Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, Chinuk pipa, and the vitality of pidgins

by

David Douglas Robertson
B.A., Columbia University, 1988

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Abstract

This dissertation presents the first full grammatical description of unprompted (spontaneous) speech in pidgin Chinook Jargon [synonyms Chinúk Wawa, Chinook]. The data come from a dialect I term 'Kamloops Chinúk Wawa', used in southern interior British Columbia circa 1900. I also present the first historical study and structural analysis of the shorthand-based '*Chinuk pipa*' alphabet in which Kamloops Chinúk Wawa was written, primarily by Salish people. This study is made possible by the discovery of several hundred such texts, which I have transliterated and analyzed. The Basic Linguistic Theory-inspired (cf. Dixon 2010a,b) framework used here interprets Kamloops Chinúk Wawa as surprisingly ramified in morphological and syntactic structure, a finding in line with recent studies reexamining the status of pidgins by Bakker (e.g. 2003a,b, forthcoming) among others. Among the major findings: an unusually successful pidgin literacy including a widely circulated newspaper *Kamloops Wawa*, and language planning by the missionary J.M.R. Le Jeune, O.M.I. He planned both for the use of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa and this alphabet, and for their pre-planned replacement by English. Additional sociolinguistic factors determining how *Chinuk pipa* was written included Salish preferences for learning to write by whole-word units (rather than letter by letter), and toward informal intra-community teaching of this first group literacy. In addition to compounding and conversion of lexical roots, Kamloops Chinúk Wawa morphology exploited three types of preposed grammatical morphemes—affixes, clitics, and particles. Virtually all are homonymous with and grammaticalized from demonstrably lexical morphs. Newly identified categories include 'out-of-control' transitivity marking and discourse markers including 'admirative' and 'inferred'. Contrary to previous claims about Chinook Jargon (cf. Vrzić 1999), no overt passive voice exists in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa (nor probably in pan-Chinook Jargon), but a previously unknown 'passivization strategy' of implied agent demotion is brought to light. A realis-irrealis modality distinction is reflected at several scopal levels: phrase, clause and sentence. Functional differences are observed between irrealis clauses before and after main clauses. Polar questions are restricted to subordinate clauses, while alternative questions are formed by simple juxtaposition of irrealis clauses. Main-clause interrogatives are limited to content-question forms, optionally with irrealis marking. Positive imperatives are normally signaled by a mood particle on a realis clause, negative ones by a negative particle. Aspect is marked in a three-part ingressive-imperfective-completive system, with a marginal fourth 'conative'. One negative operator has

characteristically clausal, and another phrasal, scope. One copula is newly attested. Degree marking is largely confined to 'predicative' adjectives (copula complements). Several novel features of pronoun usage possibly reflect Salish L1 grammatical habits: a consistent animacy distinction occurs in third-person pronouns, where pan-Chinook Jargon *iaka* (animate singular) and *klaska* (animate plural) contrast with a null (∅) inanimate object/patient; this null and *iaka* are non-specified for number; in intransitives, double exponence (repetition) of pronominal subjects is common; and pan-Chinook Jargon *klaksta* (originally 'who?') and *klaska* (originally 'they') vary freely with each other. Certain etymologically content-question forms are used also as determiners. Kamloops Chinúk Wawa's numeral system is unusually regular and small for a pidgin; numerals are also used ordinally in a distinctly Chinook Jargon type of personal name. There is a null allomorph of the preposition *kopa*. This preposition has additionally a realis complementizer function (with nominalized predicates) distinct from irrealis *pus* (with verbal ones). Conjunction *pi* also has a function in a syntactic focus-increasing and -reducing system.

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Peter Bakker readily shared his published and unpublished work on pidgins as a class of languages (see References). His work represents invaluable steps toward assessing pidgins on their own terms, and I count it as an inspiration. Over the years, many other scholars have generously shared their insights into issues relating to Chinúk Wawa and pidgins with me. Without the careful work and thought of these researchers and documentarians, my own work on CW could never have reached the level of a dissertation. Many thanks to Ray Brinkman, Keith Carlson, Ross Clark, Nora Marks Dauenhauer, Henry Davis, John Davis, Barry Downs, Emanuel Drechsel, Anthony Grant, Ian Hancock, Barbara Harris, the late Dell Hymes, Van Isaac, Samuel V. Johnson, the late Dale Kinkade, George Lang, Tom Larsen, David Lewis, Tim Montler, Rob Moore, Kim Ondaatje, Bill Poser, Jay Powell, Leland Ross, John Ross, Sally Thomason, Wilfried Schuhmacher, Bill Turkel, Jan van Eijk, John Veillette, David Watkins, Zvjezdana Vrzić,

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Abbreviations and conventions used in this study

=	clitic boundary
-	affix boundary
+	compound noun
|	clause boundary (when relevant to the discussion)
||	cleft- or 'WH-movement' boundary
.	(period) separates multiple words in a gloss of a single morph
< >	items not in shorthand in the original text
Ø	null exponence
1	first-person pronoun
2	second-person pronoun
3	third-person pronoun
ADMR	admirative
AGR	agreement
ART	article (in Secwepemctsín language)
CAUS	causative
CMPR	comparative
CMPT	completive
CNAT	conative
CONJ	conjunction
COPeq	equative copula
COPposs	possessive copula
COPspa	spatial copula
DECL	declarative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DSCM	discourse marker
EVID	evidential
FUT	future
IMPRT	imperative
IMPFV	imperfective
INAB	inability (negative potential)
INAN	inanimate
INGR	ingressive
IRR	irrealis
NEG	negative
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
O.C	out-of-control (transitivity)
PERM	permissive
PL	plural
POS	positive (polarity)
POSDEG	positive degree
POSS	possessive

PREP	preposition
PRES	present tense
SG	singular

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"The bibliography of [Chinook] Jargon is large; [but] no published material examined has been satisfactory for the study of its phonetic and structural phenomena…" Jacobs (1932:27)

"Perhaps the most basic challenge for creolists in the twenty-first century is to write exhaustive linguistic and sociohistorical descriptions of all the known pidgin and creole languages and their various dialects. Full accounts of such previously undescribed or underdescribed languages…and more complete collections of texts…are needed so that debates over theoretical models (and their implications for general linguistics) can be based on a more adequate and accurate body of knowledge." Holm (2000:67)

1 Introduction

Aiming to help rectify gaps in previous work and in current theoretical generalizations, I present here a linguistic and partial sociohistorical description of two related, previously undescribed topics in Canada's linguistic heritage. The first focus of this study is Kamloops Chinúk Wawa or KCW,[1] my term for one pidgin variety of Chinúk Wawa.[2] KCW was a coherent dialect, displaying numerous stable norms of lexicon and structure that have not been identified in the previous literature. It was widely spoken in the southern Interior of British Columbia, Canada, in the late 1800s and early 1900s by Interior Salish ethnolinguistic groups. These were namely the Secwépemc / Shuswap, St'át'imc / Lillooet, Syilx / Okanagan and Nłeʔképmx / Thompson River people, all of whom I will call 'Salish' as contrasted with the 'Salishan' family of languages. The second focus is *Chinuk pipa*, the name widely used among KCW speakers for the shorthand-based alphabet that they used for writing this pidgin. A notable feature of KCW is that it was extensively written by people of Salish ancestry in an alphabet devised especially for them by missionary J.M.R. Le Jeune, OMI, based on a French system of shorthand. Several hundred previously unknown unpublished Kamloops Chinúk Wawa texts, written by Salish people between 1891 and 1912, use this *Chinuk pipa* writing system; 148 of these are the basis of the study and the reassessment that I present here.

[1] The inspiration behind the label 'Kamloops Chinúk Wawa' is ultimately Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins, who suggested I distinctly and succinctly label the specific variety I am studying here. The 'Kamloops' of the dialect's name honours the sociolinguistic centre of its speech area, as well as the *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper that was so important to its diffusion. I always italicize the newspaper's title, to distinguish it clearly from the dialect.

[2] Synonyms 'CW', 'Chinook', 'Chinook Jargon'.

As will be discussed below, KCW and *Chinuk pipa* constitute easily a majority of known documented CW. Yet both are effectively undescribed in the linguistic literature. It has seemed of major importance to rectify this omission, and thus to contribute to a fuller understanding of Chinúk Wawa.

Secondarily to this descriptive goal, I hope to build on the unusually rich 'find' of pidgin data that is my KCW corpus, to *polemically* support a reevaluation of the status of pidgins in general. This is an area of pidgin/creole studies that has undergone continual revision, with some scholars concluding that pidgins are not stable enough to even be considered languages (cf. Silverstein 1972, Bickerton 1981), and others conceding that they are languages albeit exceptional ones that cannot contain certain features (cf. Siegel 2004), to cite just two arguments. In accordance with this second objective, my findings will be briefly considered in light of the state of the art in pidginistics. Overall I suggest that KCW in particular, and therefore Chinúk Wawa in general, are examples of pidgins that are more grammatically elaborate, more expressive and more vital media of communication than has often been assumed in the literature. If Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is a fully functional language, then in principle the same can be demonstrated of other pidgins through in-depth analysis.

The present description will shows that Kamloops Chinúk Wawa bears many characteristics that make it distinct from the rest of CW. Some of these traits may be directly attributable to influence—not necessarily consciously applied—from speakers' Salish mother tongues.[3] Such novel features show up in some areas of the morphosyntax, as with the 'out-of-control' transitivity category marked by *tlap*= (§3.2.2.2.1.4 and §4.1.2.5, grammaticalized from the CW lexeme 'to receive'); with the number-unspecified third-person pronoun / person-agreement marker (§4.2.1.1; §3.2.2.2.1.5, §4.1.1) of the form *iaka* (which is specifically singular elsewhere in CW); and likely with double exponence of subjects/agents (§4.2.1.1.1.1.2).[4] They are seen in the lexicon too, with the presence of uniquely local terms from Salish such as *lahanʃut* 'to confess' [text 43], *putah* 'goodbye' [18] and *haha milalam* 'holy communion' [31], as well as with consistent KCW realizations of non-Salish terms, for example 'catechism' as *kitasim* [107] and standard Chinúk Wawa *komtaks* 'to know' as *komtakst* [112]. There is evidence of characteristically KCW phonological habits also, for example in the inconsistency of the *s* - *ʃ* distinction in words like *sawa͡ʃ* [38] ~ *ʃawa͡ʃ* [71] 'Indigenous person'.

All of these are unique in the CW literature, which implies that they cannot be due to influences antedating the language's geographical spread to southern interior British Columbia, circa 1858 (see §1.2.2). However, these features exist in common among Kamloops Chinúk Wawa users' Interior Salish mother-tongues. This is not to claim that KCW is very much like any Salish language—typically for a pidgin, it is far more isolating and analytic, with a far smaller inventory of grammatical morphemes and a

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[3] Specialists in language contact who read this will already recognize that most contact-induced changes are not conscious.

[4] Grammaticalization is the process of "a content word assum[ing] the grammatical characteristics of a function word" per Hopper and Traugott (1993:4). This process typically [though not necessarily] leads to phonological 'erosion' from free-word status to that of a more or less bound grammatical marker (1993:4). However, as chapter 2 explains, phonological data on such questions as possible stress reduction is not to be had in the written corpus.

tinier vocabulary, than older languages such as Salishan or the locally spoken English—but instead to point out that much of its distinctiveness derives from its use in a Salish context. The overall evidence, it seems to me, suggests that Indigenous sensibilities led to the emergence of numerous dialect characteristics of KCW. All of these phenomena parallel examples of first-language interference in pidgin speech noted by Shnukal and Marchese (1983), Keesing (1988) and Smith (2002), inter alia.[5]

Whatever their respective sources, the list of features that are characteristic and distinctive of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa among CW varieties is extensive. These features, noted as previously unattested wherever they are first discussed in this study, help paint a picture of a pidgin dialect. I term KCW a dialect of Chinúk Wawa because it displays its own apparently stable norms across users' several ethnicities in a defined geographic area throughout its known era of use. As will be discussed, work on CW dialect variation is in its preliminary stages still, but to the extent that local varieties are well-documented, consistent differences among them are obvious. The stability of KCW, coupled with the rich variety of the structural features expressed in it, suggests the relative complexity and vitality of this pidgin and by extension others. Such a reassessment, I suggest, is quite in line with the new focus recently put on pidgins by researchers such as Bakker, who observes that hitherto, "in most studies of pidgin and creole languages, pidgins fare rather poorly" (Bakker 1995:25).

The following sections discuss some of the underpinnings of the present study: in §1.1 is background information about previous researchers' work on Chinúk Wawa, the indispensable basis of my own work; in §1.2, on my twin subjects, Kamloops Chinúk Wawa and *Chinuk pipa*, the study of which builds on that previous work; and in §1.3 my methodology is presented.

