

**THE GRAMMAR AND ACQUISITION OF
SECWEPEMCTSÍN INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS**

by

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ABSTRACT

Secwepemctsin, also known as Shuswap, is an endangered language spoken in the interior of British Columbia. No research dedicated to the study of Secwepemctsin pronouns is currently available. This thesis examines the independent pronouns of this language.

Secwepemctsin is a radical head-marking language, and its independent pronouns function very differently from its bound pronominal clitics/affixes. This thesis provides a detailed description of the internal and external syntax of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns. They are analyzed as maximal projections that can occupy predicate positions as well as adjoin to DPs in argument positions. Binding effects follow from this analysis.

Secwepemctsin independent pronouns show a strong subject orientation in third person contexts; it is the combined result of the independent pronouns' sensitivity to discourse and a subject-object asymmetry in the language: discourse familiarity is associated with syntactic positions via a mapping principle, yielding the Independent Pronoun Restriction.

A semantic account of independent pronouns is provided. Secwepemctsin independent pronouns are shown to be contrastive focus when in predicate position, and contrastive topic when in argument position. Their behaviour is analyzed according to an alternative-based view of semantic theory.

A case study of a child's acquisition of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns is documented, and the characteristics of her pronominal system are compared to those of an adult fluent speaker. Issues regarding language acquisition are discussed. It is found that although the child gets both Secwepemctsin and English input, her performance of Secwepemctsin is also influenced by Secwepemctsin-external and English-external factors.

While this thesis investigates the technical details of Secwepemctsin syntax, it also places the study in the social context in which the language is in the process of being revived. A chapter on implications discusses the importance of providing learners of endangered languages with a positive environment in which to use the language. This chapter also points out the direction that endangered aboriginal languages may be heading, and stresses the importance of using language creatively.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION¹

1.0 Introduction

In Chapter 1, I lay out the aims of the thesis, and describe how the thesis is organized. Background information on the language being studied, including methodology of elicitation, is given.

1.1 Main Goal of Thesis

This thesis examines the use of independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin², also known as Shuswap. No research on Secwepemctsin independent pronouns is currently available, and this thesis contributes to the study of Secwepemctsin for at least the following two reasons.

- A. Secwepemctsin is a radical head-marking language where pronominal arguments are generally encoded by null *pro* and agreement morphology on the predicate. It is very different from English in this respect, since English entirely lacks *pro* in argument positions. In addition to *pros*, and pronominal clitics and affixes which license them, there is a set of independent pronouns which function rather differently. This thesis will examine the differences and similarities between these two sets of pronouns in Secwepemctsin, and also explore these pronouns' relation to independent pronouns in non-head-marking languages.

¹Secwepemctsin data are primarily elicited from language consultant Mona Jules, to whom I am extremely grateful. Additional data were obtained from Gardiner (1993). For a list of correspondences between the Secwepemctsin orthography used throughout this paper and IPA, and for a list of abbreviations, please refer to the appendices at the end of the thesis.

²Secwepemctsin is a member of the Salish family, belonging to the Northern Interior branch.

B. It has been observed by at least one Secwepemctsin teacher that many new speakers of Secwepemctsin use independent pronouns differently from the way they are used by fluent adult speakers³; so in order to understand the discrepancy between the grammar of independent pronouns as employed by native speakers and the way that these pronouns are treated by new speakers, it is necessary to conduct an in-depth study of the pronouns of the Secwepemctsin spoken by native speakers. This syntactic analysis of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns will contribute to the cross-linguistic study of pronouns, as well as to research on a little studied and endangered indigenous language.

After the grammatical analysis of independent pronouns, I examine Secwepemctsin language samples from a seven-year-old Secwepemctsin learner, illustrating her overgeneralization in the use of independent pronouns. This case study has implications for child language, bilingual acquisition, and the acquisition of minority languages. When a child receives input from languages as distinct as English and Secwepemctsin, does she and can she clearly separate the two? When one of the languages is used much more extensively than the other in the child's surroundings, but the child consistently receives input from her parents in the non-dominant language, what happens? The present study has direct relevance for many aboriginal communities that find themselves lacking new speakers. If the small number of new speakers acquire a version of the language that is significantly different from that spoken by the prior generations, then the language, although maintained, might lose many of the core characteristics that make it unique. It is therefore important to find out what barriers learners of the language are facing so that changes and improvements can be made in

³Several adult new speakers consistently use Secwepemctsin independent pronouns in sentences where fluent native speakers view them as unnecessary. Students at the Secwepemctsin Immersion Program at Chief Atham (elementary) school in Chase, B.C. have also been observed to use Secwepemctsin independent pronouns extensively (Marianne Ignace, p.c.)

language-teaching programs. In this way, the language may be passed on to future generations without losing the properties that make it unique.

1.2 Overview of the Thesis

The thesis is organized as follows. The rest of this introductory chapter provides information on the current status of Secwepemctsin and information on the fieldwork done for this thesis. An introduction to the syntax of Secwepemctsin is given in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the grammar of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns. A short summary of the 'regular' pronouns (*pro* and pronominal affixes and clitics) is given in 3.1. In 3.2, a basic introduction to independent pronouns is given. In 3.3 and 3.4, the syntax of independent pronouns is discussed. I show that independent pronouns are adjoined to DP arguments. The binding properties of independent pronouns will be illustrated in 3.4.4, and Gardiner's claim for a configurational view of the language is supported by newly found data. An asymmetry concerning the use of independent pronouns is shown in 3.5. In sections 3.6 and 3.7, I offer an analysis of the asymmetry, and conclude that this asymmetry emerges from the mapping of discourse relations onto argument positions. I further show that this mapping relation derives the One Nominal Interpretation Law (Gerds 1988), and a restriction on third person subject clefts, and can be used as a test to show subject status in Secwepemctsin.

The semantics of independent pronouns is discussed in Chapter 4. I describe the function of the independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin, the semantic values they provide, and make a tentative proposal on how to derive this semantic value.

Having done an analysis on the syntax and semantics of independent pronouns, I examine the acquisition data and find out how the system illustrated in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 is acquired by a new speaker of Secwepemctsin. Chapter 5 is a case study of a young child who is growing up receiving input in both English and Secwepemctsin. An analysis is given of grammatical characteristics that differ between the learner's and the adult's Secwepemctsin. At the end of Chapter 5, I focus on the child's innovative way of using independent pronouns.

Conclusions and implications of the thesis are reported in Chapter 6. Possible future changes in the Secwepemc language and possible future strategies for teaching endangered languages are suggested here. It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to the study of Salish languages in general, as well as to the reintegration of minority languages into the community.

1.3 Current Status of Secwepemctsin

Secwepemctsin is spoken by the Secwepemc people, and belongs to the Salish family, which has approximately twenty-three languages (Thompson 1979); unfortunately not all twenty-three are still being spoken. Salish languages are divided into several branches: Secwepemctsin belongs in the Northern Interior Branch, along with Nlaka'pamuxcin (Thompson) and St'at'imcets (Lillooet). Speakers of Secwepemctsin are spread out over the Shuswap Territory in the interior of British Columbia. Two major dialects exist within the Secwepemc language: the western dialect and the eastern dialect (Kuipers 1990), divided geographically by a vertical boundary slightly east of Kamloops, British Columbia. Gardiner (1993) has noted that the primary difference between the dialects is in the phonetic inventory and lexical variations, but that there are no observed syntactic differences.

A survey conducted by the Secwepemc Cultural Society has shown that only 3.5% of Secwepemc people consider themselves, or are considered by their peers, to be fluent speakers of Secwepemctsin (Ignace 1995). Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade (1998) give the figure of roughly 500 speakers in a separate estimate; however, they note that not all speakers are necessarily fluent. Almost all of those speakers who can converse comfortably in Secwepemctsin with each other are aged 60 and over. Much effort has been directed to creating language programs in schools with the aim of reintegrating the language into the lives of Secwepemc children. The existing Secwepemctsin immersion program at Chief Atham (elementary) school in Chase, British Columbia, is an example, although no formal study of the results is available at this point. With the exception of the family of the young Secwepemctsin speaker studied for this thesis, there is no other known family in which children are being raised with Secwepemctsin as the first language.

The following are the main linguistic studies of Secwepemctsin:

- Gibson 1973 -- a Ph.D. dissertation on the Eastern dialect
- Kuipers 1974 -- a description of the phonological and morphological characteristics of primarily the western dialect, a collection of texts with corresponding English translation, and a Secwepemctsin-English dictionary
- Kuipers 1990 -- additions and updates of the 1974 grammar; new texts
- Gardiner 1993 -- a Ph.D. dissertation focusing on structural asymmetries and preverbal positions in the western dialect
- Gardiner 1998 -- a paper on preverbal positions in Secwepemctsin

I rely heavily on Kuipers 1974 and Gardiner 1993, 1998, as my main sources of information on Secwepemctsin syntactic properties.

1.4 Data, Fieldwork Methodology and Consultant Information

Secwepemctsin fieldwork started in September 1996 with my primary language consultant Mona Jules, an elder who speaks the Skeetchestn dialect⁴ of Secwepemctsin. I have also done elicitation sessions with Florence Simon of Skeetchestn, but these sessions total up to less than 4 hours. The bulk of data used in this thesis were mainly elicited between September 1997 and April 1998, although irregular sessions were set up after April 1998 to double-check existing data and to get new data. The regular elicitation sessions took place in the language consultant's office in Kamloops, British Columbia, and lasted up to an hour each, with a frequency of roughly twice per month. Data consist of utterances translated from English, corrections of Secwepemctsin utterances provided by myself, and forms that the consultant provided voluntarily without being elicited. Transcriptions were made at the time of elicitation, and subsequently checked with audio recordings of the sessions.

⁴Skeetchestn is located on the southwest of the Shuswap territory, and the dialect spoken there belongs to the Western dialect.

CHAPTER 2. INTRODUCTION TO SECWEPEMCTSÍN SYNTAX

2.0 Introduction

In Chapter 2, I give a summary of basic Secwepemctsín syntax, describing the argument, predicate, and preverbal positions. Gardiner's (1993) arguments for structural asymmetry in Secwepemctsín are reviewed, and re-evaluated.

2.1 Secwepemctsín as a Radical Head-Marking Language

Secwepemctsín is a radical head-marking language. A radical head-marking language exhibits the following characteristics.

- 1 Characteristics of radical head-marking languages
 - (a) All arguments of a head are obligatorily marked on the head (typically the verb, or an associated auxiliary) as pronominal clitics or affixes.
 - (b) All overt DP arguments are optional.

In Secwepemctsín, the predicate is marked by pronominal clitics and affixes, and no overt arguments are required (See tables in 4-6 below for the paradigms of the pronominal clitics and affixes). These bound pronominals are obligatory; hence, Secwepemctsín is a radical head-marking language. (2a-d) are complete clauses; these show that overt argument DPs are not required. (3a, b) show overt argument DPs⁵.

- 2 a wik-t-ø-s
see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj
He_i saw him_j

⁵Since D is obligatory on all argument positions in Salish, even in clausal arguments, I will assume the DP Hypothesis (Abney 1987) and make the standard assumption (Longobardi 1994, Matthewson 1996) that all arguments are DPs. In the DP Hypothesis, the head of the DP is the functional category D, and it selects NP as its complement, in contrast to the traditional assumption that determiners are dominated by NP.

b Secwé.cw.pemc-ken
 Shuswap(1sg.redup)-1sg.ind
 I am Shuswap

c pelq'-ilc-∅
 leave-aut-3sg.ind
 He left

d tsu-n-t-∅-ém
 punch-fc-tr-3sg.obj-pas
 He was punched

3 a pelq'-ilc-∅ re John
 leave-aut-3sg.ind det John
 John left

b tsu-n-t-∅-ém re John
 punch-fc-tr-3sg.obj-pas det John
 John was punched

4 Intransitive Clitic Paradigm (Kuipers1974)

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

5 Transitive Subject Suffix Paradigm (Kuipers 1974)

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

6 Transitive Object Suffix Paradigm (Kuipers 1974)

1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
-sém-/sm-	-sí-/s-	∅	-él-/l-	-kucw	-úlm-/lm-	∅

2.2 Arguments versus Predicates

2.2.1 Predicates

In Secwepemctsin, as in most Salish languages, almost any independent lexical item can function as a predicate. Predicates are characterized by pronominal morphology. (7a) shows an adjectival predicate; (7b) shows a verbal predicate; (7c) shows a nominal predicate; (7d) shows a cardinal adjective, or quantifier, predicate; finally, (7e) shows a deictic predicate.

- 7 a. [kwalt- \emptyset]_{Pred} [re skelkléts]_{Subj}
 green-3sg.ind det grasshopper
 The grasshopper is green
- b. [qwetséts- \emptyset]_{Pred} [re núxwenxw]_{Subj}
 leave-3sg.ind det woman
 The woman left
- c. [Secwépemc- \emptyset]_{Pred} [re Sam]_{Subj}
 Shuswap-3sg.ind det Sam
 Sam is Shuswap
- d. [cw7it- \emptyset]_{Pred} [re speq.péq]_{Subj}
 many-3sg.ind det berry(redup)
 There are many berries / The berries are many
- e. [yiri7- \emptyset]_{Pred} [re tewí.w.t]_{Subj}
 deic-3sg.ind det grow(redup)
 The child is there

The lexical item that functions as a predicate takes morphological person markings. The examples in (8) show the predicate taking first, second, and third person singular subject markings.

- 8 a. Secwé.cw.pemc-ken
 Shuswap(redup)-1sg.ind
 I am Shuswap
- b. kwalt-k
 green-2sg.ind
 You are green
- c. qwetséts- \emptyset
 leave-3sg.ind
 S/he left

2.2.2 Position of Overt Arguments

Just as predicates are not limited to verbal categories, arguments are not limited to nominal categories either. Arguments are identified by their being marked with a determiner; thus even verbal elements can function as arguments via the addition of a determiner⁶. In the following examples, the arguments are nominalized verbs, which take possessive clitics as subjects. Notice that the nominal predicates here, as well as in (7c) above, cannot take a determiner⁷.

- 9 [skelkléts-ø]_{Pred}[re n-s-wí.w.k-em]_{Argument}
 grasshoppers det 1sg.poss-nom-see(redup)-intr
 The ones I saw were grasshoppers.
- 10 [tsiqw te speq.péq]_{Pred} [re 7-s-7íllen-c]_{Argument}
 red obl berry(redup) det 2sg.poss-nom-eat-intr
 The ones you ate were red berries.

When optional argument DPs are present in a clause, the most common word order in spoken Secwepemctsin is SVO (11). VOS and VSO are both also possible; thus, the order of post-predicate nominals is quite free (12, 13), although my language consultant generally prefers VOS over VSO. Only the subject, but not the object, can appear to the left of the verb (11) unless an A' movement has taken place (as in clefts or wh-questions; see discussion on the cleft construction in 2.3.2).

- 11 re Mary wik-t-ø-s re John
 det Mary see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
 Mary sees John / *John sees Mary
- 12 wik-t-ø-s re John re Mary
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John det Mary
 John saw Mary / Mary saw John

⁶There is controversy on the status of non-nominal DPs in Salish. The dispute is on whether DPs are internally clausal or not. See Jelinek and Demers 1983, Montler 1993, Matthewson and Davis 1995, and Demirdache and Matthewson 1995.

⁷For a complete list of determiners in Secwepemctsin, please consult the appendix.

- 13 wik-t-ø-s re Mary re John
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary det John
 John saw Mary / Mary saw John

If there is only *one* post-verbal overt nominal in a transitive clause with two third person arguments, it is associated with the absolutive argument, which is the object in transitive clauses, and subject in intransitive clauses⁸. This constraint is known as the One Nominal Interpretation Law⁹ (Gerdtts 1988; see also Roberts 1994, Davis 1994)

- 14 One Nominal Interpretation Law (Gerdtts 1988)
 In the absence of marking for other persons, a single third person nominal is interpreted as the absolutive.

- 15 wik-t-ø-s re John
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
 S/he saw John / *John saw him/her

2.3 Preverbal Positions

Three preverbal positions are available in Secwepemctsin (Gardiner 1998), and all three can be filled at one time. Gardiner calls these positions (a) the external topic position, (b) the wh or focus position, and (c) the internal topic position. I will adopt Gardiner's (1998) analysis for the sake of concreteness.

2.3.1 The External Topic Positions

⁸Secwepemctsin exhibits morphological split ergativity. With third persons, the subject of intransitive clauses and the object of transitive clauses are marked absolutive, while the subject of transitive clauses is marked ergative. With first and second persons, intransitive subject and transitive object are marked by different sets of bound pronominal markers.

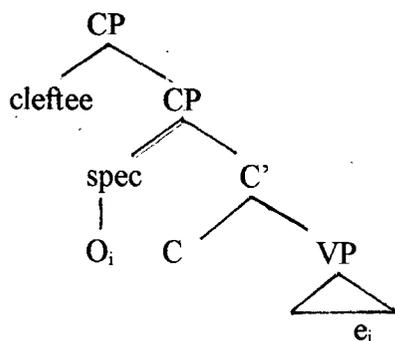
⁹Gerdtts (1998) defines the One Nominal Interpretation Law for the single DP within a clause. In Secwepemctsin, the One Nominal Interpretation Law is only holds for post-predicate DPs.

The external topic position is base generated and is adjoined to CP, following Aissen (1992). This is the position for dislocated nominals, which are equivalent in meaning to nominals following “as for...” in English. The external topic is typically followed by a pause, and functions like a switch-topic position, foregrounding a previously mentioned topic. This position cannot host second position clitics, and does not obey adjunct and complex noun phrase constraints. An external topic syntactically occupies the same clause as does its predicate.

2.3.2 The wh/focus Position

The wh/focus position is adjoined to CP via A'-extraction, and can be occupied by wh words or clefted elements. The cleft and wh question constructions have been likened to relative clause constructions in that all three have a dependent clause introduced by a determiner (Gardiner 1998). Syntactically, the clefted element is predicative, and is coindexed with an empty operator, O_i , in the dependent clause (16). Semantically, the cleftee is the argument of the dependent clause by virtue of coindexation (Kroeger 1991, Davis et al. 1993, Gardiner 1998).

16



All arguments can be clefted or questioned without any special change in morphological marking on the subordinate predicate. On the other hand, when adjuncts are clefted,

conjunctive clitics or nominalization must be used (Gardiner 1998). When a third person subject in a clause containing two third person arguments is clefted, conjunctive morphology appears on the lower predicate; this suggests that in third person subject extraction, the argument in question is actually of adjunct status (Gardiner 1998) (See also section 3.7.3). Clefted elements and wh words occupying the wh/focus position can be followed by second position clitics, and they are sensitive to the complex noun phrase constraint and the adjunct island condition (Gardiner 1998).

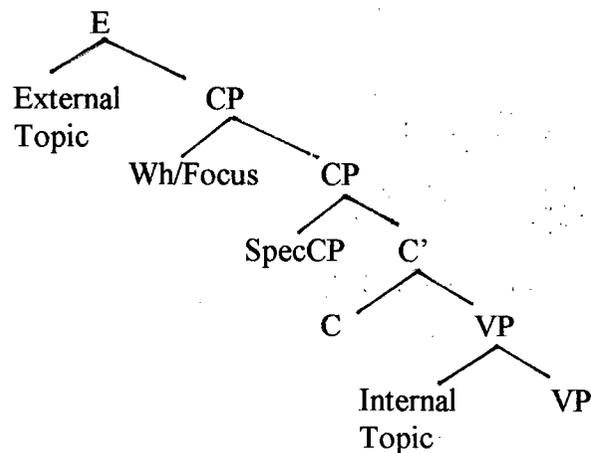
2.3.3 The Internal Topic Position

There can be more than one internal topic per sentence; it is adjoined to VP. The internal topic position is the position for preverbal subjects. it is adjoined to VP. Gardiner (1998) has claimed that Secwepemctsin's ability to take multiple internal topics is similar to scrambling. Internal topics are not followed by a pause, as are external topics, nor can they function as switch-topic positions. Internal topics differ from wh/focus elements in that internal topics do not select a subordinate clause headed by a determiner. Internal topics are clause-internal and cannot undergo long distance extraction, therefore they must obey island constraints (Gardiner 1998).

The characteristics of the positions are summarized in (17), and these positions are shown on the tree in (18).

17 Preverbal positions

External topic	Wh/focus	Internal topic
- base-generated - left-dislocated nominals	- adjoined to CP - wh words and clefted nominals	- adjoined to VP - scrambled DPs



In addition to his study of pre-verbal positions, Gardiner also argues that Secwepemctsin is a configurational language, showing structural asymmetries. His arguments are reviewed in the next subsection.

2.4 Binding Asymmetries: Gardiner (1993)

In this subsection I review Gardiner's (1993) arguments for a configurational analysis of Secwepemctsin. Although the binding evidence that Gardiner uses to show subject-object asymmetry is not strong, his claim is ultimately supported by his Condition on Antecedence, and by newly found binding data, as Chapters 3 and 4 will show.

According to the Binding Theory, different types of nominals are constrained by different conditions on antecedence. Thus, Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) identify the following conditions:

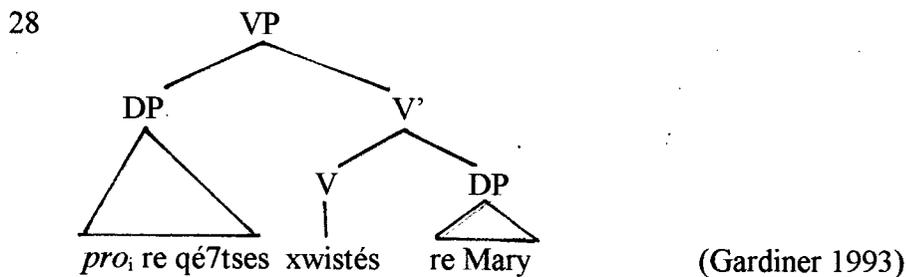
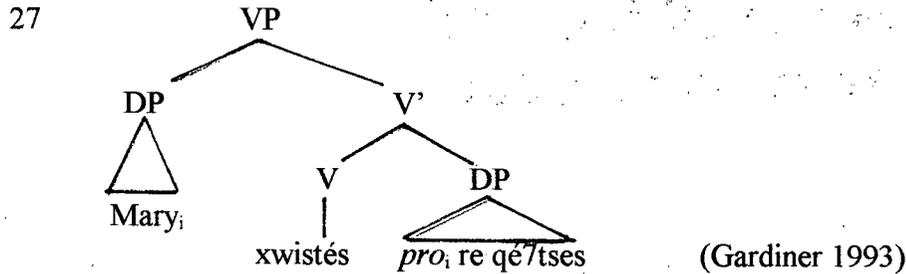
19 Binding Conditions

Condition A) An anaphor must be bound in a local domain

Condition B) A pronoun must be free in a local domain

Condition C) An R-expression must be free

In (25), *pro* is in the subject DP, and is not c-commanded by *Mary* in object position. This results in ungrammaticality (28). Compare this to (21), whose tree is shown in (27). Here, the subject DP c-commands the coreferent pronoun in object position, and the sentence is grammatical.



Now, for (20d), the Secwepemctsin equivalent is given in (29).

29 a xwist- \emptyset -és [re Mary re qé7tse-s]
 like-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary det father-3sg.poss
 *She_i likes Mary's_i father (Gardiner 1993)

b xwist- \emptyset -és [re qé7tse-s re Mary]
 like-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det father-3sg.poss det Mary
 *She_i likes Mary's_i father (Gardiner 1993)

Since the R-expression *Mary* is in object position, it is bound by the coreferent *pro* in subject position, violating Condition C. It is only possible to have an interpretation for (29a, b) above where the subject *pro* and *Mary* are disjoint.

2.5 Re-evaluating Binding Asymmetries

In this section, I will re-evaluate Gardiner's arguments for binding asymmetries in Secwepemctsin, and conclude that although certain of his arguments are not supported, his general conclusions concerning configurationality are correct.

First of all, note that (20a, d) given in the previous section are uninformative, because predictions for configurational and non-configurational languages are the same. Furthermore, for the Secwepemctsin equivalent of (20d), which is shown in (29), there is a perfectly grammatical structure with the same meaning, which acts as an interfering factor in the grammaticality judgment. Namely, the nominals in (29a, b), *re Mary*, and *re qé7tse-s*, can be interpreted as one single possessive DP *Mary's father*, or as two separate DPs, *Mary* and *her father*, one occupying the subject position and other occupying object position. Therefore, under normal circumstances, a speaker would not interpret the sentences as 'She_i likes Mary's_i father', but as 'Mary_i likes her_i father' - this complication makes the sentence type an unreliable test for a Condition C violation.

It appears that the ungrammaticality of (22a, b), which are the Secwepemctsin equivalents of (20b), categorizes Secwepemctsin as non-configurational. However, this ungrammaticality is due to the independent reason that the One Nominal Interpretation Law is applying. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of (22) cannot be used as evidence that Secwepemctsin is non-configurational¹⁰.

