ISLAND HALKOMELEM DETERMINERS

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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 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 spit 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 sub-systems; 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.

	MARKED (M)		UNMARKED (U)	
	unstressed	stressed	unstressed	stressed
Proximal (P)	θə	θey?	tə[1]	tey?
Distal (D)	łə	łey?	kʷθə[2]	kʷθey?
Indefinite (I)	k̓ʷs(ə)	—	k̓ʷ(ə)	—

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 translated into English as an article, while one occurring with a predicative construction is best rendered into English as an indefinite relative pronoun.

> nił łə słey?ni? ni? nem? 'It was a woman who went' ("be-3rd person" det(M-D) woman locative to-go)

> ni? cən əw? ləmnəxʷ kʷθə ni? nem? 'I saw the one who went' (locative I hypothetical see det(U-I) locative to-go)[3]

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.

> tə nə mən?ə   'my son' (proximal)

> kʷθə nə mən?ə   'my son' (distal)

> θə nə mən?ə   'my daughter' (proximal)

> łə nə səl?si?lə   'my grandparents/grandmothers/grandfathers'(proximal)

> x̌ʷčenəm tə sqʷəməy   'the dog ran' (male/unspecified gender, proximal)

> x̌ʷčenəm θə sqʷəməy   'the bitch ran' (proximal) (run det(M-P) dog)

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[1] The Cowichan equivalents of tə and tey? are tθə and tθey?. Mrs. White feels that these are remnants of an older system which was once employed in the Nanaimo dialect.

[2] In less careful speech kʷə seems to be a free variant kʷθə.

3 Any morpheme-by-morpheme translation of the predicate and its affixes has been suppressed, as it is not pertinant to the discussion at hand.

nem? ?ə tə sta?ləw   'He's going to <u>the</u> river' (go "oblique"
    det(U-P) river)

ni? cən q̓a·yt k^wθə q^wəni   'I killed <u>the</u> seagull'   (locative I kill
    det(U-D) seagull)[4]

?i cən k^wən?ət <u>tə</u> pq̓^wəcən?   'I am holding <u>the</u> sand'   (locative I
    hold det(U-P) sand)

The gender distinction is maintained for personal property of the speaker.

θə nə snəx^wəł   'my car' (female possessor, proximal)

θə nə leləm   'my house' (female possessor, proximal)

θə nə šx̌pi?wən   'my blouse' (female possessor, proximal)

tə nə šx̌pi?wən   '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.

łə nə yaysaq^w   'my little hat' (distal).

nə sx̌i? łə nə yaysaq^w   '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 visibility 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 mən?ə   'my son' (here beside me)

k^wθə nə mən?ə   'my son' (in the next room and out of sight)

θə nə mən?ə   'my daughter' (here beside me)

łə nə mən?ə   'my daughter' (in the next room and out of sight)

ni? cən q̓a·yt <u>tə</u> q^wəni   'I killed <u>the</u> seagull (which is here)'
    (locative I kill det(U-P) seagull)

ni? cən q̓a·yt <u>k^wθə</u> q^wəni   'I killed <u>the</u> seagull (out of sight)'
    (locative I kill det(U-D) seagull)

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[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 opperate as spacial locatives though.

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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.

    x̣ʷčenəm tə sməyeθ   'The deer ran' (run det(U-P) deer)

    nem? ?ə tə sta?ləw?   '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)

    nem? cən nem? ?ə k̓ʷə cakʷ sta?ləw?   'I'm going to the distant river'
    (go I go "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.

    ni? cən wəɫ lemət θə əw? niɫ 'I already saw her (just past)' (locative I
    ?ᵉ see det(M-P) hypothetical "be-3rd person")

    ?i cən le?lᵊmət θə əw? niɫ   'I'm looking at her' (locative I looking
    det(M-P) hypothetical "be-3rd person")

    nem? cən lemət θə əw? niɫ   'I will see her (a few minutes hence)'
    (go I see det(M-P) hypothetical "be-3rd person")

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

    ni? wəɫ hiθ-əɫ ne-n ləmnəxʷ ɫə sɫeni? 'I saw the woman a long time ago'
    (locative ? long_time_ago-"past" locative-1st person-subject see
    det(M-D) woman)

    ni? cən cə? əw? ləmnəxʷ ɫə sɫeni?   'I'll see the woman (in a few years)'
    (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.

    ni? wəɫ hiθ-əɫ ne-n ləmnəxʷ k̓ʷə sta?ləw?   'I saw the river a long time
    ago' (locative ? long_time_ago-"past" locative-1st person-subject
    see det(U-I) river)

    ƛ̓ey cn c-əw? ləmnəxʷ k̓ʷə spa·l?   'I'll see the raven (in a few years)'
    (⁵ᵃ I "future-hypothetical" see det(U-I) raven)

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⁵ As yet, the author has not pinned down the function of /wəɫ/ enough to warrent giving it an English gloss.

