Introduction

The material contained in this paper was collected between January and May, 1974. The data was collected from Mrs. Ellen White of Nanaimo, B.C. and Theresa Morris of Victoria, B.C. Mrs. White has an active knowledge of both the Nanaimo and Cowichan dialects of Halkomelem. She is presently involved with her own language project. Ms. Morris speaks Straits Coast Salish as well as the Cowichan dialect of Halkomelem.

Historically, Halkomelem was spoken on Vancouver Island from Mill Bay, some twenty five miles north of Victoria, to Nanoose Bay, just north of Nanaimo.

I would like to thank Dr. T.E. Hukari for his interest and patience in spite of my constant badgering.

There are some gaping holes in the following analysis. In light of this, then, the discussion is best considered to be a working paper. It is hoped that with more research a more accurate and thorough statement can be made about the Determiner system in Island Halkomelem.

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Determiners in Coast Salish modify, mark, or serve as nominal constructions. The determiner system in Island Halkomelem indicates existence and orientation in time and space relative to the speaker. The system is comprised of two subsystems, demonstratives and compound demonstratives.

The demonstratives occur in stressed and unstressed forms. Both stressed and unstressed demonstratives occur in marked and unmarked series, the marked series indicating secondary importance. Three degrees of proximity relative to the speaker are distinguished; proximal, distal, and indefinite. The functions of these parameter distinctions will be explicitly illustrated.
Unstressed Demonstratives:

An unstressed demonstrative must form an immediate constituent with a nominal or verbal construction. An unstressed demonstrative occurring with a nominal construction can best be translated into English as an article, while one occurring with a predicative construction is best rendered into English as an indefinite relative pronoun.

*ni1* 'It was a woman who went' ('be-3rd person det(M-D) woman locative to-go')

*ni?* 'I saw the one who went' (locative I hypothetical see det(U-I) locative to-go)

Gender:

The unstressed demonstratives distinguish gender for singular referents only. All demonstratives modifying plural referents occur in unmarked form. The marked forms are used with a human female referent or an animal which is designated as being specifically female.

*te ne man?e* 'my son' (proximal)

*k'Θe ne man?e* 'my son' (distal)

*Θe ne man?e* 'my daughter' (proximal)

*k'Θe ne sel?si?le* 'my grandparents/grandmothers/grandfathers' (proximal)

*k'Θe sq?awemay* 'the dog ran' (male/unspecified gender, proximal)

*k'Θe sq?awemay* 'the bitch ran' (proximal) (run det(M-P) dog)

1. The Cowichan equivalents of *te* and *tey?* are *t'Θe* and *t'Θey?*. Mrs. White feels that these are remnants of an older system which was once employed in the Nanaimo dialect.

2. In less careful speech *k'Θe* seems to be a free variant of *k'Θe*.

3. Any morpheme-by-morpheme translation of the predicate and its affixes has been suppressed, as it is not pertinent to the discussion at hand.
nam? ?a tə sta?ləw 'He's going to the river' (go "oblique"
det(U-P) river)
ni? can qa·yt kʷəe qʷəni 'I killed the seagull' (locative I kill
det(U-D) seagull)4
?i can kʷənʔət tə pəʔəcənʔ 'I am holding the sand' (locative I
hold det(U-P) sand)

The gender distinction is maintained for personal property of the speaker.
θə nə səxəqəh 'my car' (female possessor, proximal)
θə nə ɬələm 'my house' (female possessor, proximal)
θə nə ʃəpiʔən 'my blouse' (female possessor, proximal)
tə nə ʃəpiʔən 'my shirt' (male possessor, proximal)

It has not, as yet, been determined how far reaching this process is. It appears
that the only marked form which can be used in this capacity is the proximal, θə.
That is, the possessed object must be immediately at hand.

The marked demonstratives occur with diminutivized nominals, reflecting
their function of marking small or secondarily important referents.
le nə yayəxqʷ 'my little hat' (distal).
ne sələ? le nə yayəxqʷ 'I want my little hat' (my wanting det(M-D) my
little-hat)

Spacial Position:

The opposition proximal:distal seems to be a matter of proximity and vis-
ibility relative to the speaker. The proximal forms indicate that the referent
is close at hand and visible, while the distal forms mark the modified element
for invisibility and moderate distance relative to the speaker.
tə nə mənʔə 'my son' (here beside me)
kʷəe nə mənʔə 'my son' (in the next room and out of sight)
θə nə mənʔə 'my daughter' (here beside me)
ɨə nə mənʔə 'my daughter' (in the next room and out of sight)

ni? can qa·yt tə qʷəni 'I killed the seagull (which is here)'
(locative I kill det(U-P) seagull)
ni? can qa·yt kʷəe qʷəni 'I killed the seagull (out of sight)'
(locative I kill det(U-D) seagull)

4 The locative particles ?i and ni? most often indicate proximity of the
event in time relative to the time of the utterance. They do operate as spacial
locatives though.
The speaker seems to have the option of not marking a referent for proximity or non-visibility if it is not critical to the meaning of the utterance.

