Lillooet articles

Jan van Zijl
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 aR instead of R; the affricate [cf] is now written c instead of ç, while [c] is now written ç instead of c; instead of [N] for [N] I now write s, and instead of s for [s] I now write r; the velarized liquids [ç, ç] are now written 1, l' respectively; instead of the sequences iq, eq, uq for [rç, aç, çç] (ç is any uvular) I now write eç, aç, çç 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical items</th>
<th>Proper nouns</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>known</td>
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<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>ti</td>
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<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>n'i</td>
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<td>collective</td>
<td>ki</td>
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As the chart shows, five articles (ti, n'i, ki, ni, nał) trigger a postclitic element _e (which occurs after the nominal expression preceded by these articles). With the articles k'*u and k'*ł 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 pszn-łk-en ti_sqeyx_e "I met (psen) a man (s-geyx*)"; 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 pszn-łk-en ti_s-kfx-sew_e _e "I met your mother (s-kfx-se*)" (i.e. at a certain unspecified moment) vs. pszn-łk-en ni_s-kfx-sew_e _e, "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 ły-si-p_tu_ niçfzx-sew_e _e "his house (çfzx*) burned (ły-si-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. 

\[ x_e \cdot x^e \cdot x^e \cdot s-k-en \cdot x^e \cdot u \cdot n^q \cdot s \cdot c\text{-}g\cdot c\cdot e \cdot e \cdot \text{I smelled (}x^e \cdot s\text{-}l\cdot s \cdot k\text{-}e\cdot a\text{)} \]  

The article \( k \) expresses "unspecified quantity", as in 

\[ w^e \cdot \text{ke}\cdot x\cdot o\cdot y\cdot a\cdot q\cdot e\cdot s\cdot c\text{-}g\cdot e \cdot e \cdot \text{I kicked (}c\text{-}u\text{-\texttt{m}\cdot e\cdot a\text{)} \]
The articles *ni* and *ki* coincide formally into *ki* after prefixes, hence *ni-nuk*-e λαι-ki-ux*-elmixon* e n-ak-nuk*-e′ "some (nuk*) of the Indians ("ux*-*elmixon") are my friends (s-nuk*-e′)". we o λo-ti ti_nukot e liki s-we*p-ūlmixon* e "there is a snake (nukot) in the weeds (s-we*p-ūlmixon")."

4.3 Examples of *ni*, *naλ*: pš1-p-s-k-én ni_n-s-yolame_e "I lost (pš1-p-s) my ring (s-yolame)". n-ké_tu_0 ni_n-λα-ðeke-*tn* e "where (n-ke) is my walking stick (λα-ðeke-*tn)". plém tu_0 λep-t ni_n-γ’*al-γ’*al-p_e "the forest-fire (γ’*al-γ’*al) is out (λep-t) already (plen)". pún-λk*en ni_n-λk*-eluxe_e "I found (pún) my basket (λk*-eluxe)" (cf. pún-λk*en ti_n-λk*-eluxe_e id., when the basket is shown by the speaker). wéδ-λk*ex*he zawét-an l-t s_e_lék ni_n-cfxt_e e "do you know (zawét-an) where my house is?" (lek "to exist, be around") (this sentence is used when the hearer has been at the speaker's house). 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_pélio* e máqo" "last year, a year ago" (pél*o" one), máqo" "snow"). ni_pélio* e létem-tan "last month, a month ago" (létem-tan "month, moon") (létem-tan "month, moon") examples with *naλ*: pšl-p-s-k-én tu_0, naλ n-s-γ’*al-ew_e "I lost my berries (s-γ’*al-ew)". n-ké_0 tu_0 naλ n-s-tem-tetm_e "where are my belongings (s-tem-tetm)". pk*e-pak*stwft-es naλ s-qewc-f-he "they lost their potatoes" (pk*e-pak* "to spill, lose by spilling").

4.4 Examples of *k*u_, *k*λ_ (without _e): only very few sentences with these articles were recorded. we o wé*em k*u_s-γqz-0_e "there is a dog barking (wé*em)".

