

Lillooet articles

Jan van Eijk  
University of Leiden

0. This paper is a revised version of pages 20 and 21 of my article "Deictics in Lillooet" (in "Dutch Contributions to the 9th International Conference on Salish Languages, Vancouver, B.C., August 1974"). The transcription used here differs in the following details from the one used in my earlier contribution: vocalic resonants are now written əR instead of R; the affricate [č] is now written c instead of č, while [c] is now written ĉ instead of c; instead of š for [š] I now write s, and instead of s for [s] I now write š; the velarized liquids [ɣ̣, ʃ̣] are now written ĭ, ĭ' respectively; instead of the sequences iQ, eQ, uQ for [ɛQ, aQ, oQ] (Q is any uvular) I now write eQ, aQ, oQ respectively.

1. Introduction. Lillooet has nine proclitic elements which, in one way or another, identify nominal expressions and therefore may be called articles. These elements and their functions are listed in the chart below. Comments follow.

	lexical items				proper nouns
	known		unknown		
	present	absent	present	absent	
singular	ti	ni	k°u		k°
plural	ʔi	nəλ	k°λ		wi
collective	ki				
	with _e			without _e	

As the chart shows, five articles (ti, ʔi, ki, ni, nəλ) trigger a postclitic element \_e (which occurs after the nominal expression preceded by these articles). With the articles k°u and k°λ the presence vs. absence of \_e indicates the presence vs. absence of the thing-meant. The element \_e has the shape \_he after vowels.

2. Functions of the articles. The division "known"- "unknown" hinges on whether the thing under discussion is known or not to the speaker (who is the sole arbiter here, hence the use of ti\_ in pzen-λk-en ti\_sqéyx°\_e "I met (pzen) a man (s-qeyx°)"; note that English uses the indefinite article here, since the man is not yet identified to the hearer). Within "known", the categories "present" vs. "absent" indicate whether or not the thing-meant could imaginably be pointed out in the situation of speech and also whether this distinction is relevant or not in the given situation. Hence we have pzen-λk-en ti\_s-kíx-ze°-sw\_e "I met your mother (s-kíx-ze°)" (i.e. at a certain unspecified moment) vs. pzen-λk-en ni\_s-kíx-ze°-sw\_e id., "just a minute ago, while I was at the store etc." (said, e.g., to sb. who is looking for his mother). While the addressee's mother may not be present in the situation in which the first sentence is used, she is definitely absent in the situation in which the second sentence is used. From this discussion also follows that "absent" is the marked category. The articles for "absent" are obligatory where the absence of smt. or sb. is explicitly expressed, as in ʃ°əl-p\_tu° ni\_cítx°-s\_e "his house (cítx°) burned (ʃ°əl-p) down" (\_tu°: marks definite end of a period or a time-setting).

Within "unknown", the categories "present" vs. "absent"

coincide with the notions "evidential" vs. "hypothetical", e.g. ke\_x°éí-s-k-en\_e k°u\_ná°q°\_e s-cóq°-ež "I smelled (x°éí-s) a rotten (ná°q°) fish (s-cóq°-ež)" (for the place of \_e here see 5.2) vs. wé°-λk-en x°íí-əm k°u\_xéc-əm "I am looking for (x°íí-əm) a box (xéc-əm)."

The article ki\_ expresses "unspecified quantity", as in we° n-s-°éž-əm ki\_s-ménx\_e "he is trading (n-s-°éž-əm) tobacco (s-ménx)." Where ki\_ refers to the object of an action, the verb that expresses that action is often formally intransitive.

The articles for proper nouns require no further comment, except that wi\_ is also sometimes used before the personal pronouns s-nímuλ "we", s-nu-lép "you folks" and s-níλ (third person). In the last case the presence of wi\_ helps to express 3P, hence wi\_s-níλ "they" vs. s-níλ "he, she, it."