¹⁰(22a, b) would be ungrammatical due to the One Nominal Interpretation Law if the nominals *re Mary* 'Mary' and *re qé7tse-s* were interpreted as one single nominal modified by a possessor DP. However, the two nominals may be interpreted as separate DPs, both occupying internal topic positions (see section 2.3). Judgments on what interpretations (22a, b) would have given that particular structure are unavailable at this point.

The Secwepemctsin equivalent of (20c) is ungrammatical, but this is not predicted by anything in the binding conditions. The ungrammaticality is predicted by the Condition on Antecedence, according to Gardiner (1993). This condition may be viewed as a generalized form of weak crossover. Consider the following explanation. In English, there is weak crossover in a sentence like (30a), where the possessor pronoun is not c-commanded by the quantifier 'everyone'. There is no weak crossover when the possessor pronoun is c-commanded by 'everyone', as in (30b). In Secwepemctsin, weak crossover cases are not limited to quantifier constructions; all possessor *pros* are variables, and must be c-commanded by their antecedent, as suggested by Gardiner's (1993) Condition on Antecedence. This means that (25) is predicted to be ungrammatical because there is a weak crossover violation, while (21) is predicted to be grammatical because there is no weak crossover violation.

30 a *His_i mother likes everyone_i

b Everyone_i likes his_i mother

21 re Mary xwist-ø-és re qé7tse-s
 det Mary like-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det father-3sg.poss
 Mary_i likes her_i father (Gardiner 1993)

25 re qé7tse-s xwist-ø-és re Mary
 det father-3sg.poss like-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary
 *Her_i father likes Mary_i (Gardiner 1993)

Secwepemctsin sentence types are compared to configurational and non-configurational binding predictions in (31). The rightmost column summarizes the effectiveness of each sentence type as a test for configurationality. In (32), the Condition on Antecedence, a generalized form of weak crossover, suggests that Secwepemctsin is configurational.

31 Effectiveness of binding as a test for structural asymmetry in Secwepemctsin

Language type vs. Sentence type	Configurational	Non-configurational	Secwepemctsin	Effectiveness
a Mary _i likes her _i father	✓	✓	✓	Irrelevant
b Mary's _i father likes her _i	✓	*	*	FLAT! However, independent reason: One Nominal Interpretation Law
c Her _i father likes Mary _i	✓	✓	*	Unpredicted by binding! Possibly due to weak crossover
d She _i likes Mary's _i father	*	*	*	Impossible to test effectively and irrelevant

32 Effectiveness of Condition on Antecedence (weak crossover) as a test for structural asymmetry in Secwepemctsin

Language type vs. sentence type	Configurational	Non-configurational	Secwepemctsin	Effectiveness
Her _i father likes Mary _i	*	✓	*	Configurational!
Mary _i likes her _i father	✓	✓	✓	Irrelevant

In conclusion, binding is not a reliable test for structural asymmetries in Secwepemctsin, but Gardiner's (1993) Condition on Antecedence might be, since it suggests that weak crossover applies to possessor pronominals in Secwepemctsin. The weak crossover is evidence that a subject-object asymmetry is present. In Chapters 3 and 4, I will provide further support for Gardiner's (1993) claim that Secwepemctsin is not a non-configurational, but a configurational language.

CHAPTER 3. THE SYNTAX OF SECWPEMCTSÍN INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will first give an introduction to bound pronominal morphemes in Secwepemctsín, and proceed to give a detailed description of the independent pronouns. The syntactic category, site of occurrence, and binding properties of Secwepemctsín independent pronouns are discussed (sections 3.3 and 3.4) and compared to those of Halq'eméylem independent pronouns. In 3.5 I show that in Secwepemctsín, there is an independent pronoun restriction, which allows only third person independent pronouns to occupy the subject position if the object is also third person. I give an analysis of this restriction in 3.6 and 3.7. The consequences and predictions of this analysis are given in 3.8 and 3.9.

3.1 Secwepemctsín Bound Pronouns

The radical head-marking characteristics of Salish languages (section 2.1) has induced Jelinek and Demers (1994) to analyze at least Straits (a Coast Salish language) as a 'pronominal argument language'. In such an analysis, bound pronominal clitics and affixes are considered to be occupying argument positions; in fact, these bound pronominals are considered to *be* the arguments. Overt DPs, when present, are adjuncts that are coreferent with these pronominal arguments; such an analysis predicts that overt DPs are not subject to A-binding effects, since they are adjuncts.

However, arguments have been given that at least some Salish languages are not pronominal argument languages (Davis 1997). I will argue for the view that Secwepemctsín is not a

pronominal argument language, following Gardiner (1993). I will view the radical head-marking characteristics in the following way. Secwepemctsin regular pronouns are *pro*, licensed by clitics or affixes attached to the predicate of a clause. Following the standard assumption that pronouns are DP projections, I will assume that *pro* is contained within a DP, which occupies the argument position. Thus, in any given clause, when the arguments are covert, it is because empty DPs (occupied by *pro*) are in the argument positions; when the arguments are overt, it is because overt DPs (containing a determiner and its complement) are in the argument positions.

The full clitic and suffixal paradigms are shown in the following tables. In transitive sentences, the object suffix always precedes the subject suffix.

1 Intransitive Clitic Paradigm (Kuipers 1974)

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

2 Transitive Subject Suffix Paradigm (Kuipers 1974)

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

3 Transitive Object Suffix Paradigm (Kuipers 1974)

1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
-sém-/ -sm-	-sí-/ -s-	∅	-él-/ -l-	-kucw	-úlm-/ -lm-	∅

3.2 Secwepemctsin Independent Pronouns - Basic Introduction

In addition to the clitic and suffixal paradigms presented above, there is a separate set of pronouns in Secwepemctsin. Since this additional set of pronouns are free morphemes and

behave like independent lexical items, as opposed to the bound status of the pronominal clitics and suffixes, I refer to them with the analysis-neutral term, “independent pronouns”. The full independent pronoun paradigm is given in table (4).

4 Independent pronominal paradigm (adopted from Kuipers 1974)¹¹

1 sg.		2 sg.	3 sg.
ntsetswe7		7-enwi7	newi7-s
1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
wll-enwi7-kt	wll-enwi7-s-kucw	wll-enwi7-mp	wll-enwi7-s

These independent pronouns are generally known as emphatic pronouns across Salish languages, signaling their function; in Chapter 4, I analyze this emphatic function as contrastiveness that is inherently contained in Secwepemctsin independent pronouns.

The independent pronouns are related to a discourse referent which may be supplied either by prior discourse or by deixis. Syntactically, independent pronouns appear adjacent to and on the left of an overt nominal (5), or without an overt nominal (6a, b). When an independent pronoun does not occur with an overt nominal, I will assume that it is associated with a covert nominal (*pro*). Regardless of the overtness or covertness of the nominal, the pronominal suffix or clitic on the predicate is always present. In other words, Secwepemctsin independent pronouns supplement rather than replace pronominal clitics or suffixes.

- 5 [newi7-s¹² re Mary] ts'úm'-qs-en-ø-s re John
 [3sg.indpr det Mary] lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
 MARY kissed John¹³

¹¹Note that independent pronouns appear to have internal structure. See 3.3 for a discussion.

¹²Although independent pronouns are hyphenated, I will only gloss them as *indpr* for independent pronoun. Please see section 3.3 for a discussion of the elements that make up the independent pronouns.

¹³Capitalized (pro)nominals in English translations throughout this paper reflect the emphasis expressed by Secwepemctsin independent pronouns. The function of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns is similar to that of having a contrastively stressed (pro)noun in English, as the capitalized letters show.

- 6 a [newi7-s] ts'um-qs-en-ø-s re Mary
 3sg.indpr lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary
 HE kissed Mary
- b tsú.ts'em-qs-en-tsem-s [newi7-s]
 lick(redup)-nose-fc-1sg.obj-3sg.subj 3sg.indpr
 HE kissed me

In the rest of this chapter, I will discuss the internal syntax and the external syntax of independent pronouns (sections 3.3 and 3.4). In 3.5, I will present a subject-object asymmetry that arises from the investigation of independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin. I will give an analysis of the asymmetry in sections 3.6 and 3.7.

3.3 Syntactic Atoms

3.3.1 Secwepemctsin Independent Pronouns are Syntactic Atoms

An independent pronoun in Secwepemctsin can function as a unit per se, either as an argument, or as a predicate, but there is morphological evidence that independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin may not be single-morpheme items, and that at least historically they must have had internal structure. Consider the table in (7), which gives the internal morpheme breakdowns of independent pronouns.

7 Independent pronominal paradigm (adopted from Kuipers 1974)

1 sg.		2 sg.	3 sg.
n-tse.ts-we7		7-enwi7	newi7-s
1sg.poss-emph(redup)-deic		2sg.poss-emph	emph-3poss
1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
wll-enwi7-kt	wll-enwi7-s-kucw	wll-enwi7-mp	wll-enwi7-s
pl-emph-1pl.poss	pl-emph-3poss-excl	pl-emph-2pl.poss	pl-emph-3poss

Independent pronouns are all composed of a stem (henceforth “emphatic stem”) and the possessive clitic. The emphatic stem for the first singular form is different from that of the

rest of the paradigm. According to Newman (1977), the first person singular stem in Secwepemctsin is derived from the proto-Salish first person singular emphatic stem *ʔəntʃá, while the stem for the rest of the Secwepemctsin paradigm is derived from the proto-Salish second person singular stem *nəwi. In fact, the Secwepemctsin independent pronominal system is one of the two most innovative ones in Salish. The other one is Halq'eméylem, represented in (8) by Musqueam (Newman 1977 considers Musqueam a dialect of Halq'eméylem).

8 Salish Independent Pronouns (Newman, 1977)¹⁴

PS	1s *ʔəncá	2s *nəwi	3s *cənil	1p *nīməl	2p *láp, *wóláp
(1) LIL	s-ʔince	s-núwe	s-níl	s-nímul	s-nu-lép
(2) NSH	ncé-we	ʔ-nwíʔ	(nwi-s)	(wl-nwíʔ-kt)	(wl-nwíʔ-mp)
SSH	ncé-weʔ	eʔ-nuwíʔ	(nuwíʔ-s)	(ʔul nuwí-kt)	(ʔul nuwíʔ-ep)
(3) THOM	ncé-weʔ	eʔ-wí	cníl-θ	n-m-ími	p-yép-st
(4) OKAN	énca	á-nwe	cnél-c	m-némi-tt	(mnémi-mp)
COLV	incáʔ	a-nwíʔ	cníl-c	mə-ními-tət	(məními-əmp)
(5) KAL	(qʷu-yeʔé)	a-nwí	cənil-c	(qeʔ-npələ)	n-pə-lé
SPOK	(kʷu-yəʔé)	ha-nəwíʔ	cənil-c	(qeʔ-ənpələʔ)	nə-pə-léʔ
(6) CA	(čín-é)	(kʷu-w-é)	céníl-θ	(č-lípust)	kʷu-p-líp-ust
(7) CLM	ʔincá	ʔi-nwí	cníl-θ	nəm-níməl	pl-p-láp-st
(8) TIL	ʔəncá	ʔə-nki	cənil	niwál	kəl-kóla
(9) UCH	ʔəncá	nówe	cóne	ʔe-ném	ʔe-láp-a
(10) TW	dəcəh	dəʔwéh	cədíl	dibál	tə-wəlʔ-wóláp
(11) SPU	áca	dəgʷe	cədəl	débl	gʷláp-oʔ
NPU	ʔəcá	dəgʷi	cədíl	dibəl	gʷəláp-u
(12) CLAL	ʔəc	nəkʷ	níl	l-níŋl	(nəkʷ)
SON	ʔəsə	nəkʷə	níl	l-níŋəl	(nəkʷ-lʔəyeʔ)
(13) MUS	énθe	tə-nówə	(túl'a)	tə-l-níməl	tə-l-wóləp
(14) SQ	ʔəns	nəw	(tíwa)	nímal	nów-yap
(15) SLI	(čínəl)	négi	(tíʔtə)	némul	nú-wəp
(16) BC	ńc	ʔi-nu	(tix)	l-mil	łup

¹⁴Replacements of stems are enclosed in brackets. Accretions (additions of new morphemes) are separated from stems by hyphens or spaces. Abbreviations for language names are as follows: LIL=Lillooet; NSH=Northern Shuswap; SSH=Southern Shuswap; THOM=Thompson; OKAN=Okanagan; COLV=Colville; KAL=Kalispel; SPOK=Spokane; CA=Coeur d'Alene; CLM=Columbian; TIL=Tillamook; UCH=Upper Chehalis; TW=Twana; SPU=Southern Puget; NPU=Northern Puget; CLAL=Clallam; SON=Songish; MUS=Musqueam; SQ=Squamish; SLI=Sliammon; BC=Bella Coala.

In Secwepemctsin the first person singular form is composed of the first person singular possessive clitic, *n-*, the first person singular emphatic stem (often appearing in reduplicated form) *-tse.ts-*, and the deictic marker *-we7*, no longer productive (Newman 1977). The rest of the paradigm consists of the emphatic stem *-nwi7-*, derived from the proto-Salish second person singular stem *-nəwi-*, and the appropriate possessive clitic. Although possessive clitics are used productively in the language, there is no evidence of the occurrence of *-nwi7-* elsewhere in the language.

In addition, the plural independent pronouns contain the affix *wll-*, 'group of people', 'collective plural'. Since the plural marker *wll-* and the deictic *-we7* are never separated from independent pronouns and are never dropped, they are syntactically invisible, and I will analyze them as being part of the pronoun stem itself. For simplicity, and since there is no syntactic evidence for an atomistic view (Safir 1994) of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns, in which each atom within the pronoun has its own unique function, I will treat the entire independent pronoun as a single syntactic atom.

3.3.2 Halq'eméylem Independent Pronouns are not Syntactic Atoms

Compare the Secwepemctsin independent pronouns to Newman's table of Salish independent pronouns (see table in 8). Proto-Salish essentially has a mono-morphemic independent pronoun system, with single stems for each and every independent pronoun. Though there are variations and some accretions (new morphemes added to the stem), the systems of the modern Salish languages are essentially the same as Proto-Salish, with the exception of Secwepemctsin and Halq'eméylem.

Halq'eméylem stands out from its sister languages because its independent pronouns are clearly multi-morphemic; morphological evidence for this claim can be seen in Newman's table (8). The main syntactic evidence stems from Wiltschko's (1998) study of independent pronouns in Upriver Halq'eméylem. Wiltschko demonstrates that the elements that make up the independent pronouns are syntactically active (see section 3.4.6). Upriver Halq'eméylem independent pronouns are given in table (9) below.

9 Halq'eméylem independent pronouns (Galloway 1993:403)

	sg	pl
1	te'élthe/te á'elthe	telhímelh
2	teléwe	telhwélep
3	tútl'ò/thútl'ò	tutl'ó:lem/thutl'ó:lem/yutl'ó:lem

Secwepemctsin independent pronouns are also different from those of its sister languages. So far we have seen that Proto-Salish independent pronouns are mono-morphemic, while Halq'eméylem independent pronouns are multi-morphemic. Secwepemctsin independent pronouns are actually in between the Proto-Salish and the Halq'eméylem sets: they appear multi-morphemic, in that they contain separate identifiable morphemes, but they are syntactically simple in behaviour, in that the identifiable morphemes are not active syntactically.

3.4 Arguments and Predicates

3.4.1 Independent Pronouns in Argument Positions

Independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin can be associated with argument positions. When an independent pronoun is associated with a DP, the pronoun's inherently contrastive value is added to the modified DP.

- 10 wí.w.k-t-ø-en re n-tsétswe7
 see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-1sg.subj det 1sg.indpr
 I saw him
- 11 a re John wik-t-ø-s re Mary
 det John see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary
 John saw Mary
- b newí7-s re John wik-t-ø-s re Mary
 3sg.indpr det John see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary
 JOHN saw Mary
- c newí7-s wik-t-ø-s re Mary
 3sg.indpr see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary
 HE saw Mary

Independent pronouns can also be the possessor in an argument DP. Matthewson (1996) has shown that possessors require determiners in Salish; it is shown below that independent pronoun possessors do not require determiners.

- 12 newí7-s re úq'wi-s xwis-t-ø-és re Mary
 3sg.indpr det brother-3sg.poss like-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary
 HIS brother likes Mary

3.4.2 Independent Pronouns in Predicate Positions

Independent pronouns can be predicates (13). In Salish, predicates do not take determiners, and this is illustrated in (14)¹⁵ with a regular nominal *the man*. The same is the case with independent pronouns (13, 15). A clefted predicate takes clausal arguments, which are headed by a determiner.

- 13 a newí7-s re wik-t-ø-m-es
 3sg.indpr det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj
 It is HIM that saw him/her

¹⁵There may be counterexamples to the claim that predicates never take determiners. In the Southern Interior and in Upper Chehalis the predicate can take something that is homophonous with a determiner (Matthewson, 1996). In Secwepemctsin, sometimes the first person singular independent pronoun can take the determiner *re* in predicate position.

- b *re newí7-s re wik-t-ø-m-es
 *det 3sg.indpr det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj
 It is HIM that saw him/her
- 14 a sqélemcw re wik-t-ø-m-es
 man det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj
 It is the man that saw him/her
- b *re sqélemcw re wik-t-ø-m-es
 *det man det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj
 It is the man that saw him/her
- 15 a newí7-s 1 m qwetséts-ø
 3sg.indpr det past leave-3sg.ind
 It was HER that left back then
- b 7-enwí7 1 m qwetséts-k pent'lú7
 2sg.indpr det past leave-2sg.ind deic
 YOU are the one that left back then

3.4.3 First/Second Persons versus Third Person

Given the appropriate context, it is possible to have two non-third person independent pronouns occupying the subject and object argument positions in a clause (16). This is not the case with third person independent pronouns. There can be no more than one third person independent pronoun per clause (17a-d).

- 16 a n-tsétswe7 xwe.xwis-t-sí-n 7-enwí7
 1sg.indpr like(redup)-tr-2sg.obj-1sg.subj 2sg.indpr
 I love YOU
- b n-tsétswe7 wik-t-s-en 7-enwí7
 1sg.indpr see-tr-2sg.obj-1sg.subj 2sg.indpr
 I saw YOU
- 17 a re John xwist-ø-es re Mary, newí7-s ts'úm-qs-ø-ens
 det John like-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary 3sg.indpr lick-nose-3sg.obje-3sg.subj
 John likes Mary, HE kisses her

b *re John xwist- \emptyset -és re Mary,
 *det John like-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary,
 ts'úm-qs-en- \emptyset -s newí7-s newí7-s
 lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj 3sg.indpr 3sg.indpr

John likes Mary, 3RD PERSON kisses 3RD PERSON (uninterpretable)

c *re John xwist- \emptyset -és re Mary,
 *det John like-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary,
 newí7-s ts'úm-qs-en- \emptyset -s newí7-s
 3sg.indpr lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj 3sg.indpr

John likes Mary, 3RD PERSON kisses 3RD PERSON (uninterpretable)

d n-tsétswe7 wik-t-s-en 7-enwí7,
 1sg.indpr see-tr-2sg.obj-1sg.subj 2sg.indpr
 *newí7-s wik-t- \emptyset -s newí7-s
 *3sg.indpr see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj 3sg.indpr

I saw YOU, HE_i saw HIM_j

Another difference between the behaviour of third person independent pronouns versus first and second person forms will be further discussed in 3.5, and an explanation for this difference will be offered in 3.6 and 3.7.

3.4.4 Binding Properties of Independent Pronouns

Independent pronouns have no intrinsic binding properties of their own. When they are attached to *pro*, they are subject to Condition B, like any regular *pro*. When they are attached to a lexical DP, they are subject to Condition C, like any regular lexical DP¹⁶.

¹⁶The reason for independent pronouns' having no intrinsic binding properties of their own will be clear once the category of independent pronouns is discussed in section 3.4.6.

(18) shows that a lexical DP in Secwepemctsin such as *John* is subject to Condition C, as in English; *John* cannot be coreferent with *pro* in the upper clause because it is an R-expression, which cannot be bound. When an independent pronoun is attached to it, the binding effects are the same. The lexical DP cannot be bound, because it is an R-expression.

- 18 a tsut- \emptyset m qwetséts- \emptyset re John
 say-3sg.ind past leave-3sg.ind det John
 He_i said that John_{*i/j} left¹⁷
- b tsut- \emptyset m qwetséts- \emptyset newi7-s re John
 say-3sg.ind past leave-3sg.ind 3sg.indpr det John
 He_i said that JOHN_{*i/j} left

(19a, b) show that *pro* is not subject to Condition C, but to Condition B. This is expected of a pronoun. When an independent pronoun is attached to *pro*, the entire DP is still a pronoun, and is still subject to Condition B. (20), on the other hand, shows that independent pronouns are not subject to Condition C, because *newi7-s* is coreferent with the upper clause *pro*. It is impossible to have disjoint readings unless an overt nominal DP is available for the lower argument, which induces a Condition C effect.

- 19 a *pro* tsut- \emptyset m qwetséts- \emptyset *pro*
pro say-3sg.ind past leave-3sg.ind *pro*
 He_i said that he_{i/*j} left
- b re John tsut- \emptyset m qwetséts- \emptyset *pro*
 det John say-3sg.ind past leave-3sg.ind *pro*
 John_i said that he_{i/*j} left
- 20 tsut- \emptyset m qwetséts- \emptyset newi7-s
 say-3sg.ind past leave-3sg.ind 3sg.indpr
 He_i said that HE_i left

¹⁷The equivalent of the coreferent interpretation of this sentence in St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish) is well-formed (Matthewson and Davis 1995).

Quantifier binding shows that independent pronouns are variables when they are modifiers of *pro*.

- 21 a xwexwéyt re swet xwis-t-ø-és re qé7tse-s
 all det who like-tr-3sg.obj-3subj det father-3sg.poss
 Everyone likes his/their own father¹⁸
- b xwexwéyt re swet xwis-t-ø-és newí7-s re qé7tse-s
 all det who like-tr-3sg.obj-3subj 3sg.indpr det father-3sg.poss
 Everyone likes HIS/THEIR OWN father

Independent pronouns do not affect the binding properties of the nominals they are associated with. Therefore, an R-expression remains an R-expression and continues to observe Condition C; a pronoun remains a pronoun, and continues to observe Condition B.

3.4.5 Independent Pronoun is an Adjunct to DP

Since independent pronouns do not affect the binding properties of the nominals they are associated with, yet are still related to the nominals, the maximal projection of the argument must be the same as it would be without the independent pronoun. This means that the independent pronoun is contained within an argument DP.

Coordination is evidence showing that independent pronouns are contained within DP. Only maximal projections of the same category can be successfully coordinated. The sentences in (22) show that any DP can coordinate with a DP plus an independent pronoun.

- 22 a [re Mary]_{DP} ell [newí7-s re John]_{DP} qwetséts-ø
 det Mary and 3sg.indpr det John leave-3sg.ind
 Mary and JOHN left

¹⁸It is impossible to tell if the possessor pronoun is a singular or plural variable, since third singular and plural subjects are both null.

- b [newí7-s re John]_{DP} ell [re Mary]_{DP} qwetséts-∅
 3sg.indpr det John and det Mary leave-3sg.ind
 JOHN and Mary left
- c [re Mary]_{DP} ell [newí7-s]_{DP} qwetséts-∅
 det Mary and 3sg.indpr leave-3sg.ind
 Mary and HIM left
- d [newí7-s]_{DP} ell [re Mary]_{DP} qwetséts-∅
 3sg.indpr and det Mary leave-3sg.ind
 HE and Mary left

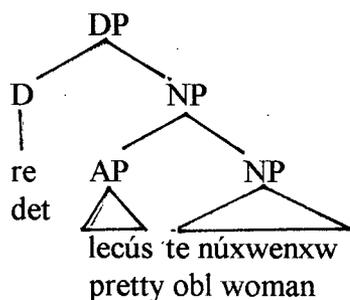
It is likely that an independent pronoun is contained within a DP *as a modifier*. One type of DP modifier is the adjective. However, independent pronoun modifiers are very different from adjectival modifiers.

- 23 a wi.w.k-t-∅-en [re lecús te núxwenxw]_{DP}
 see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det pretty obl woman
 I saw the pretty woman
- b wi.w.k-t-∅-en [newí7-s re núxwenxw]_{DP}
 see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj 3sg.indpr det woman
 I saw THE WOMAN

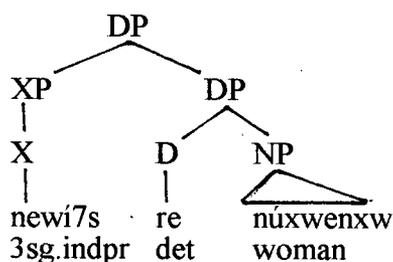
In the adjective-modified DP in (23a), the oblique determiner occurs between the adjective and the noun, and the D head is at the left edge of the DP. In the independent pronoun-modified DP in (23b), the independent pronoun is on the left of the head D. For this reason, the attachment sites of independent pronouns and adjectives within DP must be different. Since modifiers are generally analyzed as adjuncts, I will propose that adjectives in Secwepemctsin are N(P) level adjuncts occurring to the right of the D head (24)¹⁹, while independent pronouns are DP level adjuncts (25a, b).

