

Agreement in Halkomelem complex auxiliaries¹

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This paper reports on a previously unstudied construction in Halkomelem, consisting of a clause introduced by a positional word (*ʔeʔət* ‘here’ or *naʔət* ‘there’). These are complex auxiliaries composed of two elements: an auxiliary related to the simple auxiliaries *ʔi* ‘here and now’ and *niʔ* ‘there and then’, and a determiner agreeing with a third person subject.

1 Introduction

This paper reports on a previously unstudied construction in Halkomelem Salish consisting of a clause introduced by a positional word, *ʔeʔət* ‘here’ or *naʔət* ‘there’:²

- (1) ʔeʔət t^θə-nə s-t^θteḱ^w səplil.
here DT-1SG.POS ST-pinch(RES) bread
‘Here is the bread I pinched off.’ (RP 22Jun04)
- (2) naʔət t^θə ni:l š-niʔ-s lə θi leləm̄.
there DT AUX.PST NM.OB-be.there-3POS DT big house
‘There is where the longhouse used to be.’ (RP 9Mar10)

ʔeʔət points to a thing or event near the speaker and *naʔət* to something further away from the speaker. As seen in the above examples, *ʔeʔət* or *naʔət* appears in the predicate position and the noun phrase that is being located appears as the subject.

To my knowledge, predicative *ʔeʔət* and *naʔət* are used in this locational sense by all speakers of Downriver and Island dialects of

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² The following abbreviations are used in glossing the data: 1: first person, 2: second person, 3: third person, ACT: activity, AUX: auxiliary, CERT: certain, CONJ: conjunction, CS: causative, DEM: demonstrative, DIM: diminutive, DT: determiner, DUR: durative, DYN: dynamic, FUT: future, IMP: imperative, IMPF: imperfect, INCH: inchoative, LNK: linker, LOC: locative, MID: middle, LC: limited control, NM: nominalizer, OB: oblique, PERF: perfect, PL: plural, POS: possessive, PST: past, Q: question, RECIP: reciprocal, REFL: reflexive, RES: resultive, SG: singular, ST: stative, SUB: subject, TR: general transitive, UNEXP: unexpected.

Halkomelem. In addition, speakers of the Island dialect of Halkomelem (Hul'q'umi'num') use *ʔeʔət* and *naʔət* as auxiliaries, followed by a main verb:

(3) ʔeʔət ʔəyχ-ełs tʰə ʒan ʔə tʰə heýqʷ.
 here stoke-ACT(IMPF) DT John OB DT fire
 ‘John is fixing up the fire.’ (TT 25-26Feb00)

(4) naʔət wəł xʷə-sʰeýqʷ tʰə ʃewəq.
 there PERF INCH-ST-dig.up DT carrot
 ‘The carrots are dug up.’ (RP 3Aug04)

The auxiliaries *ʔeʔət* and *naʔət* are not only used in main clauses as above, but they also can appear as the first element in a linked clause, giving further elucidation, rationale, or manner.

(5) ʔəý kʷəñ-s tʰə ʃam-əθət, ʔə θə
 good DT:2POS-NM DT dry-REFL OB DT
 həýqʷ eʔət łəqʷ tʰə haʔkʷ-əʃ-əxʷ.
 fire here wet DT wear(DUR)-TR-2.SG.SUB
 ‘You should go dry yourself by the fire; what you are wearing is wet.’
 (RP 3Mar00)

(6) ʔəñnexʷ-stəxʷ łə tʰə sʃkʷiʔʃətən, naʔət
 stop(DUR)-CS IMP DT ladder there
 p̓łqʷ-əm.
 tilt-MID
 ‘Hold the ladder still from tilting.’ (RP 18Jun97)

The linked clause often immediately follows a noun phrase that is interpreted as its subject.

