Agreement in Halkomelem complex auxiliaries

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This paper reports on a previously unstudied construction in Halkomelem, consisting of a clause introduced by a positional word (\textit{\oeat} ‘here’ or \textit{\nat} ‘there’). These are complex auxiliaries composed of two elements: an auxiliary related to the simple auxiliaries \textit{i} ‘here and now’ and \textit{ni} ‘there and then’, and a determiner agreeing with a third person subject.

1 Introduction


\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{\oeat}  \textit{\tÔ-nə} \textit{s-\lêkʷ} \textit{səpl̓il}. here DT-1SG.POS ST-pinch(RES) bread
\textquote[RP 22Jun04] \text{‘Here is the bread I pinched off.’}
\item \textit{\nat} \textit{\tÔ} \textit{ni:\l} \textit{\$-ni?-s} \textit{lô \lî lələm}. there DT AUX.PST NM:OB-be.there-3POS DT big house
\textquote[RP 9Mar10] \text{‘There is where the longhouse used to be.’}
\end{enumerate}

\textit{\oeat} points to a thing or event near the speaker and \textit{\nat} to something further away from the speaker. As seen in the above examples, \textit{\oeat} or \textit{\nat} appears in the predicate position and the noun phrase that is being located appears as the subject.

To my knowledge, predicative \textit{\oeat} and \textit{\nat} are used in this locational sense by all speakers of Downriver and Island dialects of Halkomelem.

\footnote{Thanks to Hul’q’umi’num’ speakers who have provided data for this project, especially Margaret James, Ruby Peter, Theresa Thorne, and Bill Seward. And thanks to David Potter, Sarah Kell, and Charles Ulrich for editorial assistance. Funding for this research has come from SSHRCC.}
Halkomelem. In addition, speakers of the Island dialect of Halkomelem (Hul’q’umi’num’) use ḍe̱t and na̱t as auxiliaries, followed by a main verb:

(3) ḍe̱t websocket  ḍe̱t čən ḍe̱t ḍe̱t  
here  stoke-ACT(IMPF) DT  John OB DT  fire  ‘John is fixing up the fire.’ (TT 25-26Feb00)

(4) na̱t  xo̱l  xʷo̱-se̱yq  ṭə̱  səwəq.  
there  PERF  INCH-ST-dig.up  DT  carrot  ‘The carrots are dug up.’ (RP 3Aug04)

The auxiliaries ḍe̱t and na̱t are not only used in main clauses as above, but they also can appear as the first element in a linked clause, giving further elucidation, rationale, or manner.

(5) ḍə́γ  ka̱n-s  ḍe̱t  ḍa̱m-ət, ḍə̱  ḍə̱  
good  DT:2POS-NM  DT  dry-REFL  OB  DT  ha̱yq  ḍe̱t  ɬa̱q  ṭə̱  ha̱ʔkʷ-ə̱-əx̱.  
fire  here  wet  DT  wear(DUR)-TR-2.SG.SUB  ‘You should go dry yourself by the fire; what you are wearing is wet.’  (RP 3Mar00)

(6) xo̱nexʷ-ə̱x̱  lə̱  ṭə̱  sə̱ʔiʔə̱m, na̱t  
stop(DUR)-CS  IMP  DT  ladder  there  ḍə̱l̓qʷ-ə̱m.  
tilt-MID  ‘Hold the ladder still from tilting.’  (RP 18Jun97)

The linked clause often immediately follows a noun phrase that is interpreted as its subject.

The use of ḍe̱t and na̱t as auxiliaries is common in Island Halkomelem, and this construction is the focus of this paper. I start by comparing these auxiliaries to the related simple auxiliary verbs ḍe̱ ‘here/now’ and ni̱ ‘there/then’ in section 2. For some speakers of Halkomelem, especially speakers of the Cowichan sub-dialect, the auxiliaries ḍe̱t and na̱t are more prevalent than the simple auxiliaries in declarative clauses with third person subjects, especially in sentences elicited in isolation. A second difference is that ḍe̱t and na̱t are complex auxiliaries, containing a determiner element, as discussed in section 3. The determiner element can encode gender; the complex auxiliary is ḍe̱t in (7), agreeing with the masculine subject, and ḍe̱θ in (8), agreeing with the feminine subject:

(7) ḍe̱t  xo̱l  ɬə̱kʷ-ə̱lmən  ṭə̱n  ṭə̱məθ.  
here  PERF  go.home(DIM)-want  DT:2POS  grandchild  ‘Your grandson wants to go home.’  (RP 24Mar00)
I give evidence that the determiner element of the auxiliary optionally agrees with the subject of the clause. I conclude my discussion in section 4 with a brief discussion of various complex forms containing deictic elements.

