Okanagan demonstratives and their uses in story:
Some notes on their frequency, distribution, and function

John Lyon
University of British Columbia

1 Introduction

This paper is a study of the frequency and distribution of deictic demonstratives in an Okanagan text, *The Golden Woman: The Colville Narrative of Peter J. Seymour* (Mattina 1985). I classify the environments in which demonstratives are used according to syntactic and semantic properties of the demonstratives, and investigate the relative frequency of different types of demonstratives within this classification. It will be seen that Okanagan demonstratives fulfill a wide variety of syntactic and semantic roles. The overall goal of this paper, then, is to gain a clearer understanding of these diverse roles.

Central questions which I address include the following: (1) What is the relative frequency of simple demonstratives versus demonstrative adverbs in this text?; (2) Are the frequencies and uses of proximal versus distal forms comparable?; and (3) Is there a straightforward explanation for any differences? My discussion will focus primarily on the more common simple demonstratives.

The outline of the paper is as follows: In section 2, I give a brief background on the Okanagan language and *The Golden Woman* text. In Section 3, I introduce the Okanagan demonstrative paradigm. In section 4, I present the basic frequency and distribution of the demonstratives in this text. Section 5 goes into more detail, and will focus on an interesting contrast between the prevalence of proximal and distal forms in DP-adjacent environments. In Section 6, I will discuss some of the various discourse functions which non-DP-adjacent demonstratives characteristically exhibit. Section 7 concludes, and presents some further questions raised by this paper.

2 Background: The Okanagan Language and *the Golden Woman*

The Southern Interior branch of Salish consists of 4 languages: Colville-Okanagan, Moses-Columbian, Coeur d'Alene, and the dialect continuum of Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead. Colville-Okanagan (henceforth Okanagan), is severely endangered and is presently spoken by only a few hundred elders in south-central British Columbia and northern Washington State. The heart of their traditional territory extends along the Okanagan Valley, from Enderby B.C. in the north, southward to Kelowna, Penticton and Osoyoos B.C., continuing through Omak and Okanogan, WA.

Linguistic work on Okanagan may be said to have originated with James Teit, but not until the late 1960's did intensive research on the language begin with Anthony Mattina's work. His 1973 dissertation *Colville*

Grammatical Structures focuses primarily on the phonology and morphology of the language. Among his other works is the invaluable Colville-Okanagan Dictionary (1987). *The Golden Woman: The Colville Narrative of Peter J. Seymour* is a transcription of a Colville-Okanagan text originally recorded by Mattina in 1968. The recording was translated by Mattina and Madeline deSautel. The transcription was later edited by Mattina and published by the University of Arizona Press in 1985.

3 Okanagan Demonstratives

Okanagan demonstratives distinguish whether a referent is near to (proximal) or far away from (distal) the speaker. The paradigm also distinguishes simple demonstratives on the one hand, and demonstrative adverbs on the other (Table 1). Proximal demonstratives are immediately identifiable as those with /a/ vowels, whereas distal demonstratives all have /i/ vowels.

	Simple Demonstratives	**Demonstrative Adverbs**			
		Source	**Direction From**	**Location**	**Direction To**
Proximal	axáʔ	atáʔ	atláʔ	aláʔ	akʾláʔ
Distal	ixíʔ	itíʔ	itlíʔ	ilíʔ	ikʾlíʔ

Table 1. Okanagan Demonstratives and Demonstrative Adverbs

The simple demonstratives *axáʔ* and *ixíʔ* are the rough equivalents of English *this* and *that* respectively, and may directly refer to both physical objects and animate discourse referents in a discourse situation. Examples of *axáʔ* and *ixíʔ* are shown below in (1):

(1) waẏ ixíʔ uł s-n-kxn-íls-t-s axáʔ
AFF DEM CONJ NOM-n-follow-want.to-DIR-3.ERG DEM
[iʔ stʔíwtx],…
DET youngest one
And he wanted to go along the youngest one, … (GW:463)

axáʔ in (1) is associated with the following DP *iʔ stʔíwtx* 'the youngest one', although the English translation does not include 'this'. By contrast, *ixíʔ* in (1) is not associated with any DP, and it is not clear if there is any discourse entity being referred to in this case. *ixíʔ* has functions which do not involve spatial deixis. Some of these functions will be discussed at length.

The demonstrative adverbs *aláʔ* and *ilíʔ* are roughly equivalent to *here* and *there,* respectively. They fix the location of an object relative to the speaker. The directional demonstratives (*atláʔ / itlíʔ* and *akʾláʔ / ikʾlíʔ*) are similar to the locative demonstrative adverbs *(aláʔ / ilíʔ)*, but also encode movement towards or away from the speaker. An example use of the locative demonstrative adverb *ilíʔ* is shown in (2):

(2) uɬ ṅíṅẇiʔ ilíʔ kʷ kʔəmtíẇs,…
CONJ ADV ADV 2SG.ABS ride.on.a.horse
And there you will stay on the horse,… (GW:217)

Basically, *ilíʔ* places the location of the 'staying on the horse' event at a non-proximal distance from the speaker.

4 Basic Frequency and Distribution

The text consists of a total of 925 stanzas (cf Figure 1). The length of a stanza can vary from a simple sentence consisting of a few words, to a long, multi-clausal sentence. 704 stanzas comprise the main body of the text, while the remaining 221 stanzas are from the appendices, which are 'retellings' of specific portions of the main text.[1] Out of a total of 925 stanzas, 633 (68%) stanzas have at least 1 simple demonstrative or demonstrative adverb (Figure 1).