1.1 Building on previous work: Chinúk Wawa

Unlike my Kamloops Chinúk Wawa analysis, no previous analysis of any CW variety has been demonstrably based on firsthand coherent data from **unprompted (spontaneous) pidgin speech**. Much work, pre-dating modern linguistics, is based on imagined or remembered speech (cf. Schneider 2002), and much relies on elicited data (cf. Jacobs 1936). Much CW work too treats what I refer to as 'pan-CW', i.e. this contact language as a whole, without reference to regional or structural variation; §1.1.2 in particular discusses this point in some detail. This strategy of blending data has produced an artificial homogenization among the diversity of regional pidgin varieties of CW that is suggested by eyewitness records. (Chinúk Wawa 'dialects' are summed up by e.g. Johnson 1978:208-213 and Thomas 1935 [1970]:31-34.) The single well-described variety is what I term 'creolized' CW, which is very different from pidgin CW varieties including KCW.

The Kamloops Chinúk Wawa data that I introduce are thus a valuable new contribution to the state of knowledge. Relating to the preceding points, the following subsections outline fundamental facts of Chinúk Wawa relevant to KCW: §1.1.1 surveys

[5] Following Mihesuah (2005:23), "[w]hen referring to tribes in a general sense," I most often use the term 'Indigenous'. This is in preference to labels that are potentially offensive to the people in question, like 'Indian', and the synonyms 'First Nations' and 'Aboriginal', which are more limited to modern Canadian discourse.

the early history of Chinúk Wawa; §1.1.2, previous work on CW in general; §1.1.3, the creolized dialect of CW.

1.1.1 Birth: how CW came to be

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is a late-19th to early 20th-century century dialect of the language whose self-designation is Chinúk Wawa [t͡ʃinúk wáwa] ('CW'). Also known in regional English as 'Chinook' [ʃɪnúk ~ ʃənúk], and as 'Chinook Jargon' in most published sources, CW is first definitely documented in a sentence from December 10, 1805 in the Lewis and Clark journals. This is a mix of nonnatively pronounced Nuuchahnulth lexical items with words from English, uttered by people whose mother tongue was neither of these languages. All the words are standard in what came to be known as CW, and the syntax is recognizable pan-CW as well:

> every man Came around examined the Duck looked at the gun the Size of the ball which was 100 to the pound and Said in their own language [sic] *Clouch Musket, wake, com ma-tax Musket* which is, a good Musket do not understand this kind of Musket. (Clark, in Moulton 1983-2001, volume 6:121.)

CW is a contact idiom based primarily on the Lower Columbia Chinookan languages. (Gibbs 1863 is the basis for this and the following lexical observations.) These closely-interrelated languages—Lower Chinook, Kathlamet, Multnomah and Clackamas—are indigenous to the region surrounding the mouth of the Columbia River in present-day Washington and Oregon, USA (Boas 1971 [1911], Silverstein 1990:533-535). One or more of these Chinookan varieties supplied the majority of pan-CW lexical material (cf. Thomas 1970 [1935]:29-30, Cash Cash 2005:9). From its origins onward through its history CW was, as a pidgin and therefore a second language to its users, in continuous contact with these and many other languages, a number of which left their trace on it.[6]

From the earliest times a secondary lexical source language, by percentage of pan-CW vocabulary, was the unrelated łəw'ál'məš / Lower Chehalis Salishan (cf. Kinkade and Powell 2005). This language was, at least by the early 1830s, spoken in many of the traditional villages around Willapa Bay, Washington, just north of the Columbia River estuary. Its users were bilingual in, and in daily contact with, Shoalwater Lower Chinook (Hajda 1990:514, Silverstein 1990:535, Tony Johnson, p.c.).

By coincidence a third unrelated source reflects *previous* linguistic contact. This was 'Nootka Jargon' or pidgin Nuuchahnulth Wakashan, described most thoroughly by Clark (2001). This pidgin evidently originated from late 18th-century Indigenous-newcomer contacts on the west coast of Vancouver Island in present-day British Columbia, Canada. The Wakashan contribution to CW has often been identified as

[6] Chinúk Wawa also meets the other two of the "three oldest and best-established diagnostic features for identifying a speech form as a pidgin language": it is not mutually intelligible with a mother tongue of any of its speakers, and it is stable in structure rather than a nonce creation by its speakers (cf. Thomas and Kaufman 1988:168-170).

'Nootka' (Gibbs 1863, Thomas 1970 [1935]:18-20, etc.), a confusing label because that name refers by default to the Nuuchahnulth language proper. Many systematic properties of phonology, syntax, and semantics show that Nootka Jargon's influence on CW occurred via the agency of English-speakers (Thomason 1983). These were presumably the crews of the American and British exploring and trading vessels plying these coasts in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, who often recorded 'Nootka' vocabularies.[7] (Cf. Lang 2008:15-42, Jewitt 1987 [1815].) This Nootka Jargon component of CW is evident since the earliest recordings, for example in the Lewis and Clark quote above.

English is the fourth of the mutually unrelated source languages whose presence can be discerned back to the earliest records of CW. The English involved was presumably a contact-induced mixture among the American, British, and other dialects of sailing vessels' heterogeneous crews—since no single dialect is known to have been dominant in the region. The English used on the Northwest Coast fundamentally influenced pan-CW formation. Speakers of the SVO language English played a steady role as users of CW from its earliest recording, by Lewis and Clark in 1805. Anglophones also had heavily influenced the Nootka Jargon already in use on the Northwest Coast, and conducted ongoing trade relations with Lower Columbia indigenes, for several years before. Chinookans thus knew rudiments of English and used another English-influenced pidgin by the time of Lewis and Clark's arrival:

> " The persons who usually visit the entrance of this river for the purpose of traffic [trading] or hunting I believe are either English or Americans; the Indians inform us that they speak the same language with ourselves, and give us proofs of their varacity by repeating many words of English, as muskit powder, shot, nife, damned rascal, son of a bitch &c." [sic] (Lewis, January 9, 1806 (Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 2006).

Very minor lexical contributions to pan-CW come from the K'alapuyan languages that bordered Multnomah-Clackamas Chinookan (Zenk 1990:548, Silverstein 1990:534), and from the Sahaptian languages such as Klikitat, which bordered Multnomah Chinookan and whose speakers traveled widely (Schuster 1990:328-329; Silverstein 1990:534).

No influence has been identified from the closely neighbouring Athabaskan (Dene) languages Kwalhioqua and Clatskanie (cf. Krauss 1990:530-531), nor evidently from the Salishan Tillamook (cf. Seaburg and Miller 1990:561).

Subsequent to its formation, CW absorbed many words of apparently Métis French from participants in the fur trade centred on Fort Vancouver who frequently

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[7] Despite years of exploration and trade, and even the establishment of two short-lived settlements (Hayes 1999:67,77), by Spaniards along the Northwest Coast, there is almost no trace of Spanish influence on 'Nootka' or 'Nootka Jargon', hence on CW. Two possible examples are known to me; both involve Spanish noun-plural marking on items in a Nootka Jargon word list. Moziño includes the items *tais frijoles* for 'beans' (compare CW *tayi* 'chief' and Spanish *frijoles* 'beans') and *meschimes* for 'slave' in his 1792 notes (Moziño and Engstrand 1991:22, 56 respectively). It can be noted too that "The Spanish feminine form of *tais* (*taisa*) is used by Moziño to designate the wife of a *tais* [chief]" (1991:43fn), which suggests more about Spaniards' use of Nootka words in Spanish than about Spanish influence on 'Nootka'.

married Indigenous women of the area (Lang 2008:85-121).[8] This is another contact idiom, resulting from Algonquian and Iroquoian interaction with Canadian French (cf. Bakker 1997). The intercultural nature of this French variety accounts for such CW items as /lap^{h}usmu/ 'saddle blanket,' originally Algonquian but fused with the French definite article (Zenk and Johnson 2003:31). Métis French peculiarities of pronunciation are reflected in CW words such as /ləsand͡ʒél/ 'belt,' cf. standard French <la ceinture> (Zenk and Johnson 2003:32, Bakker and Papen 1996:1176, [Collins] 1997:70).

The preceding sketch accounts for the early history of what I term 'pan-CW', in other words the structure common to all varieties of CW at all times. In certain places at particular later times, local varieties of CW absorbed various, more limited influences (Grant 1996:1189). For example, in the Fort Nisqually, Washington area, Southern Lushootseed Salishan contributed lexicon such as <stowbelow> 'North' and <stegwaak> 'South'. (Anderson 1858:30; compare the Lushootseed etyma, respectively /stúbələ/ 'Northwest wind' and /təg^{w}áaq^{w}/ 'South wind' in Bates et al. 1994). The European French of Oblate Catholic missionaries made its own mark on CW in the Lower Columbia, as with <Leklis Katolik> 'Catholic Church' and <Komenio> 'communion' (Demers et al. 1871 [1838]:36). More will be said in the following section about CW's eventual geographic range.

In summary, it is clear that Chinúk Wawa is *ab origine* the outcome of multiple episodes of linguistic contact. These contacts took place among indigenous North Americans; between them and the newcomers of primarily European descent; and sometimes among the newcomers. This general pattern of permanent contact will reappear later in this dissertation, when the uniqueness of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa at the turn of the 20th century is examined.

1.1.2 Growth: pan-CW

The overall geographic spread of CW has been summarized by Anthony Grant (1996b), from which the following sketch derives. From its earliest known use, around the mouth of the Columbia River *circa* 1800, the pidgin had spread along the coastal strip of present-day Oregon by about 1830. It came to be used in much of the rest of western Oregon, and on Vancouver Island, by roughly 1850 as settlement by non-Indigenous people became widespread. The gold-rush year of 1858 saw CW's introduction along the Fraser River and into southern Interior British Columbia. Use of the pidgin rapidly spread to the adjacent Columbia Plateau region of what is now Washington state (by 1860), thence somewhat eastward (1865), as well as northward to northern coastal and interior regions of BC (1870) as far as southeastern Alaska (ca. 1900).

Despite its use across such a large area, little research has been done on regional variation in pan-CW. Johnson (1978:179-237) and Harris (2002) are among the few to have begun writing about this question. I have undertaken field work in Southeast Alaska (2003), as did Moore (1988) and Giles (1991). More work is necessary to make sense of the available data.

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[8] While Métis certainly worked in the fur trade all across North America, they would have encountered CW in its early years only in the lower Columbia River region to which the pidgin seems to have then been confined.

Small amounts of pan-CW primary data have been published, none of which represent Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Jacobs (1936) and Harris (1985) are outstanding exemplars. Moore (1988) and Giles (1991) collected the most recent fluent CW speaker data, from Gilbert McLeod (born 1904) in southeastern Alaska. (See Swain 1992 for this man's life story including anecdotes involving CW).

Throughout the course of Chinúk Wawa's history, numerous documents of pan-CW, largely wordlists using secondary data based on the pidgin varieties, have been published. Examples include Gill (1881), Hibben and Carswell (1862), Long (1909), and Shaw (1909). There are many shortcomings to these publications, however. Some plagiarize one another (as analyzed by Johnson 1978:11-126); others fail to distinguish primary from secondary sources, combine data from distinct regional varieties, and adopt inconsistent phonetic or phonemic notations. Most also are popular accounts, and hence lack serious grammatical analysis. Despite such drawbacks, these when combined form the core of available knowledge about CW. No study comparing varieties of Chinúk Wawa, such as the present one, can succeed without reference to this literature. The doctoral research of Johnson (1978) sums up this literature; it is discussed further below.

Engaging in one of the earliest significant efforts in modern-day work on CW, Terrance Kaufman (1968) has undertaken a phonological study of pan-CW, focusing also on grammatical structure. Because he includes data from both the creolized and from several pidgin CW varieties, the result is a description that tends to level distinctions among CW varieties.[9] Kaufman's analysis is necessarily based on secondary sources of varying quality, leading other scholars to challenge his evaluation of the data. By contrast, in the present study I work with newly available data from a single definite CW variety, with the goal of providing the most reliable description of any pidgin CW to date. Nonetheless Kaufman's proposed CW phoneme inventory is by far the most thorough work of its kind on pidgin CW, serving as a checklist for my own data. With minor revisions, his inventory will form the foundation for my work on Kamloops Chinúk Wawa.

In an often-cited paper, still discussed in debates over pidgin and creole 'genesis'—i.e. the ways in which contact languages come to be—Michael Silverstein (1972) argues that CW has no distinct or systematic phonology (or other structural systems, besides lexicon) of its own. Speakers would instead use their L1 phonologies and grammars to manipulate a 'pre-pidgin jargon.' Here 'jargon' has the pidgin/creole technical sense of one kind of contact idiom, rather than any specific idiom. Jargons are said to lack stable, autonomous structures. These claims entail that CW is neither a 'true pidgin' nor a language, given the lack of stable structure. Christopher Roth (1994), a student of Silverstein, follows much the same logic. Based on my data showing a language variety operating by regular and ramified rules, I will argue against such a

[9] Vrzić (1999:86) similarly calls Kaufman's representation of CW 'standardized'. It should be noted that leveling does not necessarily imply a sharp reduction in the membership of the segmental inventory. As Thomason and Kaufman (1988:182-183, 259-260) point out, while pidgin sound systems may tend to be reduced in comparison with their source languages, in a region such as the Pacific Northwest where large and complex phoneme inventories are the norm, a pidgin can be expected to include numerous and even highly marked segments. (This point still stands since more recent work showing that pidgins and creoles cannot be proved to use segmental inventories that differ significantly from those of other languages, cf. Klein 2006a,b, Bakker 2004, 2009.)

position in this dissertation, demonstrating that Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is an example of a pidgin having, simply put, an entire grammar of its own.