The use of *ʔeʔət* and *naʔət* as auxiliaries is common in Island Halkomelem, and this construction is the focus of this paper. I start by comparing these auxiliaries to the related simple auxiliary verbs *ʔi* ‘here/now’ and *niʔ* ‘there/then’ in section 2. For some speakers of Halkomelem, especially speakers of the Cowichan sub-dialect, the auxiliaries *ʔeʔət* and *naʔət* are more prevalent than the simple auxiliaries in declarative clauses with third person subjects, especially in sentences elicited in isolation. A second difference is that *ʔeʔət* and *naʔət* are complex auxiliaries, containing a determiner element, as discussed in section 3. The determiner element can encode gender; the complex auxiliary is *ʔeʔət* in (7), agreeing with the masculine subject, and *ʔeʔəθ* in (8), agreeing with the feminine subject:

(7) ʔeʔət wəł t̓ətkʷ-əlmən tʰəñ ʔiməθ.
 here PERF go.home(DIM)-want DT:2POS grandchild
 ‘Your grandson wants to go home.’ (RP 24Mar00)

- (8) ʔeʔəθ wəɫ təkʷəlɪmən θən̩ ʔiməθ.
 here PERF go.home(DIM)-want DT:2POS grandchild
 ‘Your granddaughter wants to go home.’ (RP 24Mar00)

I give evidence that the determiner element of the auxiliary optionally agrees with the subject of the clause. I conclude my discussion in section 4 with a brief discussion of various complex forms containing deictic elements.

2 Comparison to ʔi and niʔ

Many Halkomelem clauses contain the auxiliaries ʔi ‘here and/or now’ and niʔ ‘there and/or then’:

- (9) ʔi ʔiməʃ tʰə swiwʼləs.
 AUX walk(IMPF) DT young.man
 ‘The young man is walking.’
- (10) niʔ ʔiməʃ kʷθə swiwʼləs.
 AUX walk DT young-man
 ‘The young man walked.’

The auxiliaries are grammaticized from the verbs ʔi ‘be here’ and niʔ ‘be there’ (Gerdt 1988):

- (11) ʔi ʔə təʔi θən̩ snəxʷəl.
 be.here OB DEM DT:2POS canoe
 ‘Your canoe is over here.’
- (12) niʔ ʔə tənənəɫ θən̩ snəxʷəl.
 be.there OB DEM DT:2POS canoe
 ‘Your canoe is over there.’

Many of the sorts of clauses that arise in elicitation sessions are introduced by these auxiliaries. The functions of these auxiliaries need thorough study, but for our purposes here, suffice it to say that they serve to anchor the clause in space and/or time.

2.1 Similarities

My claim that ʔeʔət and naʔət are related to the auxiliaries ʔi and niʔ comes from their resemblance in form and meaning, as discussed further below. But also they show parallels in how they function in the clausal syntax.

All four auxiliaries appear in predicate-initial position. The auxiliaries appear after coordinators (see ʔiʔ ‘and/or’ in the following examples), subordinators, and clause initial adverbials.

- (13) tax^w sk^weyəl ?i? ?i lɛlsəm.
 straight.up day CONJ AUX sprinkle(IMPF)
 ‘It was lunchtime when it started to sprinkle.’ (RP 4May10)
- (14) ?əwə ni-?əs ʃlas t^θə s^ʔeləx^w ?i? ?e?ət
 not AUX-3SUB eat DT old CONJ here
 x^wi? ʃam-stənamət ?ə t^θə s^ʔətən.
 UNEXP enough-CS.LC.REFL(IMPF) OB DT food
 ‘The old man didn’t eat, but he’s saying he had enough.’ (RP 31May04)

Auxiliaries appear before second position clitics, such as the evidential *pé?* ‘certain’, and before tense and aspect clitics, such as the perfect *wət*, as shown in the following examples:

- (15) ni? pé? wət ʃi?-namət t^θə sce:tən.
 AUX CERT PERF be.dear-LC.REFL DT salmon
 ‘The fish has become very costly.’ (RP 5May04)
- (16) na?ət pé? wət fət-namət t^θə sʃi?ʃqət
 there CERT PERF flip-LC.REFL DT child
 ?ə θə sɛwət.
 OB DT herring
 ‘The boy has finally managed to flip herrings.’ (RP 15Apr04)

2.2 Differences

Nevertheless there are some obvious differences in the use of *?i* and *ni?* versus *?e?ət* and *na?ət*. In many instances, the simple and complex auxiliaries seem interchangeable, especially since the English translations fail to distinguish them:

- (17) ni? x^wə-s-θəθeġ t^θə q^wənəs.
 AUX INCH-ST-spear(RES) DT whale
 ‘The whale has been speared.’ (RP 5May10)
- (18) na?ət x^wə-s-θəθeġ t^θə q^wənəs.
 there INCH-ST-spear(RES) DT whale
 ‘The whale has been speared.’ (RP 3Aug04)

However, when asked to explain the difference between these clauses, Mrs. Peter said that the first clause implies that the whale is in view but tells nothing about the event of spearing. The spearing could have happened elsewhere and the whale floated up to where we see it now. In contrast, the second clause is used when the speaker is pointing out to the speaker the actual location where

the spearing took place and it is just over there. In other words, the complex auxiliaries locate the event in the current perceptual field of the speaker/hearer.