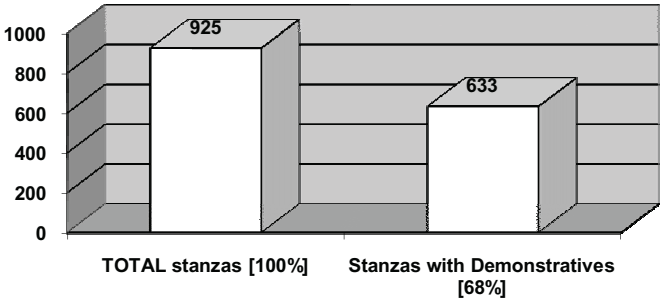

Figure 1. Percent of Stanzas with at least 1 Demonstrative

There are a total of 1258 demonstratives in the text. The number of demonstratives per stanza varies from 0 to 9.[2] The total text therefore averages about 1.36 demonstratives per stanza, and for those 68% of stanzas with demonstratives, there is an average of about 2 demonstratives per stanza.

Of these 1258 demonstratives, 1025 are simple demonstratives (81.5%), and 233 are demonstrative adverbs (18.5%) (cf Figure 2).

[1] The content of these retold portions duplicate, or expands upon, content introduced in the main body of the text, but this does not imply that the sentence structure of the retold stanzas in any way duplicates the corresponding stanza in the main body. As such, including the appendices in this study is desirable, since it increases the data base.
[2] See stanza 527 for an example with 9 demonstratives.

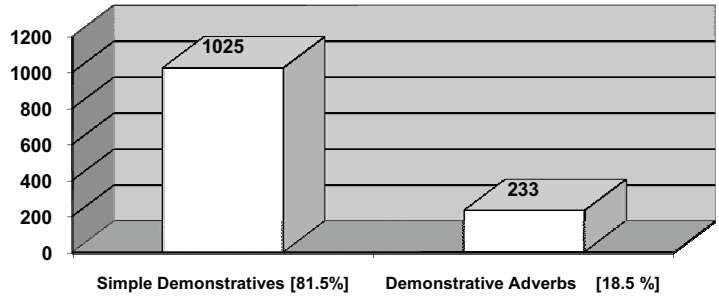

Figure 2. Total Demonstratives by Type

The distribution of demonstrative adverbs may be further analyzed according to specific type (Figure 3). Figures 2 and 3 both show that simple demonstratives are much more common than demonstrative adverbs.

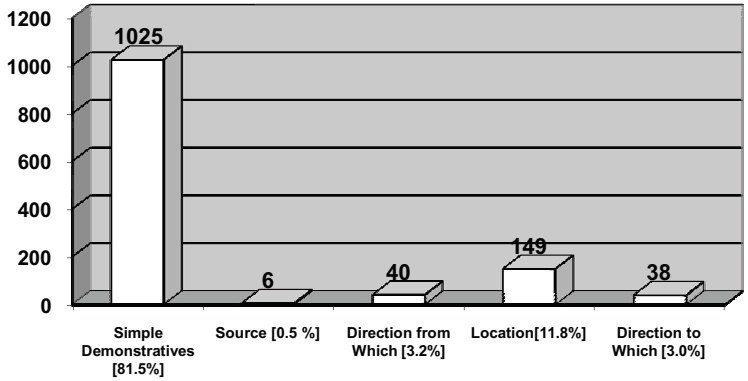

Figure 3. Total Demonstratives by Specific Type

Of the demonstrative adverbs, it can be seen from Figure 3 that the locational demonstrative adverbs *alá?* and *ilí?* are more common than all of the other demonstrative adverbs combined. The rarest are the source demonstrative adverbs, of which there are only 6 instances in the text. Of these 6 occurrences, all are of the distal *ití?* form. This fact is reflective of a more general distribution: distals are more common than proximals, for both simple and adverbial demonstratives. Out of the total number of 1258 demonstratives, 496 are proximal (39.4%), and 762 are distal (60.6%). This is shown in Figure 4:

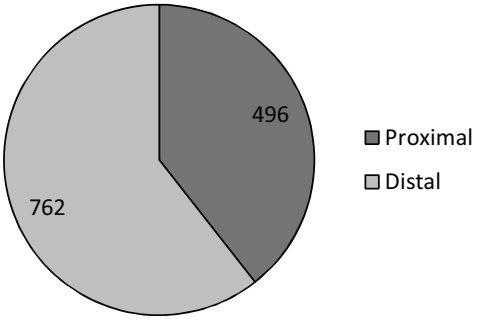

Figure 4. The Proximal / Distal Split

Focusing in on the 1025 simple demonstratives and 233 demonstrative adverbs (Figure 5), it can be seen that the disparity in numbers between proximal simple versus adverbial demonstratives is greater than the disparity between distal simple versus adverbial demonstratives.

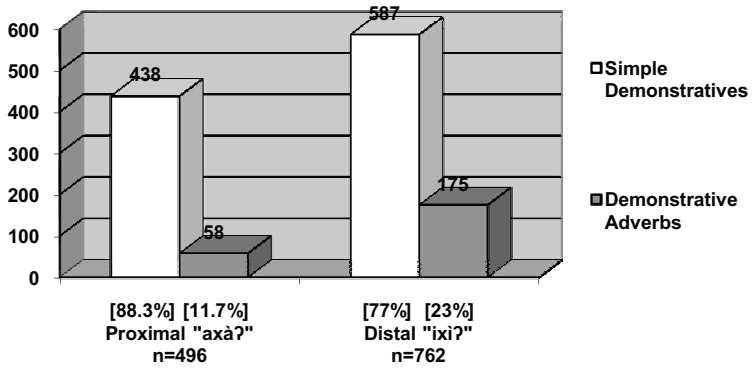

Figure 5. Proximal Distal Split for Simple and Adverbial Demonstratives

These facts in and of themselves are perhaps not very noteworthy, since it might be expected that other languages such as English would pattern roughly the same with regards to overall frequency of proximal versus distal forms.

The next sections investigate more closely the distributions of proximal and distal simple demonstratives. Differences in both the syntactic distribution and semantic roles of proximal versus distal forms show that there is more to the proximal/distal asymmetry shown in Figure 4 than just numerical frequency.

