

Locative Relative Clauses in St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish)

Henry Davis
UBC

St'át'imcets locative relative clauses show some intriguing differences from other types of relative clause in St'át'imcets, as well as from locative relatives in closely related languages such as Thompson River Salish (as investigated by Kroeber 1997). This paper investigates some of these differences. Morphologically, St'át'imcets locative relatives fall into two types: the first involves nominalization, not just of the predicate, but of the entire relative clause (unlike other oblique relatives); the second involves a hitherto undocumented combination of conjunctive subject morphology with the existential enclitic =a. The first but not the second type often contains a fronted preposition appropriate to the clause-internal role of the fronted locative phrase, providing evidence for syntactic movement within the relative clause.

1 Introduction¹

The purpose of this paper is to outline some hitherto undescribed properties of locative-centred relative clauses in St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish). It turns out that locative relatives vary in interesting ways both from other types of oblique-centred relative clause in St'át'imcets, and also from locative-centred relatives in related Salish languages.²

The paper is structured as follows. In Sections 2 and 3 respectively, I provide relevant background information on relative clauses and locative expressions in St'át'imcets. In Section 4, I lay out the morphosyntactic properties of the two strategies of locative-centred relativization employed in St'át'imcets. In the first the relative clause is nominalized; in the second, it takes conjunctive (subjunctive) morphology. In Section 5, I compare the St'át'imcets locative relativization strategies with those of neighbouring Northern Interior

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² Cross-linguistic comparison is considerably facilitated in this area by Kroeber's excellent work on locative-centred relatives in Thompson River Salish (1997) and on a larger scale by his cross-Salishan comparison of relativization strategies (Kroeber 1999); I will be drawing heavily on both in what follows, though needless to say, I will not necessarily come to the same conclusions as he does.

and Central Salish languages. In Section 6, I turn to an analysis of the syntactic structure of locative relatives, focusing on two issues: movement within the relative clause, and the locus of nominalization. Section 7 concludes.

2 Basic properties of relative clauses in St'át'imcets

Various aspects of the morphology and syntax of relative clauses in St'át'imcets have been discussed in Roberts (1994), Davis (1994), Demirdache and Matthewson (1995), Matthewson and Davis (1995), van Eijk (1997), Roberts (1999), Kroeber (1999), Davis (2002), Davis and Matthewson (2003), Davis (2003), and Davis (in prep., Chapters 31-33). This work has established the following generalizations:

- as in most other Salish languages, there is no distinct relative pronoun or relative complementizer in St'át'imcets.
- relative clauses may be 'headed' or 'headless'; Davis (2003) argues that the latter are actually headed by a null nominal (*pro*).
- the head of a headed relative clause must be a noun, as first pointed out by Demirdache and Matthewson (1995); see also Matthewson and Davis (1995), Davis and Matthewson (1999).
- there are three types of headed relative clause in St'át'imcets, referred to by Davis (2002, in prep) as *prenominal*, *postposed*, and *postnominal*.³ They are schematized in (1) and illustrated in (2):

- (1)
- a. DET [CLAUSE NP]
 - b. DET [NP CLAUSE]
 - c. DET [NP [DET CLAUSE]]

³ All of these patterns are attested elsewhere in Salish. The types with two determiners tend to be dominant in Interior Salish (and Bella Coola), while the single determiner types are more characteristic of Central Salish. The latter are statistically much more frequent in St'át'imcets, probably due to Central Salish (Squamish and Halkomelem) influence.

- (2) a. ta=[[ats'x-en-án]=a smúlhats]⁴
 DET=[[see-TR-1SG.ERG]=EXIS woman]
 "the woman I saw"
- b. ta=[smúlhats=a [áts'x-en-an]]
 DET=[woman =EXIS [see-TR-1SG.ERG]]
 "the woman I saw"
- c. ta=[smúlhats=a [ta=ats'x-en-án=a]]
 DET=[woman =EXIS [DET=see-TR-1SG.ERG=EXIS]]
 "the woman I saw"

- the relative clause itself obligatorily contains a gap (an A'-trace), as argued by Roberts (1994, 1999) and Davis (2003).
- subject agreement morphology in relative clauses varies with the target of relativization (Roberts 1994, Davis 1994, van Eijk 1997, Roberts 1999, Kroeber 1999, Davis and Matthewson 2003, Davis 2003):⁵

(i) When the target is an intransitive subject or the subject of a transitive predicate with a first or second person object, agreement morphology is (at least superficially) the same as in the corresponding declarative clause.⁶

- (3) a. t'iq ta=smúlhats=a
 arrive DET=woman=EXIS
 "The woman arrived."
- b. ta=[[t'iq]=a smúlhats]
 DET=[[arrive]=EXIS woman]
 "the woman who arrived"

⁴ A list of abbreviations used in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses is given in Appendix 1. Examples are given in the van Eijk orthography: a conversion chart to a standard North American phonemic alphabet is given in Appendix 2. I adopt a bracketing a convention which distinguishes the whole relative clause, including the head (outer brackets) from the specifically clausal part (inner brackets). Note that the linear position of the existential enclitic =a is inside the relative clause, even though it is syntactically and semantically associated with the subordinating determiner, which is outside the relative clause. I assume this is purely a matter of prosody.

⁵ In Appendix 3, I give the four St'át'imcets subject inflection paradigms, for ease of reference. They are: indicative, conjunctive (a.k.a. subjunctive), possessive (nominalized) and ergative (transitive subject). See also van Eijk (1997), Davis (2000, in prep.).

⁶ Superficially, because third person intransitive indicative subject is zero-marked, but relative clauses formed on intransitive predicates contain a gap, not a zero pronoun. See Davis (2003) for extensive argumentation to this effect.

- (4) a. áts'x-en-ts-as ta=smúlhats=a
 see-TR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG DET=woman=EXIS
 "The woman saw me."
- b. ta=[[ats'x-en-ts-ás]=a smúlhats]
 DET=[[see-TR-1SG.OBJ-3ERG]=EXIS woman]
 "the woman who saw me"

(ii) When the target is the direct object of a transitive predicate with a first or second person subject, first and second person indicative subject clitics are replaced by transitive (ergative) subject suffixes:

- (5) a. áts'x-en-lhkan ta=smúlhats=a
 see-TR-1SG.SUB DET=woman=EXIS
 "I saw the woman."
- b. ta=[[ats'x-en-án]=a smúlhats]
 DET=[[see-TR-1SG.ERG]=EXIS woman]
 "the woman I saw"

(iii) When the target is the subject of a transitive predicate with a third person singular object, one of three strategies is employed (Davis 1994, 2003). First, third person ergative morphology may be retained. This strategy is only available for subject extraction when there is an overt (DP) object; if there is a null (*pro*) object, only a patient-centred interpretation is available, as shown in (6b).

- (6) a. ta=[smúlhats=a [áts'x-en-as ta=sqáycw=a]]
 DET=[woman=EXIS [see-TR-3ERG DET=man=EXIS]]
 (i) "the woman the man saw" (preferred)
 (ii) "the woman who saw the man" (possible in context)
- b. mám'teq kw=s=John, áts'x-en-as
 walk DET=NOM= John see-TR -3ERG
 aylh ta=[sqáycw=a [túp-un'-as]]
 then DET=[man=EXIS [punch-TR-3ERG]]
 "John went for a walk, then he saw the man who he
 punched." (* "the man who punched him")

Second, passive morphology may be employed. This strategy is confined to Upper St'át'imcets, and has probably been borrowed from Shuswap or Thompson, both of which use special passive-derived morphology in transitive

subject-centred relative clauses (Kroeber 1999: 299-301).⁷ The function of passive morphology in extraction contexts is inverse to that of plain ergative morphology: when there is no postverbal DP, only an agent-centred interpretation is available (compare (7a) to (6b)), while if there is an overt post-verbal DP, either a patient-centred or an agent-centred interpretation is available, though here passive appears to be independently disfavoured by most speakers.

- (7) a. mám'teq kw=s=John, áts'x-en-as
 walk DET=NOM= John see-TR -3ERG
 aylh ta=[sqáycw=a [túp-un'-em]]
 then DET=[man=EXIS [punch-TR-PASS]]
 "John went for a walk, then he saw the man who he was
 punched by." (* "the man he punched")
- b. % ta=[smúlhats=a [áts'x-en-em ta=sqáycw=a]]
 DET=[woman=EXIS [see-TR-PASS DET=man=EXIS]]
- (i) "the woman the man was seen by" (preferred)
 (ii) "the woman who was seen by the man" (possible)

Finally (and much more frequently), a special suffix *-tali* replaces all pronominal morphology; this suffix may generally *only* be employed in subject centred relative clauses with third person objects (singular or plural) (Roberts 1994, Davis 1994), but is insensitive to the presence or absence of an overt post-verbal object.⁸

- (8) a. ta=[smúlhats=a [áts'x-en-táli ta=sqáycw=a]]
 DET=woman=EXIS [see-TR-TALI DET=man=EXIS]]
 "the woman who saw the man" (unambiguous)

⁷ Interestingly, I have recorded a couple of cases of subject extraction with the ending *-em-as*, consisting of the passive suffix plus an accretion identical to the third person conjunctive enclitic *-as*. This is an exact cognate of the subject extraction morphology employed by Shuswap and Thompson, and also clearly related to the combination *-tanem-wit-as* employed by St'át'imcets in subject-centred relative clauses with a third person plural object (see (9) below). Generally, however, speakers reject this possibility as substandard or ungrammatical.