One difference that I have observed between the use of simple and complex auxiliaries supports this claim. Declarative statements can be introduced by either simple or complex auxiliaries, as seen above. In interrogatives, however, we see a difference between the two types of auxiliaries: interrogative clauses introduced by simple auxiliaries are possible, while interrogative clauses introduced by complex auxiliaries are considered strange:

- (19) ni? ?ə xʷə-s-θəθeǰ tʰə qʷənəs?
 AUX Q INCH-ST-spear(RES) DT whale
 ‘Has the whale been speared?’ (RP 3Aug04)
- (20) *naʔət ?ə xʷə-s-θəθeǰ tʰə qʷənəs?
 there Q INCH-ST-spear(RES) DT whale
 ‘Has the whale been speared?’ (RP 5May10)

Since complex auxiliaries introduce events that are observable by the speaker and hearer, it is unfelicitous for the speaker to inquire about them.

Second, the simple auxiliaries are allowed in a larger range of temporal settings than the complex auxiliaries. For example, *?i* and *ni?* co-occur with the second-position particle *ce?*, which indicates future events; *?i* is used for immediate events, i.e. events that will happen here in the near future, and *ni?* is used for remote events, i.e. events that will happen in the distant future or at a place away from here.

- (21) ?i ce? ǰpə-təl tʰə kʷaməcən
 AUX FUT gather-RECIP DT Quamichan
 ?ə təńa səʃəlnet.
 OB DEM Sunday
 ‘The Quamichan people are having a get-together on Sunday.’ (RP Oct03)
- (22) ni? ce? yə-kʷikʷən kʷθəń ʃ-wəken-əm
 there FUT DYN-how.many(IMPF) DT:2POS NM:OB-wagon-MID
 kʷəńs neń təyəl?
 DT:2POS-NM go move
 ‘How many wagons are you going to use when you move?’ (RP 29Apr03)

In contrast, neither of the complex auxiliaries can be used to express future events.

(23) *ʔeʔət ceʔ ʔiləm tʰə sʔenʔeniʔ.
 here FUT sing DT woman(PL)
 ‘The women will sing.’ (RP March10)

(24) *naʔət ceʔ ʔiləm tʰə sʔenʔeniʔ.
 here FUT sing DT woman(PL)
 ‘The women will sing.’ (RP March10)

I suggest that this is due to the fact that the complex auxiliaries necessarily include a spatial deictic meaning anchored to the present time of the speech act. Both *ʔeʔət* and *naʔət* point to a location or event currently observable by the speaker and hearer, and thus they are incompatible with an event that has not yet occurred.

Another difference between clauses introduced by simple versus complex auxiliaries relates to the range of determiners allowed on the NPs associated with the event. In Halkomelem, determiners signal discourse deixis. Nominals that are in the cognitive frame (sensed by sight, sound, smell, etc.) of the speaker in conversations or the protagonist in texts are marked with proximate determiners, such as the proximate article *tʰə*; in contrast, NPs that are out of the cognitive frame of the speaker are marked with distal determiners, such as the distal article *kʷθə* (Gerds and Hukari to appear):

(25) ʔi cən leʔəm-ət tʰə-nə siʔə.
 AUX 1SG.SUB look(IMPF)-TR DT-1SG.POS grandparent
 ‘I am looking at my grandfather.’

(26) ʔi cən sewʔ-t kʷθə-nə siʔə.
 AUX 1SG.SUB seek(IMPF)-TR DT-1SG.POS grandparent
 ‘I am looking for my grandfather.’

Because *niʔ* signals an event that happens at a distance in space or time from the speaker, clauses with the auxiliary *niʔ* often involve NPs marked with distal determiners.