5 Distributional considerations: DP-adjacent Demonstratives

For the purposes of this paper, I will consider the DP in Okanagan to be a syntactic phrase headed by the determiner *i?,* which selects as its complement either (1) a bare nominal, or (2) a relative clause. Demonstratives may directly precede either type of DP. In these cases, the demonstrative seems to fix the referent of a nominal DP, or the referent of the head of a relative clause, within a deictic space. There is a class (3), whose members might in principle have been included in the previous two classes, but which I have instead classified separately since the demonstratives, in these cases, are syntactic predicates.

I will discuss these three classes presently: demonstrative + nominal DP sequences (5.1), demonstrative + relative clause DP sequences (5.2), and instances involving predicative demonstratives (5.3). In section 5.4, I discuss sandhi effects, and then summarize the results in 5.5.

Before discussing specific examples, however, it is worthwhile to note the difference in frequency of proximal versus distal simple demonstratives preceding determiners. This striking imbalance is shown by Figure 6.

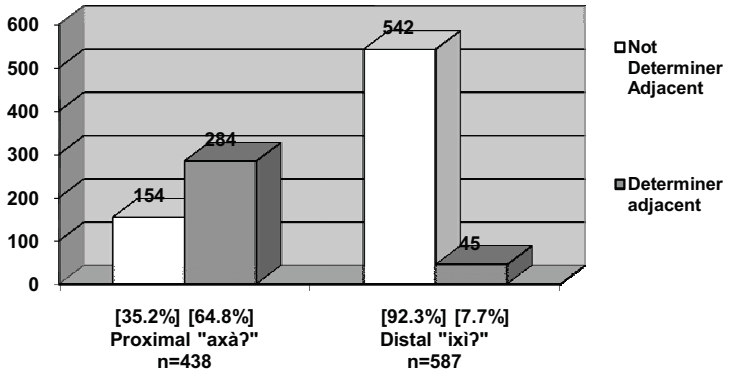

Figure 6. Demonstratives Next to Overt Determiners

There are two sandhi environments relevant to this study, in which the determiner *i?* often undergoes reduction. The first environment is before 1st and 2nd person possessive morphemes *in-* and *an-* (N. Mattina 2006:113). The second is after the demonstrative *ixí?.* These will be discussed in section 5.4, and the numbers in Figure 6 adjusted to reflect the fact that not all DPs in Okanagan contain overt determiners.

5.1 Demonstratives adjacent to Nominal DPs

Examples (3) and (4) below show demonstratives which directly precede a nominal DP. In (4), the proximal demonstrative *axá?* is translated into English

as *this,* though (3) illustrates that this translation does not always come through. (DPs following demonstratives are enclosed in square brackets.)

(3) wa̓y ṭ'i táq-səlx axáʔ [iʔ pəptwinax^{w}].
AFF PT wave-(CAUS)-3PL.ERG DEM DET old.woman
They just waved to the old lady. (GW:106)

(4) uł cəm̓ ṭ'i sic axáʔ my-p-nún-t-əm
CONJ EPIS PT new DEM know-INCH-manage.to-DIR-PASS
axaʔ [iʔ təṭwit]...
DEM DET boy
And just as soon as she finds out this boy... (GW:169)

The demonstratives in these examples fix the deictic distance of the referent of the following DP with respect to either the narrator, or a character in the story.

5.2 Demonstratives adjacent to Relative Clause DPs

Demonstratives also directly precede relative clause DPs (cf Kroeber 1999:345). Examples are shown in (5) and (6). In (5), *axáʔ* presumably refers to the thing that *was told,* while in (6), *ixíʔ* refers to the thing that *was sent for.* These demonstratives are extracted oblique arguments of the relativized predicates.

(5) nɬíptm-nt-x^{w} axáʔ [iʔ [cún-t-s-ən]],
forget-DIR-2SG.ERG DEM DET say-DIR-2SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
wa̓y ṭ'i p ƛáx^{w}t.
AFF PART 2PL.ABS dead.
If you forget what I told you, all of you will die. (GW:50)

(6) uc ixíʔ axáʔ iʔ an-x̌mínk, axáʔ iʔ k^{w}ək^{w}ř́ít
YNQ DEM DEM DET 2SG.GEN-want DEM DET golden
iʔ tkɬmílx^{w}, ixíʔ [iʔ [k^{w}u ks-k^{w}əls-túɬt-x^{w}]]
DET woman DEM DET 1SG.ABS FUT-send.for-TR-2SG.ERG
Is this what you wanted, the Golden Woman, what you sent me for? (GW:387)

(7) involves a relativized predicate nominal *k^{w}u asq^{w}sq^{w}aʔsíyaʔ* 'We are your children', from which the possessor subject has presumably been extracted in the form of *axáʔ.* Note that *axáʔ* here is also the object of the main clause, 'us'.

(7) stuʔtíwaʔ-st-x^{w} axáʔ [iʔ [k^{w}u a-sq^{w}sq^{w}aʔsíyaʔ]].
baby.around-TR-2SG.ERG DEM DET 1PL.ABS 2SG.GEN-children
You baby us around, we who are your children. (GW:778)

5.3 Demonstratives as Main Predicates

Demonstratives may, by default, be assumed to be the main predicate in certain sentences. Unlike examples (3-7), in (8-11) below, there are no other candidate predicates besides the demonstrative outside the syntactic domain of the determiner:

(8) tə̓xʷ ixíʔ [iʔ [c-m̓aʔ-xt-wíxʷ-əlx]]...
EVID DEM DET CUST-talk-DITR-RCPR-3PL.ERG
That's what they're talking about... (GW:651)

(9) ixiʔ uł axaʔ [iʔ [kʷu cə̓x̌ʷcx̌ʷ-nt-ís in-kəwáp]]
DEM CONJ DEM DET 1SG.ABS instruct-DIR-3ERG 1SG.GEN-horse
And he told me what to do, my horse. (GW:334)

(10) nʔəłnaʔ-sqilxʷtn l siwłkʷ, ixiʔ [iʔ təmxʷulaʔxʷ-s]
man-eater LOC water DEM DET country-3SG.GEN
She's a man-eater in the water, that's her country. (GW:342)

(11) axáʔ iʔ [kən ec-m̓ayʔ-ncút].
DEM DET 1SG.ABS CUST-to.tell-RFLX
And that's why I'm telling the story. (GW:855)

In (8), *ixíʔ* presumably refers to *what is being talked about,* and as such is the extracted, oblique theme argument of the reciprocal relative. It is not likely that evidential *tə̓xʷ* could be the predicate, since it belongs to a class of pre-predicative clitics that includes modals, question particles, and other elements.

