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Lillooet Local Deictics

Jan van Eijk

Mount Currie, B.C.

1. The Lillooet system of local deictics¹ 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-/lā- "in, on, at" are given. Comments follow.

		pivoting	non-pivoting
visible	proximal ("here")	1-cʔa	lā-tiʔ
	distal ("there")	1-tʔu	lā-taʔ
invisible	proximal ("here")	1-kʷa	lā-kʷuʔ
	distal ("there")	1-kʷu	lā-kʷa

Formal aspects: the roots in the "pivoting" category have the shape CʔV, while the non-pivoting roots have CVʔ (except for lā-kʷa). The roots in the category "visible" have c or t as C₁, while the "invisible" roots have kʷ as C₁. Note that the prefix has the shape 1- in the category "pivoting", and lā- in the category "non-pivoting"; lā-kʷa combines the characteristics of pivoting (root CʔV) and non-pivoting (prefix lā-) deictics (note that 1-kʷa and lā-kʷa 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 ~~coincides with what~~ is considered to be the centre or orientation point of an area - compare the following two sentences:

- (a) 1-cʔa ɬ_was_qʔáɬqʔáɬt "it is hurting (qʔáɬqʔáɬt) here" (when speaker points at spot on own body).
 (b) lá-tiʔ ɬ_was_qʔáɬqʔáɬt 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-kʔa ɬ_was_qʔáɬqʔáɬt "it is hurting here" (speaker indicates an invisible (to him) spot on own body, e.g. on back).
 (d) lá-kʔuʔ ɬ_was_qʔáɬqʔáɬt 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-cʔa, 1-kʔa are generally associated with the speaker, while non-pivoting lá-tiʔ, lá-kʔuʔ are generally associated with the addressee (the distal deictics are associated with neither the speaker nor the addressee).² The difference

between 1-tʔu and lá-taʔ is shown by (e) vs. (f):

- (e) swat 1-tʔu ti_wáʔ_a ti_cəqʔcɬqʔ_a ti_cəspɬcaʔ-s_a "who (swat) is the one in the red (cəqʔcɬqʔ) sweater (cəspɬcaʔ) there?" (waʔ "to be", -s "his").
 (f) swat lá-taʔ ti_wáʔ_cəqʔcɬqʔ ti_cəspɬcaʔ-s_a ti_waʔ_sʔúllus ɬ_ki_waʔ_sʔəwɬ "who is the one in the red sweater in the crowd (sʔəwɬ) over there?" (sʔúllus "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 lá-kʔa has a very vague range and refers almost exclusively to something heard, smelled or sensed, as in:

- (g) ʔɬq lá-kʔa kʔ_s-A "I think A is there" (ʔɬq "to arrive", kʔ_s- precedes proper nouns, see Van Eijk, 1980).
 (h) huʔ lá-kʔa kʔis "I think it is going to (huʔ) rain (kʔis)" (e.g. when my scar is aching).
 (i) nqʔʔcám lá-kʔa "sb. is knocking on the door" (nqʔʔcám "to knock on the door").
 (j) xʔuxʔ lá-kʔa "smt. is stinking (xʔuxʔ)".
 (k) məqʔkán lá-kʔa "I (ɬ_kan) feel full (from eating)" (məqʔ "to be full from eating").
 (l) ʔəx-ʔúɬ lá-kʔa ti_tih-sw_a "your (-sw-) tea (tih) is too (-ʔúɬ) sweet (ʔəx) for me".
 (m) wənaxʔ-c-ʔúɬ lá-kʔa ti_radiəh_a "the radio is too loud (wənaxʔ-c)".

The vagueness of $l\bar{a}-k^w?a$ is directly related to the nature of the categories distal, invisible, and pivoting. The deictic $l\bar{a}-k^w?u?$ often takes over the function of $l\bar{a}-k^w?a$ as the non-pivoting counterpart of $l-k^w?u$ - compare (n) vs. (o):

(n) $l-k^w?u$ Lillooet_a "there in Lillooet" (for a see 4.).

(o) $l\bar{a}-k^w?u?$ Lillooet_a \dot{t}_w was_{w\bar{a}?} $\dot{t}k^w\bar{u}nsa$ "he is there in Lillooet right now ($\dot{t}k^w\bar{u}nsa$)": the non-pivoting function of $l\bar{a}-k^w?u?$ is described by one of my consultants as " $l\bar{a}-k^w?u?$ is where it's at, where they were, where it happened".

Although $l\bar{a}-k^w?u?$ generally replaces $l\bar{a}-k^w?a$ when it comes to expressing the distal/invisible/non-pivoting dimension in terms of physical distance, $l\bar{a}-k^w?a$ is occasionally used in this function - compare (p) vs. (q):

(p) $l\bar{a}-k^w?a$ Lillooet_a $\dot{t}_p\bar{u}n$ -an $ti_p\bar{u}k^w$ _a "I (-an) found (pun) the book (puk^w) there in Lillooet" (according to the consultant, this sentence has an "idea of past").

(q) $l\bar{a}-k^w?u?$ Lillooet_a $\dot{t}_p\bar{u}n$ -an $ti_p\bar{u}k^w$ _a id. (without "idea of past").