(27) niʔ cʔaqʷ kʷθə sqewθ ʔə tʰə lisek.
 AUX poke.through DT potato OB DT sack
 ‘The potatoes broke through the sack.’ (TT 24-25Feb00)
 [You can see the hole in the sack, but the potatoes are not in view.]

However, *naʔət*, since it is pointing to something in the present visual field of the speaker/hearer sounds odd if the NP involved in the event being pointed to, e.g. the dog in (28), is marked with a distal determiner:

- (28) ??naʔət x^wiʔ cɬaɣ^w-θət k^wθə sq^wəmeɣ̃
 there UNEXP poke.through-REFL DT dog
 ʔə t^θə ʃx^wəx^wəliwʔən q^wɬeɣ̃.
 OB DT hollow log
 ‘The dog (out of sight) has gone through the hollow log.’ (RP 7May97)

Instead, dog should be marked with a proximate determiner; it is being pointed to so it is in view:

- (29) naʔət x^wiʔ cɬaɣ^w-θət t^θə sq^wəmeɣ̃
 there UNEXP poke.through-REFL DT dog
 ʔə t^θə ʃx^wəx^wəliwʔən q^wɬeɣ̃.
 OB DT hollow log
 ‘The dog (in view) has gone through the hollow log.’ (RP 7May97)

If the dog has disappeared from view after having gone through the log, then the speaker would not be pointing at it, and the clause would be introduced by a simple rather than a complex auxiliary.

- (30) niʔ x^wiʔ cɬaɣ^w-θət k^wθə sq^wəmeɣ̃
 AUX UNEXP poke.through-REFL DT dog
 ʔə t^θə ʃʔx^wəx^wəliwʔən q^wɬeɣ̃.
 OB DT hollow log
 ‘The dog (out of sight) has gone through the hollow log.’ (RP 7May97)

Another important difference is that *ʔi* and *niʔ* can be used in clauses with all kinds of subjects, including first- and second-person subjects, but the use of *ʔeʔət* and *naʔət* is limited to clauses with third-person subjects:

- (31) niʔ cən ɿləm.
 AUX 1SG.SUB sing
 ‘I sang.’

- (32) *naʔət cən ɿləm.
 there 1SG.SUB sing
 ‘I sang.’

- (33) niʔ ce:p ɿləm.
 AUX 2PL.SUB sing
 ‘You people sang.’

- (34) *naʔət ce:p ɿləm.
 there 2PL.SUB sing
 ‘You people sang.’

(35) niʔ t̪iləm.
 AUX sing
 ‘He/she/it/they sang.’

(36) naʔət t̪iləm.
 there sing
 ‘He/she/it/they sang.’

Limiting complex auxiliaries to third-person contexts is not surprising given my claim that they contain a determiner element. In Halkomelem, determiners are a property of third-person noun phrases, not first- and second-person pronouns. I turn to a discussion of the determiner element in the next section.

3 The determiner element

As discussed in the previous section, Halkomelem determiners encode a proximate/distal distinction. They also encode gender. The following table summarizes the use of gender on human NPs: the proximate feminine determiner *θə* is used with singular female nouns, while the masculine determiner *tʰə* is used elsewhere.

Table 1. Proximate determiners and gender

	MAN	WOMAN
SINGULAR	tʰə swəy̆qeʔ ‘the man’	θə steniʔ ‘the woman’
PLURAL	tʰə səw̆əy̆qeʔ ‘the men’	tʰə stənʔeniʔ ‘the women’

The complex auxiliaries encode a parallel gender distinction. The forms *ʔeʔəθ* and *naʔəθ* appear when the subject NP associated with the event is feminine singular, while the forms *ʔeʔət* and *naʔət* appear elsewhere:

(37) ʔeʔəθ wəʔ wəkʷaʎəs θəʎ ʂəyəʔ.
 here PERF appear.over.hill DT:2POS older.sibling
 ‘Your older sister is just coming over the hill into view.’ (RP
 25May09)

(38) ʔeʔət wəʔ wəkʷaʎəs tʰəʎ ʂəyəʔ.
 here PERF appear.over.hill DT:2POS older.sibling
 ‘Your older brother is just coming over the hill into view.’ (RP
 25May09)