(9) is another case of a demonstrative head functioning as the extracted oblique argument of a relative clause. *kʷu cə̓x̌ʷcx̌ʷəntís inkəwáp* is itself a grammatical sentence meaning *My horse instructed me*, and is unusual since both core arguments are overtly realized internal to the clause.

The second clause of (10) shows *ixíʔ* in an equational environment. In English, a copula is used to relate two elements equationally. In Okanagan however, equational structures consist simply of two juxtaposed DPs, or in this case, a demonstrative and a DP.

Finally, in (11) the demonstrative refers to the *reason why* the speaker is 'telling a story'. Here, *axáʔ* is at the same time an extracted oblique argument, and the main predicate. One generalization to be made from data in 5.2 and 5.3 is that predicative demonstratives, as well as non-predicative demonstratives serving as the heads of relative clauses, are often extracted oblique arguments.

Out of the 45 clearly DP-adjacent instances of distal *ixíʔ,* nearly half (44%) are either predicative or precede relative clause DPs. 56% of determiner-adjacent instances of *ixíʔ* introduce nominal DPs (see Figure 7). Compare this to the fact that 84% DP-adjacent instances of *axáʔ* introduce nominal DPs.

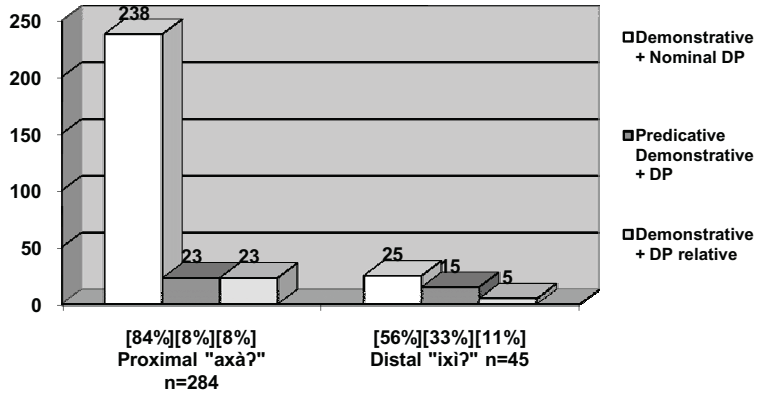

Figure 7. Demonstratives Next to Overt Determiners: Nominal DPs, Predicative Demonstratives, and Relative Clause DPs

5.4 Correcting for Sandhi Effects

Two sandhi effects must now be taken into account: First, the determiner *iʔ* is regularly dropped before 1st and 2nd person possessive morphemes *in-* and *an-*.[3] For simplicity, I consider *all* occurrences of simple demonstratives followed directly by *in-* or *an-* to involve determiner reduction. Second, the phonological equivalence of the second syllable of the distal demonstrative *ixíʔ* and the determiner *iʔ* often results in a reduction of the determiner. To illustrate, a sequence like *ixíʔ iʔ citxʷ* 'that house' will usually be shortened to *ixíʔ citxʷ*. I have also assumed that demonstrative – bare nominal sequences contain underlying determiners. (12) and (13a) exemplify the second sandhi effect. The first clause of (13a) also exemplifies the first sandhi effect.

(12) cun-t-əm, "[axaʔ q̓áy̓min] kʷ i-s-cʔukʷ-łt-m."
say-DIR-PASS DEM letter 2SG.ABS 1SG.GEN-NOM-bring-TR-MID
He told them: "This letter I'm bringing you." (GW:185)

(13)a. ...nɬiptm-n (iʔ) i-səxʷəncw̓m, [ixiʔ tətwit].
forget-(dir)-1SG.ERG (DET) 1SG.GEN-dish.washer DEM boy
...I forgot my dish washer, the boy. (GW:747)

b. uł nakʷəm [ixiʔ iʔ tətwit] iʔ cawt-s.
CONJ EVID DEM DET boy DET doing-3SG.GEN
And indeed that's what the boy did. (GW:613)

[3] *iʔ* is present before nominals inflected with 3rd person genitive *–s*.

Contrasting the bracketed string of (13a) with that of (13b), we see that for the same post-demonstrative nominal *tətwit* 'boy', a determiner may or may not occur (cf also (4)). Semantic and syntactic differences need to be established between the bracketed strings in examples like (13a) and (13b) before the string in (13a) can definitively be said to include or exclude a determiner, but right now it seems like a reasonable hypothesis to assume that it does.[4]

By adding demonstrative + 1st and 2nd person possessor sequences (n=24 proximals and n=28 distals) and demonstrative + bare nominal sequences (n=33 proximals and n=28 distals) to the distribution represented by figure 6 above, the result is Figure 8 below:

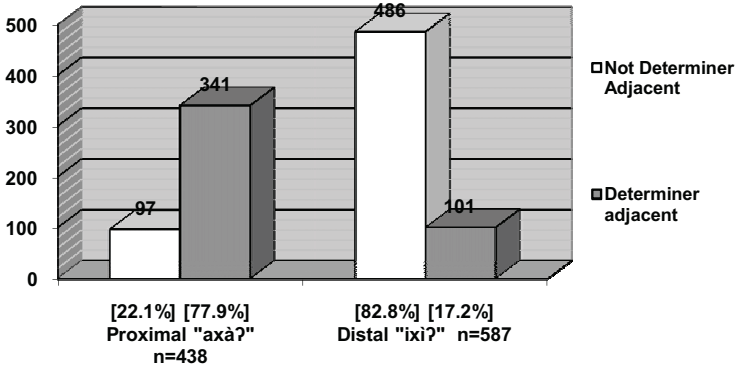

Figure 8. Demonstratives Next to Overt and Reduced Determiners

The proportion of demonstratives which may be considered DP-adjacent rises by around 10% for distals, and by around 14% for proximals after including cases involving probable sandhi effects.