⁵ᵃ Cognates (Straits:/ƛ̓e?/'again' (see Efrat 1969),Clallam:/ƛ̓ay/'additionally' (see Thompson & Thompson 1971)) are noted. The author's notes do not really warrent glossing the form with either translations given, or any other consistant gloss.

Indefinite Forms:

The indefinite form is used with objects referred to in a general sense.[6] No gender distinction is maintained with these referents, only the unmarked form, /ƙʷə/, is used.

ən? s-ƛ̓i? ?ə ƙʷ ikčəm   'Do you want a handkerchief?' (your wanting "oblique" det(U-I) handkerchief)

ən? sƛ̓i? ?ə ƙʷ qa?   'Do you want some water?' (your wanting "oblique" det(U-I) water)

ha? ni? əw? ni? ƙʷ q̓e?mi statəlstəxʷ kʷθə JEFF, a·tč ɫə əw? niɫ '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.

skʷey ƙʷə nə s-iməš   'I cannot walk' (can't det(U-I) my walking)

skʷey ƙʷ s-iməšct   'We cannot walk' (can't det(U-I) our-walking)

sƛ̓i?-s kʷ s-nem?   'He wants to go' (wanting-his det(U-D)[7] going)

ƙʷə nə s-ni? ləmnəxʷ   'When I saw it..' (det(U-I) my then see)

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

ƙʷə nə mən?ə   'my son (dead)'

ƙʷs nə mən?ə   'my daughter (dead)'

?i ?i ?ə tə?i ƙʷ nə sxʷa·?ləq̓ʷa·?-(əɫ)   '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 /əɫ/"past" suffix to indicate 'dead' when modifying either humans or animals.

kʷθə nə səl?si?lə?əɫ   'my grandfathers (dead)'

ɫə nə si?lə?əɫ   'my grandmother (dead)'

ɫə nə pusəɫ   'my cat (dead, female)'

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[6] Some counter-examples have been observed. əwə tə q̓a? q̓e?mi ?i ?ə tən?a 'There isn't any girl here'. tə əw? swəy?qe? aməš q̓a '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 -(kʷθə)·, if so, no distributional restrictions present themselves readily.

Stressed Demonstratives:

The stressed demonstratives function as nominal phrases, they do not modify nominal constuctions as the unstressed forms do.[8] The stressed demonstratives are best translated into English as demonstrative pronouns or 3rd person personal-pronouns. Stressed demonstratives observed thus far are-

sɬeɬni θey?	'This/she is a little girl' (proximal)
swiwi?qe? tey?	'This/he is a little boy' (proximal)
sɬeni? ɬey?	'That/she is a woman' (distal)
swəy?qe? kʷθey?	'That/he is a man' (distal)
səw?wəy?qe? tey?	'These/they are men' (proximal)

Compound Demonstratives:

The compound demonstratives are formed from an unstressed demonstrative plus /?i/"locative-proximal", /ni?/"locative-distal", or /na?/ (unidentified). The compound forms can occur alone, as full noun phrases, or as IC partners with nominal constructions. The following forms have been observed.

tə?i~ti?i   'this one'

GLASS ti?i	'This one is a glass'
səm?em?nət tə?i	'These ones are little rocks'
čq̓ix ti?i sment	'This rock is black'

təni?   'that one (visible)'

nə sƛ̓i? təni? šqaqə	'I want that glass (just out of reach)'
səm?em?nət təni?	'Those are little rocks'

tən?a

səw?wəy?qe? q̓a tən?a aɬtən	'The ones that are here men'

θə?i   'this one' (marked)

sɬeɬni? θə?i (qeq)	'This one is a little girl/This baby is a girl'

θəni?   'that one (visible)' (marked)

sɬeɬni? θəni? (qeq)	'That one is a little girl/That baby is a girl'

θən?a   (marked)

sɬeni? q̓a θən?a aɬtən	'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,/ʔi/ and /niʔ/, and the oblique particle, /ʔə/, to indicate locality.

ʔi əwə tə qʷɫəyʔšən ʔi ʔə tiʔi   'There isn't any shoe here'

niʔ əwə tə qʷɫəyʔšən niʔ ʔə təniʔ   'There isn't any shoe there (visible)'

niʔ əwə tə qʷɫəyʔšən niʔ ʔə k̓ʷəʔi   'There isn't any shoe there (invisible)'

əwə tə ɬaʔ ɬeʔmi ʔi ʔə tənʔa   'There isn't any girl here'

Remarks:

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

(a)   sɫeɫniʔ θəʔi (qeq)   'This one is a little girl' (little-girl demonstrative (baby))

(b)   sɫeɫniʔ θeyʔ   '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 [təʔi] and [tiʔi] 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 k̓ʷəʔi 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 preferenc 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