Based on his compilation of CW lexical data known to date, Samuel Johnson (1978) proposes 'core' versus 'alternative' phonological rules. According to this view CW phonology is comprised of fuzzy categories, within which speakers select among very numerous CW 'allophones' for sounds that best match those of their mother tongue. Johnson's hypothesis is among the first attempts to account for observed CW variation in a principled way. It is somewhat unclear, however, whether Johnson conceives the members of these fuzzy sound-categories as phonological or else phonetic in nature. That is, it is indeterminate whether each category encompasses several phonemes—the smallest units of sound in CW that can distinguish two words—or whether instead each is constituted of phones, essentially non-meaning-bearing sound variations.

The reason for this ambiguity is the fairly complex system invoked, in which 'core' sound rules have stipulative 'alternative rule' exceptions (Johnson 1978:179-185).

> The core rules receive as input the etymon from the donor language and produce as output the basic [CW] spelling [= pronunciation], i.e. a spelling of the [CW] lexeme that is generally acceptable in all dialects. The alternative rules also receive as input the etymon from the donor language but produce as output the specific [CW] spelling, i.e., a spelling of the [CW] lexeme as it is found in a particular dialect…[and are] trigger[ed by] the phonological environment and the speaker[,] the listener[, or the] lexeme… (1978:179-180)

Johnson's fuzzy-category theory thus resembles to a degree certain theories of *phonetic* variation such as Pierrehumbert's (2001) Exemplar Dynamics, which explicitly allow for individuals' knowledge of a given phoneme in a language to be mentally modeled as a cluster of actual instantiations around a current best representation, or target.

But Johnson's view relies on three questionable suppositions: First, CW pronunciations, said to be "generally acceptable in all dialects", would display in effect a lowest-common-denominator (LCD) set of phonemic distinctions using 14 consonants and five vowels (1978:182). This is because Johnson assumes that "the only phonemic distinctions that could be used were those shared by all of the contact languages"—the mother tongues of CW users (1978:180). I suggest that while L1-L2 linguistic contact, such as that between Salish and KCW, indeed makes mutual influence and accommodation likely, the range of possible outcomes cannot be predetermined with such confidence.

Second is a corollary of the highly restricted phonology just mentioned. A very large yet somehow prespecified number of phones and phonemes, not of CW but of its source languages, is claimed to have been actually known to CW speakers. It seems unlikely to me that nonliterate speakers, especially, either acquire or transmit knowledge of languages in this etymologizing way.

Third, a multiplicity of stipulative 'alternative rules' are said to shape the ultimate form of a given CW word. When speaking Chinúk Wawa, people supposedly chose which prespecified sound variants to employ. This claim seems to me an attempt to mold

the pragmatic considerations unique to a given speech event into the procrustean bed of phonology. Phonological rules cannot predict the outcomes of contact situations.

Additionally, while more plausible than Silverstein's interpretation of CW as totally dependent on speakers' L1, Johnson's theory shares with it the tendency to mix and level data from numerous varieties of Chinúk Wawa. Johnson also reaches a different conclusion in regard to CW variation than Silverstein, who sees it as incoherence. However, his rule-governed alternative view partly duplicates Silverstein's reasoning, in seeking only the set of structural distinctions that can be found in the speech of all CW users.

We can extend this sort of reasoning in a thought experiment: A corpus could be assembled that sampled the English-language speech of people from dozens of L1 backgrounds, comparable to the number of ethnolinguistic groups known to have used CW (Thomason 1983:820ff). The attestations of any given word can be expected to vary a great deal. On this basis, English might be analyzed either as lacking a phonology (à la Silverstein) or as having a typologically bizarre inventory smaller than that of any speaker's mother tongue and subject to enormous variation (à la Johnson). Either would be problematic. Japanese, for example, has a sound system distinct from the set of (L1 or L2) realizations by any given speaker. The Japanese-language sound system is not an LCD compromise among all speakers. One difficulty for an LCD analysis is that the majority of speakers of most any language do not interact with one another. This fact is as true of L1 speech as of L2—by extension, both of demonstrably old languages like Japanese and of new, contact idioms such as pidgin CW.[10]

In response to the Silverstein article discussed above, Sarah Thomason has argued that CW indeed possesses autonomous phonological and grammatical norms (1983). This claim is set in a larger pidgin/creole framework in Thomason and Kaufman (1988). More specifically, she claims CW's phonology is 'Indian-modeled' for all speakers—not just Indigenous people—and is nearly identical in its inventory to Kaufman's (1968) proposal. It includes many features that are marked and/or rare among the world's languages (ejectives, voiceless lateral fricative, etc.). Hence CW is not simply the lowest common denominator of all users' mother tongues. CW is a language, and it is a pidgin language. In other words, it is a contact-derived idiom that has an autonomous rule system but no mother-tongue speakers. My analysis supports Thomason's research and reinforces it by applying it to primary and homogeneously-sourced data.

Zvjezdana Vrzić has dealt with a CW variety that, like my data, is written in shorthand and originates in the BC Interior Salish region (1998, 1999a, b). However, she studied the work of a French newcomer to the speech community, *Chinuk pipa* originator J. M. R. Le Jeune. By his own account, Le Jeune learned a generalized pidgin CW—not Kamloops Chinúk Wawa but a coastal variety; he learned it via the medium of writing, and he learned it before arriving among Indigenous people in the Northwest (*Kamloops Wawa* 1900). The bulk of Le Jeune's legacy consists of published materials aimed at evangelizing Indigenous people. It does not reflect actual Kamloops Chinúk Wawa

[10] What may be more likely is that all speakers targeted a more complex phonological system, producing the best approximations of each phoneme that their individual linguistic repertoires, especially L1 phonology, allowed. A point on which I differ with Johnson is in viewing these approximations not as static and predictable but rather as evolving with an individual's exposure to CW, as Pierrehumbert's (2001) Exemplar Dynamics model suggests.

speech. Le Jeune apparently preferred to work in the Interior Salish languages rather than in any CW variety:

> Mon Chinook à moi est d'un style pauvre, bien pauvre. Je préfère parler le Sauvage, et me dispenser d'interprète. Aussi je n'ai jamais acquis l'habitude de parler correctement le Chinook. *(My own Chinook [CW] is poor in style, quite poor. I prefer to talk Indian [Salish], and dispense with an interpreter. So I never picked up the habit of speaking Chinook properly.)* (Le Jeune 1892a)

Vrzić's first paper (Vrzić 1998) and the corresponding chapter of her dissertation (Vrzić 1999b) attempt to decipher the phonology of Le Jeune's CW. Here she argues convincingly that Le Jeune maintained a number of phonetic contrasts found in Northwest languages and known to be present in CW's source languages. She shows in his writing traces of labialized velars, voiceless lateral fricative, and some ejectives. (For examples of these sounds in a phonologically well-documented dialect, see Zenk and Johnson 2003, CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Program 2011.) However, she analyzes the data quite conservatively, proposing like Johnson a very limited segmental inventory for the region's pidgin CW. Vrzić's dissertation adds a brief sketch of syntax. Her primary focus is on universals of pidgin and creole genesis rather than on exploring CW itself. Thus a difference between Vrzić's work and mine is that I focus on describing as thoroughly as possible several domains of KCW structure, including at least two (the morphology and writing system) that have not received significant attention in the linguistic literature.

1.1.3 Elaboration: creolized CW

The CW of the general lower Columbia River region, the best documented variety and the source of all the others, plays a nonfocal but important role for the study of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Drawing on Robertson (2006a), I point out three milestones in the historical development of this (now-)creolized CW:

- 1805: First definite attestation (Moulton 1983-2001 [the Lewis and Clark journals]).
- ca. 1824: Definitely an autonomous language, no longer targeting Lower Chinookan forms as the earliest documented varieties had done (Lang 2006).
- by 1832: Apparently *nativizing or nativized* in lower Columbia Chinookan territory. Several early publications make passing note of this phenomenon, which I term 'creolization'. (Lewis and Murakami 1990; Demers et al. 1871 [1838]:8; Hale 1968 [1846]:644; Swan 1989 [1857]:199.)

As for the literature on creolized CW, Modeste Demers, Francis Norbert Blanchet and Louis-Napoléon St. Onge (1871 [1838]) produced the earliest scholarly document of this variety. Their book is notable as the most phonetically detailed data on any variety for

decades before and after, since it fairly consistently notates contrasts such as ejective versus plain and velar vs. uvular consonants. They made a few very brief remarks on grammar, while compiling extensive (evangelizing) textual material. Horatio Hale added to this in 1846 with his more scientific and somewhat more comprehensive sketch of the lower Columbia variety's grammar and lexicon (1968 [1846], 1890). The missionary St. Onge in his unpublished papers catalogued thousands of lexical items from experience speaking with Indigenous people in the lower Columbia region, providing the first extensive primary lexical data (1864-1873, 1892).

Melville Jacobs (1932) gave a fairly detailed sketch of the Grand Ronde, Oregon variety, albeit in sometimes idiosyncratic terms of uncertain reference, e.g. 'tied words'. This variety as Jacobs presented it is divergent enough from pidgin CW that Franz Boas (1933) rejected calling it 'Chinook Jargon' at all. Jacobs (1936) went on to present extensive firsthand textual material in the creolized as well as various pidgin CW varieties, with English translations but without analysis.

Dell Hymes and Virginia Hymes (1972) were among the first scholars to point out the nativization of CW in at least Grand Ronde, noting its potential significance as the first known North American Indigenous creole. Henry Zenk (1984 *inter alia*) has drawn on his own sustained field work with native Grand Ronde CW speakers to establish the creolized status of this variety. Zenk and Johnson (2003) and CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Program (2011) are versions of a constantly expanding, soon to be published dictionary of Grand Ronde CW. This last item contains by far the most extensive and phonologically detailed data available for any CW variety. It carefully notes the complexities of this variety's phonology and is backed up throughout by examples from actual people's speech. These qualities make this document invaluable for comparison with Kamloops Chinúk Wawa.

1.2 Building on previous work: an under-described CW variety and writing system

Chinúk Wawa is an under-described language, despite the enormous amount of material on it that has been preserved (viz. the bibliography of Pilling 1893). The Kamloops Chinúk Wawa dialect is also under-described. Very little structural linguistic analysis exists in the literature. Instead, a majority of the published CW material consists of religious texts and sketchy 19th-century popular wordbooks (cf. Reinecke 1975:712-726). The following subsections introduce the KCW variety and its writing system, as well as new data that I have found: §1.2.1 discusses the *Chinuk pipa* shorthand, and §1.2.2 Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, while §1.2.3 discusses the uniqueness of both.

1.2.1 *Chinuk pipa* shorthand

The most significant CW material is the texts from BC's Interior Salish region in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, written in a shorthand alphabet called *Chinuk pipa*, 'Chinook writing' in CW. These have not previously been described or analyzed in detail, though they constitute at least roughly 50%, and as much as 75%, of the extant documentation of CW. Published *Chinuk pipa* material (not the focus of this dissertation), including a few items by Salish writers, is indexed in authoritative bibliographies. (See Pilling 1893,

Kamloops Wawa 1916, Smith 1950:194-196, Soliday and Decker 1960:167-169, Lowther 1968:81 *et seq.*, Reinecke 1975.) But a large amount of unpublished material has remained hitherto unexplored, most notably Indigenous letters in the Archives Deschâtelets of St. Paul University in Ottawa, Ontario. It is this KCW corpus that I analyze in the present study.

Chinuk pipa shorthand was devised in 1890 by the Catholic missionary Jean-Marie-Raphaël Le Jeune, OMI (Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a.k.a. 'Oblates'). This alphabet was developed circa 1860 by the Abbé Emile Duployé, with whom Le Jeune had earlier corresponded. (Duployé 1860a, cf. Wikipedia 2006.) *Chinuk pipa* became the first writing system of many Indigenous communities. For the most part it was used for writing CW, but was also applied to eight Salishan languages of BC. Native speakers and some priests wrote shorthand letters in Secwepemctsín (Shuswap) and Nɬeʔkepmxcín (Thompson), some of which are preserved at the Archives Deschâtelets. In addition, Le Jeune disseminated shorthand hymns, prayers, catechisms etc. in these two languages as well as in six more: Nsilxcen (Okanagan), Upper St'át'imcets (Lillooet), and the coastal languages Upriver Halq'eméylem (Halkomelemem), Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish), Sháshíshálhem (Sechelt), and ʔayʔaǰuθəm (Comox). (Le Jeune 1892b-1897c in the references are a representative listing.)