Many of the demonstratives preceding 1st and 2nd person possessives are simultaneously default main predicates *and* extracted arguments of the relative clause structures which they head. In these cases, the embedded possessor is the subject of the entire sentence. This is not the case with demonstratives preceding bare nominals, where the entire demonstrative - nominal complex will usually be interpreted as an argument of a higher predicate.[5] Comparing figures 7 and 9 below, we see that the number of

[4] (13b) may actually be more complicated, since *ixíʔ* in *ixiʔ iʔ tətwit iʔ cawts* might better be analyzed as the main predicate: *the thing that was the boy's doing.* Similar sequences with *axáʔ* are usually less ambiguously associated with the nominal, e.g. (3) and (4). This could, however, pose a problem for my distributional analysis, if a large number of *ixíʔ - determiner- nominal* sequences involve demonstratives that actually form discontinuous constituents with later material, but the number of examples similar to (13b) is relatively small.

[5] This excludes cases of nominal predicates in identificational structures, with argument demonstratives. Normally in these cases the demonstrative *follows* the nominal predicate, e.g. *citx*^{w} *ixíʔ* 'That is a house'.

predicative distal demonstratives rises considerably (from 15 to 34) as a result of adding these possessor cases.

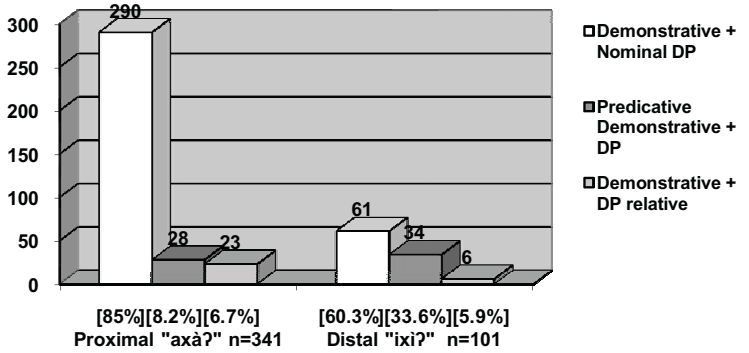

Figure 9. Demonstratives Next to Overt and Reduced Determiners: Nominal DPs, Predicative Demonstratives, and Relative Clause DPs

5.5 Summary

The large majority of occurrences of proximal demonstrative *axá?* may be considered to be linearly adjacent to a DP (77.9%), with or without a phonetically-realized determiner (cf figure 8). In contrast, the large majority of occurrences of distal demonstrative *ixi?* are *not* adjacent to a DP (82.8%). Of those DP-adjacent proximal demonstratives, very few are predicative (8.2%) (cf figure 9). Of those DP-adjacent distal demonstratives, many are predicative (33.6%). Why is it that proximal and distal demonstratives have such different distributions, and why are proximal demonstratives so much more common next to DPs? Investigating demonstratives in clearly non-DP associated environments may shed some light on these questions.

6 Distributional considerations: Non-DP-adjacent Demonstratives

This section attempts to provide some answers to the following question: What roles are the remaining 82.8% of distal *ixi?* demonstratives and 22.1% of proximal *axa?* demonstratives playing? In these remaining cases, the demonstrative is not adjacent to a determiner or a 1st or 2nd person possessed nominal. In the following sections, I will survey the major non-DP associated uses of demonstratives in this text, and include data which exemplify these uses.

6.1 Demonstratives + Predicates

Examples like (14) and (15) might, in principle, be considered cases of demonstratives that head relative clauses (cf section 5.2), where for some reason, the clauses are not introduced by a determiner.

(14) uɬ axaʔ x̌mink-nt-p,...
CONJ DEM want-DIR-2PL.ERG
And this is what you want... (GW:011)

(15) uɬ axaʔ xʷuy-st-s iʔ sqʷsqʷaʔsiyaʔ-s kə̀l sənttəm̓tim̓tn;...
CONJ DEM go-CAUS-3ERG DET children-3SG.GEN LOC store; ...
And then he took his children to get clothes;... (GW:451)

Despite the fact that the English translation of (14) includes a relative clause, I assume that a relative clause structure is not present in such cases. Firstly, there are only 23 instances of proximal demonstrative-headed relatives introduced by an overt determiner (figure 7), which makes them relatively rare. Secondly, I have independent evidence that suggests that determiners (or oblique markers) *must* introduce relative clauses in Okanagan in non-sandhi environments, and because *iʔ* is usually present after *axáʔ* before a nominal, it might also be considered likely to be overt in (14), if it were in fact underlying. Thirdly, argument demonstratives can easily front in Okanagan, so (14) might reasonably be a derivate of *x̌minkəntp axáʔ* 'You all want this'. Finally, similar strings like (15) clearly do not contain relative clauses.[6]

[6] Basically, I assume that sandhi 1 applies to determiners before nominals as well as before predicates, but that sandhi 2 applies only optionally to determiners before nominals, not predicates. Sandhi 2 is also clearly more likely to apply after *ixíʔ* than *axáʔ*. The reader may object that if these are purely phonological processes, then there would be no reason to expect predicates to pattern differently than nominals, and that therefore sandhi 2 should also apply to predicates, and (14) should be understood as having a reduced determiner.

