1. The Lillooet system of local deictics\(^1\) distinguishes eight points of reference (see chart below). Local deictics consist of a deictic root plus one of four local prefixes; in the chart below, forms with the prefix \(1-/l-/\) "in, on, at" are given. Comments follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pivoting</th>
<th>non-pivoting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>visible</td>
<td>proximal (&quot;here&quot;)</td>
<td>1-cʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>distal (&quot;there&quot;)</td>
<td>1-tʔu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invisible</td>
<td>proximal (&quot;here&quot;)</td>
<td>1-kʔʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>distal (&quot;there&quot;)</td>
<td>1-kʔʔu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Formal aspects: the roots in the "pivoting" category have the shape \(C\Pi\), while the non-pivoting roots have \(CV\) (except for 1š-kʔʔa). The roots in the category "visible" have \(c\) or \(t\) as \(C\Pi\), while the "invisible" roots have \(k\) as \(C\Pi\). Note that the prefix has the shape \(1-\) in the category "pivoting", and 1š- in the category "non-pivoting"; 1š-kʔʔa combines the characteristics of pivoting (root \(C\Pi\)) and non-pivoting (prefix 1š-) deictics (note that 1-kʔʔa and 1š-kʔʔa share the same root). For details on affixation see 3.

2. Semantics and use. The division "visible" vs. "invisible"
hinges on whether the thing or place meant is visible or invisible to the speaker. The categories "proximal" vs. "distal" express that the thing or place meant is (relatively) close to vs. (relatively) far from the speaker. The categories "pivoting" vs. "non-pivoting" indicate whether or not a certain place or object is considered to be the centre or orientation point of an area - compare the following two sentences:

(a) 1-c?a 'i-was, q-wal'q-wal' hah "it is hurting (q-wal'q-wal') here" (when speaker points at spot on own body).

(b) 1-t?i 'i-was, q-wal'q-wal' id. (said to sb. who points at spot on speaker's body): in (a) the spot itself is the orientation point, while in (b) it is identified through the addressee.

Within the category "invisible" we have:

(c) 1-k?7a 'i-was, q-wal'q-wal' hah "it is hurting here" (speaker indicates an invisible (to him) spot on own body, e.g. on back).

(d) 1-t?i 'i-was, q-wal'q-wal' id. (said to sb. who indicates an invisible (to speaker) spot on speaker's body).

The distal deictics were all rejected in the sentences above, which gives an idea of the minimal range of "proximal". In the distal category it is on the whole more difficult to pinpoint the difference between pivoting and non-pivoting than in the proximal category, where pivoting 1-c?7a, 1-k?7a are generally associated with the speaker, while non-pivoting 1-t?i, 1-t?u? are generally associated with the addressee (the distal deictics are associated with neither the speaker nor the addressee). The difference between 1-t?u and 1-t?u? is shown by (e) vs. (f):

(e) swat 1-t?u ti-wal'q-a ti-cq?c-q? a ti-caspicht? ti-wal'q-a "who (swat) is the one in the red (cq?c-q?) sweater (caspicht?) there?" (wa? "to be", -s "his").

(f) swat 1-t?u? ti-wal'q-a ti-cq?c-q? a ti-caspicht? ti-wal'q-a s?jilus 1_ki-wa? s?jilus "who is the one in the red sweater in the crowd (s?jilus "to be among people")? in (e) the man himself is the orientation point, while in (f) the man is identified through an other orientation point (the crowd).

In the distal/invisible category, matters are complicated by the fact that 1-t?u has a very vague range and refers almost exclusively to something heard, smelled or sensed, as in:

(g) iij?q 1-t?u? kw?y-s "I think A is there" (ij?q "to arrive", kw?y-s precedes proper nouns, see Van Eijk, 1980).

(h) huj 1-t?u? kwis "I think it is going to (huj) rain (kwis)" (e.g. when my scar is aching).

(i) npq?c-c?m 1-t?u? "sb. is knocking on the door" (npq?c-c?m "to knock on the door").

(j) x-wa?ux 1-t?u? "smt. is stinking (x-wa?ux)".

(k) npq?k?n 1-t?u? "I (kan) feel full (from eating)" (npq?k?n "to be full from eating").

(l) x-wa?ux 1-t?u? "your (-sw-) tea (tih) is too (-sw-) sweet (x-wa?ux) for me".

(m) wumax-c?7ul 1-t?u? ti-radiob a "the radio is too loud (wumax-c?)".
The vagueness of 15-kʷəa is directly related to the nature of the categories distal, invisible, and pivoting. The deictic 15-ka often takes over the function of 15-kʷəa as the non-pivoting counterpart of 1-kʷəu - compare (n) vs. (o):

(n) 1-kʷəu Lillooet-a "there in Lillooet" (for a see 4.).
(o) 15-ka Lillooet-a liwas_wa təkwunsə "he is there in Lillooet right now (təkwunsə)"; the non-pivoting function of 15-ka is described by one of my consultants as "15-ka is where it's at, where they were, where it happened".

Although 15-ka generally replaces 15-kʷəa when it comes to expressing the distal/invisible/non-pivoting dimension in terms of physical distance, 15-kʷəa is occasionally used in this function - compare (p) vs. (q):

(p) 15-kʷəa Lillooet-a ləpən-ən ti_pukʷəa "I (an) found (pən) the book (pukʷə) there in Lillooet" (according to the consultant, this sentence has an "idea of past").
(q) 15-ka Lillooet-a ləpən-ən ti_pukʷəa id. (without "idea of past").