¹⁹I will not be specific about the structure of an adjective-modified nominal, and have nothing to say about the syntactic position occupied by the oblique determiner *te*. The structure of the adjective-modified DP is provided to illustrate the difference between it and the independent pronoun-modified DP.

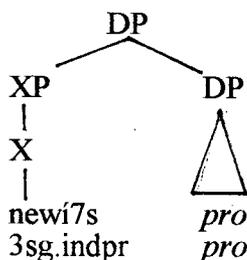
24



25 a Adjunction of independent pronoun to a regular DP²⁰



b Adjunction of independent pronoun to a *pro*



When this lexical independent pronoun is not adjoined to any DP, and is not modifying any DP, it functions as a predicate on its own, like any lexical category can in this language.

Data below motivate the constructions proposed. While independent pronouns often appear adjacent to their coreferent overt DP (26a, 27a), they can also occupy the external topic position (26b, 27b), stranding their nominal referent. Evidence that they occupy this position

²⁰The syntactic category of independent pronouns is not yet known, and is represented by X, which projects to XP, in the trees given. The independent pronouns always have to be coreferent with the DP that they adjoin to; they cannot refer to other nominals.

is supported by the pause after the external topic, and by the consultant's English translation of 'as for...':

- 26 a ts'úm-qs-en-ø-s re Mary [newí7-s re John]
 lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary 3sg.indpr det john
 It was *John* who kissed Mary
 *It was MARY that John kissed
- b newí7-s, ts'úm-qs-en-ø-s re Mary re John
 3sg.indpr lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary det John
 As for JOHN, he kissed Mary (literally, as for HIM, John kissed Mary)
 *As for MARY, John kissed her
- 27 a m qwetséts-ø newí7-s re kúkwi7
 past leave-3sg.ind 3sg.indpr det chief
 THE CHIEF left
- b newí7-s, m qwetséts-ø re kúkwi7
 3sg.indpr past leave-3sg.ind det chief
 As for THE CHIEF, he left (literally, as for HIM, the chief left)

The opposite situation is also possible. That is, an overt DP can occupy the external topic position while the independent pronoun (along with a *pro* DP), occurs in the subject argument position²¹.

- 28 a re xpé7e, newí7-s píxen-ø-s re ts'i
 det grandfather 3sg.indpr hunt-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det deer
 As for grandfather, HE hunts deer
- b re kúkwi7 m qwetséts-ø newí7-s
 det chief past leave-3sg.ind 3sg.indpr
 As for the chief, HE left

Since the independent pronouns used in (26-28) clearly are related to the overt DP referent, yet can be detached from it as a unit, it must be the case that the independent pronoun itself is also a maximal projection²². The observations above follow from the analysis that independent

²¹My description with respect to stranding of independent pronouns of their nominal referents is contra Kayne (1995), who claims that maximal projections can move, but segments of maximal projections cannot.

²²I have shown that non-predicative independent pronouns must be associated with DPs, which are arguments.

pronouns are adjuncts to DP (whether lexical or covert). An independent pronoun is adjoined to a nominal and its maximal projection (DP), it can freely move as a constituent away from the modified DP, and the intrinsic binding property of the modified DP is not changed in any way.

3.4.6 Comparison with Halq'eméylem

Now contrast the binding properties of Secwepemctsin to those of Halq'eméylem. Wiltschko (1998) shows that Halq'eméylem independent pronouns are R-expressions, and are subject to Condition C effects when in argument positions.

3.4.6.1 Halq'eméylem Independent Pronoun ≠ Adjunct to DP

This subsection reviews the categorial analysis of Halq'eméylem independent pronouns (Wiltschko 1998). In Halq'eméylem, determiners are syntactically active with independent pronouns. That is, all determiners are productively used on independent pronouns (29), reduplication of lexical elements does not 'see' the determiner on independent pronouns (30), after prepositions, independent pronouns take oblique determiners, as all other nominals do, and where a regular nominal would require a determiner, the independent pronoun would also take a determiner, but no additional determiner is added in addition to the one already on the independent pronoun (31, 32).

Can independent pronouns be associated with adjuncts or indirect arguments? Independent pronouns do not co-occur with the oblique determiner *te* (see section 3.4.7); it is not clear whether they do not occur with *te* because they cannot occur with this determiner, or because they cannot occur with indirect arguments. However, there is one example showing that independent pronouns can follow the locative marker *ne-* (i), which marks locative adjuncts. Further research is necessary.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| (i) | kec-t-si-s | te sulen'sem | ne 7-enwi7 |
| | give-tr-2sg.obj-3sg.subj | obl flowers | prep 2sg.indpr |
| | He gave some flowers to YOU | | |

29 Independent 3rd pronouns with different determiners (Galloway 1993:403)

	male	female	human plural
singular	tú(:)tl'ò	thú(:)tlò	----
plural	tutl'ólem	thutl'ólem	yutl'ó(:)lem
absent	kwthú:tl:ò	kwsú:tl'ò	kwthú:tl'òlem

30 Diminutive reduplication (CV)

- a stó:lō stótelō
 river creek
- b g'á:mi g'áq'emi
 girl little girl (Galloway 1993: 377)
- c tutl'ó tú:tl'òtl'em
 he little one (Galloway 1980:32)
- d thutl'ó thú:tl'òtl'em
 she little one (Wiltschko 1998:430)

- 31 a híkw te swíyeqe
 big det man
 The man is big (Wiltschko 1998:433)

- b kw'éts-lexw-es te swíyeqe the slhá:li
 see-tr(3o)-3s det man det woman
 The man sees the woman. (Wiltschko 1998:433)

- 32 a í:mex-tsel te-'á'elthe
 walk-1sg.s det-1sg.Indep
 I am walking (Wiltschko 1998:433)

- b kw'éts-lexw-es tú-tlò thú-tlò
 see-tr(-3o)-3s det-3Indep det-fem-3Indep
 He sees her (Wiltschko 1998:433)

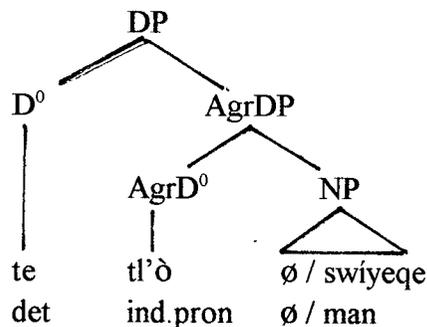
A determiner is dropped in the usual syntactically defined environments. In Salish languages nouns in predicate position are not preceded by a determiner (33a). Independent pronouns, when in predicate positions, do not appear with a determiner (33b).

- 33 a swíyeqe te í:mex
 man det walking
 That's the man that's walking (Wiltschko 1998:434)

b élthe te í:mex
 1sgIndep det walking
 That's me that's walking (Wiltschko 1998:435)

Wiltschko (1998) claims that independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem are AgrDs that are selected by D⁰s, and that take NPs as complements. AgrDP accommodates person and number features. The presence of AgrD licenses null NP, explaining why independent pronouns can occur with or without overt referents.

34 Structure of Halq'eméylem DP (Wiltschko 1998:439):



That independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem are not adjuncts to DP, while independent pronoun in Secwepemctsin are, has consequences for the syntactic behaviour of these pronouns, as the next section will show.

3.4.6.2 Binding Properties

Since Halq'eméylem independent pronouns in argument positions are their own DP projections, they should behave like full lexical DPs rather than personal pronouns - that is, they should behave like R-expressions with respect to binding. Wiltschko (1998) shows that this is the case.

Wiltschko thus concludes that the binding properties of Halq'eméylem independent pronouns are evidence that these pronouns are lexical argument DPs, and that they follow from the structure in (34).

3.4.7 The Category of Independent Pronouns

Pronouns have been argued to be *pro* forms of DPs rather than NPs. One common claim is that they are intransitive determiners (Postal 1969), occupying the D⁰ position, licensing an empty complement NP (Abney 1987).

On the other hand, Wiltschko (1998) argues that independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem are not Ds per se, but do occur with Ds (See review of Wiltschko (1998) in 3.4.6). It is possible to analyze Secwepemctsin *pro* as a determiner occupying D⁰ position, projecting up to a DP. However, are independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin also DPs? Do they occur with determiners? What possible categories could independent pronouns be? Since they are associated with nominals, we will look at the following possibilities:

- (a) Independent pronouns are Ns
- (b) Independent pronouns are Ds.
- (c) Independent pronouns are DPs.

3.4.7.1 Independent pronoun ≠ N

Independent pronouns cannot be Ns. N(P)s in argument position in Secwepemctsin obligatorily take determiners. Independent pronouns do not take determiners in argument position (37). Secondly, independent pronouns co-occur with Ns when they appear adjacent to an overt referent (38); an independent pronoun occurs to the left of a D while a overt nominal occurs to the right of the D as a complement. (38) tells us that since *woman* already

occupies the complement N position, the independent pronoun cannot occupy the same N position.

- 37 [(*re) newi7-s] wik-t-∅-s re John
 [(*det) 3sg.indpr] see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
 SHE saw John
- 38 [newi7-s re_D⁰ [núxwenxw]_N] wik-t-∅-s re John
 [3sg.indpr det woman] see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
 THE WOMAN saw John

Moreover, independent pronouns cannot be heads of complex nominal predicates, which must be nominal; this has been shown independently in Davis, Lai and Matthewson (1997). (39a) shows a noun heading the complex nominal predicate; (39b) shows that the sentence is ill-formed when an independent pronoun replaces the noun.

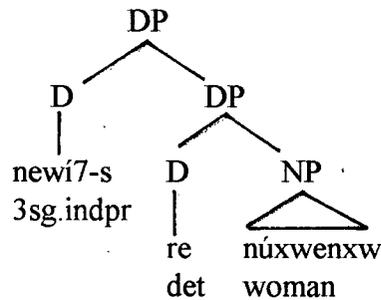
- 39 a [yiri7 te [sqélemcw]_N]_{CNP} l wi.w.k-t-sem-s
 deic obl man det see(redup)-tr-1sg.obj-3sg.subj
 That's the man that saw me
- b *[yiri7 te [newi7-s]_{*N}]_{CNP} l wi.w.k-t-sem-s
 *deic obl 3sg.indpr det see(redup)-tr-1sg.obj-3sg.subj
 That's HIM that saw me

3.4.7.2 Independent Pronoun ≠ D

Independent pronouns can co-occur with D when they appear adjacent to an overt referent (40).

- 40 [newi7-s re_D⁰ [núxwenxw]_N] wik-t-∅-s re John
 [3sg.indpr det woman] see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
 THE WOMAN saw John

Since *re* already occupies D⁰, *newi7-s* cannot be in the same D⁰. It is of course plausible to have a D⁰ taking a DP complement, as in (41).



This would suggest an argument can contain two determiners, which is not unlikely, as Giusti (1994) has reported that there *are* languages having arguments with two determiners²⁴. The analysis would require independent pronouns to trigger a DP on top of existing DP arguments. However, if independent pronouns were analyzed as D, there is no explanation for why independent pronouns cannot replace other determiners, as shown below.

Independent pronouns cannot be in D position, either by being base-generated there, or by being moved there. Independent pronouns cannot replace D (42a, b).

42 a *newi7-s_D núxwenxw

b re_D núxwenxw

Moreover, D never occurs in predicate position; since independent pronouns can be predicates, they must not be Ds.

3.4.7.3 Independent Pronoun ≠ DP

Since independent pronouns are not D heads, they cannot be heads of DPs. I have also established they are not NP complements of Ds. If independent pronouns are not Ds or Ns,

²⁴However, Giusti (1994) does not analyze such arguments as having 2 DP projections. Rather, she claims that demonstratives occupy the Spec DP position while determiners occupy the D-head position. She points out that the markedness of two determiners per argument may be due to a “doubly-filled DP filter”.

could they still possibly be DPs? One piece of evidence suggests that they might be. According to Kuipers (1974:59), who did research on the Canim Lake and Alkali Lake dialects of Secwepemctsin, the singular independent pronouns are all recorded with the articles *re* or *te*²⁵, but not any other article. This is so even in predicate position (43).

- 43 *re* *n-tsetswe7* *l* *wcsté-ø-c*²⁶
 det 1sg.indpr det mention-3sg.obj-2sg.subj
 I am the one you mentioned
 Literally: The "I" you mentioned is ME (Kuipers 1974:117, line 39)

However, this thesis concentrates on the dialect of Secwepemctsin spoken by an elder from Skeechestn, in the southern portion of the Shuswap territory. It is not unusual in this dialect to have phonetic deletion of the determiner *re*²⁷. The language consultant does not have any determiner (either *re* or *te*) co-occurring with independent pronouns²⁸, whether they are in argument or predicate position. The only exception to this observation is with the first singular independent pronoun, which can optionally take *re* in all argument and predicate positions (44), according to my consultant. Such judgments suggest that *re* may have been merged into the first person singular independent pronoun, and is not syntactically active, which means that an independent pronoun cannot be a DP while being an argument, and a non-DP while being a predicate.

²⁵Kuipers (1974) glosses *re* as the present absolutive actual determinate article, while *te* is glossed as the relative actual determinate article. I have consistently glossed *re* as the (present) determiner and *te* as the oblique determiner.

²⁶*l-* is the absent determiner.

²⁷This observation arose from my fieldwork on the Skeetchestn and Kamloops dialects of Secwepemctsin and from conversations with teachers and speakers of the language in Kamloops, B.C. (Mona Jules, Marianne Ignace, Lisa Matthewson, p.c.). However, I am uncertain whether the *re* deletion is a case of dialectal difference. According to Kuipers (1974), there are only two dialects of Secwepemctsin: the Eastern, and the Western, although Newman (1977) has distinguished between Northern Shuswap and Southern Shuswap. Data which appeared in Kuipers (1974) belong to the Western dialect, as does the Secwepemctsin spoken in the Skeechestn and Kamloops area.

²⁸According to Newman (1977), Halq'emeylem is the only Salish language where determiners are found on independent pronouns.

- 44 a re n-tse7swe7 re wik-t-ø-m-es
 det 1sg.indpr det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj
 It is I that saw him
- b re n-tse7swe7 wi.w.k-t-ø-en re Mary
 det 1sg.indpr see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-1sg.subj det Mary
 I saw Mary
- c *re newi7-s wik-t-ø-s re Mary
 *re 3sg.indpr see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary
 HE saw Mary

Although the lack of determiners accompanying independent pronouns in the elicited data may arise from the fact that speakers of this area often delete *re* [ɣə] phonologically, I discredit this possibility for the following reasons.

- A. Even if the direct determiner *re* is dropped due to phonological reasons, there is no reason for the oblique determiner *te* to be absent, since there has not been any known case of *te* deletion in Secwepemctsin anywhere in the territory. In (45a, b) below, the sentences are grammatical in the data cited by Gardiner (1993), but ungrammatical when tested with the language consultant involved in the present project.

- 45 a */√ te n-tse7swe7 re wikt-(t)-ø-m-es
 */√ obl 1sg.indpr det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj
 I'm the one who saw him (It is I that saw him)
- b */√ te 7-enwi7 re wikt-(t)-ø-m-es
 */√ obl 2sg.indpr det see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj
 YOU're the one that saw him (It is YOU that saw him)

- B. The language consultant offers strong intuitions about the presence or absence of determiners. She is able to distinguish between cases where “*re* is there, but you just don't hear it”, versus cases where *re* is simply absent. She insists that *re* is absent on independent pronouns²⁹.

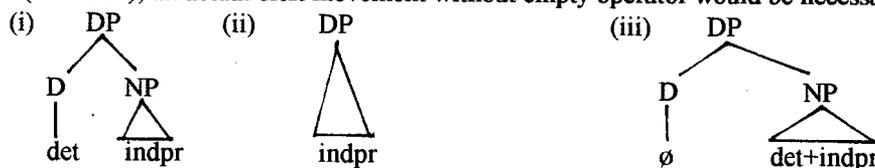
²⁹Marianne Ignace, who teaches Secwepemctsin in Kamloops, B.C., offers equally strong judgments that *re*

Whether independent pronouns can appear with determiners or not, it is a fact that independent pronouns can be in the predicate position, without being different from the form it assumes while in argument position. Since no DP can occupy predicate position, while an independent pronoun can, independent pronouns must not be DPs.

3.4.7.4 Independent Pronoun is of Category X

I have so far concluded that independent pronouns are not Ns, Ds, or DPs. It follows that they do not have binding properties of their own, as binding only applies to N/D categories. Since at least person and number features are encoded by independent pronouns, we might consider analyzing them as functional projections (for example, AGR). However, this cannot be correct. Independent pronouns can function as predicates as well as arguments, and since functional projections cannot be predicates³⁰, independent pronouns cannot be functional projections.

should be present, and observes that speakers in Williams Lake, B.C. also demonstrate the presence of *re* on independent pronouns in their speech. Note that if this judgment is correct, the structure of independent pronouns would be quite different from that which is suggested under 3.4.5. If independent pronouns take Ds in argument position, and drop them in predicate position, independent pronouns would behave like nominal categories (i). If independent pronouns always follow D, in predicate as well as in argument position, then this could be a case of incorporation, where a determiner and an independent pronoun are incorporated into a single syntactic atom, whose internal structure is unanalyzable syntactically. This suggests that there would be no syntactically active determiner for independent pronouns. It is still possible for independent pronouns to be DPs (ii) (iii), but this prevents an analysis of predicative independent pronouns in the current model of clefting adopted (see 2.3.2); an actual cleft movement without empty operator would be necessary.



³⁰This claim is disputed. Wiltschko (1998) *does* have an AgrDP occupying the predicate position.

3.5 Subject - Object Asymmetry

3.5.1 Asymmetry in Secwepemctsin

Independent pronouns have to be the subject of a clause in contexts where the arguments are all third person. I will call this subject orientation of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns the “Independent Pronoun Restriction”, and henceforth abbreviate it IPR. The IPR stands regardless of whether the independent pronoun is preverbal (46) or post-verbal (47). Readings where an independent pronoun is interpreted as the object are not possible.

46 a newí7-s wik-t-ø-s re John
 3sg.indpr see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
 HE saw John / *John saw HIM

b *re John wik-t-ø-s newí7-s
 *det John see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj 3sg.indpr
 *HE saw John / *John saw HIM

47 wik-t-ø-s re John newí7-s
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John 3sg.indpr
 HE saw John / *John saw HIM

The IPR is also true for cases where the independent pronoun appears adjacent to its overt referent. In (48) the pronoun is subject oriented, and in (49) all readings where the pronoun is object oriented are ill-formed. Readings (ii) and (iii) are ill-formed because the independent pronoun is object oriented, and reading (iv) is ill-formed because *newí7s re John*, the only overt post-verbal nominal, cannot be interpreted as the subject.

48 [newí7-s re Mary] ts'úm-qs-en-ø-s re John
 [3sg.indpr det Mary] lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
 MARY kissed John

- 49 ts'um-qs-en-ø-s newi7-s re John
 lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj 3sg.indpr det John
 (i) SHE kissed John
 (ii) *John kissed HER
 (iii) *Someone/he/she kissed JOHN
 (iv) *JOHN kissed someone

(50a) below presents an interesting case. It is marginal because it is caught in a conflict of grammatical constraints. The ONI Law (section 2.2.2) requires that the post-verbal overt nominal (independent pronoun) be the object, while the independent pronoun forces it to be the subject of the clause. The sentence cannot satisfy both restrictions at the same time, and becomes difficult for the consultant to interpret. (50b), on the other hand, satisfies the IPR, and the one nominal constraint does not apply, because the single overt nominal is preverbal, so it is fully grammatical.

- 50 a ?wik-t-ø-s newi7-s
 ?see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj 3sg.indpr
 HE saw someone / *Someone saw HIM/HER
- b newi7-s wik-t-ø-s
 3sg.indpr see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj
 HE saw something/somebody

Such judgments as those of (50a,b) show that the restriction on subject orientation is stronger than the one nominal interpretation when there is a clash of the two rules. Indeed, Davis (1994) has shown that the one nominal constraint can be overruled if pragmatic factors are strong enough.

In sentences with non-third person arguments, there is no subject orientation for independent pronouns. The IPR applies only in cases where both arguments are third person. The sentences below are judged to be grammatical by the language consultant.

- 51 a wi.w.k-t-ø-en n-tsetswe7
 see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-1sg.subj 1sg.indpr
 I saw him
- b n-tsetswe7 wi.w.k-t-ø-en
 1sg.indpr see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-1sg.subj
 I saw him
- c wi.w.k-t-ø-en newi7-s
 see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-1sg.subj 3sg.indpr
 I saw HIM
- d wi.w.k-t-sem-s n-tsetswe7
 see(redup)-tr-1sg.obj-3sg.subj 1sg.indpr
 He saw ME

3.5.2 Asymmetry in Halq'eméylem

The asymmetry whereby third person independent pronouns have to be associated with the subject of a transitive clause is absent in Halq'eméylem. It is possible to have two third person arguments in a transitive clause, both arguments surfacing as independent pronouns.

- 52 kw'éts-lexw-es tú-tlò thú-tlò
 see-tr(-3o)-3s det-3Indep det-fem-3Indep
 He sees her (Wiltschko 1998:433)

Note that Galloway (1993) has claimed that in a sentence such as the one presented above, the word order is strictly VSO.

3.6 Correlations

Section 3.5 shows that there is an asymmetry involved between the subject position and the object position where third person independent pronouns are involved. Namely, in clauses containing two third person arguments, one of which is an independent pronoun, this

independent pronoun always has to be the subject, and not the object. Similar subject-object asymmetries have also been observed with respect to the distribution of overt arguments: the One Nominal Interpretation Law (Gerdt 1988) and A' Subject clefts are examples.

3.6.1 One Nominal Interpretation

In a clause containing a predicate with two third person argument bound pronominals and an overt post-predicate DP, the DP is always the object. This is the One Nominal Interpretation (Gerdt 1988).

53 One Nominal Interpretation Law (Gerdt 1988)

In the absence of marking for other persons, a single third person nominal is interpreted as the absolutive.

54 ník'-n-ø-s re núxwenxw
cut-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det woman

- (i) He cut the woman
- (ii) *The woman cut him

The one nominal interpretation does not apply when a clause does not contain two third person arguments.

55 wí.w.k-t-ø-en ntsetsewe7
see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-1sg.subj 1sg.indpr
I saw him

3.6.2 Clefting the Third Person Subject

In Secwepemctsin, arguments can be extracted via A'-movement to the wh/focus position (see section 2.3.2). All arguments can be realized in the wh/focus position with no change in the lower predicate (56a), with the exception of third person subjects in clauses containing only

third person arguments (56b). The said third person subject cannot appear in the wh/focus position unless passive and third person conjunction morphology have been added to the predicate.

56 a John (re) wik-t- \emptyset -s
John (det) see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj
It's John s/he saw / *It's John who saw him/her

b John (re) wik-t- \emptyset -m-es
John (det) see-tr-3sg.obj-pas-3sg.conj
It is John who saw him/her / *It is he who saw John

The extracted argument is the cleftee, which occupies the predicate position of the main clause, while the syntactic argument of this predicate is a dependent clause headed by a determiner.

When an argument from a clause that does not contain two third person arguments (57), or an object from a clause with two third person arguments (56a) is A' extracted, no such special morphology appears.

57 Scott re xwe.xwistét- \emptyset -en
Scott det like(redup)-3sg.obj-1sg.subj
It's Scott that I like

I summarize in (58) what the One Nominal Interpretation, the Subject Cleft, and the Independent Pronoun Restriction have in common. (58a)(i) shows that a clause can have one single overt DP that is interpreted as the subject if it is either first or second person. (ii) and (iii) show that when a clause contains two third person arguments, if there is only one overt DP and it is post-verbal, it must be the object. (58b)(i) shows that it is grammatical to cleft a third person singular subject when the object is non-third person; when both the subject and object are third person, the clefting of the subject is ungrammatical. (58c)(i) shows that in

clauses containing arguments that are non-third person, an independent pronoun can be in the object position. However, when a clause contains arguments that are both third person, an independent pronoun cannot be in the object position.

58 Summary of correlations

a. ONI Law ³¹	b. Subject Cleft	c. IPR
(i) √ V-1/2-1/2 1/2 subj	(i) √ 3 subj 1/2 obj └	(i) √ 1/2 subj 3 obj ↓ indpr
(ii) * V-3-3 3 subj	(ii) * 3 subj 3 obj └	(ii) * 3 subj 3 obj ↓ indpr
(iii) √ V-3-3 3 obj		

The correlations are as follows. The ONI, the Subject Cleft, and the IPR (a) are all limited to clauses containing two third person arguments, and (b) point to an asymmetry between subjects and objects.