The difference is that a demonstrative preceding a nominal will nearly always be semantically associated with that nominal, and so there is no harm in assuming an underlying determiner, and by extension, a complex DP structure (so long as the nominal is not predicative). For demonstratives preceding predicates, however, the relation is not always clear, as can be seen by contrasting (14) and (15). The following seems reasonable: Given (1) that there are 250 cases of *ixíʔ* preceding predicates (not sandhi 1 predicates), but only 50 cases of axáʔ in the same environment (cf 14), and (2) that the vast majority of total *axáʔ* occurences are associated with overt determiners, that (3) positing a reduced determiner when there is already doubt about the grammatical relation is unwarranted. Note also that many of the 250 cases of *ixíʔ* preceding a predicate are 'discourse' uses of the demonstrative, unassociated with any relative clause structure (cf 27,28). The 20 cases of sandhi 1 *ixíʔ* + predicate sequences, and 5 cases of *axáʔ* in the same environment were included in figure 9 because *iʔ* almost *always* reduces for sandhi 1 nominal DPs.

In other words, sandhi 1 is a stronger effect than sandhi 2. This is because the determiner is redundant within a dem – det – nominal sequence, but is not redundant

There are questions concerning status of the demonstrative in (15): First, since SVO in Okanagan is unmarked, *axáʔ* might refer to the 3rd person subject, which also receives ergative marking on the predicate. Recall example (7), where the demonstrative has a human referent. Secondly, *axáʔ* could form a discontinuous constituent with the object DP *iʔ sqʷsqʷaʔsiyaʔs* 'his children'. Finally, it is possible that *axáʔ* may be a temporal adverbial, functioning similarly to *and then...* in English.[7] Fieldwork will hopefully help clarify the true status of the demonstratives in (14) and (15).

6.2 Demonstratives and the Pre-predicative Clitic String

In Okanagan, pre-predicative clitics serve a range of semantic functions, including modality and evidentiality. Demonstratives, too, may occur interspersed within this string. In syntactic contexts such as those in (16) and (17), they do not appear to be clearly associated with any deictic referent.

(16) axáʔ cəm̓ tʼi kʷ kʔəmtíẁs, məł kən nwísəlx;
DEM EPIS PT 2SG.ABS mount.horse, CONJ 1SG.ABS go.high;
As soon as you get on the horse, I will go in the air;... (GW:491)

(17) uł ixíʔ nakʷəm ixíʔ c-k-cah-m-ncùt
CONJ DEM EVID DEM CUST-take.turns-RFLX
iʔ sənʔəmʔímaʔt-s;
DET grandchildren-3SG.GEN
They were on the wrong side her grandchildren;... (GW:577)

(17) shows two instances of *ixíʔ*, one on each side of the evidential *nakʷəm.* The sequence of the first *ixíʔ* along with the following conjunction, is commonly translated into English as *and then,* suggesting that perhaps the demonstrative is functioning as a temporal adverbial. Often, *ixíʔ* precedes the conjunction, with a similar effect. I discuss these cases in the next section.

6.3 Demonstratives and "And" Fronting

"And" fronting is the name of a particular focus structure discussed by Kroeber (1999:366). It consists of a fronted constituent in focus position (in this case, a demonstrative), and a residue which is introduced by a coordinating particle (in this case, *uł*). In the text, there are 64 instances of "and" fronting where the focused constituent is *ixíʔ* (from a total of 91 pre-conjunction demonstrative occurrences). Notably, there are no such occurrences of *axáʔ.*

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when it is present before a clause, since it unambiguously signals a relative. It nevertheless *will* reduce before a 1st or 2nd person possessor relative.

[7] This function seems usually to be reserved for *ixíʔ,* as we shall see.

(18) ixíʔ uɬ wayˀ mʔáṅ,...
DEM CONJ already noon
It was past noon,.... (GW:348)

(19) ixíʔ uɬ kʷ s-nʕacùs-m-s
DEM CONJ 2SG.ABS NOM-trap-MID-3SG.GEN
ks-púl-st-m-s;…
FUT-kill-CAUS-2SG.ACC-3SG.ERG;...
But she's baiting you to kill you; … (GW:503)

(20) ixíʔ uɬ ʔaxəl-m-ncút,...
DEM CONJ do.like-MID-RFLX
And he turned around, ... (GW:719)

The fronted demonstrative in these examples may be functioning to denote temporal subsequence of events within the discourse. At the very least, the English translations are consistent with such a function.

It is possible that a class of focused demonstratives not associated with *any* discourse referent (16-20) may be delimited from a class of pre-predicative demonstratives which *are* associated with discourse referents (14,15), but fieldwork is needed to establish this.

In any case, because there are structures like 'and' fronting which involve distal but not proximal demonstratives, the question of why proximal and distal demonstratives have such different distributions has the beginnings of an answer.

6.4 Double Demonstratives

Demonstratives may also directly precede other demonstratives. A sequence of two simple demonstratives is possible (21), or a sequence of a simple demonstrative followed by a demonstrative adverb (22).

(21) wayˀ ixíʔ axáʔ a-s-c-qʷəlqʷílt.
AFF DEM DEM 2SG.GEN-NOM-CUST-speak
"That's what you said." (GW:251)

(22) wayˀ məɬ ixíʔ itlíʔ s-n-xtˀsˑíẇs-m-s.
AFF CONJ DEM DEM NOM-to.go.on-middle-MID-3SG.GEN
And then he went on. (GW:812)

Notably, there are no occurrences of a demonstrative adverb - simple demonstrative sequence: the reverse order must obtain. My fieldwork offers corroborating evidence that this logical possibility is ungrammatical. It is also notable that in cases like (21), a distal demonstrative almost always precedes the proximal demonstrative. While there are 11 occurrences of the string *ixíʔ axáʔ* (cf also (25) below), there is only 1 occurrence of the string *axáʔ ixíʔ*.