⁸ There is one exception to the generalization that *-tali* only occurs in subject-centred relative clauses; it also occurs in transitive infinitives with third person objects, as shown in (i):

- (i) k'ink'ent ku=wá7 [s-teq-s-táli i=7á7x7=a naxwít]
 dangerous DET=IMPF [STA-touch-CAU-TALI PL.DET=powerful=EXIS snake]
 "It's dangerous to hold poisonous snakes."

Infinitives, which are rare in Salish, have probably developed in St'át'imcets (and in neighbouring Thompson, where they have almost identical properties) from subject-centred relative clauses (see Kroeber 1999: 220), accounting for the historical source of *-tali* in cases like (i). Its synchronic function in these cases, however, remains mysterious.

- b. *mám'teq* *kw=s=John,* *áts'x-en-as*
 walk DET=NOM= John see-TR -3ERG
 aylh *ta=[sqáycw=a* *[tup-un'-táli]]*
 then DET=[man=EXIS [punch-TR-TALI]]
 "John went for a walk, then he saw the man who punched
 him." (* "the man he punched")

(iv) When the target is the subject of a transitive predicate with a third person plural object, either *-tali* may be used, as above, or another special suffix combination, *-tanem-wit-as*, may be employed. (The latter is obviously related to parallel constructions in neighbouring Shuswap and Thompson: see footnote 7.) The combination *-tanem-wit-as* usually occurs with a null object; this is consistent with the general preference for the plural pronoun *-wit-* which forms part of this combination not to occur redundantly together with a plural DP (Davis 2003).

- (9) a. *ta=[smúlhats=a* *[áts'x-en-táli i=sqáyqyecw=a]]*
 DET=[woman=EXIS [see-TR-TALI PL.DET=men=EXIS]]
 "the woman who saw the men" (unambiguous)
- b. *ta=[smúlhats=a* *[áts'x-en-tanem-wít-as]]*
 DET=[woman=EXIS [see-TR-TANEM-3PL.OBJ-3ERG]]
 "the woman who saw them" (unambiguous)

(v) When the theme argument of a formally intransitive predicate is the target of relativization, the predicate (but not the clause which contains it) is nominalized, and the subject is represented by possessive pronominal affixes (Davis and Matthewson 2003).

- (10) a. *cúz'=lhkacw=ha* *xlít-cal* *ku=smúlhats*
 going.to=2SG.SUB=YNQ invite-ACT DET=woman
 "Are you going to invite any women?"
- b. *i=[smúlhats=a* *[cúz'*
 PL.DET=[woman=EXIS [going.to
 s-xlít-cal-su]]
 NOM-invite-ACT-2SG.POSS]]
 "the women who you are going to invite"

The fact that the auxiliary *cúz'* in (10b) fails to attract the nominalizer and associated possessive morphology shows that this is a case of 'predicate' rather than 'clausal' nominalization: see van Eijk (1997: 159-60), Kroeber (1999: 327-9) for the distinction.

(vi) When the theme argument of a ditransitive predicate is the target of relativization, there is a split in the morphology of the relative clause according to whether a regular *n*-type or *s*-type transitivity, as opposed to an applicative (*cit*-type) transitivity is employed (Davis and Matthewson 2003). With an *n*- or *s*-type transitivity, the predicate is nominalized, and the subject is realized by an ergative suffix:

- (11) a. *cúz'*=*lhkan* *úm'*-en *ta=sk'úk'wmi7t=a*
 going.to=1 SG.SUB give-TR DET=child=EXIS
 ta=sáy'si7ten=a
 DET=toy=EXIS
 "I 'm going to give the child a toy."
- b. *ta=[sáy'si7ten=a* [*cúz'* *s-7úm'*-en-an
 DET=toy=EXIS [going.to NOM-give-TR-1SG.ERG
 ta=sk'úk'wmi7t=a]]
 DET=child=EXIS]]
 "the toy I'm going to give to the child"

But if the transitivity is indirective *-cit*, no nominalization is necessary:

- (12) a. *cúz'*=*lhkan* *nás-cit* *ta=sk'úk'wmi7t=a*
 going.to=1 SG.SUB go-IND DET=child=EXIS
 ta=sáy'si7ten=a
 DET=toy=EXIS
 "I'm going to bring the child a toy."
- b. *ta=[sáy'si7ten=a* [*cúz'* *nás-cit-an*
 DET=[toy=EXIS [going.to go-IND-1SG.ERG
 ta=sk'úk'wmi7t=a]]
 DET=child=EXIS]]
 "the toy I'm going to bring to the child"

This split is evidently an innovation: van Eijk (1997), whose primary consultants were a generation older than mine, failed to record it.

3 Basic properties of locative expressions in *St'át'imcets*

Before we finally turn to locative relatives, a brief outline of the syntax of simple locative expressions in *St'át'imcets* will be helpful.

There are two basic ways in which locative expressions are introduced in *St'át'imcets*. The first is via one of the four proclitic prepositions: *e* = "to, by", *l* = "in, on, at, by", *lhel* = "from", *kn* = "around", which attach to DPs to yield locative PPs: see van Eijk (1997: 219-221) and Davis (in prep. Chapter 14), from which the illustrative examples in (13) are taken:

- (13) a. *wa7* *matq ta=smém'lhats=a* [*l=ta=nlep'cánten=a*]
 IMPF walk DET=girl=EXIS [*in=DET=garden=EXIS*]
 "The girl is walking in the garden."

- b. wa7 matq ta=smém'lhats=a [e=ta=nlep'cálten=a]
 IMPF walk DET=girl=EXIS [to=DET=garden=EXIS]
 "The girl is walking to the garden."
- c. wa7 matq ta=smém'lhats=a [lhel=ta=nlep'cálten=a]
 IMPF walk DET=girl=EXIS [from=DET=garden=EXIS]
 "The girl is walking from the garden."
- d. wa7 matq ta=smém'lhats=a [ken=ta=nlep'cálten=a]
 IMPF walk DET=girl=EXIS [around=DET=garden=EXIS]
 "The girl is walking around the garden."

Unlike English PPs (and unlike the phrasal projections of any open class lexical category in St'át'imcets), St'át'imcets PPs cannot normally occupy predicate positions. They may, however, be focused via a cleft construction involving the complementizer *lh=* (which is also used with temporal adjuncts, conditionals, and embedded questions). All clauses introduced by *lh=* take conjunctive subject inflection. An example of a PP cleft is given in (14); this is also the form taken by "where" questions, as shown in (15).

- (14) [l=ta=tsal'álh=a] [lh=kwánen-s=an
 [at=DET=lake=EXIS] [COMP=get.caught-CAU=1SG.CNJ
 ta=xzúm=a xu7t'
 DET=big=EXIS sturgeon]
 "It was at the lake where I caught a big sturgeon."
- (15) nka7 [lh=kwánen-s=acw ta=xzúm=a xu7t']
 where [COMP=get.caught-CAU=2SG.CNJDET=big=EXIS sturgeon]
 "Where did you catch the big sturgeon?"

The second way to introduce a locative adjunct is to use a locative demonstrative adverb. These consist at least diachronically of a preposition prefixed to one of eight demonstrative pronominal roots, organized by distance from the speaker, (in)visibility, and a 'pivoting/non-pivoting' distinction (van Eijk 1997: 171-177, Davis in prep. Chapters 14-15). The complete set is given in Appendix 4.

Locative demonstratives occur either on their own (extremely frequently, and often in combination with each other) or followed by a PP. In the latter case, both the preposition heading the PP and the determiner heading its DP complement are very often dropped, so instead of getting, for example *lt7u lta tsal'álha* "over there at the lake", we get *lt7u tsal'álha* with the same meaning. (The =a enclitic on the noun *tsal'álh* "lake", which reveals the underlying presence of an existence-asserting determiner, is never dropped.) Here are examples of both bare locative demonstratives (16) and locative demonstrative + PP constituents (17):

- (16) kwánen-s=kan ta=xzúm=a xu7t' It7ú-na
 get.caught-CAU=1SG.SU DET=big=EXIS sturgeon DEM-right⁹
 "I caught a big sturgeon right over there."
- (17) kwánen-s=kan ta=xzúm=a xu7t'
 get.caught-CAU=1SG.SU DET=big=EXIS sturgeon
 [It7u tsal'álh=a]
 [DEM lake=EXIS]
 "I caught a big sturgeon in the lake over there."

With or without a following PP, locative demonstratives may be focused, in which case they are followed by a *lh*= clause with conjunctive subject morphology, just like focused PPs.¹⁰

- (18) It7u [lh=kwánen-s=an ta=xzúm=a xu7t']
 DEM [COMP=get.caught-CAU=1SG.CNJDET=big=EXIS sturgeon]
 "I caught a big sturgeon over there."
- (19) [It7u tsal'álh=a] [lh=kwánen-s=an
 [DEM lake=EXIS] [COMP=get.caught-CAU=1SG.CNJ
 ta=xzúm=a xu7t']
 DET=big=EXIS sturgeon]
 "I caught a big sturgeon over there at the lake."