3. Formal aspects: the presence of λ in two plural articles (nəλ\_ and k°λ\_) is remarkable. The Fountain dialect has te\_ and ne\_ instead of ti\_ and ni\_ which are characteristic of the Mount Currie dialect. In the examples given in this paper, ti\_ and ni\_ are written throughout, also in Fountain examples. The articles ti\_ (te\_), ni\_ (ne\_), and k°u\_ tend to drop their final vowels, or have it reduced to schwa, in rapid speech. The articles ti\_ (te\_) and, less often, ni\_ (ne\_) are occasionally reduced to zero. The article nəλ\_ is sometimes [λ] before words starting in the possessive prefix 1S n-. A combination of a locative prefix and an article is often dropped between a demonstrative adverb and a noun, e.g. l-c°e q°úm-qən-s\_e "here (l-c°e) on his head (q°úm-qən)" instead of \*l-c°e l-ti\_q°úm-qən-s\_e. In sentences, proper nouns are usually preceded not only by the article k°\_ or wi\_ but also by the

nominalizer s-. However, the combination k°\_s- (as in we° məc-xél k°\_s-A "A is writing (məc-xél)") is sometimes reduced to k\_, especially in the speech of younger people (hence we° məc-xél k\_A). Sometimes k°\_ is reduced to zero; it is anyhow absent in some situations (see 4.6). The article °i\_ changes to ki\_ after prefixes (see 4.2).

4. Examples. A number of examples of the use of each article will be given in sections 4.1-6.

4.1 Examples of ti\_ and °i\_. Only a few sentences are needed to show the use of ti\_ and °i\_: thin-cut-mín-es ti\_kémx°-y-əqs-c\_e "he bragged (thín-cut-mín) about his car (kémx°-y-əqs)", cuw-ən-λk-én ti\_s-qáx-e°-s\_e "I kicked (cúw-ən) his dog (s-qáx-e°)", we° °íí-əm ti\_n-s-kíx-əz°\_e "my mother is singing (°íí-əm)", wé°-λk-ex°\_he zəwét-ən ti\_n-s-k°écic\_e "do you know my name (s-k°écic)?"; examples of °i\_: x°ul-əl-mín-λk-en °i\_n-s-le-ííít-m\_e "I ran away (x°ul-əl-min) from my parents (s-le-ííít-əm)", l-c°e °i\_kepún-lep\_e "here are the coats (kepún) of you folks", c°és-wit °i\_xmén\_e "the enemies (xmén) are coming (c°es)."

4.2 Examples of ki\_: °éž-wit ki\_qmút\_e "they bought (°éž) hats (qmut)", °um-ən-c-él-əm ki\_s-qéwc\_e "I was given (°um-ən) potatoes (s-qewc)", cəq°-cəq°-n-ít-es ki\_kə́l-h\_e "they threw (cəq°-cəq°-ən) rocks (kə́l-e)", wé°-λk-en λúλx°-xel ki\_s-kə-kx°ús\_e "I am putting on (λúλx°-xel) beads (s-kə-kx°ús)" (cf. wé°-λk-en λúλx°-ən °i\_s-kə-kx°ús\_e "I am putting on the beads"), k°ém-əm-λk-en ki\_s-ql-éw\_e "I got (k°ém-əm) some money (s-ql-éw)" (cf. k°ém-λk-en °i\_s-q°áí\_e "I took/bought (k°ém) (the) berries (s-q°áí)."

The articles *ʔi\_* and *ki\_* coincide formally into *ki\_* after prefixes, hence *ʔi\_núk°\_e* *λəl-ki\_ʔux°-elmix°\_e* *n-s-nək°-núk°-eʔ* "some (nuk°) of the Indians (ʔúx°-elmix°) are my friends (s-núk°-eʔ)", *weʔ lé-tiʔ ti\_nax°it\_e* *l-ki\_s-weʔp-úlməx°\_e* "there is a snake (nax°it) in the weeds (s-weʔp-úlməx°)."