A majority of extant Chinúk Wawa is in shorthand form, for two reasons related to *Chinuk pipa*'s popularity among these ethnolinguistic groups:

- First, about 250 issues of the missionary newspaper titled *Kamloops Wawa* can still be found in many libraries and archives. From its 1891 inception through 1904, *Kamloops Wawa* was written in shorthand CW for Indigenous audiences.[11]
- Second, Salish people wrote numerous shorthand texts, hundreds of which are still preserved. These include letters and marginal inscriptions in various archives, libraries, and personal collections; want ads and letters published in *Kamloops Wawa*; and burial markers primarily in St'át'imc / Lillooet reserve cemeteries.

I have located approximately 600 Indigenous shorthand texts, which date from 1891 to 1912. Nearly all of these can be traced to Interior BC Salish people, and consequently represent the variety here termed Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. (The remainder originate from the southern coastal region of BC.) I group these texts into four categories: (1) letters, (2) want ads, (3) graffiti / marginal inscriptions (mostly in issues of *Kamloops Wawa* and shorthand books published by Le Jeune), and (4) grave markers. These 'genres' of KCW texts are tallied in Table 1:[12]

[11] Issues from 1905 through at least 1918 housed at the Archives Deschâtelets use only standard English and French, and are directed primarily at non-Indigenous audiences. The BC Provincial Archives and the bibliography of Johnson (1978) list a 1923 issue, which however has not been found; all evidence suggests that such an issue would not have been in shorthand CW.

[12] Totals are not always 100%, due to rounding.

	LETTERS	*WANT ADS*	*MARGINALIA*	*GRAVE MARKERS*	*TOTAL of ALL GENRES*
Unpublished	**148**	**--**	**398+**	**12+**	**557+**
	(26% of unpub.)	**(0% of unpub.)**	**(71% of unpub.)**	**(2% of unpub.)**	
Published	**26**[13]	**8**	**2**	**--**	**36**
	(72% of pub.)	**(22% of pub.)**	**(6% of pub.)**	**(0% of pub.)**	
Total	**173**	**8**	**400+**	**12+** [14]	593+
	(unpublished = 85%)	**(unpublished = 100%)**	**(unpublished = 99%)**	**(unpublished = 100%)**	(unpublished = 94%)

Table 1: Relative numbers of *Chinuk pipa* texts by genre[15]

These texts were produced by members of the four BC Interior Salish ethnolinguistic groupings (Lillooet / St'át'imc, Okanagan / Syilx, Shuswap / Secwépemc, Thompson / Nłeʔképmx). Their territory coincides with the main circulation area of the missionary newspaper *Kamloops Wawa* from 1891 through 1904. They represent the heart of the *Chinuk pipa* literacy.

The unpublished letters, while only about a quarter of the total texts, tend to be the lengthiest texts, generally filling two sides of a sheet of paper on which they were written, while the other genres average two or three lines of writing each. These letters form the great bulk of the available data. They constitute a solid basis for a representative study.

1.2.2 Kamloops Chinúk Wawa

Most CW written in 'shorthand' is in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. As a distinct dialect of Chinúk Wawa, KCW can be inferred to have existed no earlier than the Cariboo and subsequent gold rushes (Turkel 2004) and is first documented in the word list of John B. Good (1880). As William Turkel shows, CW came into currency in BC's southern Interior not with the fur trade but with the later gold rushes, from 1858 onward (cf. Hayes 1999:151,162). Some form of CW seems to have already existed among the Salish, though in very limited use (Turkel 2004).

BC was linguistically heterogeneous at the time. Its Indigenous people, only recently outnumbered by newcomers (Lutz 2008:166), still primarily spoke numerous

[13] Four additional letters, apparently written in KCW but published only in French translation, were found.
[14] Numerous additional *Chinuk pipa* grave markers have been found, but most are extremely weather-worn. Since the present tally reports only items that were legible and therefore potentially analyzable, only the 12 interpretable markers are noted here.
[15] It is not unlikely that more *Chinuk pipa* texts will be found. There is every reason to believe, for example, that many more letters were written by the Salish. As the Appendix shows, the Archives Deschâtelets files contain letters to priests that cluster by date, which suggests that those written at other times have been misplaced.

languages of the Salishan, Na-Dene / Tlingit-Athabaskan, Ktunaxa / Kutenai, Tsimshianic, Haida, Wakashan, and Algonquian families (see Lutz 2008:5). For missionaries such as Father Le Jeune of Kamloops, CW was a useful lingua franca since it was already understood in some form by some people in each locale. In the case of the Oblate order of which Le Jeune was a member, a very limited number of priests was available to staff the far-flung missions of the BC interior, the majority of which received only infrequent missionary visits. No single missionary could learn the many local languages, though rare polyglots learned at least one well. One exceptional learner was Father Le Jeune. Another, a fellow Catholic Oblate, was lower mainland BC's *Stalo liplit*, 'Stó:lō[-speaking] priest,' Father Edmund Peytavin, who carried on correspondence with Le Jeune in Thompson and Shuswap (cf. *Kamloops Wawa* 1893a). A third was the Protestant, John Booth Good (cf. Good 1880). But it would be impractical to expect all missionaries to learn multiple BC languages well, so CW filled a pressing communicative need.

The Oblates received intensive instruction in CW from more-experienced superiors, sometimes even before arriving in North America (*Kamloops Wawa* 1900). The priests also had access to the many published handbooks of pan-CW. These are collected in Johnson 1978 and, from the Kamloops Chinúk Wawa area, Le Jeune 1924, which copies numerous CW words "used only in other districts" directly from these sources. These priests used their own literacy to advantage not just in exploiting those handbooks but also often in writing personal dictionaries (cf. manuscript wordlists by Chirouse, Durieu, Guertin, Picotte, and Vriendt in the Archives Deschâtelets).

By contrast the Salish people, not yet literate, learned CW through speaking it. Only after 1890 did materials in *Chinuk pipa* become a means of acquiring CW knowledge. I will show elsewhere that both were largely propagated by Indigenous agency.

My corpus of Indigenous CW from the region around Kamloops represents a single, coherent, pidgin variety of this language, used by a definable speech community. There are three main reasons for this conclusion: First, there are very strong cultural and linguistic similarities among the four BC Interior Salish groups whose members spoke and wrote KCW. Second, there is great orthographic, lexical and morphosyntactic uniformity in their CW usage, constituting a norm distinct from pan-CW. Examples include the effectively standardized spellings in their writings (discussed in chapter 2), common use of words such as *stop* as a copula and *lahanʃut* 'to confess', a null third-person object pronoun, and the numerous other previously unidentified features summarized in chapter 6. And third, it is observable that individuals—both Indigenous people and newcomers—in BC's southern Interior wrote in CW more regularly to one another[16] than to other known *Chinuk pipa* users, such as Coast Salish or distant white people.[17]

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[16] *Chinuk pipa* users (the large majority of whom were Indigenous) were writing to a non-indigenous priest in most texts used in the present study. Many of these letters were reports by Durieu System officials about local people's potential need for priestly intervention, due to deaths, marital squabbles, alcohol abuse, failure to attend Mass, etc. Interestingly, while the social context, the writing system, and significant parts of KCW religious vocabulary are due to Oblate missionaries' agency, relatively little religious terminology makes its way into these texts. For example, CW terms in frequent use by Le Jeune in his *Kamloops Wawa*

Almost all Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is in the shorthand. CW and Salish composed by Interior Salish people in other writing systems have not been found. One example of a Roman-alphabet representation of KCW is the work of John B. Good (1880), who approached most closely to making an English-language study of it (as well as of Thompson Salish / Nɬeʔkepmxcín). Good's spelling system differs from the rather uniform CW lexica in print at the time. In most cases it is clear that his spellings support his stated goal of writing 'phonetically' to convey local pronunciations (p. 5). This ideal can be compared with Le Jeune's creation of the shorthand as a 'phonography', *Kamloops Wawa* (1893g). Good's study is unfortunately very brief and is limited to lexicography, providing very little insight into grammar.

Various other local accounts contain more or less data on CW use in the southern Interior (Beeson 1971, Edwards 1978, and numerous sources in Robertson 2004).

CW loanwords into BC Interior Salish have also been of some use in my research. (See Good 1880, Joseph et al. 1981, Kuipers 1974, 1983, Mattina 1987, Thompson and Thompson 1992, 1996, and Van Eijk 1997.) I have also investigated audio of individuals doing Christian preaching in BC Interior Salish languages, similar in theme to *Kamloops Wawa* and to many Indigenous letters addressed to Father Le Jeune (Gospel Recordings International [n.d. 1-4]).

I have also analyzed two audio documents of regional CW, which I consider valuable insofar as they are the only sound recordings of KCW. These are Louise Gabriel [n.d.] and Helena Myers (1989). The Gabriel recording is of an Okanagan elder leading several other people in singing several CW Catholic hymns. The Myers recording is of a Chilcotin elder singing some of the same hymns as well as others in CW. In both cases the hymns are ones that were disseminated via *Chinuk pipa*, cf. Le Jeune (1893b). However, both seem to represent individuals' distant memories of KCW. There are additional analytical difficulties (cf. §2.3.2): These hymns use necessarily limited and repetitive morpho-syntax, which restricts their utility for grammatical description. Moreover, these songs were created or translated by non-Indigenous priests—who were less clearly participants in the observed norms of KCW. Divergence between priests' and Salish people's KCW are discussed at the end of §1.1.2 and in observations under §1.3 about Le Jeune's editorial practices. These are reasons why I have largely excluded this audio as data for present purposes.[18]

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and his catechisms, such as *pijusim* 'sign of the cross', *lisaf* 'angel', etc., are entirely absent from the corpus.

[17] There are shorthand items in CW that differ grammatically, lexically, and orthographically from KCW. These include the letters by Coast Salish people—datelined e.g. Homalco, Sechelt, and Langley—in the Archives Deschâtelets and communications to Indigenous people from interested outsiders like Dr. Thomas Sanderson Bulmer of Utah; see *Kamloops Wawa* (1892e). All such items have been excluded from the present study.

[18] Background on the Myers data is in order. This singer is ethnically Chilcotin and a speaker of that Dene / Athabaskan language but not, to my knowledge, of a Salish language. Although it is the most detailed phonological data available on KCW, her CW production consequently cannot be considered as central to my corpus.

Even so, there is evidence that Chilcotins, who reputedly shared at least one village (High Bar, BC) with shorthand-using Shuswaps, participated in the KCW speech community and the *Chinuk pipa* literacy (cf. texts [18, 131]). This evidence comes primarily from the *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper (1894d, 1895c, etc.); Lane (1981:411-412) establishes that Roman Catholic missionary work among the Chilcotins was in full operation by the 1880s, but makes no mention of CW use. The 15th of April, 1894 issue

Also of use in the present study are several previous papers in which I have studied various aspects of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Davis and Robertson (2000) analyzes a bilingual shorthand text in pidgin CW and St'át'imcets/Lillooet Salish. In two studies which helped build the foundations for the present work, I have shown that the *Chinuk pipa* orthography spells the three phonemes /i e y/ with one shorthand letter (Robertson 2003), and examined attestations of KCW from the Okanagan region of the southern Interior of BC, more for their historical than their linguistic significance (Robertson 2005). These are among the only studies so far done specifically on KCW.

Reasons for the scarcity of research on Kamloops Chinúk Wawa are hard to establish. I surmise that *Chinuk pipa* writing, which resembles no other in the Pacific Northwest, could have been perceived by some as difficult. Le Jeune actually touted its ease of acquisition, cf. his frequent claim as *Kamloops Wawa*'s editor that Indigenous people and others learned it in a few days (e.g. *Kamloops Wawa* 1893d). Yet this alphabet itself may have put off potential researchers; one can speculate that 'you had to be there' to catch onto the idea. Among scholarly users, only the influential ethnographer Franz Boas is documented as learning and using this writing system.[19] He had the advantage of being tutored in person by Le Jeune at the height of *Chinuk pipa*'s vogue (*Kamloops Wawa* 1894), but did not go on to publish research on the shorthand materials. In 1998 it took me much longer than a few days of intensive work to learn it. This is despite the script's being simple and alphabetic, my previous studies of many writing systems, and my familiarity with pan-CW. In fact it was several months before I

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characterizes Chilcotins as well-disposed toward *Chinuk pipa*, but limited by having "no paper" [sic; to be understood as *Kamloops Wawa*?] (*Kamloops Wawa* 1894c). The March 1895 issue reported the Chilcotins as speaking with outsiders in a mix of CW and vernacular English, as in this example where the English is underlined:

> *Ai don no, nsaika ilo komtaks maika kapho, t͡ʃi alta*
> 'I don't know, we don't know about your big brother, this is the first
>
> > *nsaika k'olan ukuk nim Kamlups W͡awa͡*
> > we've heard of this name *Kamloops Wawa*' (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895c)

The August 1895 issue reported the same (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895f).