3.7 Analysis

The ONI, the Subject Cleft, and the IPR are all active and distinct constraints in Secwepemetsín grammar. However, at a certain level, they are all related to the Familiarity Hierarchy (to be discussed below). Note that the constraints discussed here are necessary only when there is ambiguity; that is, only when two third person arguments are involved.

3.7.1 Familiarity

³¹To illustrate the pronominal morphology on the predicate, I use V for 'verb', and the numbers 1, 2, and 3 to signal first, second, and third person, respectively.

I will establish that discourse referents are ranked according to familiarity; that is, according to the amount of familiar-novel information that they contain. The Familiarity Hierarchy is an interpretation of the nominal hierarchy³² (Dixon 1979, 1994), and is comparable to the continuum-based view of referentiality in Anagnostopoulou & Giannakidou (1995). This being a hierarchy, it is necessarily *scalar*, despite the fact that a familiar versus novel distinction can be made. The continuum encodes the degree of familiarity or identifiability particular referents have. A familiar referent is anaphoric in a discourse, either by virtue of having a discourse antecedent, or by being present and prominent in the discourse context. A novel referent is new in the discourse and is not easily identified with the information in the discourse common ground; for instance, something mentioned for the first time in a discourse is novel. *Familiarity* will be defined as follows:

59 *Familiarity*

An item x_1 is more familiar than an item x_2 if x_1 is more anaphoric than x_2 .

I will assume that elements in the discourse structure get mapped onto the syntactic structure via the Familiarity Hierarchy, with the most familiar element mapped to the highest syntactic position (see also Erteshik-Shir 1993).

Within a discourse, the referents that are always readily available are the discourse participants: the speaker, and the hearer(s). They are referred to by the first and second person pronouns, and are inherently present in the discourse. In this sense, the participants of a discourse are most familiar. The discourse participants are so omnipresent in any given

³²The nominal hierarchy has also been referred to as topicality, definiteness, agent, referentiality hierarchy, etc.. The approximate order of the nominal hierarchy is as follows:

1 pronoun > 2 pronoun > 3 pronoun/deictics > proper noun > animate common noun
> inanimate common noun ...

In subsequent sections evidence will show that the familiarity hierarchy referred to in this thesis is certainly not a definiteness or agent hierarchy.

discourse that there is no restriction on where they can appear in the discourse or in a sentence within a discourse.

On the other hand, all non-participants in a conversation take grammatical third person; this is the case whether a pronoun or an R-expression is used. There are restrictions on the occurrence of third person arguments, and these restrictions are discourse-oriented.

Distinctions within grammatical third person need to be made, since third person is encoded with pronominals as well as R-expressions. Pronominals are anaphoric and need discourse antecedents. This means that referents of pronouns, when well-formed within a discourse, are not new information within a discourse context; rather, they are already available in the immediate discourse context. This follows from the standard claim that pronouns cannot introduce a discourse referent. Pronouns are thus topical and presuppositional. R-expressions, on the other hand, are generally used when a new referent is brought into the discourse. Matthewson (1996) has claimed that Salish determiners (heads of R-expressions within the DP hypothesis (Abney 1987)) do not encode definiteness or specificity. This claim entails that R-expressions per se are neither definite nor specific, which means that R-expressions in Salish are non-presuppositional, and are necessarily new information. Since pronominals are contextually not only familiar but specific, they are more familiar than R-expressions.

Next, *wh* elements in a sentence correspond to *wh* words in a question; therefore, they are certainly new information, and are more indefinite than R-expressions. We have now arrived at the ranking stated below.

60 Familiarity Hierarchy (nominals)
3pro > R-expressions > *wh*

Independent pronouns also have to be ranked in terms of familiarity. Independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin are used in contrastive contexts. They contrastively mark the modified *pro* or lexical DP as *the* referent, as opposed to other potential referents, *x*, *y*, or *z*. In other words, an independent pronoun is a contrastive modifier. When an independent pronoun is added to *pro* or lexical DP, the function is to contrastively emphasize. In addition to the antecedent referent necessary for the *pro* (in the case of lexical DPs the overt DP satisfies as a referent) in question, further information is necessary to identify and set apart contrastively that referent from a set of potential discourse-restricted supersets. A whole set of potential alternatives have to be brought forth in the discourse common ground. Needing a set of antecedents is more anaphoric than needing one single discourse antecedent (see Chapter 4 for a semantic analysis of independent pronouns). For this reason, when a *pro* is modified by an independent pronoun, it is more familiar than a *pro* by itself; likewise, a DP with an independent pronoun is also higher than a single DP without the contrastive independent pronoun.

- 61 Familiarity Hierarchy (contrastiveness)
contrastive > non-contrastive

The two ranking orders that will explain the ONI, Subject Cleft, and IPR phenomena are re-stated as follows:

- 62 Familiarity Hierarchy
a) nominals: $3pro > R\text{-expressions} > wh$
b) contrastiveness: contrastive > non-contrastive

Familiarity in discourse is mapped onto syntactic positions via the principle stated below (see also Erteshik-Shir 1993).

- 63 Mapping Principle
The most familiar referent maps onto the highest argument position.

Let us now explain the data by mapping discourse referents onto syntactic positions.

3.7.2 Analysis of the One Nominal Interpretation

According to the Familiarity Hierarchy, a lexical DP is less familiar than *pro*. When there is only one overt DP in a transitive sentence, the second argument is covert, and it is *pro*. Since the most familiar referent has to be mapped onto the highest argument position, in this case, *pro* (more familiar than lexical DP) has to be mapped onto the subject position, which is higher than the object position. (64b) shows the Mapping Principle being followed, resulting in a grammatical sentence, while (64a) shows the Mapping Principle being violated, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence.

- 64 *nik'*-n- \emptyset -s re n \acute{u} xwenxw
 cut-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det woman (Gardiner 1993)
- a) *The woman cut *pro* b) *pro* cut the woman
 *DP - *pro* *pro* - DP
 *subject - object subject - object
 *less familiar - more familiar more familiar - less familiar

3.7.3 Analysis of Subject Clefts

When an argument is clefted and is predicative, it is coindexed with an empty operator that has a *wh* trace in the lower clause (see section 2.3.2). If the lower clause is transitive, then it would contain a *wh*-trace (coindexed via empty operator with the cleftee) and either a lexical DP or *pro*. Since both lexical DPs and *pros* are both more familiar than *wh* elements, a lexical DP or *pro* is mapped onto the subject position while a *wh*-trace is mapped onto the object position (65a)³³. (65b) violates the mapping principle, and is ungrammatical.

³³I assume the Copy Theory (Chomsky 1995) so that the tail of a chain is identical to the head of the chain in terms of features.

65 re John_i [re O_i wik-t-ø-s t_i re Bill]
 det John [det OPERATOR see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj TRACE det Bill]

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) It is John that Bill saw
 John_i see t_i Bill
 wh - DP
 obj - subj
 less - more familiar</p> | <p>b) *It is John that sees Bill
 *John_i see t_i Bill
 *wh - DP
 *subj - obj
 *less - more familiar</p> |
|--|--|

In order for the semantic subject of the dependent clause to be clefted, the subject is demoted to adjunct status via passive and conjunctive morphology. Wh elements are low in the Familiarity Hierarchy, and it does not matter that adjunct positions take items of low familiarity. This is why a third person subject is clefted with passive and conjunctive morphology when the object is also third person.

3.7.4 Analysis of the Independent Pronoun Restriction

When a DP (whether lexical or *pro*) is modified by an independent pronoun, it is contrastive. When such a DP is not modified by an independent pronoun, it is *not* contrastive. Contrastive elements are more familiar than non-contrastive elements, therefore, contrastive elements get mapped onto the subject position while non-contrastive elements get mapped onto the object position.

(66a) is grammatical while (66b) is not because the R-expression modified by the independent pronoun is contrastive, and therefore more familiar, than a plain DP. (67a) is grammatical while (67b) is not because a *pro* modified by an independent pronoun is contrastive, and therefore more familiar than a plain R-expression.

66 wik-t- \emptyset -s [newi7-s re Mary] re John
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj 3sg.indpr det Mary det John

a) MARY saw John	b) *John saw MARY
contr. - non-contr.	*non-contr - contr.
subj - obj	*subj - obj
more - less familiar	*less - more familiar

67 wik-t- \emptyset -s re John newi7-s
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John 3sg.indpr

a) HE saw John	b) *John saw HIM
contr. - non-contr.	*non-contr - contr.
subj - obj	*subj - obj
more - less familiar	*less - more familiar

(68) and (69) are plainly ungrammatical because the DP/*pro* modified by the independent pronoun is contrastive, and more familiar than a *pro*.

68 wik-t- \emptyset -s *pro* [newi7-s *pro*]
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj *pro* 3sg.indpr
 *He saw HIM

69 wik-t- \emptyset -s *pro* [newi7-s re Bill]
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj *pro* 3sg.indpr det Bill
 *He saw BILL

However, there are also questionable interpretations associated with (68) and (69); these are given in (70) and (71) below.

70 wik-t- \emptyset -s *pro* [newi7-s *pro*]
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj *pro* 3sg.indpr
 ?HE saw him

71 wik-t- \emptyset -s *pro* [newi7-s re Bill]
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj *pro* 3sg.indpr det Bill
 ?BILL saw him

The reason (71) is questionable but not completely ungrammatical is due to the fact that the Familiarity Hierarchy also requires *pro* to be more familiar than lexical DPs, preferring *pro* as

the subject over the lexical (although contrastive) DP. This conflict results in the questionable judgment. Note, however, that the interpretation allowing *pro* to be subject and the contrastive DP to be object is plainly ungrammatical, which shows that it is ultimately more important for the grammar to satisfy Familiarity Hierarchy (contrastiveness) than Familiarity Hierarchy (nominals). I am at a loss to explain the questionable judgment of (70). Since all *pros* should be equally familiar, and contrastive *pros* are more familiar than non-contrastive *pros*, the interpretation in (70) should be perfectly grammatical according to my analysis. Note that if the *pro* DP modified by an independent pronoun were preverbal, as in (72), the sentence is perfectly well-formed with the independent pronoun interpreted as the subject.

- 72 [newi7-s *pro*] wik-t- \emptyset -s *pro*
 3sg.indpr *pro* see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj *pro*
 (i) HE saw him
 (ii) *He saw HIM

In summary, I have claimed that *pros* are more familiar than R-expressions, and that when independent pronouns adjoin to either *pros* or R-expressions, the modified DPs become more familiar than they already are. Applying the Mapping Principle, I claim that the most familiar DPs map onto the highest argument position (subject), and less familiar DPs are left for lower argument positions (object or oblique). This argument applies when ambiguity is present; that is, when there are two third person arguments within a clause. Although this argument relies on the discourse notion of familiarity, it also crucially relies on the fact that there is something intrinsically different about subjects and objects. If subjects and objects had equal status, then it would not matter whether it is the subject or the object that is familiar.

(73a) blocks out the form in (73b), where the more familiar form argument_A is mapped onto the object position.

The Blocking Principle thus conforms to the analysis already given in this thesis and does not change the results yielded by the existing analysis in any way. However, the virtue of the Blocking Principle lies in its applying blocking *only when there are two ambiguous forms* - when both subject and object pronominal markers on the predicate are third person. This accounts for why the ONI, Subject Clefts, and IPR phenomena do not occur in clauses that do not contain two third person arguments. When a clause's arguments are different in person, the subject and object persons are encoded via pronominal morphology on the predicate, so no ambiguity can arise. In other words, there is only one single potential form that has one single interpretation. Since blocking does not apply when there *is* a one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning, it is not necessary to apply the Familiarity Hierarchy and Mapping Principle when a clause contains arguments that are non-third person. The two examples below show that an independent pronoun can be the object when there is no potential ambiguity with respect to the interpretation.

74 a	wí.w.k-t-ø-en	newí7-s
	see(redup)-tr-3sg.obj-1sg.subj	3sg.indpr
	I saw HIM	
b	wík-t-s-en	7-enwí7
	see-tr-2sg.obj-1sg.subj	2sg.indpr
	I saw YOU	

Essentially, the Blocking Principle allows for a more formal way of stating the presumption that the Familiarity Hierarchy and the Mapping Principle apply only when there is potential ambiguity.

3.8 Implications: Test for Subjecthood

In this section, I will discuss an implication that arises from my analysis of the independent pronouns and of the subject-object asymmetry I have argued for.

An implication resulting from the study of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns is that the use of a third person independent pronoun becomes a test for subjecthood. If third person independent pronouns contained within a clause with only third person arguments always have to be interpreted as the subject, then third person independent pronouns can be used as reliable evidence on whether a given position is necessarily a subject position.

One possible application of the test is passivization, as shown in the data presented below. There has been an extensive debate among Salish linguists regarding the passive construction, centering around the question of whether the patient truly achieves syntactic subject status in a passivized sentence (Hukari 1976, Gerds 1987, 1989, Blake 1997). The use of independent pronouns shows evidence that patients in Secwepemctsin indeed get promoted to subject.

(75a, b) are two ordinary transitive sentences. (b) cannot be interpreted as 'Mary kissed *him*' because the independent pronoun cannot be interpreted as the object.

75 a ts'úm-qs-en-ø-s re Mary re John
 kiss-ls-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary det John
 John kissed Mary / Mary kissed John

b ts'úm-qs-en-ø-s re Mary newí7-s
 kiss-ls-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary 3sg.indpr
 HE kissed Mary / *Mary kissed HIM

Passivization in Secwepemctsin is achieved by replacing the subject suffix with the passive marker *-m* on the predicate. The semantic object (theme or experiencer) remains in the clause, as well as the object suffix on the predicate, and the semantic subject (agent) is demoted so that no marking on the predicate is present, and the overt agent DP is either marked with an oblique *te* or completely disappears (76). (77) shows that the derived subject DP can be replaced by an independent pronoun, evidence for subject status. After the semantic subject (agent) is demoted, it can no longer be an independent pronoun (78).

- | | | | |
|----|--|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| 76 | ts'úm-qs-en-t-ø-em
lick-nose-fc-tr-3sg.obj-pas
Mary was kissed (by John) | (te John)
(obl John) | re Mary
det Mary |
| 77 | ts'úm-qs-en-t-ø-em
lick-nose-fc-tr-3sg.obj-pas
SHE was kissed (by John) | (te John)
(obl John) | newi7-s
3sg.indpr |
| 78 | *ts'úm-qs-en-t-ø-em
lick-nose-fc-tr-3sg.obj-pas
Mary was kissed by HIM | [te newi7-s]
[obl 3sg.indpr] | re Mary
det Mary |

Compare the ungrammatical sentence in (78) with the grammatical sentence in (75b). The thematic roles of *newi7-s* in both sentences are exactly the same; it is the syntactic status that makes them different.

The distinction between non-passivized transitive sentences and passivized sentences shown here presents important evidence that promotion of the object *does* result in a newly derived subject, even though the newly derived subject is being marked by an object suffix on the predicate. I will not attempt an explanation for the object suffix, and will leave this question open³⁴. Passivization in Secwepemctsin indeed involves syntactic promotion of the object to

³⁴Gerdts (1989) demonstrates that in Halq'eméylem, the object suffix appears in passive constructions not because the argument has object status, but because it is morphologically fused with the transitive suffix, and cannot be dropped.

subject, and demotion of the agent to oblique status. It is not merely a process of eliminating the ergative argument. This conclusion is achieved because independent pronouns can be used as a test for subjecthood.

3.9 Remaining Questions

The Familiarity Hierarchy says nothing about clauses having arguments of the same familiarity 'force'. That is, when a clause has two *pro* arguments, or two DP arguments, there is potential interpretive ambiguity; either *pro*, or either DP, can be interpreted as the subject.

79. wik-t- \emptyset -s re Mary re John
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary det John
 (i) John sees Mary
 (ii) Mary sees John

With independent pronouns, it is only grammatical to have two non-third person arguments within a clause. It is ungrammatical to have two independent pronouns per clause when at least one of those pronouns is third person. It is perhaps the case that there can only be one contrastive element per clause, in which case the prediction would arise that not only is a clause ill-formed with two contrastive arguments, but a clause is also ill-formed when there is a contrastive argument and a contrastive predicate³⁵.

Another question that remains is that we have seen clauses in which the ONI and the IPR both apply. In such cases, the grammar prefers to satisfy the IPR even though this would violate the ONI Law. That the ONI Law is governed by Familiarity Hierarchy (Nominals) and the IPR is governed by Familiarity Hierarchy (Contrastiveness) provides a clue as to why both

³⁵The speculation there there can only be one contrastive element would have to hold only for clauses with two third person arguments, since it is possible to have two independent pronouns per clause if they are both non-third person (see section 3.4.3).

constraints can be based on the same notion of familiarity, but are distinct and unequal in terms of actual application. I will not venture further into finding out at which level the two constraints interact, and at which level the two constraints are clearly separate.

Finally, even though we have said that clauses containing two third person arguments are ambiguous in that either of the arguments can be interpreted as the subject, the definition of 'clauses containing two third person arguments' needs to be further refined. It is really in the clauses containing two post-predicate third person arguments where potential ambiguity can arise. Note that this may follow from Gardiner's (1998) analysis of all preverbal positions as topic positions (see section 2.3). Since a preverbal position is a topic, and therefore is more familiar than a post-verbal argument position, there would be no difficulty in the mapping of a familiar argument to a DP in a preverbal position.

3.10 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I have illustrated the internal and external syntactic behaviour that independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin, and I have shown that their binding properties follow from their syntactic category. A subject-object asymmetry emerged from the study of independent pronouns. When a clause has two third person arguments, if one of the arguments contains an independent pronoun, that argument is always the subject. This subject-object asymmetry is paralleled by other asymmetrical grammatical constructions in Secwepemctsin. In 3.7 I proposed an analysis to account for the subject-object asymmetry. This analysis reduces the Independent Pronoun Restriction to the One Nominal Interpretation and the third person Subject Cleft phenomenon. I conclude that Secwepemctsin independent pronouns, which are inherently contrastive, show strong subject orientation. Structural asymmetry is central to the

analysis: a subject must be structurally different from an object. The Mapping Principle needs to recognize the subject position as being higher than the object position so that it can correctly identify the site for the most familiar discourse referent to map onto. These facts argue for a structurally asymmetric view of subjects versus objects, and hence a structurally configurational view of Secwepemctsin.

3.11 Appendix to Chapter 3: Rejecting Other Hypotheses for the Independent Pronoun Asymmetry

The analysis offered in Chapter 3 is the best hypothesis to account for the IPR. Two alternative hypotheses are discussed here:

- A. The asymmetry is due to the difference between ergative and absolutive arguments.
- B. The asymmetry is due to thematic differences.

I will refute both hypotheses, and conclude that the asymmetry is due to the structural asymmetry found between subjects and object.

2.4.1 The Ergative/Absolutive Difference

Given that Secwepemctsin is a morphologically split ergative language in third person contexts, the subject of intransitive clauses and the object of transitive clauses share the absolutive case, while only the subject of transitive clauses are ergative. Ergative arguments are marked by subject suffixes, absolutive arguments in transitive clauses are marked by object suffixes, and absolutive arguments in intransitive clauses are marked by clitics (see appendix C at the end of the thesis). If the subject-object asymmetry of independent pronouns were due to case - that is, if independent pronouns could only replace ergative arguments - then it would be impossible for the subject of intransitive clauses to be replaced by independent

pronouns. This is also true vice versa; if independent pronouns could only replace absolutive arguments, then both the subject of an intransitive clause and object of a transitive clause should be able to take independent pronouns.

80 wik-t- \emptyset -s re Mary re John
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Mary det John
 Mary saw John / John saw Mary

81 wik-t- \emptyset -s re John newi7-s
 see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John 3sg.indpr
 SHE saw John / *John saw HER

82 a setsinem- \emptyset newi7-s
 sing-3sg.ind 3sg.indpr
 It is HER that sings.

 b newi7-s setsinem- \emptyset
 3sg.indpr sing-3sg.ind
 It is HER that sings.

83 a setsinem- \emptyset newi7-s re Mary
 sing-3sg.ind 3sg.indpr det Mary
 It is MARY that sings.

 b newi7-s re Mary setsinem- \emptyset
 3sg.indpr det Mary sing-3sg.ind
 It is MARY that sings.

(80) shows a transitive sentence with two overt DP arguments. As explained previously, the order of the subject and the object is free post-predicatively, giving the sentence two interpretations. In (81), with the presence of the independent pronoun, there is only one interpretation available: that which has the independent pronoun *newi7-s* as the ergative argument. Note that the independent pronoun is the ergative argument. (82) and (83) show independent pronouns occurring as the absolutive argument of intransitive clauses. (81, 82a, b) are examples of independent pronouns occurring on their own, and (83a, b) are examples of independent pronouns occurring with an overt referent. These independent pronouns are all

associated with the subject position, and since the subject in these sentences is not always associated with a specific case, the ergative/absolutive distinction cannot account for the independent pronoun asymmetry.

2.4.2 Aspectual and Thematic differences

Suppose the IPR of Secwepemctsin arose from the thematic role of the argument associated. In that case, we would expect independent pronouns to be assigned a certain thematic role, or to be used only with a certain type of event structure. These possibilities can be ruled out, however, based on the wide range of thematic and event structures that can be associated with independent pronouns, as shown in the following data.

The following two sentences are agentive eventive clauses; independent pronouns are well-formed with agentive arguments and eventive structure.

- 84 a ts'úm-q̄s-en-ø-s newi7-s re Mary
 kiss-ls-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj 3sg.indpr re Mary
 HE kissed Mary / *Mary kissed HIM
- b newi7-s illen-ø-s re s.peq.peq
 3sg.indpr eat-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det berry(redup)
 HE ate berries

The following are agentive stative clauses; independent pronouns are well-formed with agentive arguments and stative structures.

- 85 a newi7-s ec ts'kwenst-ø-és-es re st'eqwméke7
 3sg.indpr prog hold-3sg.obj-3sg.subj-3sg.conj det ball
 HE is holding a ball

b newí7-s músen-ø-s re skúyes
 3sg.indpr feel-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det child
 HE feels (his own) child

Independent pronouns are well-formed with non-agentive arguments and eventive structures.

These are non-agentive eventive clauses:

86 a ciyúcw-t-ø newí7-s re Mary le m temtéw's-es
 fall.off-3sg.ind 3sg.indpr det Mary det past riding.horseback-3sg.conj
 MARY fell off a horse

b melcen-t-ø-ém newí7-s
 kick-tr-3sg.obj-pas 3sg.indpr
 HE got kicked

c m qwetséq-ø newí7-s
 past die-3sg.ind 3sg.indpr
 HE dies

Independent pronouns are well-formed with non-agentive arguments and stative structures.

These are non-agentive stative clauses:

87 a lecús-k 7-enwi7
 pretty-2sg.ind 2sg.indpr
 It is YOU who is pretty

b 7-enwi7 lecús-k
 2sg.indpr pretty-2sg.ind
 It is YOU who is pretty

88 a setsínem-ø newí7-s
 sing-3sg.ind 3sg.indpr
 It is HER that sings.

b newí7-s setsínem-ø
 3sg.indpr sing-3sg.ind
 It is HER that sings.

89 ts'éllt-ø newí7-s re sk'wimémelt
 cold-3sg.ind 3sg.indpr det child
 THE CHILD is cold

In all cases, the behaviour of independent pronouns is identical despite the thematic and aspectual differences. These data suggest that the occurrence of independent pronouns is not related to whether they bear a certain thematic role, or whether they are associated with a certain event structure. Agentive versus non-agentive clauses show that volition does not affect the usage of independent pronouns; independent pronouns are well-formed with predicates like *kiss*, *eat*, *being pretty*, or *falling off a horse*. Stative versus eventive clauses show that whether a predicate is eventive or not is of no consequence when it comes to independent pronoun usage; again, independent pronouns are well-formed whether they are involved in *holding something*, *being cold*, *getting kicked*, or *dying*. Independent pronouns are not affected by aspectual or thematic factors. As a result, the possibility that thematic roles or event structure as reasons for the asymmetrical behavior of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns can be rejected.

CHAPTER 4. TOWARDS A SEMANTIC ACCOUNT

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I show that independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin are inherently contrastive. I illustrate the derivation of contrastiveness via formal semantics, and conclude that alternative semantics (Rooth 1992, Büring 1995) is slightly inadequate for the Secwepemctsin data on focus and topic.

4.1 Basic Characteristics

4.1.1 Independent Pronoun ≠ Out of the Blue

Secwepemctsin independent pronouns cannot be used in out-of-the-blue contexts, just as *pro*. It is only possible to use an independent pronoun when the discourse referent is apparent to both the speaker and hearer of a dialogue (usually through a linguistic antecedent in the discourse). (1) below, uttered out of the blue, is considered ill-formed. All the grammatical utterances with independent pronouns used in this thesis are utterances elicited in the appropriate context³⁶.