(dog is heard, but not seen). 99-k*óe l-t s_e s-λάc 99_s-pem*en e λ-*w-*e, k*u_n-k*x*enc_e "it is around here (99-k*óe) where the wood (s-pem*) is piled up (n-k*en) that we heard the 'ghost-owl' (n-k*x*en)" (λe-k*en "sound of smt. reaches you") x’*uk*x*nuk-*k-en k*u_s-ménix_e "I smell (x’*uk*x*nuk) some tobacco", c*eś λé-k*e*λαk *u_s-*λeλéli_m-e "there is a grizzly (s-*λeλéli-*m) coming from there (λle-k*óe)" (used by a person in a party that is attacked by a grizzly, cf. 99*em-*fnm-en k*u_0 ti_0 ti_s-*λeλéli_m-e λαk-k*u_0 "that grizzly was growling (99*em-*fnm-*en)" used by story-teller, describing the same incident); examples with k*λ_: we o λé-k*en sáya-sáya k*λ_s-κ*en-k*k*enit_e lék-k*u_0 lòp-xfél-tan_e "there are children (s-κ*k*enit) playing (sáya-sáya) in the garden (lòp-xfél-tan)" (the children are heard, but not seen), naq*ci-xi-ten-*en-ši-ši_ku_wit k*u_0 k*λ_s-γqo-i he "their food (s-γqo) was stolen (naq*ci-xi) from them" (used when the speaker has heard about it, cf. naq*ci-xi-ten-*en-ši-ši_ku_wit k*u_0 s-δé-i he id., used when the speaker knows it from own observation).
ni_s-qéc-se°-sw_e id., when speaker does know father of hearer), pún-\k-ex° he k°u-s-lem-ših-i "did you find their bottle (s-lem-šle)" (when speaker does not know the bottle, cf. pún-\k-ex° he ni_s-lem-ših-i id., when speaker knows the bottle); examples with k°-ni_s-qéc-se°-sw_e id., when speaker does know father of hearer), pun-\k-ex° k°u-s-lem-ših-i "did you find their bottle (s-lem-šle)" (when speaker does not know the bottle, cf. pun-\k-ex° k°u-s-lem-ših-i id., when speaker knows the bottle); examples with k°-ni_s-qéc-se°-sw_e id., when speaker knows the bottle); examples with k°-}

The article wi_ is retained in the first of the three cases where k°- is deleted: n façon s-zé-y-tāni wi_ s-Pán mue° s-Keh "that is what happened to P. and M." (s-zé-y-tāni "that what a person does or what happens to him"). In the second case wi_ is deleted: n façon s-Bill mue° 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_, k°-, ni_, n façon, k°-u_, or k°-, should follow an other instance of _e, it is in fact absent, hence, e.g., ni_ke_xoei-s-k-en e kO_u_na°_q_e "Ronnie's house caved in" (ke_xoei-s-k-en "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-ših-e "the bottle (s-lem-šle)"; ti_s-šm-h_e s-qeyx° "the good (šm-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°šl-s-k-en-e k°u-né-šle s-šm-h°°_q-e, 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_we°_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 qeñím_ke_ _wi° ké-ti° k*λ_we°_xas-cítx° "apparently (_ke_wi°), those who were in the house heard (qeñím) it". The proclitic sequences ti_we°_ and k*u_we° are almost always pronounced [twE] and [k*ε] respectively. When we° occurs by itself as a nominal expression, the clitic _e is not dropped, e.g. n-ke° λld-te° λel-kí_ _we°_e k*u_s-qóc-me°-su "who (n-ke°) out of those people is your father?"

Reflexive forms in Lillooet

Jan van Bijk
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) s-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/-V~ 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.) s-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-sut, pAm-p-bôt "run away, running without stopping (like horse when frightened, or a train that went through its brakes)" (pAm-p "fast"), ptinus-sm-sut "to think (ptinus-sm) by oneself, to worry", pun-sut-on "to find (pun) by accident (smt. lost)", pele°-sut "by oneself, alone (object)", peple°-sut Aê. (person), met-q-sut "to wander around homeless" (met-q "to go on foot"), ces-q-em-sut "to feel (ces-) around in the dark" (-q" suffix "head"), noê*-sut "run away horse" (noê* "to gallop"), λq*-ilx-sut "moon between June and July" (λq*-ilx "to get on a horse"), lulêm-sut "to ac-