In the same period, the newspaper reproduced two "temperance pledges" in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa that were adopted by Chilcotin communities and signed by their members (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895d). Suddenly there were seven *KW* subscribers in the region (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895g). By 1895 Chilcotins were mentioned as participants in the big religious gatherings in Shuswap country (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895g 1901). They were at least a third of those present at a Sugarcane Reserve event, as remembered in *Kamloops Wawa* (1917a, b). At these gatherings Chilcotins may have learned the CW hymns that were printed in *Chinuk pipa* hymnals such as Le Jeune (1893a), which were taught by Oblate missionaries stationed among the Shuswaps at Williams Lake.

So it is likely that the Chilcotins learned these songs from their Shuswap neighbours. This was probably the case with Myers, who was born around the end of KCW's and *Chinuk pipa*'s heyday and learned the hymns from her parents (Linda Smith, p.c.).

I do not however refer to Myers regarding KCW morphosyntax. Because the hymns were written or translated by non-Indigenous people, and are necessarily brief and repetitive, I have been forced to exclude them as grammatical data for present purposes.

[19] I am told by Wendy Wickwire (p.c., 2009) that another ethnographer, southern Interior resident James Teit, may have written in *Chinuk pipa*. While he certainly wrote 'Chinook' with Le Jeune's romanized spellings (Grönneberg 1978), I have not yet discovered documentation of Teit using shorthand.

achieved anything like fluent reading skills. The dissertation research of Vrzić (1998, 1999a, b) is the first to analyze shorthand CW, specifically Father Le Jeune's writings in his newspaper.

One reason for the lack of interest in CW was the salvage-approach agenda of anthropology in the Pacific Northwest (Leeds-Hurwitz 1985; cf. Suser and Patterson 2001). According to this research paradigm, the present-day Indigenous people's ongoing vivid experience and adaptation of their lifeways was overlooked in favour of the deep past. Traits perceived by researchers as 'tainted' by already ubiquitous contact with newcomers, whether cultural—like the Interior Salish practice of Catholicism—or linguistic—like the incorporation of English words into 'Indian' languages, or use of Chinúk Wawa—were deliberately ignored.

Shorthand CW was ignored also because of the prejudice that contact idioms are 'bastard,' 'broken' languages that constitute unworthy objects of study (cf. Barbot 1746 and Jespersen 1922:222, both cited by Todd 1974:35). Even the labels 'pidgin', 'jargon', and 'creole' reflect disdain for that which is of obviously mixed provenance. Ideas about linguistic and cultural contact and purity, which were prevalent and often unquestioned for much of the past hundred years, inevitably played a role in how research was conducted. Kouwenberg (2010) is an excellent recent examination of this prejudice.

Whatever the reason for the neglect of *Chinuk pipa* CW, it is understandable that another variety of this contact language, the geographically restricted 'creolized' CW, has received significant attention. It is native to the earliest known homeland of CW and has accordingly been documented the most thoroughly. (Cf. Lang 2006 [data from ca. 1824], 2010, Demers et al. 1871 [1838], Hale 1968 [1846], 1890, Jacobs 1932, 1936, Larsen 2002, among many others.) The recognition of this CW variety as nativized, by Hymes and Hymes (1972), Zenk (1984, 1988), and Zenk and Johnson (2003), has drawn ever-increasing attention to it. This surely relates to creolists' focal interest in those contact languages that have become communal mother tongues.

In contrast, no pidgin CW varieties have been the subject of scholarly analysis of greater scope than the examination of limited individual texts. Examples of such studies are Jacobs' of an ethnic Snoqualmie speaker (1936), Carmichael's of a Nuuchahnulth (n.d.) and Harris' of a Quileute (1985). Previous work on pidgin CW, seeking to show the commonalities among dialects, has leveled among multiple such varieties (e.g. Kaufman 1968, Thomason 1983, Thomason and Kaufman 1988). The insights achieved have been important in demonstrating that CW is indeed a language(!), and one that contains interesting and typologically unusual features. I merely point out that the descriptions arrived at cannot be expected to show any particular dialect in all of its complexity, which is precisely the contribution of this dissertation.

Reasons such as these may explain the lack of scholarly work on *Chinuk pipa*'s history and structure and on KCW.[20] The emphasis on creolized CW implies that linguists, historians, and others could yet develop a greater understanding of pidgin CW and of CW as a whole, and by extension, of linguistic and cultural contact in the Pacific Northwest.

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[20] As noted elsewhere in this chapter, Vrzić's work (see References) makes use of *Chinuk pipa* but does not focus on it as a subject, and involves a non-Indigenous, literary variety of CW distinct from that in my corpus.

1.2.3 How KCW and *Chinuk pipa* are unusual

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is in some respects an unusual pidgin. Very unusual was the conscious language planning that went with its use in the southern interior of British Columbia. The Oblate missionaries' explicit idea was for KCW speech and the shorthand literacy to undergo a planned obsolescence after functioning as stepping-stones to the regionally and nationally dominant English. This plan for Indigenous people to switch largely to English is documented in several consecutive issues of *Kamloops Wawa* (1893c). This scheme succeeded. KCW and Catholicism became for the Salish the key to cultural and economic advantages previously held only by whites, as reported in *Kamloops Wawa* (1893c). These Indigenous people followed the 'Durieu System' of village surveillance / government, where access to non-Indigenous education and employment, not to mention sheer freedom of movement, was tightly controlled by missionaries via their appointees (Fisher 1977:138, Palmer 2005:48ff). The Durieu System was explicitly intended to assimilate Indigenous peoples (McNally 200:129ff).

Having flourished rapidly after their inception in 1891, shorthand text production in CW does decline rapidly after 1904 (*Kamloops Wawa*, as mentioned above). The genres formerly composed in the *Chinuk pipa*—such as grave markers, letters, and missionary newspapers—shifted to English beginning starting around that time. Because of assimilatory forces such as residential schools, following generations spoke better English. Readers' interest was declining; Le Jeune termed most of *Kamloops Wawa*'s subscribers overdue in paying their subscriptions (*Kamloops Wawa* 1904). The last KCW letter found is from Johnny Peter of Clinton, and is dated February 5, 1912. Therefore I focus my study on the years 1891 (the year of the shorthand's introduction) to 1912.

It has been claimed too that it is rare for a written pidgin to sustain itself; for this reason *Chinuk pipa*'s popularity is a remarkable phenomenon (Mühlhäusler 1986:chapter 3, 1995; Charpentier 1997). At the same time, despite its written form, the firsthand data from newly literate pidgin speakers in my study can be assumed to reflect an oral mode of expression, little distorted by literate practices. A body of linguistic work including that of Montgomery (1999), Fairman (2000), and Schneider (2002) convincingly shows that semiliterates' deviations from other standard written codes normally represent actual speech patterns, and not simple error. I assume these findings can be extrapolated to the variation found in Salish peoples' Kamloops Chinúk Wawa writings of a century ago.

In the few cases where literacy in a pidgin speech community does exist, Mühlhäusler claims orality remains the usual mode—*even in writing*—until "late in [pidgins'] development," since a rare constellation of social factors must be present for literate modes to take root (1986:chapter 3 and 1995). Evidence reinforces the argument that the Kamloops Chinúk Wawa texts at hand correlate with spoken more than literary language. For example the English loans in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa are of a distinctly colloquial register, as witness the informal pronunciations that many written forms imply. The spelling of the frequent word *l̲i͡dawn* 'to lie down' (intransitive) suggests dialectal [l̲ej dawn] rather than formal English [l̲aj dawn][21] just as *a̲s ol ai no* [sic] indicates colloquial

[21] This form occurs in a story that Le Jeune collected at Lillooet (see Davis and Robertson 2000.)

‘ ’at’s all I know’ rather than carefully enunciated ‘That’s…’[22] Equally informal was the English-language slang register that provided *fabon* (jawbone) for ‘credit’.[23] There exists, however, little or no direct data on spoken Kamloops Chinúk Wawa (Robertson 2006b).

Mühlhäusler theorizes that appropriate circumstances for a literary pidgin to emerge are as follows:

- The literacy must fulfill a need.
- The society using it must be stratified and characterized by social mobility.
- There must exist agencies for standardizing the literacy, thus making it more learnable and usable.
- Media must be in common use, increasing people’s exposure to the pidgin literacy.
- The pidgin language must be an important medium, not a minor part of the language repertoire used in public.
- The pidgin must have a large speech community, which leads to differential access to information, thus to a desire to learn via the written pidgin.

(1986:chapter 3, 1995.) In chapter 2, I compare Kamloops Chinúk Wawa literacy with the generalizations that Mühlhäusler draws from Pacific Ocean pidgins, in order to develop some sense of his predictions’ validity for pidgins in general.

1.3 Methodology

For my study, I use two resources unavailable to previous researchers. First, I have been fortunate enough to find previously unknown texts from Indigenous people. This constitutes an addition of a primary source comparable to the discovery of the ‘slave letters’ written in the previously under-described creole, Negerhollands (cf. Van Rossem and Van der Voort 1996, George Lang p.c.). Second, for primary sociohistorical data, I have helped create an exhaustive index of the entire 1891-1918 run of the newspaper *Kamloops Wawa* (Robertson et al. 2005).

My primary data collection has taken the form of archival research. The bulk of Indigenous-written *Chinuk pipa* found is in the form of 148 letters preserved in the papers of Fathers Jean-Marie-Raphaël Le Jeune and J.-M. Le Jacq at the Archives Deschâtelets, St. Paul University, in Ottawa, Ontario. I collected numerous additional letters, published in *Kamloops Wawa*, as I indexed that newspaper (in Robertson et al. 2005). I have found the originals of some of these in the archives. As discussed below, comparisons of the two versions of a text in such cases establish that Le Jeune routinely edited Indigenous people’s letters for publication. For that reason the published versions are assigned a secondary role in this study.

Other kinds of KCW data have also played background roles in the present study:

[22] I.e. ‘That’s all I know.’ Text 113, December 7, 1895, Peter Cole, Lillooet.
[23] Text 129, April 1(?), 1899, Patrick Felix(?), Cayoosh Creek(?).

- I have obtained images of *Chinuk pipa* grave markers primarily through the kindness of Carl Anderson of Lillooet (p.c.) and from John Veillette's 1973-1975 field photographs collected in the BC Provincial Archives, many of which appear in Veillette and White (1977). Harlan I. Smith's and James Teit's early 20th-century photographs at the Canadian Museum of Civilization have been useful as well (cf. Tepper's 1987 bibliography). From both of these institutions I have obtained permission to use these images. Architect Barry Downs of Vancouver, the author of a related book, Downs (1980), has generously shared his photos of Indian-reserve church cemeteries. Painter Michael Kluckner also provided additional information on some of the relevant churches and cemeteries (cf. Kluckner 2005), as has photographer Kim Ondaatje of Ontario (Ondaatje 1982, p.c. June 2006). A final published source of useful photos of these locations is Dangelmaier (1989).
- I have copied margin notes made by Indigenous writers in *Kamloops Wawa* and related publications from examples in many collections, including the Archives Deschâtelets, Library and Archives Canada, the Clinton Village Museum, the Kamloops Museum and Archives, the Kamloops Diocesan Archives, the University of Washington Archives, the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus at Gonzaga University, the CIHM microfilm set of *Kamloops Wawa*, the University of Saskatchewan Libraries, the private collection of David Watkins, the University of British Columbia Archives, the Chase and District Museum and Archives, the Secwepemc Archives, and my private collection.
- I compiled *Chinuk pipa* 'want ads' by Indigenous writers from my survey of the full *Kamloops Wawa* run (Robertson et al. 2005), which is the only extant finding aid for these advertisements.
- From University of Victoria students Linda Smith (Chilcotin) and Joe Kruger (Okanagan and Shuswap), as well as Dr. Wendy Wickwire (Department of History), I was able to obtain audio recordings of some pidgin Chinúk Wawa users from the KCW region. I referred also to audio recordings of Christian preaching in local Salish languages (Gospel Recordings International n.d.1-4), and linguistic descriptions of those languages. These materials allowed double-checking of data otherwise available to me only in *Chinuk pipa* written form.
- Also of use are data from local histories (cf. Robertson 2005).

All of these genres were uniquely valuable for evaluating the correctness of my transliterations and my interpretations of the focal 148 texts.