³⁶Independent pronouns always refer to humans. They cannot refer to inanimates or animals even when they are forced to occupy the subject position along with a non-human overt DP. This is consistent with Cardinaletti and Starke's (1996) claim that when a language has more than one set of pronouns, one of the sets always has a more restricted usage. Languages with more than one set of pronouns distinguish between strong and weak pronouns. The set of pronouns with the limited usage is always the strong set. In Secwepemctsin, the independent pronouns correspond to the strong pronouns, and have to refer to [+human] individuals.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------|
| (i) | re mélemst'ye | illen-ø-s | re ts'i | |
| | det wolf | eat-3sg.obj-3sg.subj | det deer | |
| | The wolf ate the deer | | | |
| (ii) | *newi7-s | illen-ø-s | re ts'i | |
| | *3sg.indpr | eat-3sg.obj-3sg.subj | det deer | |
| | *IT ate the deer | | | |
| (iii) | *newi7-s | re mélemst'ye | illen-ø-s | re ts'i |
| | *3sg.indpr | det wolf | eat-3sg.obj-3sg.subj | det deer |
| | *THE WOLF ate the deer | | | |

- 1 newi7-s qwetsét-ø
 3sg.indpr leave-3sg.ind
 *HE left (in out of the blue context)

4.1.2 Independent Pronoun ≠ Exhaustive

There is preliminary data suggesting that independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin are not specified for exhaustivity. That is, although contrastive emphasis is present, as in ‘MARY but not Sue, Jill, or Nancy, kissed John’, it is not necessarily the case that *only* Mary kissed John. To express exhaustivity, a separate morpheme is used (2).

- 2 tsukw newi7-s re John wik-t-ø-s re Elvis
 only 3sg.indpr det John see-tr-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det Elvis
 Only JOHN saw Elvis

The Secwepemctsin equivalent of the minimal pair in (3) would be evidence for the claim that independent pronouns indeed are not specified for contrastiveness.

- 3 a JOHN saw Elvis, and Peter did too.
 b Only JOHN saw Elvis, *and Peter did too.

4.1.4 Independent Pronoun ≠ Sentential Adverb

Although Secwepemctsin independent pronouns have been analyzed as adjuncts that modify DP, they are not to be confused with another type of nominal modifier, the English *-self* adjuncts, as in (4a). English *-self* can be used in DP-modifying constructions, as in the contrastive constructions studied in this thesis, but it can also be used adverbially, as in (4b) (Edmondson and Plank 1980).

4 a The King himself [not cook, servant, or his mother] baked a cake.

b The King baked a cake by himself. (Edmondson and Plank 1980)

This is not so in Secwepemctsin. To express an adverbial reading such as that in (4b), a lexical item meaning 'by oneself' or 'alone' is used.

5 neqwestsú.ts.t-ken te pú.pe.lst-ø-en re newí7-s re kúkwpi7
alone(redup)-1sg.ind obl kill(redup)-3sg.obj-1sg.subj det 3sg.indpr det chief
I killed THE CHIEF by myself

4.1.4 Independent Pronouns = Contrastive

Independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin are used to emphasize the reference to a particular nominal in the discourse context. For an utterance like (6), the implication is that it is MARY, and not Sue, Jill, Nancy, or anybody else, that kissed John; that is, MARY is contrasted with all possible kissers of John.

4 [newí7-s re Mary] ts'úm'-qs-en-ø-s re John
[3sg.indpr det Mary] lick-nose-fc-3sg.obj-3sg.subj det John
MARY (not Sue, Jill, or Nancy) kissed John

It is precisely this kind of contrastive implication that induces the capitalized nominal in the English translation, which is pronounced with contrastive stress. To illustrate this point, consider the following two dialogues.

- 7 Dialogue 1 A: I heard that the lovebirds were really enjoying themselves at the Christmas party.
B: Yeah, Mary kissed John under the mistletoe as soon as they arrived, and they stayed there during the entire party.
- Dialogue 2 A: I heard that John was taken under the mistletoe. Did his girlfriend kiss him?
B: No, MARY kissed him/John.

In dialogue 1, the underlined sentence is uttered without any special stress. In dialogue 2, presumably Mary is not John's girlfriend, so MARY is pronounced with contrastive stress. This is the kind of emphasis that an independent pronoun provides to its nominal referent. If appears that the contrasted set has to be available for the discourse participants somehow, but it is not clear whether they have to be identified explicitly in the prior discourse.

The function of contrastive stress in English appears to be taken over by independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin. Hence, when an independent pronoun co-occurs with its overt referent in Secwepemctsin, the construction is equivalent to an English stressed DP (see English translation of (6) above). When an independent pronoun co-occurs with a covert DP, i.e., *pro*, the construction is equivalent to an English stressed pronoun (10).

10 newi7-s setsínem-ø
 3sg.indpr sing-3sg.ind
 SHE sings

Essentially, independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin do what contrastive stresses in English do³⁷. They induce a set of alternatives for the independent pronoun to be contrasted with³⁸.

When an independent pronoun is in predicate position, it is providing contrastiveness to a focus, since predicative independent pronouns occupy wh/focus position. This contrastive focus is different from presentational focus. Contrastive focus is the focus of a single item within a proposition, while presentational focus is focus of an entire proposition. Presentational focus will not be dealt with in this thesis³⁹.

³⁷Note that if independent pronouns were the exact equivalent of English contrastive stress, they should freely associate with anything, and should not be limited to DP-associations only. However, my intuition is that Secwepemctsin independent pronouns can only be associated with noun-like items. The observation that independent pronouns can only be associated with [+human], but not [-human] individuals, partially supports this intuition.

³⁸Note the absence of focus-related stress in Salish languages (Davis, p.c.)

³⁹For details on presentational focus in Salish, see Demirdache 1998.

When an independent pronoun is associated with an argument DP, it is providing contrastiveness to a topic. Note that even a contrastive lexical DP can be topical because it must be available in the discourse to be contrasted⁴⁰. The difference between an independent pronoun-modified *pro* DP and an independent pronoun-modified lexical DP is that the former is an anaphoric contrastive topic while the latter is a non-anaphoric contrastive topic.

The contrastive function of independent pronouns can be summarized as follows. A predicative independent pronoun is a contrastive focus; a *pro* DP modified by an independent pronoun is an anaphoric contrastive topic, and a lexical DP modified by an independent pronoun is a non-anaphoric contrastive topic.

4.2 Deriving Contrastiveness

How can the ‘contrast’ in ‘contrastive focus’ and ‘contrastive topic’ be represented formally? One of the ways to derive this contrastiveness is to apply the alternative semantics (Rooth 1992) view adopted in Büring (1995, 1998). In Büring (1995), focus is defined as the word in a proposition corresponding to a *wh* word in a question; it is accented, and “marks what is new or unexpected in a sentence” (Büring 1995:21). (11), which has *BASEball* accented, “draws attention to the fact that it is the baseball (as opposed to - say - the vase) that John threw” (Büring 1995:21).

11⁴¹ a John threw [the *BASEball*]_F (Büring 1995:21)

⁴⁰It may also be that lexical DPs are contrastive topics, and not foci, because contrastive DPs are associated with subjects. Subjects are generally associated with topics. Also, Gardiner (1998) has shown that all preverbal positions in Secwepemctsin are topic positions, and there is evidence that in Secwepemctsin’s sister language, St’át’imcets, out-of-the-blue preverbal subjects are impossible (Davis, p.c.). Therefore, the preverbal lexical DP subject has to be a topic. A full investigation of how focus and topic are used in Salish languages is necessary to explain these observations.

⁴¹The capitalized letters in *BASEball* indicate the ‘accent’, while the subscript F marks *BASEball* as the

Thus, in a regular assertion A without any contrastive element, no alternative is necessary for any element in the assertion (12). However, when the focus element of a sentence has A-accent, a semantic value is induced, where the contrastive focus element corresponds to a wh word. This semantic value (shown in italics) is the focus assertion A^f (13).

12 A Mary saw him

13⁴² A Mary saw JOHN_A
A^f *Who did Mary see?*

The contrastiveness of JOHN_A is available from the alternatives that can answer the wh word in A^f in (13).

On the other hand, when a topical element of a sentence is contrastive, a set of topic assertions A^t are induced, in addition to the A^f. Büring's topics also contain an accent; this is the B-accent. The A^t is a set of questions formed by taking the topical item (the item containing the B-accent) in the A^f and replacing it with a set of alternatives of the same type.

14 A Mary_A saw JOHN_B
A^f *Who saw JOHN?*
A^t *Who saw John?*
Who saw Bill?
Who saw Fred?

What we have so far is laid out below.

15 Contrastive focus versus contrastive topic

	Contrastive focus: A ^f	Contrastive topic: A ^t
English	A-accent (focus accent)	B-accent (topic accent)
Secwepemctsin	Predicate independent pronoun	DP/ <i>pro</i> independent pronoun

focused constituent. I take what Büring refers to as the 'accent' on focus to be A-accent (focus accent).

⁴²Focus is marked by subscript A, for A-accent, while contrastiveness is marked by capital letters, as in the rest of the thesis. I will later mark Topic with a subscript B, for B-accent.

A regular assertion without any contrastive element needs no alternative, therefore no A^f , and definitely no A^t . An assertion with an A-accented focus (or a focus (predicate) independent pronoun) gets an A^f semantic value. An assertion with a B-accented topic (or a topic (DP/*pro*) independent pronoun) gets an A^t semantic value. However, to arrive at A^t , there must first be an A^f . This is the problem.

To derive contrastive focus in Secwepemctsin, A^f is formed from A (16). *newi7-s re JOHN* is the contrastive focus (equivalent of B-accent), inducing an A^f , which contains a set of alternatives that can answer 'who'.

- 16 A It's [*newi7-s re JOHN*]_A that Mary saw
 A^f *Who did Mary see?*

To derive contrastive topic in Secwepemctsin, consider A in (17). [*newi7-s re MARY*] is topical, and is the equivalent of Büring's B-accent, so it should ultimately get an A^t set of values. A^t is only possible if an A^f is first available; A^f is available for the A in (17) only if *John* has the equivalent of Büring's B-accent. Suppose this were true, and *John* had contrastive focus, then the A^f and A^t in (18) would be derived, and the alternatives necessary for the contrastive topic [*newi7-s re MARY*] would be derived.

- 17 A [*newi7-s re MARY*]_B saw John

- 18 A^f [*newi7-s re MARY*] saw who?
 A^t [*newi7-s re Mary*] saw who?
Sue saw who?
Jill saw who?
Beth saw who?

The problem with (18) is that *John* in (17) is not a contrastive focus (at least it is not a focused independent pronoun). *John* in (17) is at most a simple focus, and therefore *not* an

A^f-inducing element. Without A^f, there is no A^t in (18). This problem can be rephrased in the following way. In order to have A^f, we need a contrastive focus. In order to have A^t, we need a contrastive topic *plus* A^f. Hence, in order to have A^t, we need a sentence with a contrastive topic *plus* a contrastive focus (a sentence with a focus independent pronoun and a topic independent pronoun).

There are two ways to solve this problem. The first possible solution is as follows. If any focus (contrastive and non-contrastive) can induce A^f, then *John* in (17) can easily induce A^f in (18), and in turn this A^f can induce A^t in (18), which yields the desired set of alternatives for the contrastive topic [newi7-s re MARY]. This solution is inadequate, since it would lose the distinction between a contrastive focus versus a non-contrastive focus, as in (19)⁴³.

19 a I saw the boy

b I saw THE BOY

The second possible solution is as follows. Although *John* in (17) is by itself not a contrastive focus, it gains contrastiveness automatically by virtue of being in the same sentence as the contrastive topic [newi7-s re MARY]. This inherited contrastiveness would successfully derive A^f and A^t in (18), yielding the set of alternatives for the contrastive topic. Claiming that *John* gains contrastiveness from [newi7-s re MARY] predicts extremely high discourse sensitivity for this type of sentences; it means that a sentence having a contrastive subject automatically makes the object contrastive as well⁴⁴. An investigation of the issues involved is beyond the scope of this thesis; further research needs to find out precisely what kind of discourse contexts these sentences are used in.

⁴³This is precisely the kind of problem that alternative semantics has been criticized for: it cannot distinguish between contrastive focus and presentational focus (Rochemont, p.c.).

⁴⁴Note that in English, the only kind of focus a subject can get is contrastive focus (Davis, p.c.). On the other hand, what we need to derive Secwepemctsin contrastive topic is to claim that a Secwepemctsin object is always a contrastive focus if the subject of the clause is a contrastive topic.

4.3 Conclusion

In Chapter 4, I have determined that Secwepemctsin independent pronouns are contrastive foci when in predicate position, and contrastive topics when modifying DPs in argument position. I have shown that a problem is encountered when using alternative semantics (Rooth 1992, Büring 1995) to derive the contrastiveness. This problem is a general problem that formal semantics has in dealing with the notion of focus. The Secwepemctsin independent pronoun data shows that more intricate tools are necessary to account for them.

CHAPTER 5. ACQUISITION: A CASE STUDY

5.0 Introduction

Independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin have been shown to observe strict constraints regarding discourse familiarity and contrastiveness. Their behaviour follows from their syntactic category and position. In Chapter 5, I will ultimately illustrate that a new speaker of Secwepemctsin does not adhere to the grammatical restrictions of independent pronouns at this stage in her acquisition, and instead uses these pronouns differently from fluent speakers. The differences follow from:

- A. an internal categorial reanalysis she has applied to independent pronouns;
- B. an external syntactic reanalysis she has applied to the site of occurrence of independent pronouns, so that they function like R-expressions.

Chapter 5 first gives a general view of the Secwepemctsin language production by a seven-year-old girl who has been exposed to both English and Secwepemctsin. The child's linguistic background, the elicitation process, and the transcription and coding methodology are described in 5.1. In section 5.2, results and analyses, including the MLU of the child's language samples, will be given. A section follows with a general description of the child's Secwepemctsin phrase structure rules and vocabulary, and, finally, section 5.3 is a presentation on the child's use of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns.

5.1 Preliminaries

5.1.1 Background: The Child Subject and The Family Context

The child subject, Julienne Ignace⁴⁵, was born in November, 1990 to a household where both parents speak Secwepemctsin fluently. Her father is a native speaker of Secwepemctsin. He grew up in a multi-generational household, and was raised mainly by his great-grandmother, who was about 60 years old when he was born, and did not tolerate any English from young people. Julienne's father lived in this environment until his mid-teens, at which time he entered residential school for a year, then went to work outside his community. When he was away from his community and had no one to converse with in Secwepemctsin, he tried to keep the language alive by thinking to himself in Secwepemctsin. Julienne's mother is an anthropologist and linguist from Germany. In addition to her native Dutch-related dialect and German, she learned English, French, and Latin in her childhood. She moved to North America to do research with the Haida people in her 20s, and proceeded to work with the Secwepemc people in 1984. She needed to learn Secwepemctsin to interview elders, record and transcribe narrative stories, and plan language lessons for new speakers of Secwepemctsin. Even before Julienne's mother was completely comfortable with Secwepemctsin, her experience learning and working with languages allowed her to have native-like pronunciation. By 1990 she was able to carry on normal adult conversation in Secwepemctsin. Julienne has two older sisters, age 9 and 5, and two older brothers, age 9 and 3, at the time of her birth. All four of Julienne's older siblings speak English, and understand only a few Secwepemctsin words.

From the time Julienne was born and before she entered daycare when she was 10 months old, Julienne was taken care of exclusively by her mother, who speaks to her only in Secwepemctsin. She was also away from her older siblings at that time. Julienne spent 4 days a week at an English-speaking private daycare starting at age 10 months, for 5 or 6 hours per day. Outside the daycare, she continued to be taken care of and spoken to by her mother

⁴⁵Julienne is adapted from French to Secwepemctsin, and is pronounced [suli?æɲ].

virtually at all times. Her father also always speaks to Julienne in Secwepemctsin, but his role in child-rearing is less than that of the mother.

Since Julienne's first intelligible words (all Secwepemctsin) emerged at about 1;1 or 1;2, her mother started keeping a record of her language learning. Spontaneous responses in Secwepemctsin were the norm during this period, as revealed by the early tape recordings, logs and notes⁴⁶. According to this journal, her learning pattern appears to be no different from what is generally known about infant language acquisition (See Lai & Ignace 1998). Her comprehension was more advanced than her performance. She truncated longer words into mono- or bi-syllabic utterances, she reduplicated some mono-syllabic words, and there were cases of overgeneralizations, such as using the word *qéxe* (her simplified form of nts'sqéxe 'horse' or sqéxe 'dog') for all four-legged animals except cats.

At age 2 years 6 months (JI's age will subsequently be noted as year semicolon month: 2;6 or year semicolon month semicolon day 2;6;15), when Julienne's younger sister was born, Julienne started to spend time with her English-speaking older siblings instead of her mother, who had to take care of the new baby. A younger brother was born when Julienne was about 5 years old. Although at this time she had gotten used to using English with her older siblings, she also became aware that her parents only speak in Secwepemctsin to her two younger siblings as they do to her. Her passive Secwepemctsin vocabulary continues to expand, and she begins to use mixed English/Secwepemctsin utterances. Some typical ones of this period are in (1-3).

- 1 I wanna kwén-t-e 7éne
 I wanna take-tr-2sg.imp this
 I wanna take this
 Correct form: me7 kwékwen yi7éne

⁴⁶Subsequent data referenced with ages that are before 6 are all cited from the records kept by Julienne's mother.

- 2 I kwé.kwen oats
 I take(redup) oats
I take oats
 Correct form: kwékwen re “oats”
- 3 I'm meq'
 I'm full
I'm full
 Correct form: mémq'-ken

English became increasingly predominant as Julienne entered preschool and elementary school. Although she continued to hear Secwepemctsin exclusively from both her father and mother, and occasionally uses it with her younger siblings, she would only reply in Secwepemctsin when prompted. At this time, Julienne also started to translate her parents' commands in the form of questions, which showed her comprehension, such as “*Why do you want me to get the cup?*” Such translations show that in comprehension of Secwepemc speech Julienne can distinguish the full range of intransitive pronominal clitics, transitive subject and object suffixes with accuracy⁴⁷, but the speech production patterns show already a tendency to use stems without the pronominal morphology on the predicate, despite the caregivers' continued modelling of accurate speech in repetitions and prompting. The replacement of correct suffixes or clitics by second singular imperative forms such as that in (1) can be explained by the fact that in caregiver speech, imperative forms were likely the most frequently used and heard forms, and thus became parts of active vocabulary, although used incorrectly.

At a later era, which carried over into the period of acquisition research for this thesis, a feature of Julienne's Secwepemctsin speech became the use of independent pronominal forms, in at least simple sentences making requests and statements, sometimes in addition to the

⁴⁷For examples, see utterances 14, 20-29, 220, etc, which are all Julienne's English translations of her mother's Secwepemctsin speech.

pronominal clitics and suffixes. This phenomenon will be dealt with in the latter sections of Chapter 5.

In summary, up until age 6, Julienne's active use of Secwepemctsin decreased as her exposure to English increased. Although her parents continued to model correct Secwepemctsin with her and her younger siblings, her Secwepemctsin utterances began to incorporate English stems, and she began to use Secwepemctsin independent pronouns.

5.1.2 Collection and Methodology

Collection of Julienne's Secwepemctsin data for this case study began early in 1997, when Julienne was 6;3, at which time a small sample of 18 utterances were taken. More systematic visits were made between September 1997, when Julienne was 6;10, and March 1998, age 7;4. During this seven-month period, I visited Julienne's home on average twice a month for 12 visits, resulting in a total of 7 recorded sessions.

4 Utterances recorded

Age at session	6;3	6;10;15	6;10;25	6;11;16	7;0;6	7;2;28	7;4;6	Total
Utterances	18	27	69	63	11	107	10	305

Due to the relatively small size of samples from each session, the data from all sessions have been collapsed into one database, as if they were collected from the same stage of acquisition, and there will be no discussion in this thesis of whether or not there was any advancement in Julienne's Secwepemctsin learning during the collection period.

For the sample collection sessions, Julienne was told that I wanted to learn Secwepemctsin, therefore Julienne should speak in Secwepemctsin while playing with me, so that I could learn

it. Only myself, the mother, and Julienne were present at these elicitation sessions. Due to my lack of fluency in the language, I only used limited Secwepemctsin words with Julienne, and communicated mostly in English with Julienne in and out of the sessions. Julienne's mother's use of Secwepemctsin with her was consistent. The sessions started in September 1997 were mostly videotaped by either myself or the mother, and written notes were added after the sessions had finished. When a session was not videotaped, written notes were taken.

Depending on the situation and Julienne's mood, each session ranged from 30 minutes to 60 minutes. Early on in the collection process, it was noticed that Julienne did not respond well to one type of elicitation process. This was expected of a child, and many different ways of elicitation were used throughout the data-collection period. They included imitation, in which Julienne repeated after her mother; a 'Simon says' game in Secwepemctsin, in which Julienne, her mother, and myself took turns issuing commands; observation of Julienne at play with her mother, and spontaneous conversations and games between the child and the mother.

In each visit to Julienne's home, I spent approximately 7 to 10 hours in the presence of Julienne in addition to the actual elicitation session. It is estimated based on this experience at her home that Julienne uses English to spontaneously communicate with her older siblings all the time, while she uses Secwepemctsin to spontaneously communicate with her parents and younger siblings about 70 to 80% of the time. It is therefore assumed that Julienne is much more comfortable and much more fluent in English than in Secwepemctsin. Based on Julienne's performance in English and Secwepemctsin at the end of the research period, there is little doubt that Julienne is now most fluent in English.

5.1.3 Data Transcription and Coding

A total of 305 intelligible utterances (see (4) above), including English, Secwepemctsin, and mixed utterances, were transcribed from the elicitations and entered into a database with the following fields:

- utterance number
- utterance
- language (Shuswap, English, or mixed)
- complete or incomplete
- number of morphemes per utterance
- yes/no or non-yes/no
- imitation or non-imitation
- pronominal reference (yes or no)
- non-independent pronouns used (enter each pronoun)
- independent pronouns used (enter each independent pronoun; if none, enter no)
- date collected
- additional notes

A brief explanation of each of the fields is given below.

5.1.3.1 Utterance

Each utterance is recorded in English or Secwepemctsin orthography. An utterance is determined by a continuous string produced by Julienne. If she pauses, and does not continue, the output string is considered broken, and the end of the utterance is reached. However, interruption of her speech which resumes immediately do not constitute the end of an utterance. For instance, (5a, b) each shows an utterance.

- 5 a Yes you can. It means I see him, hmm, which one?
 Was it a girl or a boy? (7;2;28)⁴⁸
- b I feed, me-, meté.t-ø-en re n-sqéxe (7;2;28)
 I feed, fee-, feed(redup)-3sg.obj-1sg.subj det 1sg.poss-dog
I feed, fee-, I feed my dog

⁴⁸Each of Julienne's utterance is given with her age at time of utterance. If an utterance is referred to without being given in the main text, the utterance number is cited, and it can be looked up in the appendix, where all of Julienne's utterances are given.

5.1.3.2 Language

Utterances that are completely in Secwepemctsin or English are coded as so. Utterances are “mixed” when using morphemes from both languages. Words or expressions that cannot be easily categorized as English or Secwepemctsin are also coded as “mixed”; these include expressions like “hey”, “huh” and proper names. However, if a name or expression that is unidentifiable as a particular language appears in a longer utterance that is completely Secwepemctsin or English, then the unidentifiable word is ignored, and the rest of the utterance is classified accordingly. For example, utterance (6) is classified as “mixed”, while (7) is “Secwepemctsin”.

- 6 Lizzie (6;3)
- 7 mama, kec-t-sé.ts.m-e t k cereal (6;3)
mom, give-tr-1sg.subj.redup-imp obl irr cereal
Mom, give me some cereal

5.1.3.3 Completeness

Utterances that are holistic in nature are generally complete; for instance, if the child says “yes” in response to a yes/no question, “yes” is considered a complete utterance. Incomplete utterances consist of false starts and completions of previous utterances. False starts are utterances that do not finish (8).

- 8 ntsétswe7, uh, me-, me- (7;2;28)
1sg.indpr, uh, fee-, fee-
I, uh, fee-, fee- (Julienne is trying to remember the word for ‘I feed’, *meteten*)

Completion of previous utterances include words or syllables that complete the child’s own previous utterances or the mother’s utterances. A typical completion case is given in (9).

9⁴⁹ J: setsínem-s Sandra (7;2;28)
 sing-3sg.subj Sandra
 Sandra sings.

M: setsínem-
 sing-
 Sing-?

J: -ce Sandra (7;2;28)
 -2sg.imp Sandra
 You (sing)! Sandra!