2 Comparison to \( \tilde{i} \) and \( \tilde{n}i \)

Many Halkomelem clauses contain the auxiliaries \( \tilde{i} \) ‘here and/or now’ and \( \tilde{n}i \) ‘there and/or then’:

(9) \( \tilde{i} \) \( \tilde{i}n\tilde{a}\tilde{s} \) \( t^\#\tilde{o} \) \( swi\tilde{w}\tilde{l}s. \)
AUX walk(IMPF) DT young.man
‘The young man is walking.’

(10) \( \tilde{n}i \) \( \tilde{i}m\tilde{o}\tilde{s} \) \( k^\#\tilde{\theta}\tilde{o} \) \( swi\tilde{w}\tilde{l}s. \)
AUX walk DT young-man
‘The young man walked.’

The auxiliaries are grammaticized from the verbs \( \tilde{i} \) ‘be here’ and \( \tilde{n}i \) ‘be there’ (Gerdts 1988):

(11) \( \tilde{i} \) \( \tilde{c} \) \( t\tilde{\nu}\tilde{i} \) \( \theta\tilde{o}\tilde{n} \) \( sn\tilde{x}\tilde{e}\tilde{l}. \)
be.here OB DEM DT:2POS canoe
‘Your canoe is over here.’

(12) \( \tilde{n}i \) \( \tilde{c} \) \( t\tilde{\nu}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\ell} \) \( \theta\tilde{o}\tilde{n} \) \( sn\tilde{x}\tilde{e}\tilde{l}. \)
be.there OB DEM DT:2POS canoe
‘Your canoe is over there.’

Many of the sorts of clauses that arise in elicitation sessions are introduced by these auxiliaries. The functions of these auxiliaries need thorough study, but for our purposes here, suffice it to say that they serve to anchor the clause in space and/or time.

2.1 Similarities

My claim that \( e^\#\tilde{\ell}t \) and \( na^\#\tilde{\ell}t \) are related to the auxiliaries \( \tilde{i} \) and \( \tilde{n}i \) comes from their resemblance in form and meaning, as discussed further below. But also they show parallels in how they function in the clausal syntax.

All four auxiliaries appear in predicate-initial position. The auxiliaries appear after coordinators (see \( \tilde{i} \) ‘and/or’ in the following examples), subordinators, and clause initial adverbials.
‘It was lunchtime when it started to sprinkle.’ (RP 4May10)

‘The old man didn’t eat, but he’s saying he had enough.’ (RP 31May04)

‘The fish has become very costly.’ (RP 5May04)

‘The boy has finally managed to flip herrings.’ (RP 15Apr04)

‘The whale has been speared.’ (RP 5May10)

‘The whale has been speared.’ (RP 3Aug04)

Nevertheless there are some obvious differences in the use of ɨi and ni? versus ɨe? and na?. In many instances, the simple and complex auxiliaries seem interchangeable, especially since the English translations fail to distinguish them:

‘The whale is in view but tells nothing about the event of spearing. The spearing could have happened elsewhere and the whale floated up to where we see it now. In contrast, the second clause is used when the speaker is pointing out to the speaker the actual location where
the spearing took place and it is just over there. In other words, the complex auxiliaries locate the event in the current perceptual field of the speaker/hearer.

One difference that I have observed between the use of simple and complex auxiliaries supports this claim. Declarative statements can be introduced by either simple or complex auxiliaries, as seen above. In interrogatives, however, we see a difference between the two types of auxiliaries: interrogative clauses introduced by simple auxiliaries are possible, while interrogative clauses introduced by complex auxiliaries are considered strange:

(19)  ni? ʔɔ xʷ.onreadystatechange(qù) tʰo qʷəʔə?n?n?n
   AUX Q INCH-ST-spear(RES) DT whale
   ‘Has the whale been speared?’ (RP 3Aug04)

(20)  *naʔat ʔɔ xʷ.onreadystatechange(qù) tʰo qʷəʔə?n?
   there Q INCH-ST-spear(RES) DT whale
   ‘Has the whale been speared?’ (RP 5May10)

Since complex auxiliaries introduce events that are observable by the speaker and hearer, it is unfelicitous for the speaker to inquire about them.