Because there is no *Chinuk pipa* computer font yet, cf. §2.4, I have transliterated all the above resources into Microsoft Word data files. The transliteration is based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), and I summarize it in chapter 2. I represent each *Chinuk pipa* symbol with a unique IPA character or, in the case of symbols representing coarticulations, diphthongs and triphthongs, multiple characters under the IPA 'tie' symbol, ‿. (The Americanist Phonetic Alphabet is used in much of the literature on North American and Pacific Northwest languages, and uses single symbols for all sounds. This would economically serve my purposes, as would a practical orthography. But the APA is not used by all scholars outside the Northwest, while practical orthographies in this region vary significantly from language to language. In the interest of reaching a

broader audience of linguists, I have used IPA instead.) These are not intended as phonetic representations, since the corpus is almost exclusively written material that lacks detailed audio-recording or field-note corroboration. Instead, the IPA symbols convey a roughly phonemic representation of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. I chose the transliteration for each shorthand symbol based largely on Le Jeune's frequent romanizations of Chinúk Wawa in *Kamloops Wawa* (as did Vrzić 1999), and on phonological details of CW words known from the previous literature (particularly useful were Jacobs 1936 and CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Program 2011).

Because of the great variation in the corpus, I have taken the further step of making comparison among example data easier by normalizing KCW spellings (cf. §2.3.5). All variant forms for each word are recorded in my KCW dictionary [Robertson, in progress] and in the transliterated texts, which I will prepare for publication. To choose the standardized form of each word (its headword, in my dictionary), I referred to several criteria, in this order: The usual shorthand form of the word in *Kamloops Wawa*, which was the apparent literary standard for *Chinuk pipa* literacy; the most frequent form of the word in the 148 texts; and the most common form of the word in previous CW literature.

I have analyzed each text as to (1) date of composition, (2) author's name, (3) place of origin, (4) ethnicity / native language of author, and (5) archival source.

As mentioned above, the primary focus of the present study is the 148 unpublished letters. The 35 published letters in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa were consulted, albeit secondarily. This is because in the few cases when the originals have been found, their published versions routinely show clear signs of Le Jeune's editing. For example a single letter from an Indigenous man published in *Kamloops Wawa* bears dozens of editorial emendations affecting many domains, as exemplified in the following (Robertson 2008):[24]

- Word order: *wi͡ht iawa͡* 'also then' becomes *iawa͡ wi͡ht* 'then also'
- Word choice: *kriik* 'creek' becomes *t͡ʃok* 'water'
- Spelling:
  - *klot͡ʃimin* 'woman' becomes *klut͡ʃmin*
  - *haʃnu* 'to.kneel' becomes *aʃnu*
- Punctuation:
  - = becomes *:* or *Ø* (null)
  - *Ø* becomes ,

Based on that detailed study and on a survey of about a dozen similar cases, I infer that similarly extensive redaction of published Indigenous texts was routine. Published versions of letters therefore seemed less reliable than unpublished originals as sources of information about spontaneous KCW use. Only 6% of the First Nations-written texts are published, so their exclusion should not skew the sampling into unrepresentativeness.

[24] This example is of course being presented before the values of the IPA symbols in it are defined (see Table 2). The reader can nonetheless see the differences between original and published forms.

As to the other genres of inscriptions: The eight 'want ads', being published texts, were also less relied on in my analysis, due to possible editing by Le Jeune. The two dozen or so grave inscriptions were largely withheld from the present study. Partly this is out of respect for the communities in which they were located (Robertson 2004). But also it is due to their usually fragmentary nature, the wooden markers on which they were carved a century ago having tended to suffer severe weathering. Despite their numerousness, the several hundred marginal inscriptions turned out to play a very minor role in my analysis because of their extreme brevity. Both the grave markers and the marginalia show only a small variety of phrase types, and lack most higher-level linguistic structures, providing little data beyond personal names and dates.

A few general statistics relating to the core 148-text corpus give some sense of their contents:

- The average text occupies well over one page of the paper it is originally written on. (The Microsoft Word document into which I transliterated the texts is about 180 pages long, with many electronic pages bearing more than one original page.)
- The average number of lines per original text is about 21. (There are about 3,114 lines total.)
- There are roughly 35,000 morphemes/words. The average morpheme count per KCW text is about 230. This is effectively a 'word' count, given the language's analyticity as discussed in chapter 4.
- The average number of 'sentences' per original text is about 25. This is explicitly an estimate. Most texts wholly lack punctuation, so that I have assigned sentence boundaries based on my understanding of KCW. (See §1.3, §2.3.6.3, §4.1.1, §4.1.3, §4.1.4.1.2.2.2, §4.1.4.1.3.1,2, §5.4.1.2.2, and §5.4.2 for structures that refer to the sentence unit.) The Microsoft Word data document has no feature for counting sentences. A final figure awaits the inputting of all the texts into the lexicographical software that I am using to make a KCW dictionary.
- With that caveat, the average number of morphemes/words per KCW sentence is roughly eight or nine.

From the corpus of letters used as the basis of my KCW description, all material that is legible but struck out by the writers was removed, except in the very rare case where that material is crucial to a grammatical reading of a sentence. The data-set was interlinearized using the Linguist's Toolbox application from SIL. Each text was assigned a unique identifying code. Morphemes within each text were then tagged by part of speech. Parts of speech identified include the following: adjective (subclassifying into attributives and predicatives in case the distinction were analytically useful), adverb, clitic, complementizer, conjunction, demonstrative, interjection, negator, noun, particle, prefix, preposition, pronoun, quantifier, and verb.

The gloss of each morpheme depended primarily on Le Jeune's many published word lists (see references under his name and under *Kamloops Wawa*), and on cumulative pan-CW lexica such as Johnson (1978) and Thomas 1970 [1935]. The interlinear translations of the texts, which are cited in the examples I present in this study, referred to these sources in addition to criteria of corpus-internal consistency.

Morphosyntactic patterns were discovered in the course of transliteration and translation, and numerous likely features to search for in any language were noted in Dixon (2010a,b). Each was checked against the entire data set.

In seeking to identify patterns in the data, I have recognized the near-impossibility of establishing some of them with statistical certainty, convincing though the qualitative evidence for them may be. This has seemed to me an unavoidable limitation, due to the limited number of examples found in the corpus for some features. Support for the fairly qualitative approach I have taken may be seen in Schneider's observation regarding linguistic studies of (old) written documents,

> **A qualitative investigation is usually** less sophisticated but **more robust than a quantitative one**, because some potentially distorting effects (such as overuse of a salient form) skew frequencies of occurrence but not necessarily the qualitative inventory of forms in a variety (2002:89; emphasis added).

My intent with the present work is to describe Kamloops Chinúk Wawa structure as fully as possible, rather than to engage in narrower theoretical debates over the nature of the analytical categories enumerated here. Therefore any descriptive terms used, e.g. 'aspect', are intended to represent a general consensus among linguists as to analytical categories. This is what R.M.W. Dixon has come to call 'Basic Linguistic Theory'.[25]

In an early characterization, Dixon (1997:128) has termed BLT "the fundamental theoretical apparatus that underlies all work in describing languages and formulating universals about the nature of human language." It is a synthesis of the best and most widely accepted practices in linguistics. (See also Dresher 1998, Bickel 2001, Dryer 2006.) More recently (Dixon 2010a, b), he succinctly places BLT in intellectual perspective: it is a data-driven "linguistics conceived as a branch of natural science, with a single cumulative theory" (Dixon 2010a:3).

This last point is important. Rather than giving the linguist—and his readers—the task of mastering the latest in an endlessly ramifying sequence of competing formal theories, BLT concerns itself with coming to a holistic understanding and comparison of how languages work. It undertakes to the greatest extent possible the four basic tasks of any science: description, explanation, prediction, and evaluation. A linguist's "apprenticeship" toward professional status is served via the most fundamental of these—researching a language that stands in need of description by producing a grammar, texts and lexicon of it (2010a:2). For Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, the present study includes my grammatical description; a lexicon is being simultaneously assembled, as Robertson [in progress]; emerging from the work involved in both will be a text collection presenting my corpus. Only upon completion of these tasks, in Dixon's view, is a linguist likely to be qualified to embark on the more theoretical endeavours of explanation, prediction and evaluation.

Basic Linguistic Theory motivates my detailed discussion of all the patterns I have perceived in the newfound corpus of KCW. BLT, as outlined by Dixon to date, has additionally provided me a checklist of grammatical features to search for, some of which

[25] Martin Haspelmath (2008) likewise has formulated the 'superior' value of what he calls "Framework-free grammatical theory".

might otherwise have been left out of the present description. In the following chapters I have tried to both 'get the most' out of my data and to consistently point out how firm the data are for each point. For example, the morphological analysis (my chapter 3) is ambitious to a polemical degree in response to previous gaps in research, and my analysis of various syntactic features ranges from certainty to tentativity.

My goals in taking a BLT-influenced approach are threefold:

- To present my analysis of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa in a clear way.
- To render my observations in terms that may facilitate comparison with, and further research on, other languages, not least other pidgins, creoles and Pacific Northwest indigenous languages.
- To create a linguistic study that is accessible and useful to linguists of all specialized persuasions and indeed to reasonably educated nonlinguists. Chinúk Wawa has a broad constituency of interest, including members of historically CW-speaking communities (Tony Johnson p.c.), historians (cf. Lutz 2008), tribal lawyers (several of whom have consulted me personally [while requesting anonymity]), linguists in many subfields (cf. Juvonen 2008, Zenk and Johnson 2010), journalists (cf. Backhouse 2008, Grant et al. 2008) and 'civilians' who participate in online CW listservs, social media and annual CW gatherings. Each of these groups has unique and equally valid uses for an accurate document of KCW. For example, for teachers and learners in language revitalization efforts, it will be crucial to be able to discover how various meanings were expressed in this dialect. My experience with the CHINOOK listserv and with the annual Chinúk-Wawa Luʔlu gathering abundantly shows how many nuances of CW have remained unarticulated in reference materials. And for scholars who wish to benefit from the vast unstudied *Chinuk pipa* and *Kamloops Wawa* corpus, it will be important to fluently interpret what they read in order to draw accurate conclusions from it.

It has been obvious to me that linguistic terminology specific to any formal theory would reduce this dissertation's usefulness to most of these people. A consequence of my enlisting BLT toward the goal of accessibility is that the many more-or-less technical terms herein are supplied with definitions from nonspecialized sources such as Dixon (2010a, b), Payne (1997), and even, when relevant, Crystal (1985).

Finally, a practice that I follow in this dissertation to facilitate comparison among forms in a paradigm is to use the notation '∅' (null). I often do so in discussing situations where absence of an overt form alternates with overt forms having the same function. Examples of such correlations include a null complementizer, a null third-person pronoun, and a null preposition. Often, a ∅ is the default form and occurs (as with the realis and the declarative) so frequently that I include it in example data only in the section that highlights a particular grammatical feature. To present the data otherwise would result in many KCW examples riddled with a confusing variety of null items. But I have assumed that an explicit analysis as null will increase the usability of this dissertation for the parties mentioned above, by raising awareness that very often in this highly isolating language, lack of exponence does not imply the absence of function.

2 The *Chinuk pipa* script

*"**t'íxʷəɬ γ-ʔ[χ-]q'y-n'-tén** 'You[r] way of writing is unusual' " [said in the Shuswap Salish language about shorthand] Kuipers (1974:241)*[26]

The present chapter provides the first description and analysis in the linguistics literature of a unique writing system, the *Chinuk pipa* alphabet. Section 2.1 is a brief introduction to the subject; section 2.2 sketches *Chinuk pipa*'s history, while §2.3 lays out a structural analysis. Section 2.4 bridges these two themes, discussing the issues involved in moving forward to create a latter-day font (electronic character encoding) for this writing system.

2.1 Introduction

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa was written in an alphabet, *Chinuk pipa*, which has not been described systematically in the literature (cf. Johnson 1978:50ff, Vrzić 1999:75ff). A voluminous amount of KCW is preserved in this alphabet. There are thousands of published pages of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa: about 250 issues of the newspaper *Kamloops Wawa* and dozens of other publications written by Jean-Marie-Raphaël Le Jeune, OMI. My research has also turned up approximately 600 unpublished miscellaneous texts written by Indigenous people, most brief but totalling over 35,000 words/morphemes. These materials constitute something like 50% to 75% of known Chinúk Wawa. The fact that they have not been examined in any depth constitutes a serious gap in the scholarly literature on Chinúk Wawa in particular and on pidgin languages in general. The present chapter seeks to remedy this situation by briefly introducing the historical background of *Chinuk pipa* writing, then describing its structure.

2.2 History

Oblate Catholic missionaries, who made their first sporadic visits to the territory of the modern-day province of British Columbia in the early 1840s (Whitehead 1988:25), were regularly working among the southern Interior Indigenous by the 1860s (Fisher 1977:138). Education of BC's Indigenous children was a longstanding priority, resulting in the construction of schools on the lower Fraser River and at Victoria, Williams Lake, and Cranbrook (Cronin 1960:68ff, 99ff, 112ff, 205ff). The first school for Indigenous people in the area, founded by Marie-Charles Pandosy, OMI, in 1859, made for an inauspicious start, failing soon after its opening (cf. pp. 68-69). But the Oblates retained their desire to create Indigenous-language literacy to help spread Christian knowledge. They saw literacy as a tool of great potential value for missionaries who might visit a given village only once every few months (pp. 169-179).