5.1.3.4 Number of Morphemes per Utterance

The same set of rules to calculate the number of morphemes per utterance is used for English, Secwepemctsin, and mixed utterances. The rules are as follows⁵⁰:

- Since the notion “word” is not easily definable in an agglutinative language like Secwepemctsin, and Secwepemctsin has too many lexical items that are not free morphemes (lexical suffixes, for example), only morphemes will be counted.
- Any item with an identifiable independent meaning is counted as one morpheme. This includes clitics, affixes, and bound or free lexical items.
- Morphemes in exclamations are counted as one morpheme. “Huh?” may be used to mean “What did you say?”
- Morphemes in full and partial imitation utterances are counted.
- Morphemes in incomplete utterances are counted.
- Morphemes have to be complete morphemes in order to be counted; i.e., an incomplete morpheme, though recognizable, is counted as 0; for example, (10) is recognizable as *speqwel'tcw* “book”, but it is counted as 0 morphemes because it is incomplete.

10 -qwel'tcw (7;2;28)
 -book
 book (speqwél'tcw = ‘book’)

5.1.3.5 Yes/No or Non-Yes/No

Any utterance containing English or Secwepemctsin “yes” or “no” is classified as Yes/No.

⁴⁹The conversation participants’ utterances will be coded either “M” for Julienne’s mother, or “S” for myself.

⁵⁰Productivity of these morphemes is ignored.

5.1.3.6 Imitation or Non-imitation

If the utterance repeats a previous utterance by her mother, or by the researcher, it is considered an imitation. These also include partial imitations with expansions on the utterances (11).

- 11 M: n-tsétswe7 ell-
1sg.indpr and-
I, and?
- J: n-tsétswe7 ell tsétse (7;2;28)
1sg.indpr and younger.sibling.of.same.sex
I and younger sister

5.1.3.7 Pronominal Reference

An utterance is coded “yes” if it has any kind of morpheme encoding pronominal reference, “no” if it has no morphemes encoding pronominal reference.

5.1.3.8 Bound Pronouns Used

Each pronoun used is entered. English pronouns include “I, you, he, she, it, we, they, my, your, etc.” and Secwepemctsin pronouns are entered as gloss (e.g.: *1sg.ind* for ‘first person singular indicative’) because they are all clitics or suffixes and may change their form depending on the environment.

5.1.3.9 Independent Pronouns Used

Independent pronouns are entered in this field if they occur in the utterance. If there are no independent pronouns in the utterance, "no" is entered.

5.1.3.10 Additional Notes

Relevant additional notes are entered here, such as context, gestures, etc.

5.2 General Analysis

5.2.1 Results

From a total of 305 utterances by Julienne, 60.98% (186 utterances) were in Secwepemctsin, 29.83% (91 utterances) were in English, and 9.18% (28 utterances) were mixed. Within each language category, there are significantly more complete utterances than incomplete utterances. (12) shows detailed numbers of utterances in each language.

12 Break-down of Julienne's Sample by Language

Secwepemctsin	English	Mixed	Total
186	91	28	305
60.98%	29.83%	9.18%	100%

13 Break-down of Julienne's Sample by Completeness

Complete	Incomplete	Total
230	75	305
75.41%	24.59%	100%

Although the large percentage of complete Secwepemctsin utterances is encouraging, the Secwepemctsin incomplete utterances comprise 86.67% of all incomplete utterances. This shows that Julienne finds it more difficult to start and complete utterances in Secwepemctsin than in English or mixed language situations. In comparison, there are only 5 cases (6.67%) of incomplete utterances in English, and 5 such cases in mixed language utterances.

14 **Julienne's incomplete utterances**

Secwepemctsin	Incomplete: 86.67% (65)	False starts: 31 Completions: 34
English	Incomplete: 6.67% (5)	False starts: 2 Completions: 3
Mixed	Incomplete: 6.67% (5)	False starts: 2 Completions: 3

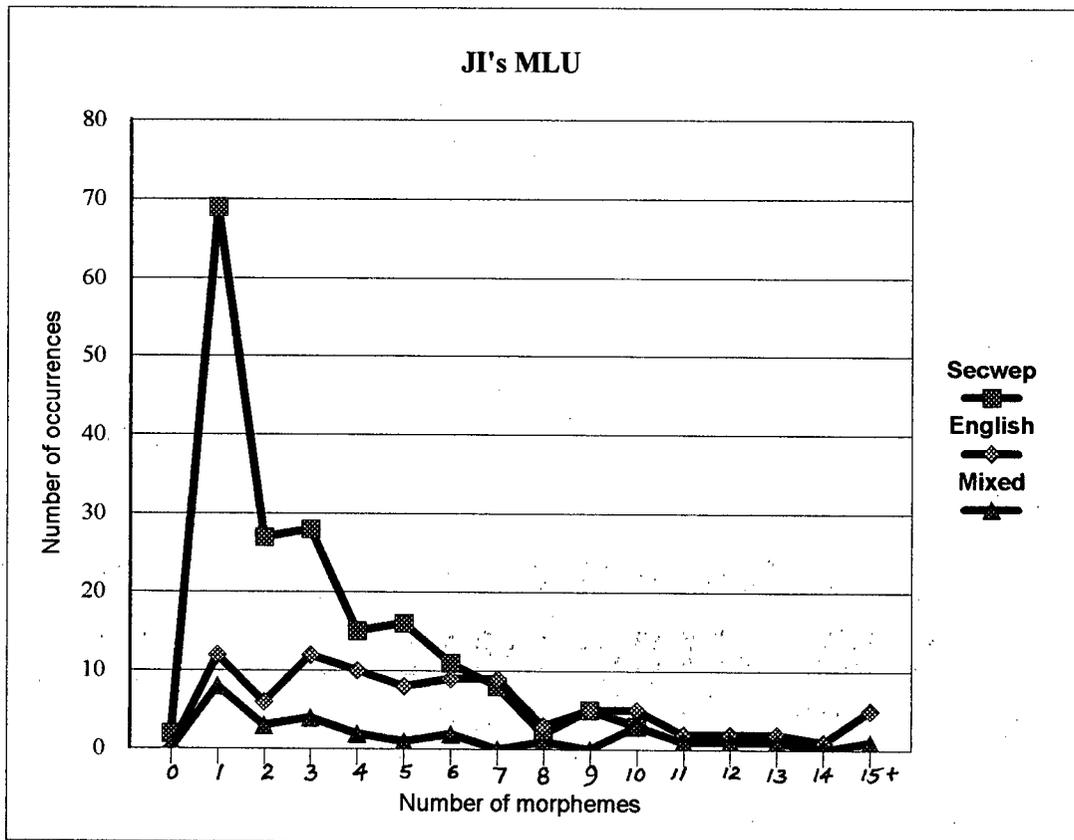
Virtually all of Julienne's imitations are in Secwepemctsin (27 in Secwepemctsin, 0 in English, 2 in mixed languages). The lack of imitation in all 91 English utterances shows her comfort with English, since she can produce spontaneous utterances on her own. Moreover, assuming that imitation is a learning strategy for the language-acquiring child, the asymmetry between Secwepemctsin and English or mixed-language imitation indicates Julienne's attempt to improve her Secwepemctsin skills. The MLU table in (15) shows that Julienne's acquisition of English is far ahead of her acquisition in Secwepemctsin in terms of mean length of utterance (MLU).

15. MLU in Secwepemctsin, English, and mixed languages

Secwepemctsin		English		Mixed languages	
Length of utterance (morphemes)	Number of utterances	Length of utterance (morphemes)	Number of utterances	Length of utterance (morphemes)	Number of utterances
0	2	0	0	0	0
1	69	1	12	1	8
2	27	2	6	2	3
3	28	3	12	3	4
4	15	4	10	4	2
5	16	5	8	5	1
6	11	6	9	6	2
7	8	7	9	7	0
8	2	8	3	8	1
9	5	9	5	9	0
10	3	10	5	10	3
11	0	11	2	11	1
12	0	12	2	12	1
13	0	13	2	13	1
14	0	14	1	14	0
15 and more	0	15 and more	5	15 and more	1
Total number of morphemes = $\frac{560}{186} = 3.01$		Total number of morphemes = $\frac{552}{91} = 6.07$		Total number of morphemes = $\frac{140}{28} = 5$	

The longest Secwepemctsin utterance in the database is recorded at 10 morphemes per utterance, whereas the longest English utterance is 25 morphemes long, and the longest mixed language utterance is 15 morphemes long. The mean length of utterances (MLUs) for Secwepemctsin, English, and mixed languages are 3.01, 6.07, and 5 respectively. There is a big gap between the MLU for Secwepemctsin and the MLU for English, confirming that Julienne's performance in English is far more advanced than that of Secwepemctsin. Furthermore, the chart in (16) shows that it is in Secwepemctsin where there is a peak at one morpheme and a sharp decline in number of occurrences as the length of utterance increases. This is an indication that it is more difficult for Julienne to have longer utterances in Secwepemctsin because she is less fluent in this language.

16 Chart of Julienne's MLU



There is something to be said about the one-morpheme utterances in Secwepemctsin. Of all 69 occurrences, 56.52% (39/69) are either *me7e* 'yes' or *ta7a* 'no', used in response to Julienne's mother and the researcher's elicitation⁵¹. Julienne's passive role in the use of Secwepemctsin is thus manifested. Other single morpheme utterances are evenly distributed between numerals, single nominals, predicate stems without pronominal markings (which are typical of Julienne's predicates), and free use of single bound morphemes, used primarily as completions to previous utterances.

⁵¹Note that the elicitation are not designed to deliberately solicit yes/no answers. Julienne's yes/no answers are used correctly, although the contexts in which they are used generally need further elaborations to the yes/no words.

Julienne uses yes/no answers very frequently. There are 43 utterances with yes/no word occurrences, 39 of which are single-morpheme utterances; in other words, only 9.3% (4/43) utterances have elaborations other than the yes/no word. There are 12 yes/no utterances in English, and in this case, Julienne elaborates on 66.6% (8/12) of them. In mixed language utterances, there are 3 yes/no occurrences, and all of them have elaborations on the yes/no response. Therefore, I interpret the absence of elaborations on the Secwepemctsin yes/no utterances as another sign that Julienne is not as comfortable in this language as she is in English.

5.2.2 Secwepemctsin Vocabulary and Phrase Structure

There are a total of 91 different morphemes recorded in Julienne's Secwepemctsin utterances, one third of which belong to the nominal category. Note that the classification of adjectivals is approximate, as it is often difficult to establish whether this category is present in Salish languages (Demirdache and Matthewson 1994, Davis, Lai, & Matthewson 1997).

17 Secwepemctsin morphemes found in Julienne's speech

Type of morpheme	Number of types
Nominal (including emphatic pron. stems)	30
Verbal ('action' words)	22
Functional (bound pronouns, determiners, etc)	18
Adjectives (including numerals and deictics)	14
Other (including yes/no and interjections)	7
Total	91

Since Secwepemctsin is characterized as having a wide range of bound grammatical morphemes, a brief look at such morphemes in Julienne's language sample would illustrate the extent to which she has acquired Secwepemctsin. The following are the functional types found in Julienne's vocabulary.

18 Functional morphemes in Julienne's sample: 18

-ce	imperative marker
-en	1sg.subj
-es/us	3sg.conj
k	irrealis marker
-k	2sg.ind
-ken	1sg.ind
-kt	1pl.ind
kucw	exclusive marker
n-	1sg.poss
re	determiner
s-	nominalizer
s(i)	2sg.obj
-s	3sg.ind
-t-	transitivizer
te	oblique determiner
w7ec	progressive/aspectual marker
7-	2sg.poss
(redup)	first person singular reduplication

A total of 18 different functional morphemes are found, 11 of which are pronominal morphemes. Compare these to the 35 different pronominal morphemes shown in appendix C, and it becomes clear that Julienne is actively using less than half of the bound pronominal morphemes available in the language. If the entire range of functional morphemes in Secwepemctsin (including causative marker, passive marker, particles, and determiners) are taken into account, the percentage that Julienne actually uses is significantly lowered. An additional point to be considered is that Julienne's database contains imitations as well as spontaneous utterances, and to a certain extent some of her expressions are idiomatically memorized, due to the lack of positive evidence of productivity; as a result, not all of the functional morphemes recorded here are productive, lowering even more the number of actively used functional morphemes.

Due to space and time limitations, I will not explore further the productivity of Julienne's morphological vocabulary in this thesis. Instead, I will discuss general characteristics of

Julienne's grammar and compare them to the characteristics of the adult grammar as presented in Chapter 1.

5.2.3 General Aspects of Syntax: Adult versus Julienne

5.2.3.1 Radical-Head Marking Language

In adult Secwepemctsin, pronominal marking on the predicate is obligatory, since it is a radical head-marking language, but in Julienne's Secwepemctsin, predicates are optionally marked by pronominals. In the two utterances in (19), *want* is uninflected in one case and inflected in another. This is clearly a violation of the adult grammar, which always requires pronominal clitics or affixes to license *pro* and to allow single predicate utterances.

19 a n-tsétswe7 qwenmín te dance (7;4;6)
1sg.indpr want obl dance
I want to dance

b ta7 k s-qwenmím-ø-en ntsétswe7 te q'iméke7 (7;2;28)
neg irr nom-want-3sg.obj-1sg.subj 1sg.indpr obl pen
I don't want the pen

Adult Secwepemctsin allows a clause to be composed of only a single predicate, and apparently so does Julienne's Secwepemctsin grammar (20). However, there are few examples for this sentence type.

20 oh, xwíst-sí-n, kí7ce (7;2;28)
oh, like-2sg.obj-1sg.subj mother
Oh, I love you, Mom!

5.2.3.2 Optional DPs and Their Order

In (21a), the predicate appears to be complete in and of itself, with pronominal subject and object correctly inflected on it. Although this predicate is used with the word for *mother*, it is quite clear from the pause (signalled by a comma) that *mother* is not functioning grammatically as an argument of the clause. (21b), on the other hand, shows that Julienne does employ overt DPs optionally.

21 a oh, xwist-sí-n, kí7ce (7;2;28)
 oh, like-2sg.obj-1sg.subj mother
 Oh, I love you, Mom!

 b n-tsetswe7 xwe.xwis-t-sí-n 7-enwí7 (7;2;28)
 1sg.indpr like(redup)-tr-2sg.obj-1sg.subj 2sg.indpr
 I love you.

Word orders available in adult Secwepemctsin are SVO, VOS, and VSO, while Julienne's samples show SVO (22) and VSO (23) orders.

22 n-tsetswe7 illen te s-t7illen (7;2;28)
 1sg.indpr eat obl food
 I eat food

23 ta7 k s-qwenmí.m.-ø-en ntsétswe7 te q'iméke7 (7;2;28)
 net irr nom-want(redup)-3sg.obj-1sg.subj 1sg.indpr obl pen
 I don't want the pen (Not 'I don't want my pen')

Determiners are obligatory on straight and oblique arguments in adult Secwepemctsin, but optional in Julienne's grammar. Julienne uses the direct determiner *re* regularly; she has never used the absent determiner *l*, and has overgeneralized the oblique determiner *te*. Compare the inconsistent use of the determiner for the argument of *touch* in the following utterances.

24 tsut-ø te Simon, tkensték-e re sq'wéxt (6;10;5)
 say-3sg.ind obl Simon, touch-imp det leg
 Simon says, touch the leg

- 25 *tsut-ø* *te* Simon, *tkensté-t-ø-en* *te* *qw'u* (6;10;5)
 say-3sg.ind obl Simon, touch-tr-3sg.obj-1sg.subj obl bellybutton
 Simon says, touch the belly button

5.3.3.3 Summary

Given the above criteria, Julienne's Secwepemctsin grammar is decidedly different from that of the adult's. It appears that she is using an agglutinative language (Secwepemctsin) as if it were an analytic language (English), evidenced by her optional argument marking on predicates and proliferated use of overt DPs. These observations indicate that her Secwepemctsin grammar is deeply influenced by Secwepemctsin-external forces; a possible analysis arises that she is simply mapping Secwepemctsin lexical items onto an English syntactic template. However, this analysis would have to be rejected, based on the comparison given in the following table.

26 Adult Secwepemctsin Grammar versus Julienne's grammar versus Relexified English⁵²

	Adult grammar	Julienne's grammar	Relexified English
Word order	SVO, VOS, VSO	SVO, VSO	SVO
Overt DP	Optional - rare	Optional - frequent	Obligatory overt DP
Arguments	Generally <i>pro</i>	Extensive use of overt DP	Obligatory DPs
Pronominal marking on predicate	Obligatory	Optional	Virtually absent
Use of determiners	Obligatory on arguments	Optional	Obligatory
Use of independent pronouns	Seldom used; for contrastive purposes only	Extensive use	Argument pronouns obligatory; contrastiveness used in restrictive contexts only

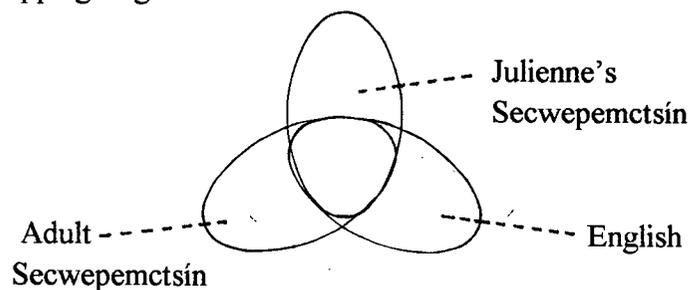
Julienne's Secwepemctsin grammar is neither adult Secwepemctsin, nor relexified English. It is different from English and Secwepemctsin in all of the categories presented in table (26). However, in several cases, Julienne's Secwepemctsin grammar appears to be in between

⁵²Given that less than a quarter (24.2%, 45/186) of Julienne's Secwepemctsin utterances are over 5 morphemes long (recall that independent lexical items in this language are rarely singly morphemic), and many of these are incomplete utterances, the usable data drawn from her sample for a syntactic analysis is extremely limited.

English and Secwepemctsin. For instance, while Secwepemctsin overt DPs are always rare, and English overt DPs are always obligatory, Julienne's Secwepemctsin overt DPs are optional but very frequent. While pronominal marking on predicates is obligatory in Secwepemctsin and virtually absent in English, it is optional in Julienne's Secwepemctsin predicates. In section 5.3, I will single out the special case of independent pronouns, and examine how Julienne uses them in comparison to how adults use them.

The following diagram supplements the table in (26) in illustrating that Julienne's grammar characterizes both English and Secwepemctsin, but also has innovative properties that are neither English nor Secwepemctsin.

27 Overlapping of grammars



(27) illustrates that Julienne's Secwepemctsin grammar contains properties of English, Secwepemctsin, and also properties that are non-English and non-Secwepemctsin. It is therefore inappropriate to conclude that Julienne's grammar is only influenced by the languages that are used in her environment. The Secwepemctsin-external and English-external forces that affect her Secwepemctsin performance could possibly come from Universal Grammar. It would therefore be helpful to see what monolingual children acquiring languages similar to Secwepemctsin do, which would help explain how much of Julienne's grammar is coming from non-Secwepemctsin, non-English sources. More discussion on this subject will follow the study of Julienne's Secwepemctsin independent pronouns.

5.3 A Special Case: The Comparison of Pronominal Systems in Adult Secwepemctsin and Julienne's Secwepemctsin

Julienne's use of independent pronouns is extremely frequent. Nearly half (46.6%, 48/103) of all her utterances with pronominal reference employ independent pronouns. While adult speakers only use such pronouns as arguments in contrastive contexts, Julienne does not adhere to this restriction. This section examines the occurrences of independent pronouns in Julienne's language sample, and compares them to use by adults.

5.3.1 Overregularization of Independent Pronouns: Data

5.3.1.1 Extensive Occurrence

Of the 7 independent pronouns available in Secwepemctsin, (see table in (28)) Julienne has only used the three singular forms. Their number of occurrences are recorded in (29).

28 Independent pronominal paradigm (adopted from Kuipers 1974)

1 sg.		2 sg.	3 sg.
n-tsetswe7		7-enwi7	newi7-s
1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
wll-enwi7-kt	wll-enwi7-s-kucw	wll-enwi7-mp	wll-enwi7-s

29 Julienne's use of independent pronouns

Pronoun	Number of occurrences
n-tsetswe7 'I'	37
7-enwi7 'you'	10
newi7-s 'he/she/it'	1

According to Julienne's mother, she and Julienne's father, like most fluent speakers, do not use independent pronouns often, and when they do, the first and second persons singular are most frequently used. This would explain why only one of Julienne's independent pronoun

occurrences is neither first nor second singular. The single use of the third person singular independent pronoun is interesting. It is used deictically in the following context:

- 30 newi7-s nts'qéxe (7;2;28)
 3sg.indpr horse
 It's a horse (pointing to a picture of a unicorn)

Julienne does not elaborate on this in later utterances, and for this reason I assume that this is a complete utterance, and not a DP containing the independent pronoun with its overt referent (i.e., *the horse*). It is interesting that Julienne would employ the third person singular independent pronoun in this case, as she does use Secwepemctsin deictics appropriately in other contexts:

- 31 yiri7 ntsétswe7 te q'iméke7 (7;2;28)
 deic 1sg.indpr obl pen
 That's my pen

As far as the plural independent pronouns are concerned, it is probably the case that Julienne does not know the plural independent pronouns, since her parents rarely, if ever, use them.

There are a total of 103 utterances with Secwepemctsin pronominal reference. 45 utterances containing 48 uses of independent pronouns are found. There are 3 utterances in which independent pronouns are used more than once. One of them is the spontaneous form in (32), the other an incomplete utterance (utterance 233), and the third, a repetition (utterance 237).

The spontaneous form in (32) is well-formed in adult speech given the appropriate context.

- 32 n-tsetswe7 xwe.xwist-sí-n 7-enwi7 (6;11;16)
 1sg.indpr like(redup)-2sg.obj-1sg.subj 2sg.indpr
 I love you

5.3.1.2 Independent Pronouns versus Bound Clitics/Affixes

In the 17 full sentences containing independent pronouns, 35.3% (6/17) are used in accordance with the adult grammatical use; namely, the independent pronouns co-occur with the correct pronominal clitics and/or affixes on the predicate (33). (34) gives the predicates with the correct morphology, with zero morphology, and with inappropriate morphology.

33 Full sentences containing independent pronouns: 17

- utt.005 Mom, wíwkten re 7enwí7 te kelc.
- utt.009 Mama, kectsétsme te ntsétswe7 te stemstéte7stem
- utt.010 Mama, ntsétswe7 méq'-ken
- utt.011 Mama, kectsétsme ntsétswe7 tek orange juice!
- utt.012 ki7ce, k7ep re ntsétswe7
- utt.041 est'il ntsétswe7
- utt.130 ntsétswe7 ta7a qwenmín yi7éne
- utt.131 ntsétswe7 ta7a qwenmín yi7éne
- utt.187 ntsétswe7 xwexwistsín 7enwí7
- utt.194 ntsétswe7 íllen te st7íllen
- utt.204 ta7 k s qwenmímen ntsétswe7 te q'iméke7
- utt.228 ntsétswe7 ell re Lizzie lecus
- utt.231 ntsétswe7 ell re Sandra lecus-ken
- utt.241 newí7-s nts'qexe
- utt.251 yiri7 ntsétswe7 te q'iméke7
- utt.298 ntsétswe7 qwenmín te dance
- utt.301 ntsétswe7 qwenmín te dance

34 Grammatical, ungrammatical, and lack of pronominal morphology on predicates in non-imitation clauses containing independent pronouns

Used with correct morphology (6)	Used with zero morphology (9)	Used with inappropriate morphology (2)
wíwkten 'I see it'	k7ep 'sick'	lecúskén 'I'm pretty'
kectsétsme '(you) give me'	est'il 'stop'	newí7-s ntse'qexe 'It's a horse'
xwexwistsín 'I like/love you'	íllen 'eat'	
qwenmímen 'I want'	qwenmín 'want' (4)	
méq'ken 'I'm full'	lecus 'pretty'	
n-q'iméke7 'my pen'	yiri7 'that (one)'	

Compare the above with non-imitation full clauses that contain pronominal reference, but without independent pronouns.

