explain why movement of the THEME DP to a Spec of *v* is prohibited, by assuming the Minimal Link Condition that requires chain link be minimal in length (Chomsky 1995). As seen in (11), the raised possessor is closer to the head *v* than the THEME DP.

In the following subsection, I will provide two pieces of evidence to support this overt movement analysis.

#### 4.2 Evidence for overt movement of Possessors

Assuming that in normal case a possessor stays in the object DP and forms a constituent with its possessed N, we would predict that the possessor does not form a constituent with its possessed N if it moves out of the object DP. Two pieces evidence

<sup>4</sup> A head *v* is meant to stand for the higher head of the two layered VP-shell for a simple transitive verb (Chomsky 1995). I assume that feature-checking by a subject and object takes place as illustrated below.



are provided here to show that this prediction is in fact borne out. One of the evidence comes from possessor extraction in wh-questions, and the other from temporal adjunct.

#### 4.2.2 Possessor extraction

In wh-questions, a possessive WH-phrase must be extracted together with its possessed N, as shown in (12):

- (12) a. [ *swéti7 k-kí7ce-s* ]<sub>i</sub> k-wik-t-ø-s t<sub>i</sub> re John  
           who irr-mother-3sP irr-see-tr-3sO-3sS det John  
           ‘Whose mother did John see?’
- b. \*[ *swéti7* ]<sub>i</sub> k-wik-t-ø-s [ k-kí7ce-s t<sub>i</sub> ] re John  
           who irr-see-tr-3sO-3sS irr-mother-3sP det John

However in wh-constructions with PR, the possessive WH-phrase must be extracted on its own, stranding its possessed N. This is shown in (13):

- (13) a. \**swéti7 k-kí7ce-s* k-wik-c-t-ø-s re John  
           who irr-mother-3sP irr-see-APPL-tr-3sO-3sS det John  
           ‘Whose mother did John see?’
- b. [ *swéti7* ]<sub>i</sub> k-wik-c-t-ø-s t<sub>i</sub> tek-kí7ce-s re John  
           who irr-see-APPL-tr-3sO-3sS irr-mother-3sP det John

The contrast in (12) and (13) follows from the analysis of overt movement of possessors. It can be accounted for by assuming that a possessor forms a constituent with its possessed N in the normal case, but it does not in the PR case, since the possessor has moved out of the DP.

#### 4.2.3 Temporal adjunct

In Shuswap, a possessor must be adjacent to its possessed N. Nothing can intervene between them. This adjacency requirement can be observed in (14):

- (14) ‘*Mary’s sister’s house*’
- a. re tsítcw-s re uq’wi-s re Mary  
      det house-3sP det sister-3sP det Mary
- b. re tsítcw-s re Maryre uq’wi-s
- c. re Maryre uq’wi-s re tsítcw-s
- d. \*re Mary re tsítcw-s re uq’wi-s
- e. \*re uq’wi-s re tsítcw-s re Mary (1996 Gardiner)

A temporal adjunct like *pexyéwtes* ‘yesterday’ can only appear sentence-finally or before a sentence-final subject as in (15):



- (15) 'John<sub>i</sub> saw his<sub>j</sub> mother yesterday.'
- a. wik-t-Ø-s re kí7ce-s re John *le pexyéwtes* [VOS adj. ]  
 see-tr-3sO-3sS det mother-3sP det John *yesterday*
- b. wik-t-Ø-s re kí7ce-s *le pexyéwtes* re John [VO adj. S]
- c. \*wik-t-Ø-s *le pexyéwtes* re kí7ce-s re John [V adj. OS]
- d. \*wik-t-Ø-s re John *le pexyéwtes* re kí7ce-s [VS adj. O]
- e. \*wik-t-Ø-s *le pexyéwtes* re John re kí7ce-s [V adj. SO]

However, it can also appear between a possessor and its possessed N when the sentence involves PR, as in (16):

- (16) 'He<sub>i</sub> saw John<sub>j</sub>'s mother yesterday.'
- a. wik-c-t-Ø-s te kí7ce-s *le pexyéwtes* \_re John  
 see-APPL-tr-3sO-3sS obl mother-3sP *yesterday* \_det John
- b. \*wik-c-t-Ø-s re John \_*le pexyéwtes* \_te kí7ce-s
- c. \*wik-c-t-Ø-s *le pexyéwtes* te kí7ce-s \_re John
- d. wik-c-t-Ø-s te kí7ce-s \_re John \_*le pexyéwtes*
- e. wik-c-t-Ø-s re John \_te kí7ce-s *le pexyéwtes*

Examples in (16d) and (16e) are expected to be grammatical since the temporal adjunct can appear sentence finally. An example in (16c) is expected to be ungrammatical since the temporal adjunct can never precede the object (see in (15b-d)). What is not expected is (16a), given the fact that the possessor and its possessee must be adjacent. However, (16a) can be explained if we assume that the possessor and the possessee do not form a constituent, since the possessor has been moved out of the object DP.

The above facts follow from my analysis of overt movement of possessors; the contrasts between (12) and (13) and also (15) and (16) can be accounted for by assuming that a possessor in normal case forms a constituent with its possessed N, but in PR it does not.

## 5 Obligatory coreference

We have seen (in §3) that in regular transitive clauses in Shuswap possessive pronouns must be coreferential with the subject. The example is repeated in (17):

- (17) *Obligatory Coreference*  
 re John wik-t-Ø-s re kí7ce-s  
 det John see-tr-3sO-3sS det mother-3sP  
 'John<sub>i</sub> saw his<sub>i/\*j</sub> mother.'

It does not follow from the basic binding theory, because the possessive pronoun is in its GC and hence should be able to be bound by the subject. In order to account for this obligatory coreference, I propose that Shuswap has adopted PR as the only way to produce disjoint reference of possessive pronouns. As a reflex of this development, ordinary non-PR structures have shifted to obligatory coreference.

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined PR which interacts with coreferential possibilities for possessive pronouns and made the following claims:

- ◆ The obligatory disjoint reference in PR results from an overt movement of POSSESSOR.
- ◆ The obligatory coreference in non-PR case is a reflex of the use of PR as the only way to produce disjoint reference.

While many issues remain unsolved, including the possessive DP internal structure, a further examination of this research will eventually solve those questions.

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## APPENDIX: PRONOMINAL PARADIGMS (Kuipers 1974)

### Intransitive Clitic Paradigm

	1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
Indicative	-ken	-k	-Ø	-kt	-kucw	-kp	-Ø
Conjunctive	-wen	-(w)cw	-(w)s	-(w)t	-kucw	-(w)p	-(w)s
Possessive	n-	-7	-s	-kt	-kucw	-mp	-s

### Transitive Subject Suffix Paradigm

1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
-(è)n	-(è)c	-(è)s	-(è)t/-(è)m	-kucw	-(è)p	-(è)s

### Transitive Object Suffix Paradigm

1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
-sèm-/sm-	-sí-/s-	-Ø	-èl-/l-	-kucw	-úlm-/lm-	-Ø

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