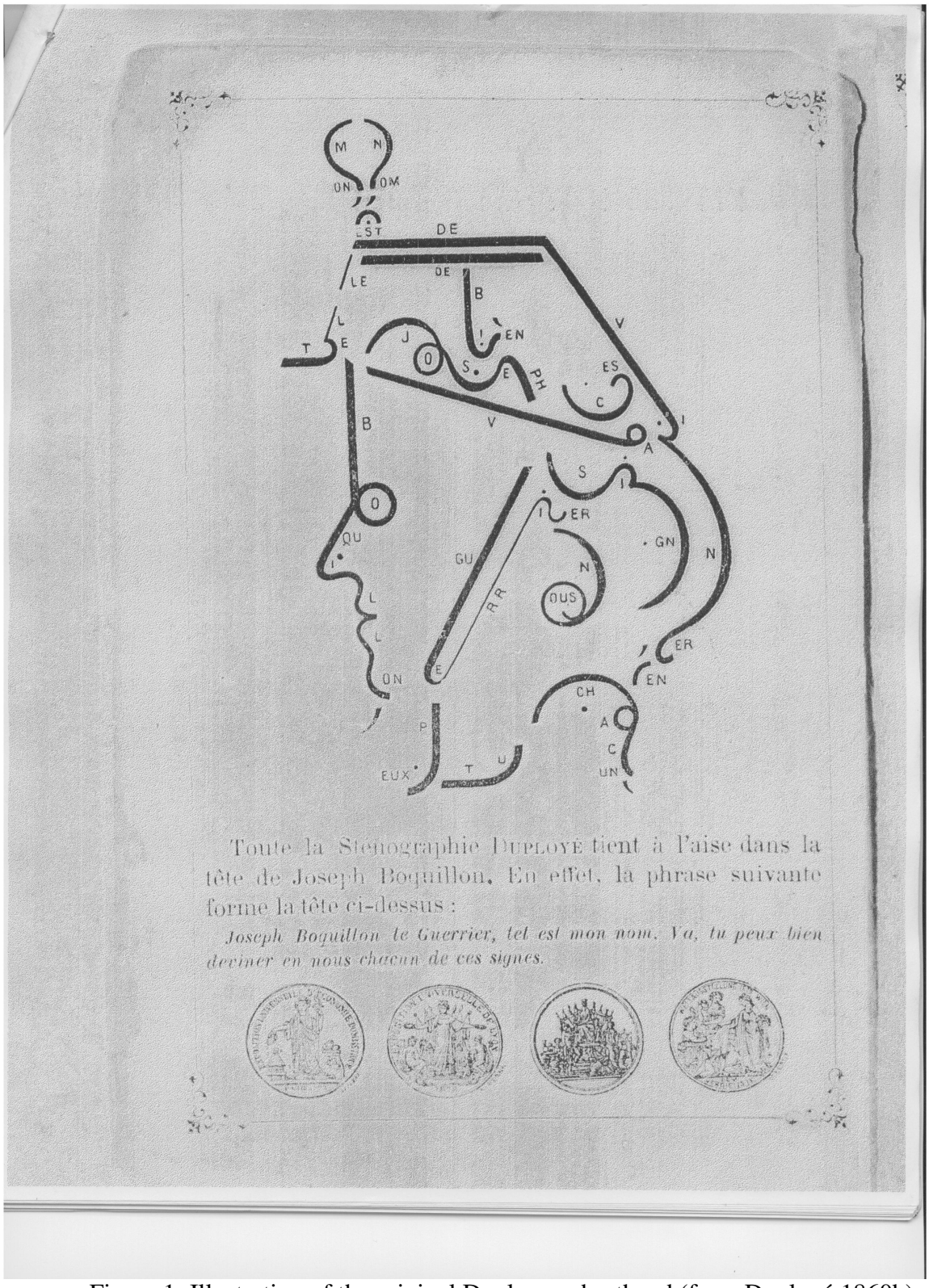
[26] In Secwepemctsín / Shuswap Salish, the Indigenous language of the Kamloops, BC area.

By 1885 Adrien-Gabriel Morice, OMI, appeared on the scene. He introduced a syllabic script for the Carrier Dene/Athabaskan language (Cronin 1960:160). He had managed to interest numerous people in reading and writing, and was self-publishing a newspaper for them titled *Test'les Nahwelnek* ('The Paper that Relates', in the translation of Johnnie and O'Hara 1992). Soon Oblates elsewhere in BC began experimenting with syllabics for Salish languages and Chinúk Wawa. Some 500 'books' of such syllabic productions were said to have existed in the late 1880s at the Oblates' headquarters in New Westminster (*Kamloops Wawa* 1916).[27] These documents, which were among the earliest for the province's Indigenous languages, have unfortunately not yet been found in archives.

By June 15, 1890, according to *Kamloops Wawa* (1897b), at a retreat of BC's OMI missionaries at New Westminster, discussion turned to Morice's success with his Carrier syllabics. At that meeting, John Chiappini, OMI, asked, "*Pourquoi pas plutôt essayer de la sténographie? C'est beaucoup plus simple et plus court à tracer.* (Why not try shorthand instead? It's much simpler and quicker to write.") (*Kamloops Wawa* 1897b; cf. Mulhall 1986.) Monsignor Paul Durieu, OMI, responded approvingly, and Le Jeune, having learned the Duployan shorthand in France 20 years before, took this on (*Kamloops Wawa* 1897b).

The Abbé Emile Duployé's stenography, launched in 1860 (cf. Duployé 1860a,b)[28] had been used by many thousands of Francophones around the world, including Canadian parliamentary and court reporters (viz. *Sténographe Canadien* 1889-1910; *Kamloops Wawa* 1893e). (See Figure 1.) Periodicals and books devoted to the subject were numerous (e.g. Brandt 1901, Navarre 1905, Brück 1910). International shorthand competitions and exhibitions were frequent (cf. *Sténographe Canadien* 1892, *Kamloops Wawa* 1893f).

[27] These materials are, notably, not mentioned as including any further Dene/Athabaskan languages.
[28] I have not seen either of these items personally; citations are from WORLDCAT.



Toute la Sténographie Duployé tient à l'aise dans la tête de Joseph Boquillon. En effet, la phrase suivante forme la tête ci-dessus :

Joseph Boquillon le Guerrier, tel est mon nom. Va, tu peux bien deviner en nous chacun de ces signes.

Figure 1: Illustration of the original Duployan shorthand (from Duployé 1860b).

The shorthand served an important function. Politicians and others in the nineteenth century initiated a sustained intellectual drive to make written communication, both personal and published, more 'efficient'. This was presumably a byproduct of the Industrial Revolution, a historical epoch characterized by the introduction of labour-saving technologies (cf. Deane 1965, Hindle and Lubar 1986). The devotion to efficient expenditure of time and effort common to the various shorthands invented in the 1800s—including the still well-known Gregg, Pitman, and Sloan—is captured in Isaac Pitman's aphorism, "Well arranged time is the surest mark of a well arranged mind" (Baker 1908). Coeval expressions of the same intellectual trend include Alexander Melville Bell's phonetic 'visible speech' (Bell 1867), the Deseret Alphabet introduced by the Church of Latter-Day Saints in preference to standard English orthography (cf. University of Deseret 1868), spelling reforms such as the Shavian script (cf. Read 1964-), Morse and other telegraph codes for long-distance communication, as well as the invention and continued refinement of mechanical aids to writing such as typewriters through the century (Beeching 1974) and mimeographs toward its end (A.B. Dick Company 1890), both of which came to be used by Le Jeune in disseminating his *Kamloops Wawa*. (Figure 2.)

Figure 2: 1889 advertisement for early typewriters and mimeographs; the Edison mimeograph (from www.ebay.com).

As will become clear below, Le Jeune took on the task of implementing a writing system for Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. (The result can be seen in Table 2 at §2.3, placed there for easy reference in the discussion of the alphabet's structure.) It is possible that he saw Chinook shorthand as a mechanism for rationalizing communication—making it highly regular and logical in structure—paralleling the contemporary search for an artificial universal language (cf. Anonymous 1887). It is known that CW was labeled, for example, an 'International Idiom' (Hale 1890), a '(Western) Volapük' (Osborn 1900:37), and the 'Oregon Esperanto' (Fee 1941, Ros' 2004). Another widespread pidgin of similar function, Plains Indian Sign Language, was characterized similarly by contemporary writers, for example as a 'Volapük of the Plains' (Ralph 1892:23) and again a 'Western Volapük' (Seton 1918). Le Jeune certainly was acquainted with these ideas. In *Kamloops Wawa* he reported on a newspaper article discussing Chinúk Wawa as a 'universal language' (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895e). What remains unestablished is whether he himself actually embraced such thought.

By August 1, 1890, Le Jeune had started experimenting with lessons of simple *Chinuk pipa*, listing letter-sequences such as *a, ah, ha, aha, ah ha, hha, haha, ap, apa, papa, pah, paha, pahata, ta, tata, tatata, tah, taha, tahata, taht, tahpa* (*Kamloops Wawa* 1897c).[29] No later than December of that year, while Le Jeune was visiting Indigenous villages south of Kamloops, "a poor Indian cripple, named Cha[r]lie Alexis Mayoos [május], from the Lower Nicola, saw the writing for the first time, and got the intuition of the system at first sight" (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895h, 1897c; Lottie Lindley, p.c.). Mayoos was Le Jeune's model student. The priest saw him as the first Indigenous person to successfully learn his *Chinuk pipa* (cf. *Kamloops Wawa* 1893h). Figure 3 (shown reduced, as are all the following illustrations) is part of a shorthand letter written by Mayoos in his native Thompson Salish.

[29] These are not necessarily meaningful sequences, though many resemble Le Jeune's shorthand spellings of Salish words.

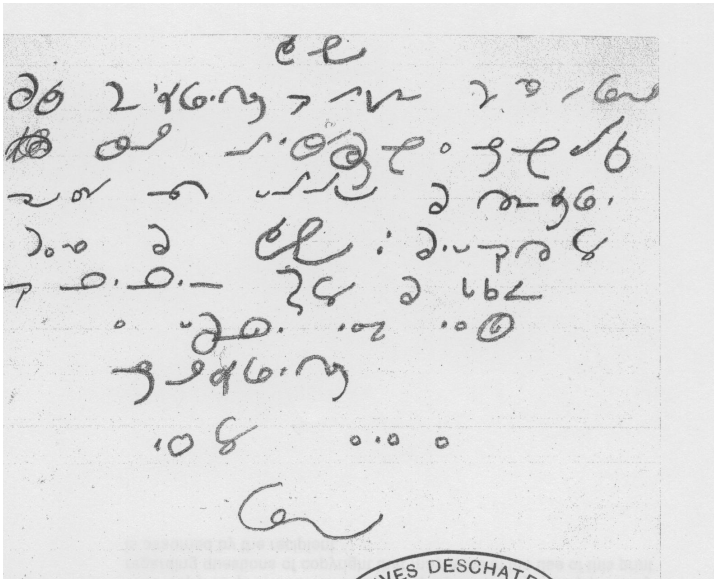


Figure 3: *Chinuk pipa* writing in Nłeʔkepmxcín / Thompson Salish by Mayoos, the first Indigenous user (Archives Deschâtelets)

(The first two lines of Mayoos' text in Figure 3 are *Kamlups* 'Kamloops.' / *nukwa͡ nt[la]kapmohʃin tk liplit nʃawa͡ l Maju͡s* 'Friend Nłeʔkepmxcín[-speaking] priest, I'm that Mayoos [whom you know].' Note the (K)CW loan *liplit* 'priest'. The remainder of the text can be transliterated as *wa͡tla tlihwa͡lnwa͡ntam a tantomirko / tis ail taʃ itlitls na ʃaitkinmah / naia na Kamlups: nahitipʃa mal / tik tohtoht nmimal na pipakt / a inuluh hatki hawi / tan(t)lakapmohʃin / humal aha a / Maju͡s*.)

Back at Kamloops in January 1891, Le Jeune began preparing some notebooks of basic shorthand lessons for Thompson Indians. He also distributed these among the Shuswap peoples through his colleague J.M. Le Jacq, OMI. When Le Jeune next traveled among villages such as Coldwater, he found the shorthand idea taken root there (*Kamloops Wawa* 1897c). By Easter of 1891, he described the "Indians" as having made good progress, specifically due to the personal direction of Mayoos, who died not long after (about April 20, 1893) at approximately 25 years of age.