35 Full non-imitation sentences with pronominal reference: 19

- utt.001 Mama, kectsétsme t k cereal
 utt.007 kectsétsme te stemsteté7stem
 utt.008 qwenmímen tek pop
 utt.015 *I púl'te re cmeye
 utt.016 *I wi7 sécwen
 utt.030 *tkenstéke... ntsétswe7
 utt.031 tkenstéten n-qwéten
 utt.032 tkenstéke re sq'wéxt
 utt.036 tsut re Simon, *tkenstéten nqw'u
 utt.037 tkenstéten nqw'u
 utt.048 OK, tsut re Simon, te... [etc]
 utt.137 *ts'úmqsente re kenkéknem (for 'I kiss the black bear')
 utt.141 Oh, xwistsín, ki7ce
 utt.156 *íllenten ('it is eating')
 utt.176 *w7ec séysemus ('seysus') (repeated in utt.178, 180)⁵³
 utt.208 *setsínem-s, Sandra (imperative setsínem-ce)
 utt.211 setsínem-ken, -ken
 utt.239 ?I feed, me, me, metéten, re nsqéxe
 utt.302 *kectsétsme re ts'úmqsentsme

36 Grammatical and ungrammatical morphology on predicates in non-imitation full sentences

Used with correct morphology (10)	Used with zero morphology (0)	Used with inappropriate morphology (9)
tsut 'says'	none	púl'te 'kill'
kectsétsme '(you) give me' (3)		wi7 sécwen 'finish bathing'
qwenmímen 'I want'		ts'úm'qsente 'kiss it!'
xwistsín 'I like/love you'		ts'úm'qsentsme 'kiss me'
setsínemken 'I sing'		íllenten 'eat'
tkenstéke 'touch it'		w7ec séysemus 'playing'
tkenstéten 'I touch it' (2)		setsínems 'sings'
		tkenstéke 'touch it'
		tkenstéten 'I touch it'

It is a good sign that there are no forms used with zero morphology in the table above. This shows that when a clause is without independent pronouns, Julienne always uses pronominal

⁵³Notice that the ungrammaticality of this utterance is caused by Julienne's productive analysis of Secwepemctsin morphology. The morphological breakdown of the utterance is given in (i) below. It contains a passive marker and a conjunctive marker, which are usually what accompanies a clause having a progressive particle *w7ec*. The utterance is only ungrammatical because the attested form here, *seysus*, is an irregular verb.

(i) *w7ec seyse-m-us*
 prog play-pas-3sg.conj
 It's/They're playing

morphology to mark the arguments. This shows that Julienne knows arguments must be present in a clause, whether these are realized as overt lexical items, such as DPs, or pronominal morphemes, which are the clitics and affixes. What is interesting is that she appears to be treating DPs and pronominal morphology as if they were of equal status, since both can satisfy the argument requirement.

The predicates used with the correct pronominal morphology are generally words with high frequency of usage for children, such as 'give', 'want', 'say', 'see', suggesting the co-occurrence of pronominal markings on many of these predicates could be due to idiomatic usages of the predicates, and not due to knowledge of adult grammar. However, many of the predicates with inappropriate or zero pronominal morphology also appear to be words that should normally be used in a child's speech, or in conversation with a child, and it is not clear why these forms are used incorrectly by Julienne. However, most of the inappropriate forms are attested in the language, but are used in the wrong context by Julienne. For example, Julienne overgeneralizes forms such as *ts'um'qsentsme* 'kiss me (imperative)' and *pul'ste* 'kill it (imperative)', but the forms are attested in the language. Furthermore, from translated utterances (such as utterances 20-29 in appendix E), it is not difficult to see that Julienne does indeed understand many of the pronominal markings on predicates. These are thus encouraging signs that Julienne has a fairly thorough understanding of Secwepemctsin pronominals, and may simply be blocked from actively producing them⁵⁴.

⁵⁴It is widely known in the language acquisition field that a normal language-learner's comprehension is better than her performance. Due to the special circumstances surrounding Julienne, her language comprehension-production gap may be wider than normal (Ingram, p.c.). This will have to be validated by systematic comprehension/production tests and analyses. Optimally the results should be compared and contrasted with comprehension/production studies of regular monolingual acquisition and bilingual acquisition.

Let us return to Julienne's over-use of independent pronouns. Often (52.9%, 9/17), independent pronouns are used by Julienne as a regular argument without pronominal marking on the predicate, exactly the kind of construction that English has. (37) provides the details.

37 Usage of pronominal morphology on the predicate

Pronominal morphology on predicate	With independent pronoun in clause	Without independent pronoun in clause
correct	35.3% (6/17)	52.6% (10/19)
inappropriate	11.1% (2/17)	47.4% (9/19)
zero morphology	52.9% (9/17)	00.0% (0/19)

When an independent pronoun is available, Julienne tends not to use bound pronominal morphology on the predicate. When an independent pronoun is not available, she always uses bound pronominal morphology. Some kind of pronominal marking is necessary in all clauses, regardless of whether it is bound or free. Therefore, Julienne's independent pronouns and bound clitics/affixes appear to be of equal status functionally - both can satisfy a clause's need for arguments.

These observations may give clues about the categorial difference/similarity between Julienne's independent pronouns and bound clitics/affixes.

In the 45 utterances containing independent pronouns, a striking 91% (41/45) are used in non-imitation cases, yielding a high number of spontaneous independent pronoun use. This finding is significant. If Julienne is most comfortable using independent pronouns rather than pronominal bound morphemes, the implication is that she is more comfortable with an analytic grammar system. There is little doubt that this is a result of direct influence from English, the dominant language of her peers and her community. Indeed, a telling example of English influence in her Secwepemctsin acquisition is manifested in (38).

38 ntsétswe7 ta7a qwenmín yi7éne (6;11;16)
 1sg.indpr neg want deic
 I don't want this

This is almost a direct translation from English, with a one-to-one correspondence between Secwepemctsin lexical item and English lexical item. Compare (38) to the grammatical adult form in (39).

39 ta7a k s qwenmím-ø-en yi7éne
 neg irr nom want-3sg.obj-1sg.subj deic
 I don't want this
 Literally 'it is not the case want-it-I this'

5.3.2 Adult Independent Pronouns versus Julienne's Independent Pronouns

A brief comparison of adult Secwepemctsin independent pronouns and Julienne's Secwepemctsin independent pronouns is presented below. The characteristics of independent pronouns in adult Secwepemctsin are summarized in (40).

40 Characteristics of Adult Secwepemctsin independent pronouns

- a) They can be in argument position or in predicate position
- b) They are used rarely, and only in emphatic contexts
- c) There can only be one independent pronoun per clause when both arguments are third person
- d) In clauses with only third person arguments, the independent pronoun is subject-oriented
- e) Independent pronouns always refer to humans
- f) Independent pronouns can be possessors in a possessive phrase

Does Julienne adhere to these restrictions? Julienne does use independent pronouns as arguments of a clause, but she does not use them predicatively. There are two possibilities to explain why there are no predicative uses of independent pronouns. First, independent pronouns cannot be predicates in Julienne's grammar. Second, Julienne cannot use independent pronouns predicatively because she has not yet learned the cleft construction. The

first possibility can be rejected based on the fact that both English and Secwepemctsin can have clefted pronouns, and if Julienne's Secwepemctsin performance is affected by English, there is no reason for her not to cleft pronouns. That she has not learned the cleft construction is highly probable, as syntactic constructions involving gaps are generally considered more advanced (see O'Grady 1997 and references therein), and Julienne does not use cleft constructions in her sample.

Julienne's independent pronoun usage is rather broad, as opposed to the adults' use in restrictive contrastive contexts only. Independent pronouns found in Julienne's language samples are mostly used in non-intensifying contexts, and the sheer frequency of their occurrence (46.6% of all her utterances with pronominal reference) suggests she is not bound by the restriction found in the adult grammar. The lack of contrastiveness in her independent pronouns may be related to the fact that her independent pronouns and bound pronouns are of equal syntactic status. In other words, independent pronouns may simply be the unbound counterparts of the pronominal clitics and affixes, and the bound and independent pronouns are all of the same category. It is unclear what can trigger this reanalysis.

It has already been mentioned that Julienne has used independent pronouns for both arguments in a transitive clause (see (32) above). It is possible to get two non-third person independent pronouns in a transitive clause, but only with appropriate discourse contexts. For Julienne, no context is necessary for any kind of independent pronoun use, not even for having two independent pronouns per clause.

Julienne does not appear to follow the subject-orientation restriction of independent pronouns either, but this is due to the lack of sufficient data, since virtually all of her independent

pronouns are first and second person singular. Insufficient third person data is also the reason it is not possible to tell whether she adheres to the “human effect”; namely, that independent pronouns always refer to humans.

As shown in (41), the data shows that with regards to independent pronouns, Julienne’s grammar is again neither completely Secwepemctsin nor completely English. More importantly, the distribution of pronominal morphology is optional, which is both un-Secwepemctsin-like, and un-English-like.

41 Adult Independent pronouns Julienne’s independent pronouns versus English

	Adult Secwepemctsin independent pronouns	Julienne’s Secwepemctsin independent pronouns	English
Context	Contrastive (argument) or focus (predicate) only; never out of the blue	Not contrastive; can be used out of the blue	No restriction on overt unstressed pronouns; stressed pronouns are used contrastively
Co-occurrence with D	Not complements of D; adjoined to DP	Optionally take D	Never take D, but are themselves intransitive Ds
Argument position	Yes	Yes	Yes
Predicate position	Yes	No	Yes
Subject orientation	In clauses with third person arguments	Insufficient data	No restriction
Pronominal morphology on predicate	Obligatorily co-occur with pronominal clitics and affixes	Optional	Third person singular obligatorily present; rest of paradigm absent

5.3.3 Syntactic Analysis of Julienne’s Independent Pronouns

In sections 3.5 to 3.7, I discussed in detail a syntactic analysis of adult Secwepemctsin independent pronouns. The following section compares Julienne’s utterances in relation to them. The observations about Julienne’s Secwepemctsin independent pronouns are as follows. In terms of internal syntax, they take D optionally; this suggests that they behave like nominals.

In terms of external syntax, they always occur in argument position, but never in predicate position; independent pronouns can either co-occur with, or replace, pronominal clitics or affixes on the predicate. In terms of semantics, the independent pronouns do not show contrastiveness.

5.3.3.1 The Familiarity Hierarchy

The usage of independent pronouns in adult Secwepemctsin is discourse-oriented. Julienne's usage is not. There is no evidence that Julienne uses independent pronouns in the contrastive way that adults use them. Her independent pronouns appear to be regular pronouns.

Since Julienne uses virtually no third person independent pronouns, no data is available to show whether there are asymmetrical behaviours regarding the subject position and third person independent pronouns, and hence no evidence is available to show whether Julienne is following the Familiarity Hierarchy in terms of nominal usage in clauses. However, following from the observation that Julienne's independent pronouns are not contrastive, there is no reason to expect her independent pronouns to show subject orientation, since the IPR occurs when one argument is more familiar than another. There also is insufficient data to show whether Julienne's grammar is constrained by the ONI Law or whether it shows third person subject clefting asymmetry.

5.3.3.2 Category of Julienne's Pronouns

Julienne's independent pronouns are argument DPs, but there is no positive evidence that they are adjoined to argument DPs like adult Secwepemctsin independent pronouns. Lack of third

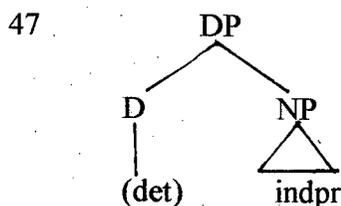
The fact that the determiner plus independent pronoun string does exist in Julienne's sample suggests that Julienne at least has available the construction in (45).

45 [det_D [indpr]]_{DP}

Why is the determiner sometimes absent, then? In many cases where her independent pronouns lack the determiner, it is clear that such pronouns are arguments.

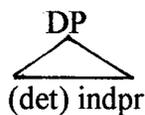
46 ntsétswe7 xwe.xwi.s-t-sí-n 7enwí7 (6;11;16)
 1sg.indpr like.redup-tr-2sg.obj-1sg.subj 2sg.indpr
 I love you

From the perspective of determiners, it appears that Julienne is treating independent pronouns as lexical nominals. In the adult grammar, I have analyzed independent pronouns as heading their own maximal projections which can adjoin to lexical DPs or *pro*. Julienne has no third person independent pronouns with nominal referents, so there is no evidence of an independent pronoun being adjoined to a lexical DP. However, in Julienne's use of first and second person independent pronouns (which in the adult grammar are attached to *pro*), it is apparent that she treats them as arguments. She has sometimes attached a determiner to these pronouns, suggesting she has reanalyzed independent pronouns as lexical nominal projections that are complements of D⁰, as in (47).

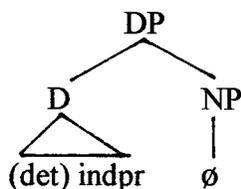


Other possible structures for Julienne's independent pronouns are in (48) and (49).

48



49



The structures in (48) and (49) can account for the fact that there are no predicative independent pronouns in Julienne's sample. The lack of predicative independent pronouns would not follow from (47), as the NP should be able to be predicative. That Julienne's independent pronouns do not co-occur with overt nominals follows from (47), in which the NP position is already filled. It also possibly follows from (48), in which there is no internal structure to DP. However, it does not follow from (49), since there is no explanation why the NP in (49) is never filled.

Since I have claimed that Julienne does not use independent pronouns as predicates because she has not acquired cleft constructions, the structures in (47) and (48) are equally possible as structures for Julienne's independent pronouns.

I speculate that Julienne is confused about the status of independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin. On the one hand, she feels that such pronouns are arguments, and therefore should receive DP status by being marked with a determiner. On the other hand, she knows from English that while pronouns can be arguments, they don't ever take determiners. I will assume that Julienne's independent pronouns can have the structures in (47) and (48). Notice that this suggests independent pronouns in Julienne's grammar are R-expressions. If her independent pronouns have the structure in (47), taking either overt D or null D, then once she acquires cleft constructions, she will use independent pronouns in predicate position. If on the

other hand her independent pronouns have the structure in (48), with unanalyzable internal structure, then her independent pronouns would not be able to occupy predicate position.

Suppose that my speculation above is correct. Would Julienne's use of independent pronouns as argument DPs (with a determiner) affect how she treats bound pronouns on the predicates? Data suggests the answer to be no. In (50, 51), where independent pronouns are D heads (due to the lack of determiner), predicates are optionally marked with bound pronouns.

50 Mama, ntsétswe7 méq'-ken (6;3;0)
 Mama, 1sg.indpr full-1sg.ind
 Mama, I'm full

51 ntsétswe7 ta7a qwenmín yi7éne (6;11;16)
 1sg.indpr neg want-Ø deic
 I don't want this

When independent pronouns are full DPs, the predicates are also optionally marked with bound pronouns (52, 53).

52 re 7enwi7 tsxwénte sk'épquen ell re sq'wéxt (7;4;6)
 det 2sg.indpr pick.up-imp head and det leg
 You pick me up by the head and legs
 (one arm under the neck and one arm under the legs)

53 kí7ce, k7ep re n-tsétwe7 (6;3;0)
 mother, sick det 1sg.indpr
 Mother, I'm sick

If her use and lack of bound pronominal marking on the predicate is not due to her use or lack of determiner on the independent pronouns, then what affects it? This question is of interest because, while in the adult grammar, pronominal bound morphemes (licensing *pro*) are obligatory and lexical pronouns and R-expressions are optional, in Julienne's grammar, the bound pronominal morphemes and the overt arguments appear to be equal in status; that is, the

presence of either bound pronominal morphemes or overt arguments satisfies the requirement for predicates to have a way of identifying arguments, as discussed earlier.

It is plausible that the influence of English is so overwhelming that for Julienne, Secwepemctsin independent pronouns are the equivalent of English unstressed pronouns, while Secwepemctsin bound pronouns are the equivalent of verb inflection. There is evidence in the literature of English acquisition that children at a very early age drop overt subjects and sometimes even overt objects; this is why Julienne sometimes does not have independent pronouns - she is applying *pro*-drop. It is also the case that English speaking children have uninflected verbal stems at certain stages in their acquisition. This explains why Julienne does not always have bound pronouns in Secwepemctsin. The problem with this kind of reasoning, however, is that Julienne is already past the age for displaying *pro*-drop inconsistencies. Monolingual English children tend not to display *pro*-drop past the age of 2 or 3, and Julienne's fluency of English is adequate for children her age. The English nominative personal pronouns *I, you(sg), he, she, it, we, you(pl), they* have all been used in Julienne's sample correctly. The accusative forms *me, you(sg), him, her, it, us* and the possessive forms *my, your(sg), his*, have also been used appropriately.

A relevant question to ask at this point, also, is this: if Julienne uses independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin as the equivalents of English pronouns, what would she employ to show contrastiveness of these pronouns? A likely prediction is that she would use stress, as English pronouns are stressed to show contrastiveness⁵⁵. Finding out whether Julienne does

⁵⁵What would be an interesting topic for further exploration is this: what is Julienne missing in the input so that she does not acquire the contrastiveness of independent pronouns? The presence of English cannot be a factor, as many generations before her have successfully acquired independent pronouns in a predominantly English-speaking environment.

contrastively stress Secwepemctsin independent pronouns is a step towards reaching an explanation for her grammatical system.

5.4 Remaining Questions

The one question that has constantly been asked during the examination of Julienne's Secwepemctsin grammar is this: what is the source for Julienne's grammar? That is, what makes her grammar the way it is?

Julienne's Secwepemctsin grammar clearly is not only affected by the Secwepemctsin adult input she receives. If it were, her grammar would be completely the same as that of fluent Secwepemctsin speakers. Julienne's Secwepemctsin grammar is also not completely affected by English. If it were, she could be speaking a relexified version of English, in which English words are substituted by Secwepemctsin words, but the grammar is English.

Julienne's grammar may be a hybrid of adult Secwepemctsin and adult English. However, there are properties of her Secwepemctsin grammar that are distinctively non-Secwepemctsin and non-English. For example, she uses determiners optionally on arguments, but in both Secwepemctsin and English, determiners are obligatory on nominals. Another example is the equal status of her Secwepemctsin DP arguments and pronominal clitics/affixes. Julienne's clauses always need some kind of argument marking; this follows from both Secwepemctsin and English. The argument marking can be bound clitics/affixes (following from Secwepemctsin), overt DPs (following from English), or both (following from Secwepemctsin). Her choice of which kind of argument marking system to use appears to be arbitrary, but in neither Secwepemctsin nor English can the argument marking system in clauses be arbitrary. For the

reasons stated here, Julienne's Secwepemctsin grammar cannot be simply a hybrid grammar made from Secwepemctsin and English alone.

The next possibility is that Julienne's Secwepemctsin grammar is a hybrid of Secwepemctsin and English held together by Universal Grammar. Intuitively, this is the most plausible possibility, as it can account for the Secwepemctsin- and English-external force creating the innovations in her Secwepemctsin samples, which are neither Secwepemctsin nor English. If this is the case, then Universal Grammar should account for the optional determiners on arguments and the arbitrary use of argument markings in clauses.

The use of determiners can be parametrized easily. Julienne's determiner parameter may have been initially set to [-determiner], and her optional use is triggered by positive data in Secwepemctsin and English. Since this case study looks only at one stage in her acquisition process, it is likely that there are still parameters that have not been set yet - the determiner parameter being one of them. However, English-speaking children are generally believed to start using determiners at around age 2 or so (O'Grady 1997, Ingram 1989), and Julienne, who uses English determiners appropriately in her language sample, is already seven years old.

With regards to the arbitrary use of argument marking in clauses, Julienne's system is clearly a marked one cross-linguistically. There are few (if any) languages that can, within themselves, choose arbitrarily to have either only bound pronominals on predicates or only free DP arguments without any bound pronominal morphology.

The role that Universal Grammar plays in monolingual and bilingual acquisition is therefore of great interest to the present topic. Bound by time and space limits, I will not explore the

possibilities of Universal Grammar's effects on Julienne. This case study will undoubtedly benefit from such a discussion in the future.

5.5 Chapter Conclusion

It may at first appear that Julienne does not produce many "real" Secwepemctsin sentences, in the sense that her utterances are not very adult-like. Even though she is still a child, it is not typical for a seven-year old to be talking with mostly ungrammatical sentences by adults' standards; that is, a typical seven-year old acquiring a language under normal circumstances may speak in shorter and simpler sentences than adults, with occasional grammatical errors, but the majority of her speech should be well-formed. With Julienne, her Secwepemctsin performance is not advanced, but she is obviously not learning the language under the most normal circumstances, having only her parents as providers of Secwepemctsin input. Many syntactic characteristics of Secwepemctsin still surface in Julienne's grammar. Although in performance she is inconsistent with many grammatical constraints, in comprehension she shows very thorough understanding of Secwepemctsin. Her production data greatly underrates her knowledge of Secwepemctsin. It is therefore in this light that her language sample should be viewed.

Since Julienne's language samples in the database are collected when she is instructed specifically to use Secwepemctsin, and only 60.98% of the total utterances are in Secwepemctsin, it can be deduced that she uses much less Secwepemctsin in other contexts, when she is surrounded by non-Secwepemctsin speaking children and adults. The investigations and results reported here illustrate that Julienne performs much better in English

than in Secwepemctsin in all respects. It also appears that English's analytic nature plays a role in influencing Julienne's overregularization of independent pronouns.

The generalizations that can be drawn about independent pronouns from Julienne's language sample are the following.

Syntactically, the bound pronominal morphemes and overt arguments are of equal status, since Julienne does not allow clauses with no argument marking whatsoever, but if either bound pronominal morphology or overt arguments, or both, are present, then the clause is felicitous. The independent pronouns are R-expressions, or DPs, which will always be able to occupy argument positions. Depending on the internal structure of these independent pronouns, they may or may not occupy the predicate position once Julienne's Secwepemctsin performance advances.

In terms of semantic generalizations, Julienne's Secwepemctsin independent pronouns are not contrastive, unlike adult independent pronouns. Why she has not acquired the contrastiveness of independent pronouns is a missing piece in the acquisition puzzle. The observation that syntactically the independent pronouns and bound clitics/affixes are of equal status may be indicative of her reanalysis of independent pronouns, which appear to be free counterparts of the bound pronominals, with no difference in function between them. Why this reanalysis has occurred is not clear.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I summarize what has been achieved through the study of the syntax and acquisition of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns. The findings about the grammar of independent pronouns are contributive to Salish Linguistics as well as to the existing studies of pronouns. The case study reported in Chapter 4 is an example that, with persistence, much passive knowledge of a little-used language can be acquired. The sections under 6.2 discuss the importance of providing positive contexts for language use, and of using an endangered language creatively so that it may continue to survive.

6.1 Summary

In this thesis, I have studied the syntax of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns, and applied the analysis I reached to explain the interesting usage of independent pronouns by a young learner of Secwepemctsin. It is only when an analysis of the adult grammar has emerged that the examination of acquisition data can be viewed in a clear way. My analysis of the syntax and semantics of independent pronouns in adult Secwepemctsin together with the predominantly English-speaking environment in which she has been raised throws light on the innovations in Julienne's system, and partially predicts why Julienne's independent pronouns behave so differently from the adult's.

6.2 Looking Forward and Beyond

6.2.1 Interesting Differences in Comparative Salish Linguistics

The finding that independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin are DP-adjoined, and have no binding properties of their own, is of great importance in a comparative Salish context, since it has been shown that in Halq'eméylem, independent pronouns behave like R-expressions. In contrast to Secwepemctsin, Halq'eméylem independent pronouns are lexical elements that take determiners and are DPs when they are in argument position, while they drop determiners when they are in predicate position. In the studies of independent pronouns of both languages, syntactic behaviour follows from syntactic category and position, thus showing that in both cases the internal structure of DP determines its external behaviour.

6.2.2 To Keep the Language Alive

Since Secwepemctsin is a radical head marking language, if the pronominal markings on the predicate are not mastered by the language learner, the ultimate consequence is that complete fluency of the language cannot be achieved. Julienne, the child studied in this thesis, is one of very few children to be in the fortunate position of having active Secwepemctsin-speaking parents who have instilled in her very good passive knowledge of the language, even though in Secwepemctsin production she does not perform as well as in comprehension. It thus appears that in order for a child to successfully acquire a language, maximum input in the home helps a learner to achieve a level of knowledge that is good, but is not quite enough for active usage so far.

Lack of a social context in which to use a minority language, and the overwhelming influence of a dominant language are the two main impediments to introducing and retaining a minority language. For this reason, it is extremely important that learners of such a language be provided with as intensive a learning environment as possible, maximizing a learner's exposure to the language. With young learners, it is optimally the case that exposure to the target language be given before the emergence of words by an infant, as perception of language starts as soon as a baby is born, if not earlier. It is important to provide as much target language input as possible, first in the home, and then, as the child expands her social circle, in the playground, daycare, and school. This, of course, would require that the elder speakers of the language be involved in the project of bringing back the language, since many parents of children today do not speak the minority language.

The point, therefore, is that the language would need to be present in the home as well as in the larger social context to facilitate acquisition. As has been illustrated with the case study on Julienne, merely parental input is not enough. I am not aware of any formal study of results of aboriginal language immersion programs. However, there is a Secwepemctsin immersion program at the Chief Atham School in Chase, B.C, that has been reputed to be a very successful program⁵⁶. This is something to be applauded, but there is no doubt that the learning must take place outside the school as well, most possibly with parental participation so that children would continue to use the language as much as possible outside the classroom. The presence of a supportive community with the common goal of re-introducing the minority language to a new generation is also extremely necessary in order to provide contexts for language use in all aspects of a child's daily life, such as school, home, community T.V., radio, neighbourhood road or store signs, etc..