6.5 Clause Final Demonstratives

There are 8 occurrences of simple demonstratives in sentence final position. These may be syntactic arguments of predicates (23), or perhaps appositive (24):

(23) cùs-əlx: "tanm̓ùs ixíʔ; ...
say-(DIR)-3PL.ERG of.no.concern DEM
They said: "That's nothing;... (GW:754)

(24) way̓ ixíʔ sic kʔəmtíẇs axáʔ; ...
AFF DEM new riding.horse DEM
They're already on their horses; ... (GW:670)

6.6 Demonstratives and Independent Pronouns

There are a few occurrences of demonstratives which precede independent pronouns, as in (25) and (26):

(25) axáʔ anwíʔ [kʷ s-xʔítx],
DEM 2SG.INDEP 2SG.ABS NOM-oldest
ixíʔ axáʔ t'ík'ɬnt-s-n;
DEM DEM provide.with.food-DIR-2SG.ACC-1SG.ERG
"You are the oldest one, this is for your lunch;" (GW:794)

(26) way̓ ixíʔ incáʔ nak'ʷəm kʷu ec-m̓ayʔ-st-ís.
AFF DEM 1SG.INDEP EVID 1SG.ABS STAT-tell story-CAUS-3ERG
"That's me he's telling a story about." (GW:857)

The bracketed string in (25) is itself equivalent to the given English translation *You are the oldest one,* making the preceding demonstrative + independent pronoun extraneous to the core proposition. These could be included for emphatic effect. In (26), the demonstrative + independent pronoun sequence is clearly in focus position, since it precedes the pre-predicative evidential *nak'ʷəm.*

6.7 way̓ ixíʔ

To end this survey of non-DP-adjacent demonstrative environments, I will discuss the sequence *way̓ ixíʔ.* Its most common translation is one of temporal subsequence, similar to both the 'and' fronting structures discussed in 6.3, as well as the sequence *uɬ ixíʔ* illustrated by (17).

(27) way̓ ixíʔ [lx̌ʷp̓-ám axáʔ iʔ səxʷk'ʷúl̓m];
AFF DEM run.out-MID DEM DET worker
"Then he ran out the working man" (GW:450)

(28) way̓ ixíʔ [x̌stwílx axáʔ iʔ kʷəkʷŕít iʔ tkłmílxʷ iʔ spuʔús-c],
AFF DEM satisfied DEM DET golden DET woman DET heart-3.GEN(?)
"Then it was satisfied the Golden Woman's heart". (GW:885)

It is not clear if *way̓ ixíʔ* contributes a temporal semantics to the proposition, or simply affirms previous content[8], or perhaps both. (29) is an 'and' fronting case of *way̓ ixíʔ*. Assuming that only two elements of one identical type can be conjoined, (29) might be construed as evidence that *way̓ ixíʔ* stands-in for an entire proposition. Such an analysis could potentially be extended to all cases of 'and' fronting.

(29) …; [way̓ ixíʔ] uł [n-kxn-íls axáʔ iʔ tkłmílxʷ].
AFF DEM CONJ follow-want.to DEM DET woman
...; but she wanted to go too the Woman. (GW:667)

It is not always the case that the demonstrative in the sequences *way̓ ixíʔ* and *way̓ axáʔ* have no deictic referents. In (30) and (31), I infer that the demonstrative has a discourse referent, and is not functioning as a temporal adverbial. In (32), the referent is clearly the following nominal DP.

(30) cù-s "way̓ axáʔ síws-nt-xʷ,...
say-(TR)-3.ERG AFF DEM drink-DIR-2SG.ERG
She told him: "Drink this,... (GW:643)

(31) way̓ ixíʔ mət iʔ sílxʷaʔ síwłkʷ.
AFF DEM EPIS DET big water
That must be the big ocean. (GW:276)

(32) way̓ axáʔ [iʔ tətẇít] t'i
AFF DEM DET boy PT
ixíʔ my-p-nù-s…
DEM to.know-INCH-manage.to-3ERG
Well this boy as soon as he realized that… (GW:626)

(31) is important because it suggests that a demonstrative within the pre-predicative clitic string is not automatically precluded from having a deictic referent.

On the whole, *way̓ ixíʔ* is much more common than *way̓ axáʔ*. There are 107 occurrences of *way̓ ixíʔ,* with 70 of these (65.4%) directly preceding predicates. This contrasts with *way̓ axáʔ,* which occurs only 20 times, and only 5 of these (25%) precede predicates. Example (30) is one of these 5.

[8] This is expected since *way̓* is the usual way to say 'yes' in the language.

6.8 Summary of Non-DP-adjacent demonstratives

This section has presented examples of the major non-DP-adjacent demonstrative environments in this text. The relative frequency of proximals and distals for each class is represented by figures 10 and 11, respectively:

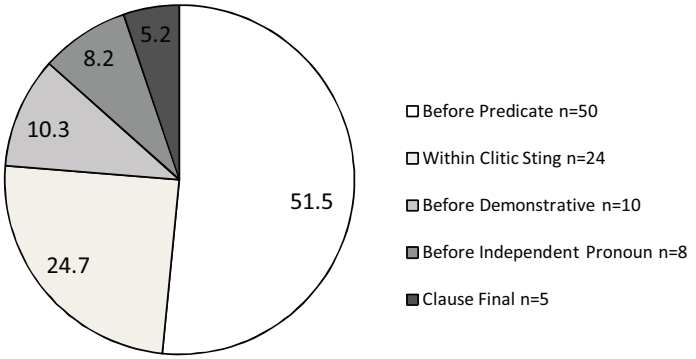

Figure 10. Distribution of Non-DP-adjacent axá? Proximals (% of n=97)

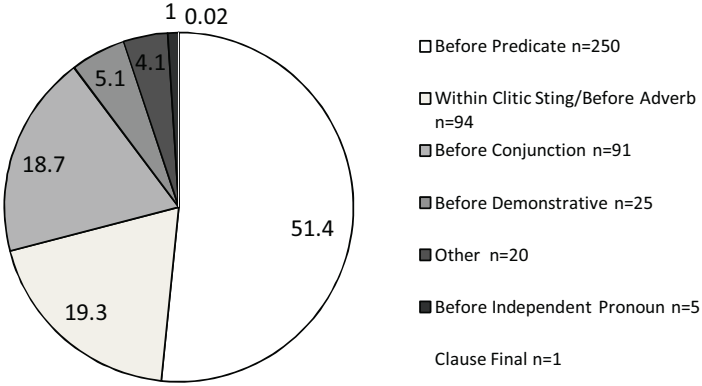

Figure 11. Distribution of Non-DP-adjacent ixí? Distals (% of n=486)[9]

In comparing figures 10 and 11, a couple of important generalizations emerge. Firstly, approximately 50% of both non-DP-adjacent distals and proximals occur

[9] The "other" category in Figure 11 contains miscellaneous uses of *ixí?* which did not easily fit into other categories, for instance preceding quantifiers and complementizers.

before predicates. Secondly, only distal demonstratives occur before conjunctions, and the number (n=91) is not insignificant. Aside from these exceptions, and overlooking the fact that non-DP-adjacent distals are five times more common than their proximal counterparts, the internal relative distribution of non-DP-adjacent proximal and distal demonstratives is remarkably similar.