4.3 Examples of *ni\_*, *nəλ\_*: *pəl-p-s-k-én ni\_n-s-yéləmc\_e* "I lost (pəl-p-s) my ring (s-yéləmc)", *n-kéʔ\_tuʔ ni\_n-λʔ-ékeʔ-tə\_n\_e* "where (n-keʔ) is my walking stick (λʔ-ékeʔ-tən)ʔ", *plén\_tuʔ λep-t ni\_s-ʔʔ-él-ʔʔ-əl-p\_e* "the forest-fire (s-ʔʔ-él-ʔʔ-əl-əp) is out (λep-t) already (plén)", *pún-λk-en ni\_n-λk°-éíus\_e* "I found (pun) my basket (λk°-éíus)" (cf. *pún-λk-en ti\_n-λk°-éíus\_e id.*, when the basket is shown by the speaker), *wéʔ-λk-ex°\_he zəwét-ən l-t\_s\_e\_lék ni\_n-cítx°\_e* "do you know (zəwét-ən) where my house is?" (*lek* "to exist, be around") (this sentence is used when the hearer has been at the speaker's house; cf. *wéʔ-λk-ex°\_he zəwét-ən l-t\_s\_e\_lék ti\_n-cítx°\_e id.*, used when the hearer has never been at the speaker's house). The article *ni\_* is also used in constructions which refer to a past period, such as *ni\_pél°\_e máqeʔ* "last year, a year ago" (*péleʔ* "one", *máqeʔ* "snow"), *ni\_pél°\_e lénem-tən* "last month, a month ago" (*lénem-tən* "month, moon"); examples with *nəλ\_*: *pəl-p-s-k-én\_tuʔ nəλ\_n-s-q°l-éw°\_e* "I lost my berries (s-q°l-éw°)", *n-kéʔ\_tuʔ nəλ\_n-s-təm-tétəm\_e* "where are my belongings (s-təm-tétəm)ʔ", *pək°-pək°-s-twít-es nəλ\_s-qewc-í\_he* "they lost their potatoes" (*pək°-pək°-s* "to spill, lose by spilling").

4.4 Examples of *k°u\_*, *k°λ\_* (with *\_e*): only very few sentences with these articles were recorded: *weʔ wéʔ-em k°u\_s-qáx°-ʔ\_e* "there is a dog barking (wéʔ-em)"

(dog is heard, but not seen), *ʔə-k°ʔé l-t\_s\_e\_s-λéc ʔi\_s-péms\_e λ-w-es\_λéq-c k°u\_n-k°x°éns\_e* "it is around here (ʔə-k°ʔé) where the wood (s-péms) is piled up (s-λéc) that we heard the 'ghost-owl' (n-k°x°ens)" (*λéq-c* "sound of smt. reaches you"), *x°ʔúx°-nun-λk-en k°u\_s-ménx\_e* "I smell (x°ʔúx°-nun) some tobacco", *cʔes lé-k°ʔe λlé-k°uʔ k°u\_s-λeλél-m\_e* "there is a grizzly (s-λeλél-əm) coming from there (λλé-k°uʔ)" (used by person in a party that is attacked by a grizzly, cf. *ʔəm-ʔímm-əm\_k°uʔ tiʔ ti\_s-λeλél-m\_e λlé-k°uʔ* "that grizzly was growling (ʔəm-ʔímm-əm)", used by story-teller, describing the same incident); examples with *k°λ\_*: *weʔ lé-k°ʔe séy-səʔ k°λ\_s-k°əm-k°úk°mít\_e* *lé-k°uʔ ləp-xél-tə\_n\_e* "there are children (s-k°úk°mít) playing (séy-səʔ) in the garden (ləp-xél-tən)" (the children are heard, but not seen), *naq°-c-xi-ten-əm-wít\_k°uʔ\_tuʔ k°λ\_s-qéʔ-i\_he* "their food (s-qéʔ) was stolen (naq°-c-xit) from them" (used when the speaker has heard about it, cf. *naq°-c-xi-ten-əm-wít\_tuʔ nəλ\_s-qéʔ-i\_he id.*, used when the speaker knows it from own observation).

4.5 Examples of *k°u\_*, *k°λ\_* (without *\_e*): *húy-λk-ələp k°ém-əm k°u\_s-ʔáíš-əm* "you folks will catch a disease (s-ʔáíš-əm)", *símeʔ-xi-c k°u\_péleʔ* "give (símeʔ-xit) me one", *s-ʔénc\_e\_kλ k°u\_n-x°íl-xi-téli* "I (s-ʔénc\_e) will be the one to roast it for him (n-x°íl-xit)" (*\_kλ*: future-marker) (cf. *s-ʔénc\_e ti\_q°us-xi-téli\_he ti\_ʔux°-elmix°\_e* "I am the one who shot (q°ús-xit) the Indian"), *λ-x°íć-xi-c-ex° k°u\_núk°\_léx°-mə\_n, λum-un-λk-én\_kλ l-cʔe* "if you give (x°íć-xit) me another (nuk°) patch (léx°-mə\_n), I will put it on (λúm-un) here", *n-kéʔ\_tuʔ k°u\_s-qéc-zeʔ-su* "where is your father (s-qéc-zeʔ)ʔ" (used when the speaker does not know the father of the hearer, cf. *n-kéʔ\_tuʔ*