\[\text{swenal} \text{ to s'maye} \theta \] 'The deer ran' (run det(U-P) deer)
\[\text{nem? } \omega \text{ to sta?low?} \] 'He's going to the river' (go "oblique det(U-P) river)

The indefinite forms are used to indicate great distance when modifying non-animate entities. Indefinite forms modifying human referents indicate that the referent is deceased. (see "Indefinite Referents" below)

\[\text{nem? can nem? } \kappa' \text{ cak} \text{ sta?low?} \] 'I'm going to the distant river'
\[\text{go } \text{go }"\text{oblique" det(U-I) distant river)}

Temporal Position:

All three sets of positional markers are utilized in different temporal frames. Proximal forms are used with referents in a present, immediate past, or immediate future context.

\[\text{ni? can wəl lemət } \theta \text{ αω? nii } \text{ 'I already saw her (just past)'} \text{ (locative I )}\]
\[\text{go det(M-P) hypothetical }"\text{be-3rd person")}
\[?i\text{ can le?lemət } \theta \text{ αω? nii } \text{ 'I'm looking at her'} \text{ (locative I looking det(M-P) hypothetical }"\text{be-3rd person")}
\[\text{nem? can lemət } \theta \text{ αω? nii } \text{ 'I will see her (a few minutes hence)'} \text{ (go I see det(M-P) hypothetical }"\text{be-3rd person")}

Distal forms are used in future and past contexts if the referent is human.

\[\text{ni? wəl hiθ-ət ne-n } \lambda'\text{mməxʷ to steni? } \text{ 'I saw the woman a long time ago'} \text{ (locative ? long_time_ago-"past" locative-1st person-subject see det(M-D) woman)}
\[\text{ni? can cə? αω? } \lambda'\text{mməxʷ to steni? } \text{ 'I'll see the woman (in a few years)'} \text{ (locative I "future" hypothetical see det(M-D) woman)}

The indefinite forms are used in constructions with non-human referents in the past and future.

\[\text{ni? wəl hiθ-ət ne-n } \lambda'\text{mməxʷ }\kappa' \text{ sta?low? } \text{ 'I saw the river a long time ago'} \text{ (locative ? long_time_ago-"past" locative-1st person-subject see det(U-I) river)}
\[\text{key cən-c-əw? } \lambda'\text{mməxʷ }\kappa' \text{ spa?l? } \text{ 'I'll see the raven (in a few years)'} \text{ (5a I "future-hypothetical" see det(U-I) Raven)}

\[\text{As yet, the author has not pinned down the function of /wəl/ enough to warrant giving it an English gloss.}\]

\[\text{5a Cognates (Strait's:}/\text{̄e?'/again'}(\text{see Efrat 1967}),\text{Clallam:}/\text{̄ay/}’additionally' (see Thompson & Thompson 1971)) are noted. The author's notes do not really warrant glossing the form with either translations given, or any other consistent gloss.}\]
Indefinite Forms:

The indefinite form is used with objects referred to in a general sense. No gender distinction is maintained with these referents, only the unmarked form, /k'w/, is used.

\[ \text{en? s-?i? ?a k'w ikčem} \]  'Do you want a handkerchief?' (your wanting "oblique" det(U-I) handkerchief)

\[ \text{en? s'ii? ?a k'w qa?} \]  'Do you want some water?' (your wanting "oblique" det(U-I) water)

\[ \text{ha? ni? øw? ni? k'w qe?mi statelošící k'θe JEFF, a'tč ìe øw? ni? 'If there is any girl here who knows Jeff, call her' (if locative "hypothetical" locative det(U-I) girl know J—, call det(M-D) hypothetical "be-3rd person")

The indefinite form is also used with nominalized predicative constructions which express an event. Only the unmarked form is used in this capacity.

\[ \text{sk'wey k'w no s-imeș} \]  'I cannot walk' (can't det(U-I) my walking)

\[ \text{sk'wey k'w s-imeșťt} \]  'We cannot walk' (can't det(U-I) our-walking)

\[ \text{s'ii?-s k'w s-nem?} \]  'He wants to go' (wanting-his det(U-D) going)

\[ \text{k'w no s-ni? ləmnex} \]  'When I saw it..' (det(U-I) my then see)

When referring to deceased humans, the indefinite forms can be used. An optional /æi/ "past" may be suffixed to the form being modified.

\[ \text{k'w no mən?æ} \]  'my son (dead)'

\[ \text{k'w's no mən?æ} \]  'my daughter (dead)'

\[ ?i?i ?a te?i k'w no sx'a?leq'a?-?æ(æ)} \]  'The ones that are here are my dead brothers' (locative locative "oblique" dem(U-I) my brothers("past"))

The distal forms can be employed in conjunction with the /æi/ "past" suffix to indicate 'dead' when modifying either humans or animals.

\[ \text{k'θe no sel?si?le?æ} \]  'my grandfathers (dead)'

\[ \text{te no si?le?æ} \]  'my grandmother (dead)'

\[ \text{te no pusæ} \]  'my cat (dead, female)'

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6 Some counter-examples have been observed. øwø te qa? qe?mi?i?e ìe tən?e 'There isn't any girl here'. te øw? swøq?e? ameš qa? 'It looks like a man'. It is not clear what parameters are operating in these forms. These constructions merit more attention, as the environment prescribing the proximal forms escapes me.