Second, the simple auxiliaries are allowed in a larger range of temporal settings than the complex auxiliaries. For example, ʔi and ni? co-occur with the second-position particle ceʔ, which indicates future events; ʔi is used for immediate events, i.e. events that will happen here in the near future, and ni? is used for remote events, i.e. events that will happen in the distant future or at a place away from here.

(21)  ʔi ceʔ q̓ap-ʔaʔ cel tʰo kʷaʔaʔən
   AUX FUT gather-RECIP DT Quamichan
   ʔə təŋə səʔəʔən.  OB DEM Sunday
   ‘The Quamichan people are having a get-together on Sunday.’ (RP Oct03)

(22)  ni? ceʔ ya-ʔiʔ kʷəʔən kʷəʔən s-əʔəʔəʔəm
   there FUT DYN-how many(IMPF) DT:2POS NM:OB-wagon-MID
   ʔəʔəʔəʔətkəŋ təʔəʔ?  DT:2POS-NM go move
   ‘How many wagons are you going to use when you move?’ (RP 29Apr03)

In contrast, neither of the complex auxiliaries can be used to express future events.
I suggest that this is due to the fact that the complex auxiliaries necessarily include a spatial deictic meaning anchored to the present time of the speech act. Both *e’at and na’at point to a location or event currently observable by the speaker and hearer, and thus they are incompatible with an event that has not yet occurred.

Another difference between clauses introduced by simple versus complex auxiliaries relates to the range of determiners allowed on the NPs associated with the event. In Halkomelem, determiners signal discourse deixis. Nominals that are in the cognitive frame (sensed by sight, sound, smell, etc.) of the speaker in conversations or the protagonist in texts are marked with proximate determiners, such as the proximate article t^ø in contrast, NPs that are out of the cognitive frame of the speaker are marked with distal determiners, such as the distal article k*θø (Gerdts and Hukari to appear):

(25) ?i can le’lam-ø t^ø-no siłə.  
AUX 1SG.SUB look(IMPF)-TR DT-1SG.POS grandparent  
‘I am looking at my grandfather.’

(26) ?i can sew’q-t k*θø-no siłə.  
AUX 1SG.SUB seek(IMPF)-TR DT-1SG.POS grandparent  
‘I am looking for my grandfather.’

Because ni^ signals an event that happens at a distance in space or time from the speaker, clauses with the auxiliary ni^ often involve NPs marked with distal determiners.

(27) ni^ claq’ k*θø sqewθ o t^ø lisek.  
AUX poke.through DT potato OB DT sack  
‘The potatoes broke through the sack.’ (TT 24-25Feb00)  
[You can see the hole in the sack, but the potatoes are not in view.]

However, na’at, since it is pointing to something in the present visual field of the speaker/hearer sounds odd if the NP involved in the event being pointed to, e.g. the dog in (28), is marked with a distal determiner:
Instead, dog should be marked with a proximate determiner; it is being pointed to so it is in view:

(29) naʔat x*iʔ caq*ʔat kʔo sq*o meγ'y
there UNEXP poke.through-REFL DT dog
'\text{The dog (out of sight) has gone through the hollow log.' (RP 7May97)

If the dog has disappeared from view after having gone through the log, then the speaker would not be pointing at it, and the clause would be introduced by a simple rather than a complex auxiliary.

(30) niʔat x*iʔ caq*ʔat kʔo sq*o meγ'y
AUX UNEXP poke.through-REFL DT dog
'\text{The dog (out of sight) has gone through the hollow log.' (RP 7May97)

Another important difference is that \text{\textit{\textit{?}}} and \text{\textit{\textit{ni}}} can be used in clauses with all kinds of subjects, including first- and second-person subjects, but the use of \text{\textit{\textit{\textit{?}}} and \text{\textit{\textit{na}}} is limited to clauses with third-person subjects:

(31) niʔat can itlɔm.
AUX 1SG.SUB sing
'I sang.'

(32) *naʔat can itlɔm.
there 1SG.SUB sing
'I sang.'