⁵⁶Much research is needed in finding out the results of such programs in aboriginal language education.

Another barrier to overcome in bringing children up with a minority language is that children, at some point, become unwilling to learn, or to continue using, the target language. Often, children of multi-lingual backgrounds start rejecting a language if they feel that using the language would make them different (in a negative way) from their friends, and since this is undesirable, they disassociate themselves from the minority language. This generally starts when children become involved with the environment outside the home, and can last into the adolescent years, sometimes even into adulthood. Therefore, it is extremely necessary also to have the presence of a supportive community with the common goal of opposing the stigma associated with minority language usage by providing positive contexts for language use. Perhaps then, the stimulation and the motivation of a language learner would be greatly improved.

In this context, I would also like to mention that although Julienne's acquisition of Secwepemetsin as a first language is unusual, it is not the only recent case in Salish. A speaker of another Salish language also provided only Salish language input to her children since their birth⁵⁷. It is known that the children always understood the language, but never uttered a single utterance in that language. These children are in their teens now, and their mother is still persistent in speaking to them in the target language. From a recent conversation with one of the teens mentioned here, I was told that she now has many friends of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, and she envies her friends for being able to talk to their grandparents in their native tongue. I have also recently heard that these teens are now starting to speak the target language. Because they have been receiving input since an early age, they already have a great deal of knowledge of the language, and can use it with relative ease. I am almost certain that this change in their attitude comes from their seeing that it is no longer socially

⁵⁷Permission from this family has not been obtained, and therefore no detailed information can be given at this point.

negative for young people to connect with the culture, and therefore the language, of their elders. It is not "uncool" anymore. It is therefore of utmost importance that people are educated to be proud of their cultural and linguistic heritage.

This case thus provides evidence that although the prospects of teaching a minority language to a child in an adverse linguistic environment are extremely difficult, the results are promising.

The ultimate goal in reviving a language is for the new speakers to achieve a level of fluency where these speakers can use the language productively and creatively. By *productively* and *creatively*, I mean that the speakers have enough knowledge about the language to be able to coin new words and create new expressions - to name objects and express notions that never before had existed in the language. This is in fact a crucial part of language survival. If speakers of a language cannot create a way to name new objects and express new notions to keep up with the changes in the society surrounding that language, then the language will be abandoned because many old objects will have disappeared, and contexts for many old expressions will have been lost. There is a danger that in such a situation, the dominant language will be used exclusively to name the new objects, and to express the new notions.

In summary, it is necessary for a language learner to have maximum exposure to the target language, to have motivation to learn the language, and to have relevant context for the language. These factors are necessary to ensure that a language survives and gets passed on to generations to come.

6.2.3 Possible Future Changes

It is of course best that minority languages be kept in their pure form by being passed on from generation to generation. However, language change is unavoidable; no matter how large the number of speakers is. Thinking in pessimistic terms, if minority languages manage to be maintained, but characteristics of dominant languages continue to permeate into minority languages, what will emerge is that the direction in which the minority language changes will be increasingly towards the dominant language, resulting in a pidgin or creole language. The smaller the number of fluent speakers there are in the minority language, the faster these changes will take place. Thus, even with the best of efforts, it is possible that new speakers of many North American aboriginal languages will make their languages appear more like the dominant language of their area by assuming the dominant language's characteristics, such as sound systems, word order or, as in the case of Julienne, the morphological type.

6.3 Final Summary and Conclusion

A detailed description of the syntax of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns is given in this thesis. I have presented an analysis in which independent pronouns in argument position are adjuncts to DP. The DP may either be a *pro* or a full lexical DP. I have shown that binding effects follow from this analysis, and I have contrasted the behaviour of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns with those of Halq'eméylem. Secondly, I have shown a strong syntactic subject-object asymmetry with respect to third person independent pronouns, and I have analyzed this asymmetry in terms of the mapping of familiarity hierarchies onto syntactic positions.

In Chapter 4, I turn to the semantics of independent pronouns. Using the alternative based view of semantics of Rooth (1992) and Büring (1995). I analyze Secwepemctsin independent pronouns as contrastive focus and contrastive topic depending on their syntactic position. I show that the semantic behaviour of Secwepemctsin independent pronouns may follow from a contrast-based analysis of topic and focus.

In Chapter 5, I give a general overview of the syntax of a child who has received linguistic input in Secwepemctsin and English all her life, but, based on her use of independent pronouns, I show that she continues to have difficulty with the agglutinative aspect of the Secwepemc language. I suggest that not only is this due to the massive influence of the more analytic dominant language, English, parametric possibilities of universal grammar must play a role in influencing the child's grammar, which exhibits non-Secwepemctsin and non-English grammatical characteristics. In section 5.3, I illustrate that the new speaker of Secwepemctsin examined in this case study uses independent pronouns differently from fluent adult speakers, and that the differences follow from her reanalysis of independent pronoun to liken the bound pronominal clitics/affixes of the language.

Although Julienne does not use independent pronouns like adult speakers do, her usage of independent pronouns in Secwepemctsin, as well as her overall Secwepemctsin syntax, still exhibit many Secwepemc language characteristics. The efforts of this child and her family in maintaining this language and culture is thus worthwhile. For the majority of new Secwepemctsin speakers of this generation, the kind of exposure to the language that Julienne has is unavailable. It is therefore extremely important that increased linguistic resources be

provided for Secwepemc children if they are to learn the language from their parents' or grandparents' generation, and in turn teach *their* own children the language.

While many interesting syntactic phenomena and bilingual acquisition phenomena surfaced through the study of contrastive pronouns and the case study on Julienne, further work should be devoted in both areas for an empirically complete picture.

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APPENDIX A

ABBREVIATIONS

aut=autonomous	imp=imperative	pas=passive
caus=causative	ind=indicative	pl=plural
conj=conjunctive	indpr=independent pronoun	poss=possessive
det=determiner	inter=interrogative	ptc=particle
perf=perfect	intr=intransitive	redup=reduplication
dir=direction	irr=irrealis	sg=singular
emph=emphatic	neg=negative	subj=subject
excl=exclusive	nom=nominative	top=topic
fc=full control	obl=oblique	tr=transitive
hab=habitual	obj=object	unsp=unspecified.

APPENDIX B

PHONETIC INVENTORY OF SECWEPEMCTSÍN

(adapted from Kuipers 1974 and Gardiner 1993).

The orthography used in this thesis is followed by the IPA symbol in brackets.

Consonants:

		Labial	Alveolar	Lateral	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottalized
Stops	plain	p(p)	t(t)			k(k) kw(k ^w)	q(q) qw(q ^w)	ʔ(?)
	glottalized	p'(p')				k'(k') kw'(k' ^w)	q'(q') qw'(q' ^w)	
Affricates	plain		ts(tʃ)					
	glottalized		ts'(ts)	t'(ɬ)				
Fricatives			s(s)	l(ɭ)		c(x) cw(x ^w)	x(x) xw(x ^w)	h(h)
Resonants	plain	m(m)	n(n)	l(l)	y(y)	r(ɣ) w(w)	g(ŋ) gw(ŋ ^w)	
	glottalized	m'(m')	n'(n')	l'(l')	y'(y')	r'(ɣ') w'(w')	gw'(ŋ ^w)	

Vowels:

i	u
e	ə o
a	

APPENDIX C

PRONOMINAL PARADIGMS

Intransitive Clitic Paradigm (Kuipers 1974)

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

Transitive Subject Suffix Paradigm (Kuipers 1974)

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

Transitive Object Suffix Paradigm (Kuipers 1974)

1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
-sém-/ -sm-	-sí-/ -s-	∅	-él-/ -l-	-kucw	-úlm-/ -lm-	∅

Independent pronominal paradigm (adopted from Kuipers 1974)¹

1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.
n-tse.ts-we7	7-enwi7	newi7-s
1sg.poss-tse(redup)-deic	2sg.poss-emph	emph-3sg.poss
1 pl. incl.	1 pl. excl.	2 pl.
wll-enwi7-kt	wll-enwi7-s-kucw	wll-enwi7-mp
pl-emph-1pl.inc.poss	pl-emph-3sg.poss-excl	pl-emph-2pl.poss
		3 pl.
		wll-enwi7-s
		pl-emph-3sg.poss

APPENDIX D

DETERMINER PARADIGM (Kuipers 1974)

	Actual-determinate		Hypothetical-indeterminate
	Present	Absent	Irrealis
Direct	re	l	k
Oblique	te/t'		tk/t'k

¹The independent pronouns are all composed of a stem (henceforth "emphatic stem") and the possessive clitic. The emphatic stem for the first singular form is different from the rest of the paradigm. According to Newman (1977), the first person singular stem in Secwepemctsin is derived from the proto-Salish first person singular emphatic stem *ʔəntʃá, while the stem for the rest of the Shuswap paradigm is derived from the proto-Salish second person singular stem *nəwi.

APPENDIX E

JULIENNE'S LANGUAGE SAMPLE

S=Secwepemctsin; E=English; M=Mixed languages

#	Language	Utterance	Age
1	S	mama, kectsétsme tk cereal	6;3;0
2	E	I got us 3 plates	6;3;0
3	E	If you got more than one, you gotta say "syclts"	6;3;0
4	S	re 7nwi7 tsxwénte sk'épqn ell re sq'wéxt [pick me up by the head and legs]	7;4;6
5	S	Mom, wiwkten re 7nwi7 te kelc	7;0;6
6	E	You mean you're gonna grab me?	6;3;0
7	S	kectsétsme te stemstéte7stem [give me a drink]	6;3;0
8	S	qwenmímen tek pop	6;3;0
9	S	Mama, kectsétsme te ntsétswe7 te stemstéte7stem	6;3;0
10	S	Mama, ntsétswe7 méq'-ken	6;3;0
11	S	Mama, kectsétsme ntsétswe7 tek orange juice!	6;3;0
12	S	ki7ce, k7ep re ntsétswe7	6;3;0
13	E	Outside?	6;3;0
14	E	We're gonna make it?	6;3;0
15	M	I pul'te e cméye	6;3;0
16	M	I wi7 sécwem	6;3;0
17	E	Wanna play?	6;3;0
18	M	wanna seyse?	6;3;0
19	S	ta7a, met'é-m-ken	6;3;0
20	E	Do you want money	7;0;6
21	E	Daddy wants money	7;0;6
22	E	I want money	7;0;6
23	E	We will go to the store	7;0;6
24	E	I wil go to the store	7;0;6
25	E	I love you	7;0;6
26	E	I love my Mommy	7;0;6
27	E	she puts away	7;0;6
28	E	we will run	7;0;6
29	E	I will jump	7;0;6
30	S	tkenstéke... ntsétswe7	6;10;15
31	S	tkenstéten nqéwten	6;10;15
32	S	tkenstéke re sq'éwxt	6;10;15
33	S	tsut te Simon, tkenstéke re sq'éwxt	6;10;15
34	S	tkenstéten nsq'éwxt	6;10;15
35	E	mama, can we play a different game?	6;10;15
36	S	tsut te Simon, tkenstéten te qw'u! [laughs]	6;10;15
37	S	tkenstéten nq'wu?	6;10;15
38	M	mama! [dances and sings]	6;10;15
39	M	huh?	6;10;15
40	S	est'il...	6;10;15

41	S	est'il ntsétswe7	6;10;15
42	S	ce!	6;10;15
43	S	ntsétswe7	6;10;15
44	E	Can can can we do the can can [sings]	6;10;15
45	E	I'm doing my buttons...	6;10;15
46	S	qwetséq? [die]	6;10;15
47	E	But you know most of the words, mama!	6;10;15
48	M	OK, tsut re Simon, te... How do you say sleep again?	6;10;15
49	S	eti7ce	6;10;15
50	S	10 hours!	6;10;15
51	E	Good night, I'm tired. Good night Mama, Good night Sandra.	6;10;15
52	S	ta7a ta7a	6;10;15
53	S	ta7a	6;10;15
54	S	ta7a... ntsétswe7	6;10;15
55	S	te ntsétswe7	6;10;15
56	S	-ken. Can I?	6;10;15
57	S	ta7a	6;10;25
58	S	temtúmen re 7nwi7 ell Sandra	6;10;25
59	S	wecqinmects te 7qéwten	6;10;25
60	S	tsiqw ell yect re 7qéwten	6;10;25
61	S	me7e	6;10;25
62	S	ta7a	6;10;25
63	S	me7e	6;10;25
64	S	ta7a	6;10;25
65	S	me7e	6;10;25
66	S	me7e	6;10;25
67	S	me7e	6;10;25
68	S	ta7a	6;10;25
69	S	ta7a	6;10;25
70	S	ta7a	6;10;25
71	S	ta7a	6;10;25
72	S	ta7a	6;10;25
73	S	ta7a	6;10;25
74	S	ntsétswe7	6;10;25
75	S	me	6;10;25
76	S	ta7a	6;10;25
77	S	ta7a	6;10;25
78	S	ntsétswe7	6;10;25
79	S	swétik re...	6;10;25
80	S	me7e	6;10;25
81	S	ntsétswe7	6;10;25
82	E	Mama, can we have a-	6;10;25
83	S	ta7a	6;10;25
84	E	you	6;10;25
85	S	7nwi7	6;10;25
86	S	7nwi7	6;10;25
87	S	ta7a	6;10;25
88	E	m-hm, but not, but this is boring.	6;10;25

89	E	Can we do something else?	6;10;25
90	E	It's up to you.	6;10;25
91	E	and Carrie	6;10;25
92	E	Veronika. I know, let her come over all the way from the other country to Canada.	6;10;25
93	E	u-uh! What airplane would you take to get to Canada?	6;10;25
94	E	Katie, from grade one	6;10;25
95	S	mus	6;10;25
96	M	me7e, cause Katie.	6;10;25
97	S	me7e	6;10;25
98	M	mama!	6;10;25
99	S	me7e, ell equipment	6;10;25
100	M	re stemíns re Katlin re Carrie in grade two	6;10;25
101	M	ell Natlie in grade three... ell re Samantha Gufferson in grade seséle	6;10;25
102	M	Samantha play re appointment?	6;10;25
103	En	appointment	6;10;25
104	M	today? uhm.. seysus	6;10;25
105	S	séyse - séysus, séyses, séysus.	6;10;25
106	M	nschool-nschool-nschool	6;10;25
107	E	My fun time! [reads from book]	6;10;25
108	E	mama, why do I ... board games?	6;10;25
109	S	-sus?	6;10;25
110	S	7nwi7?	6;10;25
111	S	ta7a	6;10;25
112	S	ta7a	6;10;25
113	E	uh, nobody	6;10;25
114	S	re 7tsétse	6;10;25
115	M	Meghan	6;10;25
116	M	Jo Thomas	6;10;25
117	M	tsétse? Lizzie.	6;10;25
118	M	Meghan	6;10;25
119	E	Ron. How did you know?	6;10;25
120	S	Jessica ell Meghan	6;10;25
121	E	I don't know	6;10;25
122	E	Meghan. Why can't we do things that-	6;10;25
123	S	me7e	6;10;25
124	M	Lizzie [very unwillingly]	6;10;25
125	S	weyt-k kí7ce	6;11;16
126	S	me7 etí(t)ce	6;11;16
127	S	me7e	6;11;16
128	S	me7e	6;11;16
129	S	seséle	6;11;16
130	S	ntsétswe7 ta7a qwenmín yi7éne	6;11;16
131	S	ntsétswe7 ta7a qwenmín yi7éne	6;11;16
132	S	ta7a k s qwenmimen	6;11;16
133	S	yi7éne sésele	6;11;16
134	S	qweqwi7ts [seqw7its =rabbit]	6;11;16
135	S	kéknem [kenkéknem = blackbear]	6;11;16

136	S	nek'ú 7 seséle kellés mus tsilkst teqmékst	6;11;16
137	S	ts'um'qsente re kenkéknem mmammamma...	6;11;16
138	S	me7e, ntsétswe7	6;11;16
139	S	-ken	6;11;16
140	S	ta7a	6;11;16
141	S	oh, xwistsín, kí7ce [hugs and kisses mom good night]	6;11;16
142	S	me7e	6;11;16
143	S	ntsétswe7... yi7éne	6;11;16
144	S	me7e	6;11;16
145	S	kellés! nek'ú7 seséle kellés, one two three	6;11;16
146	S	nek'ú7 te?	6;11;16
147	S	seséle!	6;11;16
148	S	kellés!	6;11;16
149	S	nek'ú7 seséle kellés mus tsilkst	6;11;16
150	S	teqmékst!	6;11;16
151	S	nk'ú7 seséle kellés mus tsilkst -- teqmékst nek, nek7úps, nek7úps!	6;11;16
152	S	tem7emtsúta! [!!! means "temllemkuk7e"]	6;11;16
153	S	teqmékst	6;11;16
154	S	seqw'iyts!	6;11;16
155	E	they're... nibbling	6;11;16
156	S	íllenten	6;11;16
157	S	te kelc	6;11;16
158	S	te awyút	6;11;16
159	S	te?	6;11;16
160	S	íllenes	6;11;16
161	S	w7ec	6;11;16
162	S	íllenes te -	6;11;16
163	S	íllente te -	6;11;16
164	S	w7ec te book te -	6;11;16
165	S	w7ec re illen te -	6;11;16
166	S	íllenes te wohu.....	6;11;16
167	S	ta7a	6;11;16
168	S	ta7a	6;11;16
169	S	íllen	6;11;16
170	S	w7ec íllenes te, te, mayan ell... te pumpkins	6;11;16
171	S	w7ec te íllenes te -	6;11;16
172	S	w7ec re íllen	6;11;16
173	S	w7ec re (shows arms swimming)	6;11;16
174	S	re séxwumes	6;11;16
175	S	pesi	6;11;16
176	S	w7ec séysemus	6;11;16
177	S	séysus	6;11;16
178	S	w7ec séysemus	6;11;16
179	S	séysus, séysus!	6;11;16
180	S	w7ec séysemus	6;11;16
181	S	séysus	6;11;16
182	S	ell re qwas- re qwose-- i... sey... íllens te qmut ell te éqwe [koso?]	6;11;16
183	S	me7e	6;11;16

184	S	te me7... illen...	6;11;16
185	S	te illenes te sulensum	6;11;16
186	S	te sqéxe re illenes re séysus...mus [séysus/séyseumus] [the horse eats and plays?]	6;11;16
187	S	ntsétswe7 xwexwistsín 7enwi7	6;11;16
188	E	Spice your life up! He puts on his jackets	7;2;28
189	M	no, weytk	7;2;28
190	S	mama?	7;2;28
191	E	Yeap. The spice girl picture	7;2;28
192	S	uh, ntsétswe7 illens te...	7;2;28
193	S	illen	7;2;28
194	S	ntsétswe7 illen te st7illen	7;2;28
195	E	yeap	7;2;28
196	M	mama?	7;2;28
197	E	um, the second one. My turn, OK. The picture of Spice Girls	7;2;28
198	S	re Spice girl te pi7ture	7;2;28
199	M	mégcen te... picture, I like that one, sometimes it shows, sometimes it doesn't	7;2;28
200	S	nts'sqéxe te picture	7;2;28
201	M	you say, ntsétswe7	7;2;28
202	S	ta7 k s qwenmín	7;2;28
203	S	-mens. ntsétswe7 te q'iméke7	7;2;28
204	S	ta7 k s qwemimen ntsétswe7 te q'iméke7	7;2;28
205	S	-ken	7;2;28
206	S	setsínem-k?	7;2;28
207	S	setsínem	7;2;28
208	S	setsínems, Sandra	7;2;28
209	S	-ce, Sandra	7;2;28
210	E	One-horse-open-sleigh! You came close to the camera!	7;2;28
211	S	setsínem-ken, -ken	7;2;28
212	E	Can we do something else?	7;2;28
213	E	uh, no! How about I say it in English and you say it in Shuswap?	7;2;28
214	E	Here, Sandra, here! You hold it!	7;2;28
215	E	OK, she picks this, it, up [ungrammatical on purpose for fun]	7;2;28
216	E	No, Sandra, I'll hold it now	7;2;28
217	E	OK, Now make a funny face.	7;2;28
218	E	OK	7;2;28
219	E	mm, yes you can!	7;2;28
220	E	Yes you can. It means I see him.. mm, which one? Was it a girl or a boy?	7;2;28
221	E	Oh, It means, it see, I seen you.	7;2;28
222	M	ntsétswe7... Hey! I have to say it in Shuswap?	7;2;28
223	M	OK. Now you tape me. ntsétswe7 ell 7nwi7 ell re s-tsétse...	7;2;28
224	S	ntsétswe7 ell tsétse	7;2;28
225	S	lecús	7;2;28
226	M	yeah, lecusa?	7;2;28
227	S	lecúskt	7;2;28
228	S	ntsétswe7 ell re Lizzie lecús-	7;2;28

229	S	-ken	7;2;28
230	M	-kucw. I said that before!	7;2;28
231	S	ntsétswe7 ell re Sandra lecús-ken	7;2;28
232	S	-ken	7;2;28
233	S	ntsétswe7 el re lizzie lecus...	7;2;28
234	S	-kucw	7;2;28
235	E	Let's switch [camera] now	7;2;28
236	E	I put it [should be I feed it]	7;2;28
237	M	I feed the horse? OK. ntsétswe7, say ntsétswe7	7;2;28
238	S	ntsétswe7, uh, me- me-	7;2;28
239	M	I feed, me, me-téten, re nsqéxe	7;2;28
240	S	me7e	7;2;28
242	S	seséle	7;2;28
241	S	nwi7-s nts'qéxe [points ahead to her poster of unicorn, points to another pic of horse] nts'qéxe, nts'qéxe	7;2;28
243	E	Mommy, Can you make one of those?	7;2;28
244	S	me7e, re cake	7;2;28
245	S	ntsétswe7-	7;2;28
246	S	yiri7 ntsétswe7 te...	7;2;28
247	S	n-cake	7;2;28
248	S	n-stsq'éy	7;2;28
249	E	Look! That's the symbol of the God!	7;2;28
250	S	Nicola ell te Hercules.	7;2;28
251	S	yiri7 ntsétswe7 te q'iméke7	7;2;28
252	E	How do you say that's my spice Girls poster?	7;2;28
253	S	Jo-Thomas ta7a n-tsétse	7;2;28
254	S	n ú xwenxw	7;2;28
255	S	ta7a	7;2;28
256	S	me7e!	7;2;28
257	E	Spice up your life!	7;2;28
258	E	No. That's what Frosh spice she says, blah blah, spice world, uhm, spice, yeah, I think so she says blah blah blah, spice world, or spice girl.	7;2;28
259	E	Yeah I know, I look like the Backstreet boys and Spice Girl	7;2;28
260	E	Like both.	7;2;28
261	E	Can we use the camera and play a different game?	7;2;28
262	E	Sandra, why don't you do something	7;2;28
263	E	No	7;2;28
264	E	OK, last one	7;2;28
265	S	7nwi7- mommy-	7;2;28
266	E	Oh, Hi, Jo-Thomas!	7;2;28
267	E	OK. Hi, Sandra!	7;2;28
268	S	ta7a n-	7;2;28
269	S	7nwi7, ta7a n-qwenmíns te -	7;2;28
270	E	How do you say book, mama?	7;2;28
271	S	spe-	7;2;28
272	S	qwéltcw	7;2;28
273	S	me7e	7;2;28

274	E	You may go to recess now.	7;2;28
275	E	This is the first time I'm on colour TV!	7;2;28
276	S	Me7 téxin te JoThomas	7;2;28
277	E	where?	7;2;28
278	E	Where's stop?	7;2;28
279	E	We won't do any hard ones. Now get a blank piece of paper	7;2;28
280	E	You brought 10?	7;2;28
281	E	I found it. But it's a whole sentence!	7;2;28
282	E	heart	7;2;28
283	S	p ú smen	7;2;28
284	E	Oh, rub	7;2;28
285	E	Just one word!	7;2;28
286	E	Get, the, controller, pen? Mommy, no more sentences!	7;2;28
287	E	No more sentences OK? Sandra?	7;2;28
288	E	mmm, let's see let's see let's see	7;2;28
289	S	Oh, metsin!	7;2;28
290	E	Give!	7;2;28
291	E	horses!	7;2;28
292	E	But you said no more sentences!	7;2;28
293	E	Daddy-	7;2;28
294	E	feeding.	7;2;28
295	S	ntsétswe7	7;4;6
296	E	I forget how to say want	7;4;6
297	S	qwenmín-	7;4;6
298	S	ntsétswe7 qwenmín te dance	7;4;6
299	E	No	7;4;6
300	E	No	7;4;6
301	S	ntsétswe7 qwenmín te dance	6;10;15
302	S	kectsétsme re ts'ú m'qsentsme	7;4;6
303	E	I don't know what you're gonna play. It's up to you [understands kucw=sandra and mom, but not Julienne]	6;10;25
304	S	kectsétsme te ste7 [give me a drink]	7;0;6
305	S	púucw	7;4;6