- (39) naʔəθ ʔəwʻ xʷiyəne:m θə sʎeniʔ
 there LNK listen DT woman
 ʔə θə-nə sʎiləm.
 OB DT-1SG.POS song
 ‘The woman listened to my song.’ (RP 27May2009)
- (40) naʔət ʔəwʻ xʷiyəne:m tʰə swəyʔeʔ
 there LNK listen DT man
 ʔə θə-nə sʎiləm.
 OB DT-1SG.POS song
 ‘The man listened to my song.’ (RP 27May2009)
- (41) naʔət ʔəwʻ xʷiyəne:m tʰə səwʻəyʔeʔ
 there LNK listen DT man(PL)
 ʔə θə-nə sʎiləm.
 OB DT-1SG.POS song
 ‘The men listened to my song.’ (RP 27May2009)
- (42) naʔət ʔəwʻ xʷiyəne:m tʰə sʎənʎeniʔ
 there LNK listen DT woman(PL)
 ʔə θə-nə sʎiləm.
 OB DT-1SG.POS song
 ‘The women listened to my song.’ (RP 27May2009)

3.1 Complex auxiliary agreement is subject controlled

The above discussion shows that feminine singular NPs trigger agreement on the complex auxiliary. We can also use differences in the gender of the NPs involved to show that the auxiliary agrees with a particular NP, the subject.

For example, if the subject is feminine and the object is masculine, the feminine form of the complex auxiliary is allowed:

- (43) naʔəθ wəʔ ləm-nəxʷ-əs θə sʎeniʔ tʰə swəyʔeʔ.
 there PERF look-LC.TR-3SUB DT woman DT man
 ‘The woman saw the man.’ (RP 27May2009)

In contrast, if the subject is masculine and the object is feminine, the feminine form of the complex auxiliary is not allowed:

- (44) *naʔəθ wəʔ ləm-nəxʷ-əs tʰə swəyʔeʔ
 there PERF look-LC.TR-3SUB DT man
 θə sʎeniʔ.
 DT woman
 ‘The man saw the woman.’ (RP 27May2009)

The masculine (or unmarked) form of the auxiliary would be used instead:

- (45) naʔət wəɪ ləm-nəx^w-əs t^θə swəyqeʔ θə steniʔ.
 there PERF look-LC.TR-3SUB DT man DT woman
 ‘The man saw the woman.’ (RP 27May2009)

Similarly, in intransitive clauses, if the subject is feminine and an oblique NP is masculine, the feminine form of the complex auxiliary is allowed:

- (46) naʔəθ ɪ̥aɪq^w-əlmən θə sʃiʔʃqəɪ ʔə t^θə
 there jerk-want DT child OB DT
 men-s.
 father-3POS
 ‘The little girl is trying to jerk away from her father.’ RP 27May2009)

However, the feminine form of the auxiliary is not allowed if the subject is masculine and the oblique NP is feminine:

- (47) *naʔəθ ɪ̥aɪq^w-əlmən t^θə sʃiʔʃqəɪ ʔə θə
 there jerk-want DT child OB DT
 ten-s.
 mother-3POS
 ‘The little boy is trying to jerk away from his mother.’ (RP 27May2009)

The masculine form of the auxiliary would be used instead:

- (48) naʔət ɪ̥aɪq^w-əlmən t^θə sʃiʔʃqəɪ ʔə θə
 there jerk-want DT child OB DT
 ten-s.
 mother-3POS
 ‘The little boy is trying to jerk away from his mother.’ (RP 27May2009)

The restriction on auxiliary agreement holds even if the word order is changed. In transitive clauses, VSO word order is usual. However, subject NPs and oblique-marked NPs can appear in either order, and a feminine subject triggers feminine agreement across the masculine oblique phrase:

- (49) naʔəθ ɪ̥aɪq^w-əlmən ʔə t^θə men-s θə
 there jerk-want OB DT father-3POS DT
 sʃiʔʃqəɪ.
 child
 ‘The little girl wanted to jerk away from her father.’ (RP 9March10)

Furthermore, we see that auxiliary agreement parallels determiner agreement: a feminine singular subject triggers feminine agreement, but a feminine plural subject does not:

- (50) naʔəθ ʔəwʔ xʷiyəne:m̄ θə sɛniʔ
 there LNK listen DT woman
 ʔə θə-nə te.n.
 OB DT-POS mother.
 ‘The woman listened to my mother.’ (RP 27May2009)