4 Two types of locative relative clause

I now turn to the two types of locative relative clause found in St'át'imcets, which I will refer to as *possessive locative relatives* and *conjunctive locative relatives*, after the dominant form of (intransitive) subject inflection which they induce. I will begin in subsection 4.1 with possessive locative relatives and turn to conjunctive locative relatives in 4.2.

⁹ The element *-(w)na* attached to the locative demonstrative in this example has the meaning "exactly, right" when attached to 'pivoting' locative demonstratives: see van Eijk (1997: 173)

¹⁰ Van Eijk (1997: 175) reports that unlike PPs, some locative adverbs may act as main predicates. My own impression is that these uses are marginal; the preferred strategy is to use a locative focus construction, as in (ii):

- (i) ?? Its7á=lhkan
 DEM=1SG.SU
 "I'm here."
- (ii) Its7a lh=wá7=an
 DEM COMP=be=1SG.CNJ
 "I'm here."

4.1 Possessive locative relatives

Possessive locative relatives can be schematized as follows: (20a) represents a 'headed' locative relative, and (20b) a 'headless' one:

- (20) a. Determiner₁ [Noun Phrase [Preposition [Determiner₂ [[Nominalizer [Gap-containing clause]]]]]]
- b. (Demonstrative adverb) (Preposition) [Determiner [Nominalizer [Gap-containing Clause]]]

Examples of possessive locative relatives are given in (21-27). Examples (23-27) are from texts;¹¹ the others were elicited directly.

- (21) tsícw=kan ta=[tsal'álh=a]¹²
 get.there=1SG.SU DET=[lake=EXIS
 [l=t=s=7ústek=sw=a]]¹³
 [at=DET=NOM=catch.fish=2SG.POSS=EXIS]]
 "I went to the lake where you fished."
- (22) tsícw=kan l=ta=[tsal'álh=a
 get.there=1SG.SU at=DET=[lake=EXIS
 [l=t=s=wá7=sw=a i7w'es]]
 [at=DET=NOM=IMPF=2SG.POSS=EXIS fish.with.rod]]
 "I went to the lake where you were fishing."
- (23) Wá...7=wi7 láku7 ta=[xzúm-a sxetq
 IMPF=EMPH DEIC DET=[big=EXIS hole
 [l=t=s=s=a]¹⁴ us
 [in=DET=NOM(IMPF)=3POSS=EXIS throw.out
 i=s7utsmen-lhkálh=a]], áku7 lh=us
 PL.DET=gabage-1PL.POSS=EXIS]]DEM COMP=(IMPF)=3CNJ
 ús-tum'
 throw.out(CAU)-PASS

¹¹ Examples (23), (24) and (27) are from Matthewson (in prep); examples (25) and (26) are from Rose Agnes Whitley's retelling of the story of Ísa7 (originally told by Charlie Mack Seymour).

¹² The preposition *e=* is dropped here, as frequently in fast or casual speech.

¹³ The determiner *ti=ta=* is usually shortened to [*i*] when introducing a nominalized subordinate clause: see Davis and Matthewson (1996).

¹⁴ In the contracted form *lt.ssa* it is very hard to hear whether there are two instances of [*s*] (representing the nominalizer and the third person possessive subject, respectively), or whether they have become fused and are pronounced as a single token. I have left both *s*'s in here, mainly on the basis of the speakers own intuitions that two are still present, but see van Eijk (1997:152) who transcribes only one.

“There was a really big hole there where our garbage was thrown out, that’s where we threw it out.”

- (24) aoz láti7 kw=a=s lak
 NEG DEIC DET=(NOM)IMPF=3POSS lie
 [l=t=s=wá7=lhkalh-a ílhen]
 [at=DET=NOM=IMPF=1PL.POSS=EXIS eat]
 [t=s=wá7=lhkalh=a guy’tmúta7 sáy’séz’]
 DET=NOM=IMPF=1PL.POSS=EXISsleep and play
 “The place where we ate wasn’t where we slept and played.”
- (25) i=tsicw=wit=as áta7 sqwém=a,
 when(PST)=get.there=3CNJ to.there mountain=EXIS
 kéla7=tu7 lh=t’ák=as nelh=núkw=a
 before=then COMP=went=3CNJ PL.ABS.DET=other=EXIS
 úcwalmicw, tsicw mays-en-ítas
 person get.there fix-TR-3PL.ERG
 [l=kw=a=s cuz’ tsítcw-em=wit]
 [at=DET=NOM+IMPF=3POSS going.to house-MID=3PL]
 “When they got to the mountain, before the other people came along, they went to fix (the place) where they were going to camp.”
- (26) cw7áoz=t’u7 kw=s=cé.cen’=s,
 NEG=PART DET=NOM=long.time(REDUP)=3POSS
 i=plán=as wa7 es-máys
 when(PST)=already=3CNJ IMPF STA-get.fixed
 [l=ta=s=cúy’=s=a¹⁵ tsítcw-em=wit],
 [at=DET=NOM=going.to=3POSS=EXIS house-MID=3PL]
 nilh s=t’ak=s wa7 zex-láp kw=s=7isa7
 then NOM=go.along=3POSS IMPF move-floor DET=NOM=isa7
 “A short while later, when the place they were going to camp was already fixed up, along came isa7, shuffling along on her behind.”
- (27) yáx=kalh, nilh aylh súxwast=kalh áku7
 get.dressed=1PL.SUBJ then next go.down=1PL.POSS DEM
 [l=t=s=kálh=a sáy’séz’]
 [at=DET=NOM=IMPF+1PL.POSS=EXIS play]
 “We got dressed, then we went down to where we played.”

Three points are worth making immediately. First, headed possessive locatives are always of the postnominal type, as schematized in (1c). It is unsurprising that prenominal possessive locatives are missing, given the application of the ‘same side filter’ in St’át’imcets, which prevents post-head material in a relative clause from appearing prenominally (Davis 2002). However, the absence of postposed locative relatives is a little more unexpected,

¹⁵ The prospective auxiliary *cuz’* is often pronounced *cuy’* before a coronal fricative.

and may tell us something about the mechanics of movement within the relative clause. We will return to this point later.

Second, in contrast to the nominalization employed with oblique arguments (see (10) and (11) above), the type of nominalization employed in locative relatives is clausal, not predicative. As shown in (22-27), all of which contain pre-predicative auxiliaries, the nominalizer and possessive subject attach to the first auxiliary, not to the main predicate; this is diagnostic of clausal as opposed to predicate nominalization.

Third, in headed locative relatives such as those in examples (21-23), the preposition that introduces the clausal part of the relative (as opposed to the head) has the selectional properties of the gap which it controls, not those of the entire DP which contains it. In (23), for example, the containing DP *ta xzúma sxetq* “the big hole” is a direct argument of the main clause locative predicate *lak* “to lie, be located”, and the fronted preposition *l=* “in, at” on the left periphery of the relative clause *lt.ssa us i s7útsmenlhkhalha* “into which our garbage was thrown” is licensed inside the relative clause, as a locative adjunct to the predicate *us* “to get thrown out, discarded”. In cases of ‘headless’ locative relatives such as those in (24-26), only one preposition (and only one determiner) may appear. Here the situation is more variable with respect to the selectional properties of the preposition. Where the preposition has the same selectional properties in the containing clause and in the relative clause, there is obviously no way to tell which one surfaces: example (24) is an example of a ‘matching’ case like this. Where the selectional properties of the preposition are different in the matrix and relative clauses, headless nominalized locative relatives are generally introduced by a locative demonstrative adverb, which meets the selectional requirements of the matrix clause, as in (27) above, thus avoiding a potential clash. Where no preposition is selected in the containing clause (i.e., the relative clause is a direct argument of the matrix predicate), the preposition selected in the relative clause may surface, as in (25-26). This is not always the case, however, as can be in the second relative clause in (24), where no preposition surfaces. Compare also (28-29), a near minimal pair produced by the same speaker in the same elicitation session.

(28) *wá7=lhkan cwil'-em [kw=en=s=cúz' guy't]*
 IMPF=1SG.SU seek-MID [DET=1SG.POSS=NOM= going.to sleep]
 “I’m looking for somewhere to sleep.”

(29) *cwil'-em=lhkan [l=kw=en=s=cúz' guy't]*
 seek-MID=1SG.SU [at=DET=1SG.POSS=NOM= going.to sleep]
 “I’m looking for somewhere to sleep.”

(Note that the object of the middle-marked intransitive predicate *cwil'em*, like other ‘quasi objects’ in St’át’imcets, does not occur with an oblique marker: Davis and Matthewson 2003).

It is not only the initial preposition of nominalized locative relatives that displays the selectional properties of the gap inside the relative clause, rather than those of the containing DP: the same thing is true of the determiner which immediately follows the preposition. This can be seen in the headless locative

relatives in (25-26), and is particularly clear in (25), where the polarity determiner *ku* (here contracted to *kw* by regular sandhi rules: see Davis and Matthewson 1996) must be licensed by a c-commanding ‘non-factual’ operator (Matthewson 1998); however, the only such operator in (25) is the prospective auxiliary *cuz*, which is inside the relative clause.