For $l\bar{a}-k^w?a$ see also sentence (f) in 4.

3. Affixation. Beside the prefixes $l-/l\bar{a}-$, we also have the prefixes $?a-/?a\bar{-}$ "towards, along", $\dot{t}\bar{a}l-/?\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{-}$ "from", and

$k\bar{a}n-/kn\bar{a}-$ "around, via": the first member of each pair is used in pivoting deictics, the second one in non-pivoting ones: $?a-c?a\bar{a}$ "this way", $?a\bar{-}ta?$ "that way", etc. Instead of $kn\bar{a}-ti?$ and $kn\bar{a}-k^w?$, one frequently uses $k\bar{a}-ti?$ and $k\bar{a}-k^w?$. The form $k\bar{a}-ta?$ for $kn\bar{a}-ta?$ is less normal. The forms $*?a\bar{-}k^w?a$, $*\dot{t}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{a}-k^w?a$, and $*kn\bar{a}-k^w?a$ were rejected, and I have only one example of $k\bar{a}-k^w?a$: $wa?$ $k\bar{a}-k^w?a$ $np\bar{a}^w\bar{c}\bar{a}m$ "sb. is knocking on the door" (cf. (k) in 2.). The word $?a-k^w?u?$ "that way (invisible, distal, pivoting)" often becomes proclitic $k^w\bar{u}$ in quick speech. The pivoting deictics allow suffixation with $-wna/$ $-na$ "right on the spot" ($-wna$ after a ; $-na$ after u): $l-c?a\bar{-}wna$ "right here", $l-t?u\bar{-}na$ "right there", $?a-c?a\bar{-}wna$ "right to this place", etc. The prefixes $l-$, $?a-$, $\dot{t}\bar{a}l-$, $k\bar{a}n-$ are the prefixal counterparts of the proclitic prepositions l , $?a$, $\dot{t}\bar{a}l$, $k\bar{a}n$.

4. Special questions. English phrases like "here in the house" (deictic-preposition-article-noun) are matched exactly in Lillooet, e.g. $l-c?a$ $l\bar{t}i_c\bar{i}t\bar{x}$ _a (l "in, on, at", $ti\bar{c}$ article "present, known, singular", $citx$ "house"). However, the preposition and the proclitic article are often dropped from such phrases, e.g. $l-c?a$ $c\bar{i}t\bar{x}$ _a. Local deictics are used more often in Lillooet than in English, as is shown by (a) through (d):

(a) $h\bar{u}y\bar{c}\bar{t}kan$ $m\bar{i}c\bar{a}^w?q$ $?a\bar{-}ti?$ $s\bar{q}^w\bar{u}t$ -sw_a "I am going to (huy^w-) sit down ($m\bar{i}c\bar{a}^w?q$) at your (-sw-) side ($s\bar{q}^w\bar{u}t$)".

(b) $h\bar{u}y\bar{c}\bar{t}kan$ $l\bar{a}p\bar{x}\bar{a}l$ $?a\bar{-}ti?$ $s\bar{q}^w\bar{u}t$ -s_a ti_n -c $\bar{i}t\bar{x}$ _a "I am going

to make a garden beside my (n-) house" (ləpʰáál "to plant, make a garden").

(c) húyʰákan nás cəqən ti_n-kəh_a ʔá-kʷu? sqʷút-s_a
ti_cítxʷ-sw_a "I am going to park (cəqən) my car (kəh) beside
your house". (nás "to go").

(d) ka-ʔacʰsás_a l-tʔu ʰʔít_a ʔi_waʔ_záwəm "he caught eight
(ka-ʔacʰsás_a) of people who were fishing (záwəm) on the other
side" (ʰʔít "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 ʔá-kʷu? ká-ti? "he was over there, somewhere".

(f) cʔas lá-kʷa ʰlá-kʷu? kʷu_sʰáʰálm_a "there was a grizzly coming from somewhere" (cʔas "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) cixʷ ʔá-kʷu? l_t_swáʔ-s_a ʔi_waʔ_záwəm, níʰ_ʰu?
s-súʰxal-s lá-ti? "he arrived (cixʷ) at the spot where they were
fishing (záwəm), so (níʰ_ʰu?) he had a few puffs there" (swaʔ-s
"spot-their", súʰxal "to smoke a few puffs").

The word ká-ti? "around (t)here" is also used in the meaning "at all, any", as in:

(h) xʷʔaz ká-ti? "not at all" (xʷʔaz "no(t)").

(i) skan ká-ti? kʷas_lák kʷu_kʰíʰaʰc "are there any left-overs (kʰíʰaʰc)?" (skan question-marker, cf. Polish *czy*; lak "to exist").

The words ʔə-cʔá "this way", ʔá-ti? "that way", and ʔá-kʷu? "that way" are also used with číla "like", ʰílməm "to do like", and cut "to say", as in:

(j) číla ʔə-cʔá "like this".

(k) číla ʔá-ti? "like that".

(l) ʰílməm ʔə-cʔá "to do like this".

(m) ʰílməm ʔá-ti? "to do like that".

(n) cut ʔá-kʷu? "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. lá-ti?, lá-kʷu? often translate best as "there"; in the same way, other forms with -ti?, -kʷu? (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).