- (51) *naʔəθ ʔəwʔ xʷiyəne:m̄ tʰə sɛnɛniʔ
 there LNK listen DT woman(PL)
 ʔə θə-nə te.n.
 OB DT-POS mother.
 ‘The women listened to my mother.’ (RP 27May2009)

Masculine agreement would be used instead:

- (52) naʔət ʔəwʔ xʷiyəne:m̄ tʰə sɛnɛniʔ
 there LNK listen DT woman(PL)
 ʔə θə-nə te.n.
 OB DT-POS mother.
 ‘The women listened to my mother.’ (RP 27May2009)

Thus, we see that gender marking on auxiliaries is subject controlled and that it follows the pattern of grammatical gender in Halkomelem: feminine agreement occurs only with feminine singular NPs.

3.2 Complex auxiliary agreement is optional

However, gender marking on complex auxiliaries is actually more complicated than gender on determiners per se. In the case of determiners, singular feminine NPs appear with feminine determiners, not masculine ones, and vice versa. Thus, the following clauses each have only one meaning:

- (53) niʔ t̄iləm tʰə́n̄ šəyət̄.
 AUX sing DT:2POS older.sibling
 ‘Your older brother sang.’/*‘Your older sister sang.’
- (54) niʔ t̄iləm θə́n̄ šəyət̄.
 AUX sing DT:2POS older.sibling
 ‘Your older sister sang.’/*‘Your older brother sang.’

However, the agreement of the determiner element on the complex auxiliary with the subject NP is only optional. In the case of a feminine singular

subject, the complex determiner can either be *ʔeʔəθ / naʔəθ* as expected or the default form *ʔeʔət / naʔət*:

- (55) *ʔeʔəθ wəɪ wəkʷaŋəs θəŋ ʂəyəl.*
 here PERF appear.over.hill DT:2POS older sibling.
 ‘Your older sister is just coming over the hill into view.’ (RP 25May09)
- (56) *ʔeʔət wəɪ wəkʷaŋəs θəŋ ʂəyəl.*
 here PERF appear.over.hill DT:2POS older sibling.
 ‘Your older sister is just coming over the hill into view.’ (RP 15Oct04)
- (57) *naʔəθ wəɪ θkʷ-əθət ɪɑq̣-əθət ʔitət*
 there PERF stretch.out-REFL lie.down-REFL sleep
θəŋ silə.
 DT:2POS grandparent
 ‘Your grandmother has lain down and stretched out to sleep.’ (RP 25May2009)
- (58) *naʔət wəɪ θkʷ-əθət ɪɑq̣-əθət ʔitət*
 there PERF stretch.out-REFL lie.down-REFL sleep
θəŋ silə.
 DT:2POS grandparent
 ‘Your grandmother has lain down and stretched out to sleep.’ (RP 25May2009)

Recall that this variation in agreement does not exist for examples with masculine subjects: only the masculine and not the feminine form of the complex auxiliary is possible when the subject is masculine:

- (59) *naʔət wəɪ θkʷ-əθət ɪɑq̣-əθət ʔitət*
 there PERF stretch.out-REFL lie.down-REFL sleep
tʰəŋ silə.
 DT:2POS grandparent
 ‘Your grandfather has lain down and stretched out to sleep.’ (RP 25May2009)
- (60) **naʔəθ wəɪ θkʷ-əθət ɪɑq̣-əθət ʔitət*
 there PERF stretch.out-REFL lie.down-REFL sleep
tʰəŋ silə.
 DT:2POS grandparent
 ‘Your grandfather has lain down and stretched out to sleep.’ (RP 25May2009)

This variation in auxiliary agreement might seem puzzling. However, other cases of variability in agreement have been noted in similar circumstances

in other languages (see especially the discussion in Aissen 1990 and Perlmutter 1983). Agreement in English there-constructions is an example. Prescriptive rules of English require that in constructions with the expletive *there*, which is grammaticized from locative *there*, the verb agrees in number with the following NP: *There is a fly in my soup. There are flies in my soup.* However, it has long been noted by descriptive grammarians (see for example, Jespersen 1936:182, Fries 1940:56-57) that singular verb agreement is commonly used before a plural NP in colloquial American English.³ As noted by Aissen (1990), the longer the chain along which agreement features are passed, the more likely agreement will be abandoned in favor of default marking.