The same thing is shown by the minimal pair in (30-31) below (judgements are from the same speaker in the same elicitation session).

- (30) *pú.pen’=lhkan* [l=*kw*=en=s=cúz’
 find(REDUP)= 1SG.SU [at=DET=1SG.POSS=NOM= going.to
t’íkw-em lhel=ta=s-kwís=a]
 shelter-MID from=DET=NOM-rain=EXIS]
 “I found somewhere to shelter from the rain.” (Literally: “...where I was going to shelter from the rain.”)

- (31) *pú.pen’=lhkan* [l=t=en=s=wá
 find(REDUP)= 1SG.SU [at=DET=1SG.POSS=NOM=IMPF+EXIS
ka-t’íkw-em-a lhel=ta=s-kwís=a]
 OOC-shelter-MID-OOC from=DET=NOM-rain=EXIS]
 “I found somewhere to shelter from the rain.” (Literally: “...where I was able to shelter from the rain.”)

Though they are translated into English identically, (30) and (31) do not mean the same thing. In (30), the speaker is referring to a reference time before she has taken shelter; in (31), the reference time is located after the point where she has taken shelter. This information is carried by the contrasting determiners: the *ku*=determiner in (30) (which surfaces in its contracted form of [*kw*]) refers to an event which has not yet been realized at the reference time; the *ta*=determiner in (31) (which surfaces in its contracted form of [*t*]) refers to an event which has already taken place at the reference time. Now, notice that the determiners are not related to the event of *finding* shelter (denoted by the matrix predicate *púpen*) but to the event of *taking* shelter (denoted by the relative clause predicate *t’íkwem*): they must thus be related to a position inside the relative clause, not to one in the matrix clause.

We will consider the theoretical implications of these findings further in Section 6. First, however, it is time to introduce the second type of St’át’imcets locative relative clause, the conjunctive locative relative.

4.2 Conjunctive locative relative clauses

While all speakers I have consulted employ possessive locative relatives, only a subset use conjunctive locative relatives. As far as I can tell, conjunctive locative relatives are geographically restricted to the centre of St’át’imcets territory, from Sek’wel’wás (Cayoosé Creek) to Tsal’álh

(Seton/Shalalth). This is interesting, in that it argues against outside influence in the genesis of this interesting and hitherto unrecognized construction.¹⁶

Conjunctive locative relatives are at least superficially rather different from possessive locative relatives. They are schematized below in (32); (a) is a 'headed' conjunctive locative relative, (b) a 'headless' one.

- (32) a. Determiner [Noun Phrase [Complementizer + Imperfective Auxiliary + Conjunctive Subject (=a enclitic) [Gap-containing clause]]]
- b. (Demonstrative adverb) [Complementizer + Imperfective Auxiliary + Conjunctive Subject (=a enclitic) [Gap-containing clause]]

Examples follow; (33-39) are from texts, while (40-41) were elicited directly.¹⁷

- (33) wa7 láku7 [ta=tsé.tstecw=a
 IMPF DEM [DET=house(REDUP)=EXIS
 [lh=ás=a wa7]]
 [COMP=IMPF+3CNJ=EXIS be]]
 l=ta=s-q'út-s=a ta=tsitcw-kálh=a
 at=DET=NOM-side-3POSS=EXIS DET=house-1PL.POSS=EXIS
 "There was a little house beside our house where she lived."
- (34) cilqs=wit s-k'ík'ta7-s=a [lh=ás=a
 land=3PL NOM-close-3POSS=EXIS [COMP=IMPF+3CNJ=EXIS
 ts7as ta=sméqem=a]
 come DET=smoke=EXIS]
 "They landed close to where the smoke was coming from."
- (35) wa7 s-law ta=[tsepalín=a
 IMPF STA-hang DET=[baby.basket=EXIS
 [lh=ás=a guy't ta=smé.m'lhats=a]]
 [COMP=IMPF+3CNJ=EXISsleep DET=girl(REDUP)=EXIS]]
 "There was a baby basket hanging there where the girl was sleeping."

¹⁶ It is just possible that the source of conjunctive locative relatives is Thompson (River) Salish, to the east of St'át'imc territory. As discussed extensively in Kroeber (1997), Thompson has conjunctive locative relatives, though they are introduced by a determiner, not a complementizer. See Section 5 for further remarks on the historical relationship between locative relatives in St'át'imcets and neighbouring Salish languages.

¹⁷ Examples (33) and (37-39) are from Matthewson (in prep.); (34) and (35) are from Beverley Frank's retelling of the traditional story of how Maggot stole fire; and (36) is from Albert Joseph's account of the hard winter of 1954-5.

- (36) wa7 ka-tqalk'-s-twítas-a ti=truck=a
 IMPF OOC-drive-CAU-3PL.ERG-OOC DET=truck=EXIS
 l=ti=plhúlh=a sk'ímal'ts lh=as tsicw-cal=wít
 on=DET=thick=EXIS ice COMP=3CNJ get.there-ACT=3PL
 i=sp'ams=a [lh=ás=a
 PL.DET= firewood=EXIS [COMP=IMPF+3CNJ=EXIS
 kwiw'-cn-ám'=wít]
 slide-foot-MID=3PL]
 "They could drive a truck over the thick ice when they brought firewood
 over to where they were skating."
- (37) wá7=lhkan t'it lexláx-s ni=wá7 tsunám'-cal
 IMPF=1SG.SU also remember-CAU ABS.DET=IMPF teach-ACT
 i=tsicw=an aylh l=ta=núkw=a skul,
 when.PST=go.there=1SG.CNJ then to=DET=other=EXIS school
 [láti7 [lh=ás=a lak lhkúnsa
 [DEM [COMP=IMPF+3CNJ=EXIS lie now
 ti=wá7 tsún-ítas Rec Centre]]
 DET=IMPF+EXISsay(TR)-3PL.ERG Rec Centre]]
 "I also remember the teacher I had when I went to the other school,
 where the Rec Centre is today."
- (38) nilh kw=s=txw-ílč [áti7 [lh=ás=a
 then DET=NOM=straight-AUT [DEM[COMP=IMPF+3CNJ=EXIS
 wá7 i=cw7ít=a úcwalmicw wa7 s-mets.mítsa7q
 be PL.DET=many=EXIS person IMPF STA-sit(REDUP)
 s-páqw-s-tali i=wá7 száytén-s
 STA-watch-CAU-TOP PL.DET=IMPF+EXIS business-3POSS
 ti=tsláoy-am=a]]
 DET=july-MID=EXIS]]
 "They rode straight to where lots of people were sitting watching what
 was going on at the First of July celebration."
- (39) ts7ás=t'u7 n7ú7ts'qa7 nilh kw=s=p'án't=wít
 come=PART February then DET=NOM=return=3PL
 lhel=ki=[sqwém=a [lh=as wá7=wít
 from=PL.DET=[mountain=EXIS [COMP=IMPF+3CNJ be=3PL
 káti7 cwíl'-em=wít ku=tsúw7-i s7ílhén]]
 DEM seek-MID=3PL DET=own-3PL.POSS food]]
 "When February came, they would return from the mountains where
 they had been looking around for their own food."
- (40) plan wa7 n-teqw.tíqw ti=[qú7=a
 already IMPF LOC-dirty(REDUP) DET=[water=EXIS
 [lh=án=a=tu7 n-q'ay-lc-áz']
 [COMP=IMPF+1SG.CNJ=EXIS=PSTLOC-jump-AUT-for.fun]]
 "The water where I used to swim is already dirty."

- (41) nilh ts7a tsal'álh [lh=át=a=tu7
 FOC DEM lake [COMP=IMPF+1PL.CNJ=EXIS=PST
 kwíw'-cn-am' lh=as sútik]
 slide-foot-MIDCOMP=IMPF+3CNJ winter]
 "This lake is where we used to skate in winter."

The morphosyntax of conjunctive locative relatives is not entirely transparent, although all the elements which constitute it can be identified. The first post-head element is the proclitic complementizer *lh=*, which induces conjunctive subject clitic morphology on the clause which it introduces.¹⁸

The second element consists of the conjunctive enclitic itself, fused together with remnants of the imperfective auxiliary *wa7*. Auxiliary *wa7* is frequently contracted in combination with determiners and complementizers, including *lh=* (see van Eijk 1997: 152-3), sometimes to the point of being elided entirely, so it is not entirely surprising that it shows no surface reflex in the cases at hand. Moreover, there are other indications *wa7* is still underlyingly present in combinations superficially consisting of just *lh=* and a conjunctive subject enclitic. First, these combinations do not co-occur happily with a separate instance of auxiliary *wa7*, as shown in (42):

- (42) láku7 pankúph=a [lh=as (??wa7) wa7
 DEM Vancouver=EXIS [COMP=IMPF+3CNJ (??IMPF) be
 s=Gertie]
 NOM=Gertie]
 "Gertie's over in Vancouver."