7 It would appear that the form observed here may be the result of poor transcription. It may be, however, that the form observed is actually an allomorph of -(k'θe)*, if so, no distributional restrictions present themselves readily.
Stressed Demonstratives:
The stressed demonstratives function as nominal phrases, they do not modify nominal constructions as the unstressed forms do. The stressed demonstratives are best translated into English as demonstrative pronouns or 3rd person personal-pronouns. Stressed demonstratives observed thus far are:

- sieni θey? 'This/she is a little girl' (proximal)
- swiwi?qe? tey? 'This/he is a little boy' (proximal)
- sieni? Ɂey? 'That/she is a woman' (proximal)
- sway?qe? k'θey? 'That/he is a man' (proximal)
- saw?wey?qe? tey? 'These/they are men' (proximal)

Compound Demonstratives:
The compound demonstratives are formed from an unstressed demonstrative plus ʔi/"locative-proximal", niʔ/"locative-distal", or naʔ/ (unidentified). The compound forms can occur alone, as full noun phrases, or as IC partners with nominal constructions. The following forms have been observed.

- toʔi-tiʔi 'this one'
  - GLASS: tiʔi 'This one is a glass'
  - somʔemʔnot toʔi 'These ones are little rocks'
  - čqiʔ tiʔi sment 'This rock is black'

- tenʔa 'that one (visible)'
  - nə skiʔ toniʔ ʔsaqeq 'I want that glass (just out of reach)'
  - somʔemʔnot toniʔ 'Those are little rocks'

- tenʔa 'that one (visible)'
  - saw?wey?qeʔ qa tenʔa aiten 'The ones that are here men'

- θəʔi 'this one' (marked)
  - sieni θəʔi (qeq) 'This one is a little girl/This baby is a girl'

- θəʔi 'that one (visible)'
  - sieni θəʔi (qeq) 'That one is a little girl/That baby is a girl'

- θəʔa (marked)
  - sieni qa θəʔa aiten 'The one that is here is a woman.'

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8 It has been pointed out to me that the stressed forms modify nominal constructions in the Mainland dialects of Halkomelem. I could not find any English
Compound forms are employed in conjunction with the locative particles, /?i/ and /ni?/, and the oblique particle, /?o/, to indicate locality.

\[
\begin{align*}
?i \, \text{a\w} \, \text{to} \, q^{\prime} \text{ey}\?\text{en} \, ?i \, ?a \, \text{ti}\?i & \quad \text{"There isn't any shoe here"} \\
ni? \, \text{a\w} \, \text{to} \, q^{\prime} \text{ey}\?\text{en} \, ?a \, \text{ton}\?i & \quad \text{"There isn't any shoe there (visible)"} \\
ni? \, \text{a\w} \, \text{to} \, q^{\prime} \text{ey}\?\text{en} \, ?a \, k^{\prime} \text{o}\?i & \quad \text{"There isn't any shoe there (invisible)"} \\
\text{a\w} \, \text{to} \, \text{qa} \, \text{qe}\?\text{mi} \, ?a \, \text{ton}\?a & \quad \text{"There isn't any girl here"}
\end{align*}
\]

**Remarks:**

There are many parameters at work in the system which have not yet been uncovered. Consider the following two sentences.

(a) s\i\e\i\i\i\? \, \text{th}\?\text{en} \, \text{(eq)} \quad \text{"This one is a little girl"} \quad \text{(little-girl demonstrative (baby))}

(b) s\i\e\i\i\i\? \, \text{th}\?\text{en} \quad \text{"This one is a little girl"}

The informant feels that sentence (a) would be appropriate if the child itself could be seen. Sentence (b) would be appropriate if the child were bundled up in a blanket and could not be seen. More oppositions like this need to be observed.

It is not clear how the alternation between [\text{qe}\?i] and [\text{ti}\?i] should be analysed. The author cannot, at this time, say definitely that the alternation is phonetic. However no morphemic or morphophonemic solution seems evident.

Most of the unresolved problems herein arise from an incomplete data set. In looking at the compound forms used in locational constructions, one would think that a general compound form like \text{k\w}?[\text{qe}\?i would be observed. The only solution is to keep trying.

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...constructions which prompted the use of a stressed demonstrative as a modifying element. Further, plural forms of the stressed demonstratives are said to be employed in the Mainland dialects of Halkomelem, while no such forms could be elicited from Island speakers. No stressed forms employing the indefinite forms were observed, however, stylistic preference could prescribe the use of other syntactic devices.

**REFERENCES**

Efrat, Barbara S. *A Grammar of Non-particles in Sooke, a Dialect of Straits Coast Salish*. Ann Arbor, Michigan 1969

Thompson, Laurence C. and M. Terry *Clallam: A Preview*. Berkeley 1971