Moreover, Gerdts (2009) has shown that some inanimate NPs can take either masculine or feminine determiners, e.g. the words for ‘canoe’, ‘house’, and ‘money’. So gender marking in Halkomelem exhibits a great deal of fluidity. Thus, it is not unexpected to find optionality of gender agreement on positional words.

4 Conclusion

I have shown that the positional words *ʔeʔət* ‘here’ and *naʔət* ‘there’ also function as auxiliaries in the Island dialect of Halkomelem. They are used to point out the location of an event or thing in the current perceptual field of the speaker and hearer. They are used only declarative, non-future clauses with third-person subjects. They thus contrast with the simple auxiliaries *ʔi* and *niʔ*, which can be used in a broader range of clauses including interrogatives, futures, and clauses with first- and second-person subjects.

The positional words can agree in gender with the subject: *ʔeʔəθ* and *naʔəθ* can be used when the subject is feminine singular and *ʔeʔət* and *naʔət* are used elsewhere. Gender agreement is optional: the masculine (default) form can appear with feminine singulars as well. Optionality of agreement is an interesting phenomenon because it results in mismatches between the determiner element in the auxiliary and the determiner in the NP.

Conceptually, these positional words are made up of two parts, a deictic element and a determiner element. The deictic element encodes ‘here’ as opposed to ‘there’. We can speculate about the origin of these words and their use as complex auxiliaries. As mentioned above, the usual word order in Halkomelem is VSO. A common type of main clause in Halkomelem consists of a complex predicate—an auxiliary followed by a verb phrase—as in the following schema:

AUXILIARY (SUBJECT PRONOUNS) VERB NOUN PHRASE

Historically, the subject pronouns are suffixed to the verb (Kroeber 1999:160). But in Halkomelem, the suffix attaches to the dummy root \sqrt{c} to form a clitic

³ This seems especially true if the verb is contracted: *There’s flies in my soup.*

pronoun. In other words, auxiliary verbs attract first- and second- person subject clitic pronouns to the second position. Note that noun phrases cannot appear between the auxiliary and the verb:

(61) ʔi iṯṯələm tʰə swəy̌qeʔ.
 AUX sing(IMPF) DT man
 ‘The man is singing.’

(62) *ʔi tʰə swəy̌qeʔ iṯṯələm
 AUX DT man sing(IMPF)
 ‘The man is singing.’

Perhaps the complex auxiliaries represent a compromise; although the auxiliary cannot attract the whole NP to second-position, it manages to attract a copy of the NP’s determiner.

(63) ʔeʔət iṯṯələm tʰə swəy̌qeʔ.
 here sing(IMPF) DT man
 ‘The man is singing.’

Under this analysis, the complex auxiliaries result as a blend of the auxiliaries *ʔi* and *niʔ* plus a determiner.

Some difficulties face this analysis. First is the issue of mismatches: if the determiner element is a copy of the NP’s determiner, then how do we account for the data in (56) and (58), where the determiner on the auxiliary is masculine while the determiner on the NP is feminine? Furthermore, what phonological processes accommodate the blended form?

A less elegant but broader viewpoint is to treat the positionals in the context of a fuller paradigm of deictic words. Proximate deictics share an *ʔi/ʔe* vowel, while distal deictics share an *n* consonant, as seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Deictics of space and time

	PROXIMATE	DISTAL
VERB/AUXILIARY	ʔi 'be here/now'	niʔ 'be there/then'
PRESENTATION VERB/AUXILIARY	ʔeʔət 'here'	naʔət 'there'
SPATIAL/TEMPORAL DEMONSTRATIVE	təʔi 'here, now, this'	təna 'this, this one, here'
PREPOSITIONAL DEMONSTRATIVE	təni 'from here'	təniʔ 'from here'
SPATIAL DEMONSTRATIVE	təʔinəʔ 'this, this way, here'	tənanəʔ 'that, that way'

This is reminiscent of the English deictic forms: *here/there, hence/thence, and hither/thither*. Whatever the complexities of the historical phonology, morphology, and syntax that resulted in the synchronic forms, they work paradigmatically in the modern language to allow the expression of deictic oppositions in space and time.

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