For 15-kʷəa see also sentence (f) in 4.

3. Affixation. Beside the prefixes 1-/1lə-, we also have the prefixes ʔa-/ʔə- "towards, along", ʔəl-/ʔəl- "from", and kon-/knə- "around, via": the first member of each pair is used in pivoting deictics, the second one in non-pivoting ones: ʔa-cʔə "this way", ʔə-tiʔə "that way", etc. Instead of knə-tiʔə and knə-ka, one frequently uses kə-tiʔə and kə-ka. The form kə-taʔə for knə-taʔə is less normal. The forms *ʔə-kaʔə, *ʔəl-kaʔə, and *knə-kaʔə were rejected, and I have only one example of ka-kəʔə: wə kə-kaʔə qeqicəʔəl "sb. is knocking on the door" (cf. (k) in 2.). The word ʔə-kaʔə "that way (invisible, distal, pivoting)" often becomes proclitic kəu in quick speech. The pivoting deictics allow suffixation with -wənə/-na "right on the spot" (-wən after a; -na after u): 1-cʔə-wənə "right here", 1-təʔə-na "right there", ʔə-cʔə-wənə "right to this place", etc. The prefixes 1-, ʔə-, ʔəl-, kə- are the prefixal counterparts of the proclitic prepositions 1, ʔə-, ʔəl-, kə-

4. Special questions. English phrases like "here in the house" (deictic-preposition-article-noun) are matched exactly in Lillooet, e.g. 1-təʔə ləti_qfənə-a (lə "in, on, at", ti...a article "present, known, singular", qfənə "house"). However, the preposition and the proclitic article are often dropped from such phrases, e.g. 1-cʔə_qfənə-a. Local deictics are used more often in Lillooet than in English, as is shown by (a) through (d):

(a) həʔəkχə a miqəʔə ʔə-tiʔə sqəʔ-ətnə-a "I am going to (huγ-) sit down (miqəʔə) at your (-sw-) side (sqəʔut)".
(b) həʔəkχə ləʔəxəl ʔə-tiʔə sqəʔ-ətnə-a ti,qfənə-a "I am going
to make a garden beside my (n-) house" (lojššl “to plant, make a garden”).
(c) hōjššl nās čenpon ti.n-kšš.a ʔa-kššu? squšt-s.a
 ti.čix“-sw.s “I am going to park (čenpon) my car (kšš) beside your house” (nās “to go”).
(d) ka-ʔačšš.s.a 1-t?u ʔi-waʔ.ʔswsw “he caught sight (ka-ʔačšš.s.a) of people who were fishing (ʔswsw) on the other side” (ʔi-t? “other side”).

Note the absence of preposition-article constructs in the above sentences. Although "here" and "there" can be used in the English versions, they are not as necessary as in the Lillooet versions, which would sound odd without the deictics.

The local deictics may occur in combinations which usually give a more general location than single deictics:
(e) waʔ ʔa-kššu? kšš-tiʔ “he was over there, somewhere”.
(f) čas kšš-kšš ʔaš-kššu? kčšš.sčšš.m “there was a grizzly coming from somewhere” (čas “to come”).

A speaker may use various deictics to designate one and the same spot as his focus shifts, or as the relation of his subject to that spot shifts:
(g) čix“ ʔa-kššu? 1-t.ʔswsw-s.a ʔi-waʔ.ʔswsw, nɪʔ.ʔsw
 s=šušš.xšš 1-t? “he arrived (čix”) at the spot where they were fishing (ʔswsw), so (nɪʔ.ʔsw) he had a few puffs there” (ʔswsw-s “spot-their”, šušš.xšš “to smoke a few puffs”).

The word kšš-tiʔ “around (t)here” is also used in the meaning “at all, any”, as in:
(h) xʷʔas: kšš-tiʔ “not at all” (xʷʔas “not”).
(i) skan kšš-tiʔ kʷas.ʔas kšš.kšš “are there any leftovers (kšš.kšš)” (skan question-marker, cf. Polish czy; 1ak “to exist”).

The words ?a-cʔa “this way”, ʔa-tiʔ “that way”, and ʔa-kššuʔ “that way” are also used with čšš “like”, ʔxšš.m “to do like”, and cut “to say”, as in:
(j) čšš ʔa-cʔa “like this”.
(k) čšš ʔa-tiʔ “like that”.
(l) ʔxšš.m ʔa-cʔa “to do like this”.
(m) ʔxšš.m ʔa-tiʔ “to do like that”.
(n) cut ʔa-kššuʔ “to say that”.

Notes
1. this article is a revised version of pp. 17-19 in my article “Deictics in Lillooet” (in “Dutch Contributions to the 9th International Conference on Salish Languages Held at Vancouver, B.C., August 12th-14th, 1974”).
2. 1š-tiʔ, 1š-kššuʔ often translate best as "there"; in the same way, other forms with -tiʔ, -kššuʔ (see 3.) also often translate as "from there", "that way"; rather than "from here", "this way".

Reference
Van Eijk, Jan: "Lillooet Articles" (contribution to the 15th International Conference on Salish Languages, 1980).