Second, as far as I can tell, combinations of *lh=* plus conjunctive subject are treated semantically as imperfective, as can be seen by the following contrast:

- (43) wá7=lhkacw=ha zwát-en ta=[k'ét'h=a
 IMPF=2SG.SU=YNQ know-TR DET=[rock=EXIS
 [lh=ás=a záw-em
 [COMP=IMPF+3CNJ=EXIS dip.net-MID
 i=lil'wat-7úl-mec=a]]
 PL.DET=lil'wat-real-people=EXIS]]
 "Do you know the rock where the lil'wat7úlmecc (Mount Currie people) fish?"

¹⁸ One possible exception to this generalization is the particle *elh* "before, then", which occurs with ordinary indicative subjects and may or may not be the same element as the complementizer *lh=*.

- (44) ?? wá7=lhkacw=ha zwát-en ta=[k'ét'h=a
 IMPF=2SG.SU=YNQ know-TR DET=[rock=EXIS
 [lh=ás=a
 kwánen-s-as
 [COMP=IMPF+3CNJ=EXIS get.caught-CAU-3ERG
 ta=xzúm=a zúmak i=zánucw-em=as]]
 DET=big=EXIS spring.salmon when(PST)=year-CHA=3CNJ]]
 “Do you know the rock where s/he caught a big spring salmon last
 year?”

Speaker's comment: “Makes it sound like he's doing it right now, but it happened last year.”

In (43), with the activity predicate *záwem* “to fish with a dipnet”, the combination *lhása* is fine, as we'd expect if the combination contained imperfective *wa7* (here used to mark habitual action). However, with the transitive achievement predicate *kwánens* “to catch” in (44) the only way the speaker can make sense of *lhása* is to shift the aspectual class of the predicate to that of a (non-terminated) accomplishment, which in turn shifts the event time into the present (contradicting the temporal adjunct *izánucwemas* “last year”). This is what we'd expect with imperfective *wa7*, but it would be inexplicable if *wa7* were not present (we'd simply get the normal past time reading that goes with an achievement predicate).

The third element of the conjunctive locative relative, following the conjunctive enclitic, is an unexpected [a] accretion identical to the existential enclitic =a which accompanies assertion-of-existence determiners. This =a is not obligatory in conjunctive locative relatives (see (39) above); moreover, just like its determiner counterpart, it only occurs in ‘realis’ (i.e., assertion-of-existence) contexts, as can be seen by comparing (45) to (46) below:

- (45) cwil'-em=lhkan [lh=cúz'=an(*=a)
 seek-MID=1SG.SU [COMP=going.to=1SG.CNJ(*=EXIS)
 ka-gúy't-a]
 OOC-sleep-OOC]
 “I'm looking for somewhere to sleep.”

- (46) wá7=lhkacw=ha zwát-en ta=[alkst-álhcw=a
 IMPF=2SG.SU=YNQ know-TR DET=[work-place=EXIS
 [lh=cúz'=an(=a) alkst zánucw-em]]
 [COMP=going.to=1SG.CNJ(=EXIS) work year-CHA]]
 “Do you know the office where I'm going to be working next year?”

The conjunctive locative relative clauses in both (45) and (46) contain the prospective auxiliary *cuz'* “going to”; however, in (45), where the existence of a place to sleep is in doubt, =a is rejected; in (46), where the existence of a future work-place is already established (by the existence-asserting determiner *ta=...=a* on the head of the relative, =a may optionally be present.

Historically, it is likely that the =a enclitic on conjunctive locative relatives is an innovation, since the complementizer *lh=* is most frequently associated with irrealis (i.e., non existence-asserting) environments, including conditionals and embedded questions, and normally never co-occurs with a determiner. In fact, as I shall argue below in 4.3, conjunctive locative =a is probably an intrusion from the possessive locative relative, part of a general commingling of the two locative relative constructions which has led to the emergence of a rather unusual intermediate pattern.

Aside from its distinctive form, some other properties of the conjunctive locative relative construction are worth mentioning. First, no trace of a preposition or a determiner is ever present in the clausal part of the construction, in contrast to possessive locative relatives. Second, demonstrative adverbial 'heads' are very frequent in conjunctive locative relatives, as in the examples in (37) and (38) above. This is an indicator of close links to the locative focus construction, to which I shall return below.

4.3 Mixed locative relatives and the genesis of conjunctive relatives

So far, the two types of locative relative I have discussed seem sharply distinct in both morphology and syntax, as summarized in the table below:

(47)		<i>conjunctive</i>	<i>possessive</i>
	<i>subject inflection</i>	conjunctive	possessive
	<i>initial preposition</i>	no	yes
	<i>initial determiner</i>	no	yes
	<i>initial complementizer</i>	yes	no

However, it turns out that there are unexpected convergences in form between the two types which blur the distinctions in (47).

First of all, particularly in Lower St'át'imcets, conjunctive subjects frequently replace possessive subjects in possessive locative relatives. Examples are given below:

- (48) ts'i-7-q' ti=[tsal'álh=a
 dirty(INC) DET[=lake=EXIS
 [l=t=s=án=a=tu7 sácw-em]]
 [in=DET=NOM=IMPF+1SG.CNJ=EXIS=PST bathe-MID]]
 "The lake I used to bathe in is dirty."

- (49) gwél-p=tu7 ti=[tsítcw-a
 burn-INC=PST DET=[house=EXIS
 [l=ti=s=zúqw=as=a ti=sqáycw=a]]
 [in=DET=NOM=die=3CNJ=EXIS DET=man=EXIS]]
 "The house in which the man died burnt down."

- (50) qwiqws láti7 stable [t=s=át=a tsicw]
 small DEM stable [DET=NOM=IMPF+1PL.CNJ=EXIS get.to]
 "We got to a little stable."

The substitution of conjunctive for possessive morphology seen here is by no means confined to locative relatives; it occurs in all environments where we normally find possessive subjects, including nominalized complement clauses introduced by *kw=s* (51), nominalized discourse conjuncts with the focus predicate *nilh* (52), and nominalized absolutive constructions with *t=s* (53).

- (51) pvmp=kálh=t'u7 aylh káti7 [kw=at
 fast=1PL.SUBJ=PART then DEM [DET=NOM+IMPF+1PL.CNJ
 k'wezús-em]
 work-MID]
 "We did our work fast."

- (52) nilh=t'u7 [s=at legw-ilc]
 then=PART [NOM=IMPF+1PL.CNJ hide-AUT]
 "So then we hid."

- (53) tsúkw-s=kan ti=n-sk'wzúsem =a
 finish-CAU=1SG.SU DET=1SG.POSS -work =EXIS
 [t=s=án=a k'ál'-em]
 [DET=NOM=IMPF+1SG.CNJ=EXIS wait-MID]
 "I finished my work while I was waiting."

Second, as we have already seen, the fronted preposition characteristic of possessive locative relatives is not infrequently omitted, particularly but not exclusively in 'headless' relatives (see (28-29) above).

Third, the determiner which distinguishes possessive from conjunctive locative relatives is also not infrequently omitted, as in (54) and (55):

- (54) nás=kalh e=ta=[tsítcw=a
 go=1PL.SU to=DET=[house=EXIS
 [l=s=ka-hál'a=sw=a]]
 [at=NOM=OOC-appear=2SG.POSS=EXIS]]
 "We're going to the house where you were born."

- (55) áts'x-en=lhkan ta=[tsítcw=a
 see-TR=1SG.SU DET=[house=EXIS
 [l=s=pzan-acw=á=tu7 s=Bill]]
 [at=NOM=meet(TR)-2SG.ERG=EXIS=PST NOM=Bill]]
 "I saw the house where you met Bill."

In the following textual example, *both* the preposition and the determiner are missing:

- (56) lhláti7 l=ti=s-7áw't-s=a ta=t'itq'et=a
 DEM at=DET=NOM-behind-3POSS=EXIS DET=Lillooet.reserve=EXIS
 lhkúnsa, [s=lák=s=a ti=Spiritual Centre=ha],
 now [NOM=lie=3POSS=EXISDET=Spiritual.Centre=EXIS]
 lhláti7=tu7 lh=as tsícw=wit et7ú s-q'il'-s=a
 DEM=PST COMP=3CNJ went=3PL DEM NOM-top-3POSS=EXIS
 ta=sqwém=a
 DET=mountain=EXIS
 "From behind where the Lillooet Reserve is now, where the Spiritual
 Centre is, they went to the top of the mountain."

Note, however, that the existential *enclitic* =a is still present in all these cases.

Finally, note that the nominalizer *s=* is sometimes replaced in possessive locative relatives by the complementizer *lh=*:¹⁹

- (57) nilh aylh láti7 kw=s-wa7=s láti7
 so then DEM DET=NOM= be=3POSS DEM
 ti=[spálm=a [lh=lák=s=a
 DET=[field=EXIS [COMP=lie=3POSS=EXIS]]
 ti=n-tsícw=a lhkúnsa]
 DET=1SG.POSS -house=EXIS now
 "So then that's where the field is where my house lies now."
- (58) nilh s=t'ak=s lhel=ti=pál7=a k'em'qs(-ts)
 then NOM=go.along=3POSS from=DET=one=EXIS end(-3POSS)
 ti=tqwíxw=a ti=qú7=a, lts7a [n-ták-s=a
 DET=bridge=EXIS DET=water=EXIS DEM [LOC-side-3POSS=EXIS
 [lh=lák=s=a i=tsícw-s=a
 [COMP=lie=3POSS=EXIS PL.DET=house-3POSS=EXIS
 i=sám7=a]]
 PL.DET=white.person=EXIS]]
 "The water went along from one end of the bridge, on the side where the
 white people's houses were."

