

Determiners, deixis, and discourse in Hul'q'umi'num' Salish

Donna Gerdts, Zachary Gilkison, and Nancy Hedberg
Simon Fraser University

Determiners in Salish languages encode a rich set of semantic concepts (cf. Gerdts 2013, Gillon 2013, Matthewson 1998). Drawing on data from Hul'q'umi'num', the Island dialect of Halkomelem Salish, we demonstrate the central role that determiners play in establishing and tracking reference. Hul'q'umi'num' has four dozen determiners—some are very common (one per clause on average) and some extremely rare (one per 4000 lines). Hul'q'umi'num' is described as having low referential density: verbs are more frequent than nouns and NPs are often omitted (Gerdts & Hukari 2008). In contrast, determiners are ubiquitous—five appear in (1):

- (1) **kwu** na'nuts'a' ni' tswe' 'u **tuni'nulh**, sel'ts' ts'u **tey'** smeent
D one.person AUX own OB DEM.PRO surround QUOT DEM mountain

ni' shsun'iw's **tthuw'nilh** st'e 'u **kw'** lelum'.
AUX OB.inside.3POS D.PRO be.like OB D house

“The (male, out of view) one person used the (at a short distance from here, aforementioned) place, surrounded by the (visible to deictic center of narration, aforementioned) mountain, that the (male, visible to deictic center of narration, aforementioned main character) one was inside of a (de facto) house.” (WiS ts'usqun')

Our analysis shows how each determiner contributes multiple meanings that help uniquely identify the reference and enrich the overall interpretation of the utterance.

Determiners can be divided into articles, which must be followed by an NP, and demonstratives, which appear with or without an NP. We divide articles into two types. Deictic articles (*tthu* ‘in view, masculine and/or plural’, *lhu* ‘out of view, feminine singular’, etc.), encode gender, number, and **viewpoint deixis** (indicating visibility to speaker/narrator). Non-deictic articles (*tu* ‘generic’ *kw'* ‘non-individuated’ etc.) are used for speech participants (first and second person), other fixed designation referents (personal names, place names), non-individuated referents (generics, mass nouns, partitives), and irrealis referents (abstract, hypothetical, non-existent).

Demonstratives are compositional: they are formed from articles plus additional elements. Deictic articles form discourse demonstratives (*tthey'* ‘that in view masculine and/or plural’, *lhey'*, ‘that out of view, feminine singular’, etc.) that point to a particular referent within a context, usually aforementioned referents or inferables, but not main characters. In contrast, non-deictic articles are combined with auxiliaries (*i* ‘be here’, *ni* ‘be there’, etc.) to form spatial-temporal demonstratives (*tu i* ‘here’, *kw'uni* ‘over there’, etc.) that express **situational deixis**. No determiner encodes both viewpoint and situational deixis.

An even more complex type of determiner, pro-determiners, consists of a deictic article or either type of demonstrative compounded with a third-person pro-form (*nilh* (sg.), *ne'ulh* (pl.), etc.). The pro-determiners are anaphoric and topic-centered—they cannot occur out-of-the-blue, they refer only to aforementioned referents, and they are used to track the main character across long stretches of discourse (Gerdts & Hukari 2004). We refer to such uses as **referential deixis**.

Our analysis thus posits three types of deixis in the determiner system: a determiner can encode either viewpoint deixis or situational deixis, and it can also encode referential deixis. To illustrate and contrast types of deixis, we will report on data from a corpus of 660 pages/ 8000 Hul'q'umi'num' lines. Our analysis connects the dots between the compositional morphological structure, the complex semantics, and the discourse functions of Hul'q'umi'num' determiners. We briefly compare our analysis to one where determiners contribute to the “givenness” of an NP hierarchically organized (Gundel et al.). We conclude by showing that our research makes a contribution to a more complete typology of demonstrative systems: previous taxonomies (cf. Diessel 1999, Dixon 2003, Himmelmann 1996)

furthered our understanding of the discourse uses of demonstratives but failed to anticipate a system like Hul'q'umi'num' where a single determiner refers simultaneously to different types of deixis.

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