(33) niʔat ce:p itlɔm.
AUX 2PL.SUB sing
'You people sang.'

(34) *naʔat ce:p itlɔm.
there 2PL.SUB sing
'You people sang.'
‘He/she/it/they sang.’

‘He/she/it/they sang.’

Limiting complex auxiliaries to third-person contexts is not surprising given my claim that they contain a determiner element. In Halkomelem, determiners are a property of third-person noun phrases, not first- and second-person pronouns. I turn to a discussion of the determiner element in the next section.

3 The determiner element

As discussed in the previous section, Halkomelem determiners encode a proximate/distal distinction. They also encode gender. The following table summarizes the use of gender on human NPs: the proximate feminine determiner \( t'\) is used with singular female nouns, while the masculine determiner \( t''\) is used elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MAN</th>
<th>WOMAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>( t') swaw'ye?</td>
<td>( t'') sleni?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘the man’</td>
<td>‘the woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>( t') swaw'ye?</td>
<td>( t'') sleni?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘the men’</td>
<td>‘the women’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The complex auxiliaries encode a parallel gender distinction. The forms \( e'\) and \( na'\) appear when the subject NP associated with the event is feminine singular, while the forms \( e''\) and \( na''\) appear elsewhere:

(37) \( e'\) wəl wək'ənəs təən šayəl.
here PERF appear.over.hill DT:2POS older.sibling
‘Your older sister is just coming over the hill into view.’ (RP 25May09)

(38) \( e''\) wəl wək'ənəs təən šayəl.
here PERF appear.over.hill DT:2POS older.sibling
‘Your older brother is just coming over the hill into view.’ (RP 25May09)
The above discussion shows that feminine singular NPs trigger agreement on the complex auxiliary. We can also use differences in the gender of the NPs involved to show that the auxiliary agrees with a particular NP, the subject.

For example, if the subject is feminine and the object is masculine, the feminine form of the complex auxiliary is allowed:

\[(43)\] naʔeθ waɬ laʔ-m- NullPointerException x*iyane:n DT woman ɬen? there listen DT woman

‘The woman listened to my song.’ (RP 27May2009)

In contrast, if the subject is masculine and the object is feminine, the feminine form of the complex auxiliary is not allowed:

\[(44)\] *naʔeθ waɬ laʔ-m- NullPointerException x*iyane:n DT woman ɬen? there listen DT woman

‘The man saw the woman.’ (RP 27May2009)
The masculine (or unmarked) form of the auxiliary would be used instead:

(45) naʔet wɔl lam-nax-′-əs tɔ ʃwaŋ qaŋ ʔɔ ʃleni.

there PERF look-LC.TR-3SUB DT man DT woman

‘The man saw the woman.’ (RP 27May2009)

Similarly, in intransitive clauses, if the subject is feminine and an oblique NP is masculine, the feminine form of the complex auxiliary is allowed:

(46) naʔet ilaŋ-ələmən ʔɔ ʃiŋ qaŋ ʔɔ tɔ

there jerk-want DT child OB DT

men.s.

‘The little girl is trying to jerk away from her father.’ (RP 27May2009)

However, the feminine form of the auxiliary is not allowed if the subject is masculine and the oblique NP is feminine:

(47) *naʔet ilaŋ-ələmən tɔ ʃiŋ qaŋ ʔɔ ʔɔ

there jerk-want DT child OB DT

ten.s.

mother-3POS

‘The little boy is trying to jerk away from his mother.’ (RP 27May2009)

The masculine form of the auxiliary would be used instead:

(48) naʔet ilaŋ-ələmən tɔ ʃiŋ qaŋ ʔɔ ʔɔ

there jerk-want DT child OB DT

ten.s.

mother-3POS

‘The little boy is trying to jerk away from his mother.’ (RP 27May2009)

The restriction on auxiliary agreement holds even if the word order is changed. In transitive clauses, VSO word order is usual. However, subject NPs and oblique-marked NPs can appear in either order, and a feminine subject triggers feminine agreement across the masculine oblique phrase:

(49) naʔet ilaŋ-ələmən ʔɔ tɔ ʃiŋ qaŋ ʔɔ

there jerk-want OB DT father-3POS DT

men.s

child

‘The little girl wanted to jerk away from her father.’ (RP 9March10)
Furthermore, we see that auxiliary agreement parallels determiner agreement: a feminine singular subject triggers feminine agreement, but a feminine plural subject does not:

(50) naʔəʔəwˈxʷiyəne:məθəsləniʔ
thereLKNKlistendTTwoman
əθə-ənəten.
OBDT-POSmother.
‘The woman listened to my mother.’ (RP 27May2009)

(51) *naʔəʔəwˈxʷiyəne:məθəslənəniʔ
thereLKNKlistendTTwoman(PL)
əθə-ənəten.
OBDT-POSmother.
‘The women listened to my mother.’ (RP 27May2009)

Masculine agreement would be used instead:

(52) naʔətəwˈxʷiyəne:məθəslənəniʔ
thereLKNKlistendTTwoman(PL)
əθə-ənəten.
OBDT-POSmother.
‘The women listened to my mother.’ (RP 27May2009)

Thus, we see that gender marking on auxiliaries is subject controlled and that it follows the pattern of grammatical gender in Halkomelem: feminine agreement occurs only with feminine singular NPs.

3.2 Complex auxiliary agreement is optional

However, gender marking on complex auxiliaries is actually more complicated than gender on determiners per se. In the case of determiners, singular feminine NPs appear with feminine determiners, not masculine ones, and vice versa. Thus, the following clauses each have only one meaning:

(53) niʔiiloːmθəɑ̃ʃəyəł.
AUXsingsDT:2POSolarlder.sibling
‘Your older brother sang.’/*‘Your older sister sang.’

(54) niʔiiloːmθəɑ̃ʃəyəł.
AUXsingsDT:2POSolarlder.sibling
‘Your older sister sang.’/*‘Your older brother sang.’

However, the agreement of the determiner element on the complex auxiliary with the subject NP is only optional. In the case of a feminine singular
subject, the complex determiner can either be /eʔəθ/ /naʔəθ/ as expected or the default form /eʔat/ /naʔat:.

(55) eʔəθ wəl wæk’-aŋas θənŋ sayəl.
    here PERF appear.over.hill DT:2POS older sibling.
    ‘Your older sister is just coming over the hill into view.’ (RP 25May09)

(56) eʔat wəl wæk’-aŋas θənŋ sayəl.
    here PERF appear.over.hill DT:2POS older sibling.
    ‘Your older sister is just coming over the hill into view.’ (RP 15Oct04)

(57) naʔəθ wəl θuk’-əθət laq-əθət ?iʔət
    there PERF stretch.out-REFL lie.down-REFL sleep
    θənŋ siľə.
    DT:2POS grandparent
    ‘Your grandmother has lain down and stretched out to sleep.’ (RP 25May2009)

(58) naʔat wəl θuk’-əθət laqəθət ?iʔət
    there PERF stretch.out-REFL lie.down-REFL sleep
    θənŋ siľə.
    DT:2POS grandparent
    ‘Your grandmother has lain down and stretched out to sleep.’ (RP 25May2009)

Recall that this variation in agreement does not exist for examples with masculine subjects: only the masculine and not the feminine form of the complex auxiliary is possible when the subject is masculine:

(59) naʔat wəl θuk’-əθət laqəθət ?iʔət
    there PERF stretch.out-REFL lie.down-REFL sleep
    θənŋ siľə.
    DT:2POS grandparent
    ‘Your grandfather has lain down and stretched out to sleep.’ (RP 25May2009)

(60) *naʔəθ wəl θuk’-əθət laqəθət ?iʔət
    there PERF stretch.out-REFL lie.down-REFL sleep
    θənŋ siľə.
    DT:2POS grandparent
    ‘Your grandfather has lain down and stretched out to sleep.’ (RP 25May2009)

This variation in auxiliary agreement might seem puzzling. However, other cases of variability in agreement have been noted in similar circumstances
in other languages (see especially the discussion in Aissen 1990 and Perlmutter 1983). Agreement in English there-constructions is an example. Prescriptive rules of English require that in constructions with the expletive there, which is grammaticized from locative there, the verb agrees in number with the following NP: There is a fly in my soup. There are flies in my soup. However, it has long been noted by descriptive grammarians (see for example, Jespersen 1936:182, Fries 1940:56-57) that singular verb agreement is commonly used before a plural NP in colloquial American English.3 As noted by Aissen (1990), the longer the chain along which agreement features are passed, the more likely agreement will be abandoned in favor of default marking.