But now, note that in the examples above, every single morphosyntactic distinction between possessive locative relatives and conjunctive possessive relatives has been neutralized. What's going on?

The most probable answer runs like this. The original locative relative clause construction was the possessive one, which coexisted with a locative focus construction like that described in Section 3 above. The locative focus construction takes the form of a cleft, whose residue (the non-focused part) resembles a headless relative clause. It is a small step from there to assume that the residue *is* a relative clause, and to extend its use from 'headless' to headed

¹⁹ In Lower St'át'imcets, which tends to be the more innovative of the two dialects, the reverse substitution often takes place in complement and adjunct clauses (data are lacking relative clauses): that is, the nominalizer *s=* replaces the complementizer *lh=*.

locative relatives. It follows that the conjunctive locative relative is an innovation, created from an amalgam of the residue of the locative cleft construction and possessive locative relatives, with the existential enclitic typical of the latter superimposed on the *lh=* complementizer and conjunctive subject inflection which characterizes the former. The various intermediate forms illustrated above are consonant with this story, in that they illustrate partial assimilation of the morphosyntax of possessive locative relatives to that of the conjunctive locative focus construction – exactly what one would expect of a newly innovated construction such as the conjunctive locative relative.

Table (59) illustrates this scenario in diagrammatic form.

(59)	<i>possessive rel</i> ---> <i>conjunctive rel</i> <--- <i>locative cleft</i>		
<i>subject inflection</i>	possessive	conjunctive	<--- conjunctive
<i>initial preposition</i>	yes	no	<--- no
<i>initial determiner</i>	yes	no	<--- no
<i>subordinator</i>	NOM <i>s=</i>	COMP <i>lh=</i>	<--- COMP <i>lh=</i>
<i>existential =a</i>	yes	---> optional	no

As (59) shows, most of the morphological properties of the conjunctive relative are inherited from the locative cleft construction – the sole exception is the tell-tale existential enclitic. However, in terms of external syntax, conjunctive locative relatives are closer to possessive locative relatives than to locative clefts: the residue of a cleft is a bare CP (see Davis, Matthewson and Shank in press) whereas conjunctive locative relatives, like possessive locative relatives, are NPs. (We will return to issues of syntactic structure in Section 6).

5 Comparative issues

So far, our investigation has been confined to St'át'imcets. In this section, I'll undertake a limited cross-linguistic survey of locative relativization possibilities, focusing on the five Salish languages whose territory abuts that of St'át'imcets: the two other members of the Northern Interior sub-branch, Thompson River Salish (Nt̥ɛʔkɛpm̩x̩cín) to the southeast and Shuswap (Secwepem̩c̩t̩sín) to the northeast; and the three Central Salish languages Squamish (Sk̩w̩x̩wu7mesh) to the southwest, Mainland Comox to the west, and Upriver Halkomelem (Sto:l̩o) to the south.

The table in (60) summarizes the morphological properties of locative relative clauses across these six languages. I also include locative focus constructions for comparison.²⁰

²⁰ This part of the paper owes an obvious debt to Kroeber (1997, 1999).

(60)	<i>locative relative</i>		<i>locative focus</i>	
	<i>subordinator</i>	<i>subject</i>	<i>subordinator</i>	<i>subject</i>
<i>Shuswap</i>	DET	conjunctive	DET	conjunctive
<i>Thompson</i>	DET	conjunctive	DET	conjunctive
<i>St'át'imcets</i>	DET + NOM	possessive _C	COMP	conjunctive
	COMP	conjunctive		
<i>Squamish</i>	COMP	possessive _C	COMP	possessive _C
	∅	indicative	∅	indicative
<i>Comox</i>	NOM ₂	possessive _P	NOM ₂	possessive _P
<i>Halkomelem</i>	NOM ₂	possessive _P	NOM ₂	possessive _P

NB: possessive_C = possessive subject morphology which attaches at the level of the clause; possessive_P = possessive subject morphology which attaches at the level of the predicate. This distinction corresponds roughly to that between 'syntactic' and 'lexical' nominalization, but the latter terminology is misleading, since both kinds are syntactic and both need to be distinguished from purely lexical cases of nominalization (which create nouns, not nominal predicates or nominalized clauses).

There are two main parameters of variation represented in (60). The first is in the nature of the introductory element: it can be a determiner (as in Thompson, Shuswap, and the St'át'imcets possessive locative relative), a complementizer (as in the St'át'imcets conjunctive locative relative and in one of the Squamish locative relative types), a nominalizer (as in Comox and Halkomelem), or nothing (as in the alternative Squamish construction). The St'át'imcets possessive relative is unusual (amongst locative relatives, not subordinate clauses in general) in having both a determiner and a nominalizer.

The second parameter concerns the nature of the subject inflection in the relative clause: conjunctive in Thompson, Shuswap, and the St'át'imcets conjunctive relative; possessive elsewhere, except for the indicative morphology employed by Squamish in its alternative locative relativization strategy. There is an important sub-parameter amongst possessive locative relatives which distinguishes clause-level subject morphology (St'át'imcets, Squamish) from predicate-level subject morphology (Halkomelem, Comox, and most other Central Salish languages).

Examining (60) in a little more detail, we see that the St'át'imcets possessive locative relative is unique in a couple of ways. First of all, it is the only type of locative relativization which is not also used as a focusing strategy (and in the formation of "where" questions). Second, it is the only type of locative relative which includes more than one introductory element (the initial determiner plus the clause-level nominalizer). In fact, its morphosyntax more closely resembles that of complement and adverbial clauses than that of other relative clauses.

And yet, on St'át'imcets internal grounds, I have argued that the possessive locative relative antedates the conjunctive locative relative. This suggests that it is an archaism, not an innovation. Moreover, as Kroeber (1999: 341) points out, it is highly unlikely to have been borrowed from Central Salish

languages like Comox or Halkomelem, where possessive locative relatives are formed with a different nominalizer (marked NOM₂ in Table (60)) and employ predicate-level as opposed to clause-level possessive subject inflection.

Accordingly, I'd like to suggest the following sequence of development, which integrates the St'át'imcets data presented here with Kroeber's account of the development of conjunctive locative relatives in Thompson (and most likely, Shuswap as well: see Kroeber 1999: 342-3). Originally, Northern Interior Salish had separate strategies for locative relatives and locative focus constructions. The former involved a determiner and a nominalized clause, as in contemporary St'át'imcets; the latter looked much like the conjunctive cleft in St'át'imcets, with the residue introduced by the complementizer *lh=*, which induces conjunctive subject morphology in both Central and Northern Interior Salish. Two changes now took place in Thompson and Shuswap: the nominalizer plus possessive morphology of locative relatives was replaced by conjunctive morphology borrowed from the locative focus construction; and the *lh=* complementizer in the locative focus construction was replaced by a determiner borrowed from the possessive locative relative construction. (The fronted preposition characteristic of locative relatives in all three Northern Interior languages clearly goes with the initial determiner, and is therefore also inherited from the possessive locative relative construction.) The result of these two changes is the uniform (but hybrid) situation with an introductory determiner and conjunctive inflection which characterizes locative relative clauses in contemporary Thompson and Shuswap.

This takes care of Northern Interior Salish, but leaves two further questions unanswered. First, how does the possessive locative relative which I have just traced back to Proto-Northern Interior Salish relate to Central Salish possessive locatives, represented here by Comox and Halkomelem? And second, where does the rather peculiar Squamish system fit in?

In response to the first question, it appears that the two possessive locative relativization strategies are very different. The predicate nominalization characteristic of Central Salish locative relatives and clefts is closer to the nominalization of 'core obliques' (theme arguments which are not cross-referenced by agreement on the predicate) than it is to the clausal possessive locative relativization strategy of the Northern Interior. Core obliques are (as far as I can tell) universally relativized by predicate nominalization across the entire family. I suspect that the fact that locatives (as well as instruments and other 'non-core obliques' are relativized via predicate nominalization in Central Salish relates to the fact that these languages use predicate nominalization as a kind of general valence-changing operation which serves to promote obliques to argumenthood (an idea first suggested for Halkomelem by Hukari 1977). And I further suspect that this strategy is connected to the lack of true prepositions in many Central Salish languages, which tend to have a general-purpose oblique marker, and to express locative relations via special locative predicates rather than via prepositions.

Turning to Squamish, here we find a very peculiar situation. Like St'át'imcets, Squamish has two locative relativization strategies; but neither resembles locative relativization anywhere else in the family. One of them (involving no introductory element and ordinary indicative inflection) is clearly a local innovation, and I will set it aside here. The other is more interesting from a

comparative perspective. It involves an initial element *lh=*, obviously cognate with the *lh=* found in St'át'imcets conjunctive locative relatives, but the relative clause it introduces has (clause-level) possessive rather than the expected conjunctive subject morphology. The most likely scenario here is that Squamish – like the Northern Interior languages Thompson and Shuswap – borrowed both the initial element and the form of subject inflection from St'át'imcets, but in exactly the reverse direction: the initial element, from the locative cleft, is *lh=*; the subject inflection, from the locative relative, is clause-level possessive. Indirectly, therefore, Squamish supplies additional evidence for the antiquity of the St'át'imcets system, since the latter provides the only plausible source for both the Thompson/Shuswap and Squamish patterns.