ni\_s-qéc-ze?-sw\_e id., when speaker does know father of hearer), pún-λk-ex°\_he k°u\_s-lem-élh-i "did you find their bottle (s-lem-éle)?" (when speaker does not know the bottle, cf. pún-λk-ex°\_he ni\_s-lem-élh-í\_he id., when speaker knows the bottle); examples with k°λ\_:

we?-es\_én\_tu? kən-c°é k°λ\_méxeλ "there must have been bears (méxeλ) around here (kən-c°é)", k°ák°ən k°λ\_s-q°ús-əm-su "how many (k°ák°ən) did you shoot (q°ús-əm)?", n-ké°\_tu? k°λ\_s-təm-tétəm-su "where are your belongings?" (cf. n-ké°\_tu? nəl\_n-s-təm-tétm\_e "where are my belongings?"), pəl-p-s-k-élep\_hé\_tu? k°λ\_s-q°l-éw-lep "did you folks lose your berries?" (cf. pəl-p-s-túm\_tu? nəl\_s-q°l-éw-λkeλ\_e "we lost our berries"), n-k°ín-k°ən\_tu? ké-ti° k°λ\_λék "how many (n-k°ín-k°ən) did go by (λék)?" (cf. n-k°ín-k°ən\_tu? ké-ti° nəl\_plén\_e λék "several (n-k°ín-k°ən) went by."

4.6 Examples of k°\_, wi\_: cú-n-es k°\_s-Méme: "Síme?\_meλ" "he told Méme: "come (síme?)!", we? lé-ti° qe? k°\_s-Páh-y-əqs "Páh-y-əqs was eating (qe?)", ?úm-ən-c-es k°\_s-Charlie ti\_téx°?ec\_e "Charlie gave me a gun (téx°?ec)"; examples with wi\_: huž qe?-wít wi\_s-Méh-y-əqs múte°\_λu? s-Páh-y-əqs "M. and P. were about (huž) to eat", λék-wit wi\_s-Bill múte° s-Sam ké-ti° "Bill and Sam were going along."

In the following cases the article k°\_ is not used:

(a) when a person is mentioned as the possessor of smt.: níλ\_c°e mús-məs-c s-Bill "this (níλ\_c°e) is Bill's cow (mús-məs)", n-λém-λk-en l-ti\_cícl\_e kah-s s-Billie "I had a ride (n-λém) in Billie's new (cícl) car", λáç-p\_tu? ni\_cítx°-s\_e s-Ronnie "Ronnie's house caved in (λáç-p)";

(b) when the person mentioned is designated by (s-)níλ "that one, that's the one": s-níλ\_ti? s-Bill (ti\_λék\_e ?ə-tú) "that is Bill (who went that way)", níλ\_qe?

s-Kxi°ól ti ?úm-ən-c-és\_e "well, it is Kxi°ól who gave it to me";

(c) after the prefix ?ə- "by": cú-n-əm ?ə-s-Méh-y-əqs "he was told (cu-n) by Méh-y-əqs."

The article wi\_ is retained in the first of the three cases where k°\_ is deleted: níλ\_ti° s-zéy-tn-i wi\_s-Páh múte° s-Meh "that is what happened to P. and M." (s-zéy-tən "that what a person does or what happens to him"). In the second case wi\_ is deleted: níλ\_?iž s-Bill múte° s-Sam "those are Bill and Sam". The presence or absence of wi\_ has not yet been checked for the last type of sentence where k°\_ is deleted.