7 Conclusions and Further Questions

By incorporating the distribution data from section 5's DP-adjacent demonstratives into figures 10 and 11, we can represent the total distribution of proximal and distal demonstratives by type, in figures 12 and 13 below. The most striking difference between proximals and distals is the relative proportion of DP-adjacent demonstratives in each category. I conclude from this study that the proximal demonstrative *axá?* is much more tied to the DP/nominal domain than is the distal demonstrative *ixí?*, at least with regards to the narrative style of this particular speaker. The ultimate reasons for this are beyond the scope of this paper, but I conjecture that it is related to the frequent use of *ixí?* as a temporal deictic (as discussed in section 6) in structures like 'and' fronting, and its common interspersion within the pre-predicative clitic string. It is possible that there is a deep distinction in Okanagan, where entities are perceived as being more 'tangible' than events, and thus more likely to be referred to with a proximal demonstrative. It is also possible that *ixí?* refers to longer temporal spans than *axá?*. These hypotheses must be tested.

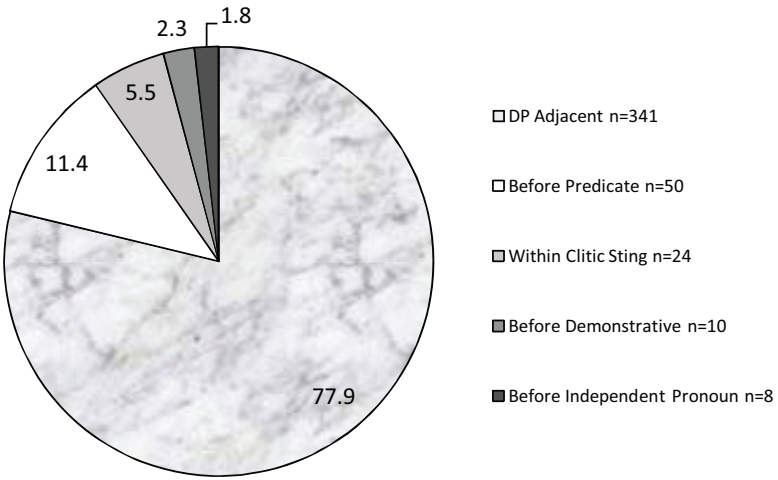

Figure 12. Total Proximal (*axá?*) Uses (n=438)

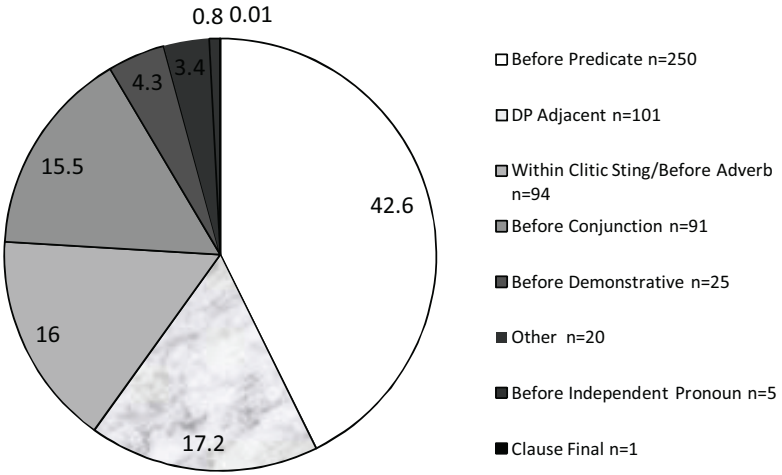

Figure 13. Total Distal (*ixíʔ*) Uses (n=587)

Finally there is the question of whether a discontinuous demonstrative – DP constituency is possible. Comparing examples such as (33) and (34) suggests that this is a possibility:

(33) ixíʔ xʷíc̓-łt-xʷ,…
DEM give-TR-2SG.ERG
This you give to him,… (GW:127)

(34) ixíʔ xʷíc̓-łt-xʷ iʔ q̓əy̓mín;
DEM give-TR-2SG.ERG DET paper
Give him this paper. (GW:605)

If *ixíʔ* in (34) has been separated from its constituent DP *iʔ q̓əy̓mín* 'the paper', then it is possible that the number of demonstratives which can be considered DP-adjacent is greater than figure 13 indicates. The question would nevertheless remain as to why *ixíʔ* allows discontinuous constituency more often than *axáʔ*. I leave these questions for future research.

Abbreviations

ABS	absolutive	GEN	genitive
ACC	accusative	INCH	inchoative
ADV	adverb	INDEP	independent pronoun
AFF	affirmative	LOC	locative
CAUS	causative transitivizer	MID	middle intransitive
CONJ	conjunction	NOM	nominalizer
CUST	customary	PASS	passive
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural
DET	determiner	PT	particle
DIR	directive transitivizer	RFLX	reflexive
DITR	ditransitivizer	RCPR	reciprocal
EPIS	epistemic modal	SG	singular
ERG	ergative	STAT	stative
EVID	evidential	TR	transitivizer
FUT	future	YNQ	yes-no question

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John Lyon
johnlyon@interchange.ubc.ca
metalinguist@gmail.com