6 Structural implications

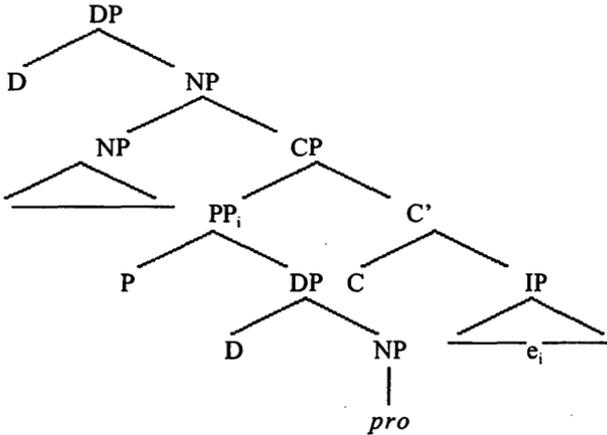
In this section, I will return to the structural implications of the preposition and determiner fronting characteristic of possessive locative relatives, as described in 4.1 above.

The potential theoretical relevance of this phenomenon was first pointed out by Kroeber (1997) in his pioneering analysis of relativization in Thompson, which, recall, introduces locative relatives with a preposition followed by a determiner, as in the St'át'imcets possessive locative relative. Kroeber pointed out that in cases where a fronted preposition is clearly selected in a lower clause, there is a *prima facie* case for syntactic movement: "...and the sort of movement involved in preposition fronting is similar to the *wh*-movement found in relative clauses and *wh*-questions in European languages, in that the moved constituent is placed at the left margin of the clause." (Kroeber 1997: 397).

However, Kroeber goes on to cast doubt on his own analysis, based on two potential problems. First, he points out that the fact that the preposition apparently moves all by itself (without a supporting relative pronoun) is odd if this is really a standard case of WH-movement. And second, since he assumes the determiner that follows the fronted preposition is selected *outside* the relative clause, the position of the preposition is anomalous – it appears to be completely outside the relative clause, at least in 'headless' relatives.

The St'át'imcets data presented in 4.1 provide potential answers to both these problems, if we make the simple assumption that the determiner following the fronted preposition is moved from within the relative clause, rather than being selected from outside. We have seen direct evidence for this assumption in St'át'imcets possessive locative relatives: see in particular (25-26) and (30-31) above, which show clearly that the determiner which precedes the relative clause has its source inside the clause, not outside it. If so, what is moving in preposition-fronting cases is actually a P + D combination, with an empty (*pro*) range, in an entirely parallel fashion to cases of PP 'pied-piping' in English WH-relatives. Under this assumption, the relevant structure for a headed possessive locative relative is given below in (61).

(61)



Except for the extra preposition, I propose that this is actually (roughly) the structure of all postnominal relative clauses in St'át'imcets (and presumably elsewhere in Salish as well), since it accounts for two otherwise unexplained characteristics of this type of relative: first, the constituent following the initial determiner must be an NP, whereas the constituent following the second one must be clausal (see Davis 2002 for arguments to this effect); and second, even in non-locative postnominal relative clauses, the second determiner need not match the first.

The first of these characteristics is immediately explained if (i) determiners uniformly select for NP (including *pro*),²¹ and (ii) postnominal modifiers are invariably clausal. (I have argued for both these assumptions before: the former in Davis 2003, the latter in Davis 2002.) In that case, the constituent following the initial D must be an NP, the constituent following the second D must be a CP, and the non-initial D must be generated CP-internally: all features of the analysis in (61).

The second characteristic (non-matching determiners) is directly accounted for if the non-initial determiner of a postnominal relative is moved from within the relative clause, rather than either being directly copied from the first, or selected from outside the relative clause altogether. We have already seen cases of non-matching determiners in possessive locative relatives; their appearance in non-locative relatives (exemplified in (62-65), from Davis in prep. Chapter 32) shows us that determiner movement is a general property of postnominal relatives, as hypothesized here.

²¹ I set aside here the issue of whether the determiner-like elements that introduce complement and adverbial clauses are actually determiners, as opposed to complementizers. See Davis and Matthewson (1996), Kroeber (1999: 206-207), Arregui and Matthewson (2001) for discussion.

- (62) pún=lhkan aylyh ta=[mets-lák7=a
 find(TR)=1SG.SU now DET=[write-implem=EXIS
 [na=peł'p-s-ácw=a i=nátcw=as]]
 [ABS.DET=lose-CAU-2SG.ERG=EXIS when(PST)=day=3CNJ]]
 "I've found the pen you lost yesterday."
- (63) sucwt-en=łhkácw=ha t7u ta=[smém'łhats=a
 recognize- TR=2SG.SU=YNQ DEM DET= [girl=EXIS
 [na=pzán-em=a²² láku7 ts'k'wáylacw=a]]
 [ABS.DET=meet(TR)-PASS=EXIS DEM Pavilion=EXIS]]
 "Do you recognize that girl over there who we met at Ts'k'wáylacw
 (Pavilion)?"
- (64) nas píx-em' ta=sqátsza7-s=a
 go hunt-MID DET= father -3POSS=EXIS
 ta=[twéww'et=a [na=ats'x-en-ácw=a]]
 DET=[boy=EXIS [ABS.DET=see -TR-2SG.ERG=EXIS]]
 "The father of the boy you saw is going hunting."

In these examples, the relative clause refers to a time that is already past with respect to the main clause, so the determiner *na=* is used on the relative clause but not on the head noun.

I conclude that postnominal relative clauses must involve determiner movement.²³ It is worth briefly considering this hypothesis from a wider viewpoint, since it might appear mildly unorthodox: it amounts to the idea that a 'relative pronoun' is really just a moved determiner. However, this is in fact exactly the assumption made by most orthodox analyses of WH-movement (where a 'WH-pronoun' is treated as a species of determiner); non-WH determiner movement is a natural extension of this view. Moreover, there are other transparent cases of D-movement in the literature on relative clauses, notably that of 'd-pronouns' in German (Wiltschko 1998), which form post-nominal relative clauses remarkably similar to those found in Salish.²⁴

If D-movement in relative clauses is parallel to WH-movement, of course we also expect it to pass the classic diagnostic tests for WH-movement, as first laid down by Chomsky (1977), and investigated in Northern Interior It does. To start with, it leaves a gap (see Davis 2003 for extensive argumentation

²² Like other Interior Salish languages, St'át'imcets lacks a first person plural transitive subject marker, and employs passive instead.

²³ Kroeber (1997) does float this possibility for Thompson, but rejects it on the grounds that "the article at the front of a locative-centred relative clause...still behaves much like a determiner, in as much as the choice between *e* 'specific', *k* 'unrealized', and *ʔ* 'remote' depends on the referential and deictic status of the containing NP." (Kroeber 1997: 398). However, he gives no examples to support this assertion: it would be interesting to see how the Thompson equivalents of examples like (25-26), (30-31), and (62-64) play out.

²⁴ I suspect that 'that relatives' in English might be amenable to a similar treatment.

to this effect). Second, it is apparently unbounded, as shown in the long-range locative relativization cases in (65-66). (These cases are not easy to elicit, incidentally, and where a plausible short range interpretation is available for the moved locative, it is usually preferred; nevertheless, the long-range cases are fully grammatical.)

- (65) lexlák-s=kan ta=[tsal'álh=a
remember-CAU-1SG.SU DET=[lake=EXIS
[|=s=xat'-min'-ácw=a
[at=NOM= want-RED-2SG.ERG=EXIS
[kw=s=kwanen-s-ácw ku=xzúm xu7t']]
[DET=NOM= get.caught-CAU-2SG.ERG DET= big sturgeon]]]
“I remembered the lake where you wanted to catch a big sturgeon.”

- (66) lexlák-s=kacw=ha ta=[tsal'álh=a
remember-CAU-2SG.SU=YNQ DET= [lake=EXIS
[|=s=cw7áoys=s=a
[at=NOM=NEG=3POSS=EXIS
[kw=s=ka-kwanen-s-ácw-a
[DET=NOM=OOC- get.caught-CAU-2SG.ERG-OOC
ta=xzúm=a xu7t']]]]
DET= big=EXIS sturgeon]]]
“Do you remember the lake where you couldn't catch the big sturgeon?”

Third, we expect D-movement (with associated P-movement) to show island effects. It does, as illustrated by the adjunct island condition violations (67-68): (67b) involves an attempt to extract a locative out of a causal (“because”) clause, (68b) out of a temporal adjunct.

- (67) a. áma n-scwákwekw=a [nilh
good 1SG.POSS-heart=EXIS [COP
[t=s=kwanen-s-án=a ta=xzúm=a
[DET=NOM= caught CAU-1SG.ERG=EXIS DET= big=EXIS
xu7t' |=ta=tsal'álh=a kenkw7ú-na]]
sturgeon at= DET=lake=EXIS DEM-right]]
“I was happy that I caught a big sturgeon at the lake over there.”