## 5. Special cases.

5.1 Deletion of \_e. When the clitic \_e, as a result of the presence of ti\_, ?i\_, ki\_, ni\_, nəl\_, k°u\_, or k°λ\_, should follow an other instance of \_e, it is in fact absent, hence, e.g., ni\_ke\_x°éž\_e "the deceased one" (ke\_x°éž\_e "he disappeared for good"). Note that here the categories "present (unknown)" and "absent (unknown)" coincide (see also 5.2). The clitic \_e is not dropped after any other final e: ti\_s-lem-élh\_e "the bottle (s-lem-éle)", ti\_?ém-h\_e s-qeyx° "the good (?ém-e) man (s-qeyx°)."

5.2 Complex nominal expressions. When a nominal expression consists of two lexical items and it is preceded by one of the articles that trigger \_e, the element \_e occurs after the first item (as in ke\_x°éí-s-k-en\_e k°u\_ná?q\_e s-çóq°-ež, 2). However, when the first lexical item in a complex nominal expression is we? "to be (busy with, involved in)", the element \_e is never used (we? enters in these cases into a proclitic construction),

hence, e.g., *ti<sub>i</sub>we<sup>o</sup>zús-xel* "policeman" (lit.: "the one who binds (*zús-xel*)"). Note that in these cases the formal distinction between "present (unknown)" and "absent (unknown)" disappears (cf. 5.1), as in *qením<sub>i</sub>ke<sub>i</sub>wi<sup>o</sup> ké-ti<sup>o</sup> k<sup>o</sup>λ<sub>i</sub>we<sup>o</sup>ʔəs-cítx<sup>o</sup>* "apparently (*ke<sub>i</sub>wi<sup>o</sup>*), those who were in the house heard (*qením*) it". The proclitic sequences *ti<sub>i</sub>we<sup>o</sup>* and *k<sup>o</sup>u<sub>i</sub>we<sup>o</sup>* are almost always pronounced [twɛ] and [k<sup>o</sup>ɛ] respectively. When *we<sup>o</sup>* occurs by itself as a nominal expression, the clitic *e* is not dropped, e.g. *n-ke<sup>o</sup> λlé-te<sup>o</sup> λəl-ki<sub>i</sub>wé<sup>o</sup>e k<sup>o</sup>u<sub>i</sub>s-qéc-ze<sup>o</sup>-su* "who (*n-ke<sup>o</sup>*) out of those people is your father?"

### Reflexive forms in Lillooet

Jan van Eijk  
University of Leiden

1. Introduction. Lillooet has a reflexive suffix *-sut* (myself, yourself etc.). This suffix occurs after intransitive and transitive stems. In the latter case it has the shape *-cut*. The reflexive suffix is stressed after intransitive stems and after (transitive) *g*-stems (i.e. those stems that end in the causative suffix *-s*). When it occurs after *n*-stems (i.e. those stems that end in any of the transitivizers *-Vn/-Vn'* or *-xit*) it is stressed in most cases, whereas in a few cases it is the transitivizer that is stressed. In chapter 2 all recorded cases will be given of the four types under discussion here (forms with intr. stems; (tr.) *g*-stems; (tr.) *n*-stems with or without stress on *-cut*). In chapter 3 the semantic differences between these four types are discussed. Words that end in *-sut/-cut* are formally intransitive.

#### 2. Examples.

2.1 Intransitive stems. The following cases were recorded here: *pam-p-sút*, *pam-p-sót* "run away, running without stopping (like horse when frightened, or a train that went through its brakes)" (*pam-p* "fast"), *ptinus-əm-sút* "to think (*ptinus-əm*) by oneself, to worry", *pun-sút-ən* "to find (*pun*) by accident (*smt. lost*)", *pele<sup>o</sup>-sút* "by oneself, alone (object)", *peple<sup>o</sup>-sút id.* (person), *met-q-sút* "to wander around homeless" (*met-q* "to go on foot"), *ces-q<sup>o</sup>-em-sút* "to feel (*ces-*) around in the dark" (*-q<sup>o</sup>* suffix "head"), *nəx<sup>o</sup>-sút* "run away horse" (*noX<sup>o</sup>* "to gallop"), *λq<sup>o</sup>-ilx-sút* "moon between June and July" (*λq<sup>o</sup>-ilx* "to get on a horse"), *lulem<sup>o</sup>-sút* "to ac-