Moreover, Gerdts (2009) has shown that some inanimate NPs can take either masculine or feminine determiners, e.g. the words for ‘canoe’, ‘house’, and ‘money’. So gender marking in Halkomelem exhibits a great deal of fluidity. Thus, it is not unexpected to find optionality of gender agreement on positional words.

4 Conclusion

I have shown that the positional words ðet ‘here’ and nat ‘there’ also function as auxiliaries in the Island dialect of Halkomelem. They are used to point out the location of an event or thing in the current perceptual field of the speaker and hearer. They are used only declarative, non-future clauses with third-person subjects. They thus contrast with the simple auxiliaries ði and ni?, which can be used in a broader range of clauses including interrogatives, futures, and clauses with first- and second-person subjects.

The positional words can agree in gender with the subject: ðetθ and natθ can be used when the subject is feminine singular and ðet and nat are used elsewhere. Gender agreement is optional: the masculine (default) form can appear with feminine singulars as well. Optionally of agreement is an interesting phenomenon because it results in mismatches between the determiner element in the auxiliary and the determiner in the NP.

Conceptually, these positional words are made up of two parts, a deictic element and a determiner element. The deictic element encodes ‘here’ as opposed to ‘there’. We can speculate about the origin of these words and their use as complex auxiliaries. As mentioned above, the usual word order in Halkomelem is VSO. A common type of main clause in Halkomelem consists of a complex predicate—an auxiliary followed by a verb phrase—as in the following schema:

AUXILIARY (SUBJECT PRONOUNS) VERB NOUN PHRASE

Historically, the subject pronouns are suffixed to the verb (Kroober 1999:160). But in Halkomelem, the suffix attaches to the dummy root ðe to form a clitic

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3 This seems especially true if the verb is contracted: There’s flies in my soup.
pronoun. In other words, auxiliary verbs attract first- and second- person subject clitic pronouns to the second position. Note that noun phrases cannot appear between the auxiliary and the verb:

(61) ʕi ițaɬam tʰo swaɬqeʔ.
    AUX sing(IMPF) DT man
    ‘The man is singing.’

(62) *ʕi tʰo swaɬqeʔ ițaɬam
    AUX DT man sing(IMPF)
    ‘The man is singing.’

Perhaps the complex auxiliaries represent a compromise; although the auxiliary cannot attract the whole NP to second-position, it manages to attract a copy of the NP’s determiner.

(63) ʔeʔət ițaɬam tʰo swaɬqeʔ.
    here sing(IMPF) DT man
    ‘The man is singing.’

Under this analysis, the complex auxiliaries result as a blend of the auxiliaries ʔi and niʔ plus a determiner.

Some difficulties face this analysis. First is the issue of mismatches: if the determiner element is a copy of the NP’s determiner, then how do we account for the data in (56) and (58), where the determiner on the auxiliary is masculine while the determiner on the NP is feminine? Furthermore, what phonological processes accommodate the blended form?

A less elegant but broader viewpoint is to treat the positionals in the context of a fuller paradigm of deictic words. Proximate deictics share an ʔi/ʔe vowel, while distal deictics share an n consonant, as seen in Table 2.
Table 2. Deictics of space and time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PROXIMATE</th>
<th>DISTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERB/AUXILIARY</td>
<td>ḳi ‘be here/now’</td>
<td>niʔ ‘be there/then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESENTATION VERB/AUXILIARY</td>
<td>ḳʔoʔ ‘here’</td>
<td>naʔoʔ ‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPATIAL/TEMPORAL DEMONSTRATIVE</td>
<td>təʔi ‘here, now, this’</td>
<td>təʔa ‘this, this one, here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREPOSITIONAL DEMONSTRATIVE</td>
<td>təʔi ‘from here’</td>
<td>təʔiʔ ‘from here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPATIAL DEMONSTRATIVE</td>
<td>ḳʔn.ptr ‘this, this way, here’</td>
<td>təʔan.ptr ‘that, that way’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is reminiscent of the English deictic forms: here/there, hence/thence, and hither/thither. Whatever the complexities of the historical phonology, morphology, and syntax that resulted in the synchronic forms, they work paradigmatically in the modern language to allow the expression of deictic oppositions in space and time.

References