- b.* lexlák-s=kacw=ha ta=[tsal'álh=a
remember-CAU-2SG.SU=YNQ DET= [lake=EXIS
[|=s=áma=s=a ta=scwákwekw-sw=a
[at=NOM= good=3POSS=EXIS DET-heart-2SG.POSS= EXIS
[nilh [t=s=kwanen-s-ácw=a
[COP [DET=NOM= get.caught -CAU-2SG.ERG=EXIS]]]]]
ta=xzúm=a xu7t']]]]
DET= big=EXIS sturgeon

“Do you remember the lake that you were happy you caught a big sturgeon in?”

- (68) a. pút=kan=t'u7 twiw't [i=kwánen-s=an
 just=1SG.SU=PART youth [when(PST)get.caught-CAU =1SG.CNJ
 ta=xzúm=a xu7t' l=ta=tsal'álh=a]
 DET= big=EXIS sturgeon at= DET=lake=EXIS]
 “I was just a boy when I caught the big sturgeon in the lake.”

- b. * lexláx-s=kacw=ha ta=[tsal'álh=a
 remember-CAU-2SG.SU=YNQ DET= [lake=EXIS
 [l=s=pút=sw=a=t'u7 twiw't
 [in=NOM =just=2SG.POSS=EXIS=PART youth
 [i=kwánen-s=acw
 [when(PST)get.caught-CAU =2SG.CNJ
 ta=xzúm=a xu7t']]]
 DET= big=EXIS sturgeon]]]
 “Do you remember the lake that you were just a boy when you
 caught a big sturgeon in?”

I conclude that the D-movement analysis of postnominal relative clauses in St'át'imcets is strongly supported by evidence from locative relativization. In fact, overall, possessive locative relativization provides one of the strongest cases for syntactic A'-movement in Salish that I am aware of.

7 Conclusion and further issues

I have now outlined the major morphological and syntactic properties of the two types of locative relative clause in St'át'imcets, provided a preliminary account of their relation to locative relatives in neighbouring Salish languages, and provided a 'D-movement' analysis of preposition and determiner fronting in possessive relatives (and more broadly in postnominal relatives).

Many questions, of course, remain. One of the most important concerns both the locus and the role of nominalization in possessive locative relatives. The whole issue of nominalization in Salish is both critically important and remarkably poorly understood, but an adequate analysis would have to answer at least the following questions:

- (i) How does clausal nominalization in possessive relatives relate to its usual role in complement and adjunct clauses?
- (ii) How does the clausal nominalization employed in St'át'imcets locative relatives relate to the predicate-level nominalization characteristic of locative extraction in most Central Salish languages?

Unfortunately, I have definite answers to neither of these questions.

As far as (i) is concerned, it is hard to see how the the most explicit analysis of clausal nominalization in non-relative subordinate clauses, that of

Arregui and Matthewson (2001), can be naturally extended to locative relatives. Arregui and Matthewson treat the nominalizer *s=* as a 'situation minimizer', stripping away all irrelevant situations from the denotation of a clause (which denotes a set of situations). Once this stripping procedure has been carried out, situations are extensionally equivalent to events, so the denotation of a clause is effectively the same as the VP it contains – a set of events. It is then possible to use a 'clausal' determiner (i.e., a complementizer) to pick out one or more events in the same way as a 'nominal' determiner picks out one or more entities, thus accounting directly for the close formal relationship between determiners and complementizers that holds in St'át'imcets and most other Salish languages. But if a nominalized clause denotes a set of events, then it is hard to see how it can be combined with the head of a headed relative clause, which standardly denotes a set of entities: a sortal mismatch occurs.

The second question is equally problematic. The best known treatment of predicate-level nominalization is that of Hukari (1977) (but see Kroeber 1999: 313-15 for a cogent critique). Hukari's leading idea is that the predicate-level nominalizer is a piece of voice morphology whose function is to promote obliques to argumenthood, from where they may be directly extracted. It does so by creating a derived nominal whose possessor (the internal argument of the derived noun) corresponds to the subject of the nominalized verb, and whose external argument is the oblique argument. This analysis works particularly well for Central Salish (for which it was designed), where extraction of all kinds of obliques (including 'core obliques', instruments, and locatives) triggers predicate nominalization. But it is less easy to see how it can be extended to possessive locatives in St'át'imcets, simply because the scope of nominalization in the latter case is the clause, not the predicate and its argument structure; a lexical valency changing operation whose domain is an entire clause does not appear very plausible. Things get even worse in long-distance cases, where the putative valency changing operation has to span a potentially unbounded number of clauses.²⁵

I will leave these questions open here, for want of a satisfactory answer. It is of course possible that there is none, and that a unified, semantically coherent and syntactically accurate account of nominalization in relative clauses is a hopeless quest. As a research strategy, however, it is far better to assume that one *does* exist, however quixotic the enterprise might appear. Progress, after all, is made by windmill tilters.

Appendix 1

Abbreviations

ABS = absent, ACT = active intransitivizer, ADHORT = adhortative enclitic, AUT = autonomous intransitivizer, CAU = causative transitivizer, CHA = 'characteristic' suffix, CNJ = conjunctive subject clitic, COP = copula, DEM = demonstrative, DET

²⁵ Kroeber (1997: 410) makes the same point for conjunctive locative relatives in Thompson.

= determiner, EMPH = emphatic, ERG = ergative (transitive) subject suffix, EXIS = existential enclitic, IMPF = imperfective, INC = inchoative, IND = indirective transitivizer, MID = middle intransitivizer, NEG = negative, NOM = nominalizer, OBJ = object suffix, OOC = out-of-control, PL = plural, PART = particle, PASS = passive, POSS = possessive, PST = past, REDUP = reduplication, SG = singular, STA = stative prefix, SU = indicative subject clitic, TR = directive (full control) transitivizer, YNQ = yes-no question enclitic. A dash (-) corresponds to an affix boundary, a period (.) separates reduplicants, and an equals sign (=) corresponds to a clitic boundary. % indicates speaker variation with respect to grammaticality judgements.

Appendix 2

Conversion chart for American Phonemic and van Eijk St'át'imcets Practical Orthography

orthography	phonemic	orthography	phonemic
p	p	x	ǰ
p'	p̣	xw	ǰ ^w
m	m	r	ɣ
m'	ṃ	r'	ɣ̣
t	t	g	ʃ
ts	č, c	g'	ʃ'
ts'	č̣	gw	ʃ ^w
s	š, s	g'w	ʃ ^{rw}
n	n	h	h
n'	ṇ	w	w
t'	ǰ	w'	ẉ
lh	ɬ	y	y
l	l	y'	ỵ
l'	ḷ	z	z
k	k	z'	ẓ
k'	ḳ	ʔ	ʔ
kw	k ^w	a	æ
k'w	ḳ ^w	ao	ɑ
c	x	e	ə
cw	x ^w	v	ʌ
q	q	i	i
q'	q̣	ii	e
qw	q ^w	u	u
q'w	q̣ ^w	o	o

Appendix 3

St'át'imcets subject paradigms

	<i>indicative</i>	<i>conjunctive</i>	<i>possessive</i>	<i>ergative</i>
<i>1 singular</i>	=lhkan	=an	r=	-an
<i>2 singular</i>	=lhkacw	=acw	=sw	-acw
<i>3 singular</i>	Ø	=as	=s	-as
<i>1 plural</i>	=lhkalh	=at	=lhkalh	(passive)
<i>2 plural</i>	=lhkal'ap	=al'ap	=lap	-al'ap
<i>3 plural</i>	Ø(=wit)	=as(=wit)	=i	-(tw)itas

Notes: (i) the [lh] at the beginning of the indicative subject series is often dropped after obstruents, and almost always after [s] and [lh]; (ii) the third person plural pronoun [wit] is usually omitted when it doubles an overt DP (Davis 2003); (iii) as in other Interior Salish languages, the first person plural ergative subject is missing entirely, and is replaced by passive endings. See Davis (1999, 2000) for details on where the various subject series are employed.

Appendix 4

St'át'imcets locative demonstratives

(i) 'Pivoting' locative demonstratives

		<i>at</i>	<i>around</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>from</i>
<i>visible</i>	<i>near</i>	lts7a	kents7a	ets7á	lhelts7á
	<i>far</i>	lt7u	kent7ú	et7ú	lhelt7ú
<i>invisible</i>	<i>near</i>	lkw7a	kenkw7á	ekw7á	lhelkw7á
	<i>far</i>	lkw7u	kenkw7u	ekw7ú	lhelkw7ú

(ii) 'Non-pivoting' locative demonstratives

		<i>at</i>	<i>around</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>from</i>
<i>visible</i>	<i>near</i>	láti7	k(n)áti7	áti7	lhláti7
	<i>far</i>	láta7	knáta7	áta7	lhláta7
<i>invisible</i>		lkw7a	kenkw7á	ekw7á	lhelkw7á
<i>conjectural</i>		lák7a			

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henryd@interchange.ubc.ca