From that point onward, *Chinuk pipa* continued to catch on. Soon the Indigenous people were posting notes to one another (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895g), writing numerous letters, scribbling graffiti (*Kamloops Wawa* 1894a), marking graves (Tepper 1987), creating calendars (Linda Smith, p.c.), and reportedly keeping diaries (Lucas Damer, p.c.). Literacy blossomed to such an extent that Le Jeune in May 1891 felt the need to launch a periodical, *Kamloops Wawa*, devoted to spreading knowledge both of the writing system and of Christianity. In this venue additional uses for the script arose such as letters to Le Jeune (e.g. *Kamloops Wawa* 1896b) and want ads (e.g. *Kamloops Wawa* 1895c). People also began to sign their names in shorthand on the newspaper, and making marginal notes. Figures (4-6) illustrate some of these uses.

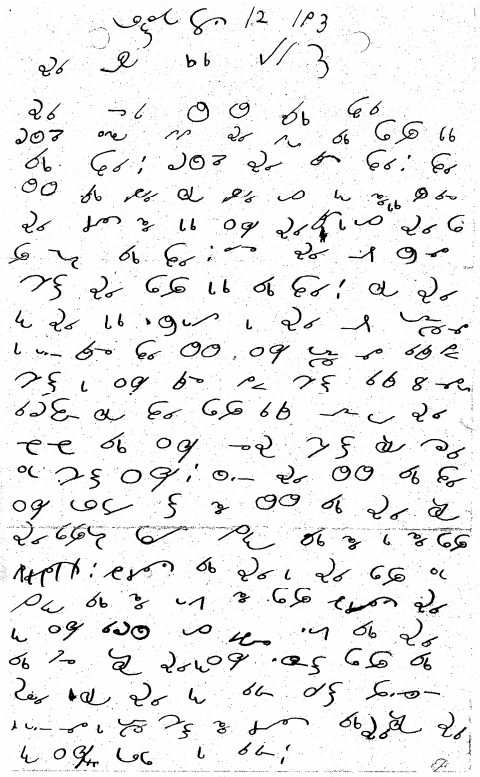


Figure 4: *Chinuk pipa* KCW letter from anonymous Indigenous writer (Archives Deschâtelets)

(This letter reads, with '/' indicating the line breaks, *Samin Arm Matʃ͡ 12 193* [sic] 'Salmon Arm, March 12, 1893 [or 1903?] / *naika tlus papa Pir Lʃ͡jun* 'My dear father, Père Le Jeune' / *naika tiki w͡awa kopa maika* 'I want to tell you' / *naw͡itka aias lili naika lisi kopa mamuk pipa* 'Indeed for a long time I've been too lazy about writing' / *kopa maika: naw͡itka naika kw͡aʃ maika: maika* 'to you: indeed I'm shy of you: you' / *w͡aw͡a kopa klaska pus klaska ilo piii iaka pipa w͡ik kata* 'told the people that if they didn't pay for their newspaper "There's no way" ' / *naika pa(t)laʃ pipa okuk naika k͡waʃ pi ilo naika ma[-]* ' "that I can send the newspaper." This is what I'm shy about, so I haven't writ-' / *muk tsim kopa maika: alta naika tlap w͡an tala* 'ten to you: [but] now I've got one dollar' / *ʃikmin naika mamuk pipa kopa maika: pus naika* 'of money. I'm writing to you: in order to' / *piii naika pipa w͡an iiri pi naika tlap sitkom tala* 'pay for my newspaper, one year, and I've got a half dollar' / *pi iht k͡wata maika w͡aw͡a okuk sitkom tala kakw͡a lakit* 'and a quarter. You said that this half dollar is like four' / *ʃikmin pi okuk kw͡ata lakt ʃikmin kakw͡a <8> talasi* 'coins and this quarter is four coins, so it's eight coins' / *kanamokst pus maika mamuk kakw͡a drit j͡utl naika* 'all together. If you do it like that, I'll be very happy' / *tomtom kopa okuk tanas ʃikmin pus ʃako* 'about these little coins, if they

become' / *aju͡ʃ ʃikmin okuk: wi͡ht naika wa͡wa͡ kopa maika* 'a lot of money: I'm also telling you' / *okuk somil min iaka wa͡wa͡ kopa naika spus* 'that the sawmill man asked me to' / *naika mamuk sim mori lokis kopa iaka pi iaka mamuk* 'consign (?) more logs (?) to him and he made' / *lam patlatʃ kopa naika pi naika mamuk aju͡* 'a gift of alcohol to me and I made [over] a lot' / *lokis kopa iaka il(i)p iaka mamuk lam patlatʃ naika* 'of logs to him. First he made a gift of alcohol. I am' / *piii okuk kanawi͡ ilo klaksta hilp kopa naika* 'paying for all of this, nobody is helping me' / *kopa ikta spus naika piii okuk hwa͡it min mamuk kopa* 'in any way to pay this white man who is working'/ *nsaika pi pus naika piii kakit ol min Makhta͡wt* 'us,and in order for me to pay, only old man Makhtawt' / *[pi]ii iht tala pi sitkom ʃikmin iaka patlaʃ kopa naika spus naika* 'paid; one dollar and a half of money he gave me so that I could' / *piii okuk sama pi kakit:* 'pay this white man, and that's all'.)

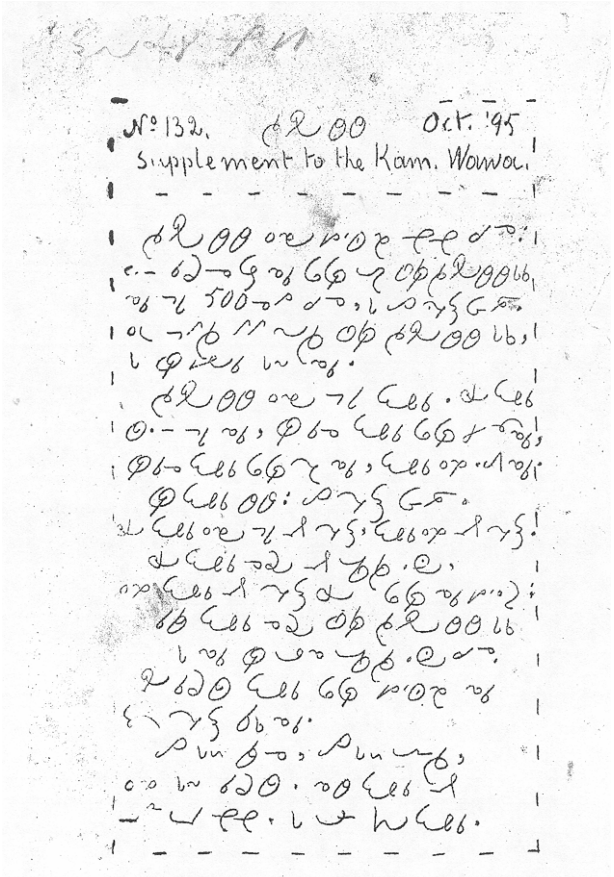


Figure 5: *Chinuk pipa* margin note on *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper.
(KCW signature at top is *Misis Gaspar Dog Krik* 'Mrs. Gaspar, Dog Creek'.)

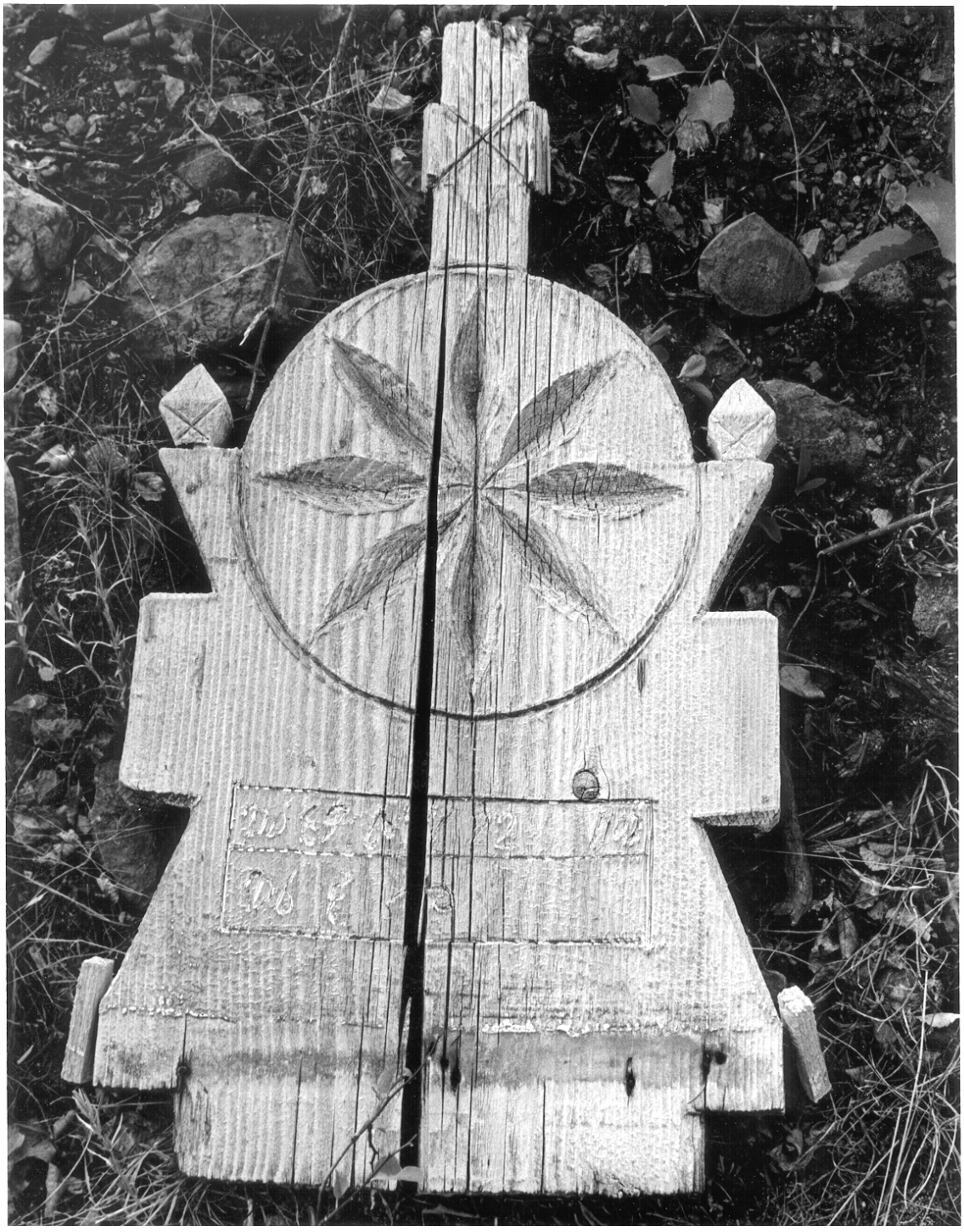


Figure 6: *Chinuk pipa* KCW grave marker (photo courtesy J. Veillette; second line begins *iaka mimlus* '(s)he died').

All of the above-mentioned functions of shorthand literacy were characteristically fullfilled in one language, Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. That is, few texts from Indigenous people in their native Salish languages have been found: these total around a half-dozen each in Thompson and Shuswap (Robertson 2007d). Equally few *Chinuk pipa* texts in other languages are known. They number about a dozen letters, or parts of non-*Chinuk pipa* letters, written in English or French by Oblate priests and now located in the Archives Deschâtelets. The domination of *Chinuk pipa* by KCW may be a mark of the script's 'language dependency', in Coulmas' terms (1989:42ff). This is the idea that scripts historically tend to be invented for a particular language. They may then become the vehicles of the spread of writing to other cultural groups. In such a case, Coulmas considers that a script is often first borrowed *together* with the language normally written in it. That is, it is typically only after this step that the writing system will be adapted to the borrowing group's native language.

> Borrowing the script only and adapting it to the respective native language might have been more trouble than borrowing the script *and* the language for whose writing it was used in the first place. (Coulmas 1989:43.)[30]

In this light a reminder is in order that the name of the shorthand was, literally, 'Chinook writing'. *Kamloops Wawa* was until 1904 published primarily in KCW (with smaller amounts of English, Salish, and other languages), when it switched to English and French only. The next, and final, publications using *Chinuk pipa* were two isolated booklets aimed at a non-Indigenous readership (Le Jeune 1924, 1925).

Reasons for the decline of KCW and *Chinuk pipa* likely include the success of Le Jeune's stated program of what might now be called planned obsolescence. In a series of articles in *Kamloops Wawa* (1893b), the editor had described the purpose of this literacy as bringing Indigenous people with minimal effort to knowledge of the English language and its alphabet. Various evidence suggests that that goal had been effectively achieved, at least among younger generations of Salish, soon after the turn of the century. While Salish chiefs (presumably an older generation) still required an English interpreter and signed their names with **X**'s as late as circa 1920 (Wendy Wickwire, p.c. 2009), Indigenous texts in *Chinuk pipa* are quite rare after 1900.[31] Attestations from local histories likewise suggest that the heaviest KCW use occurred before then (as summarized by Robertson 2005).

Exceptions existed. A very few Indigenous families are known to have taught *Chinuk pipa* to succeeding generations, some of whom held onto that knowledge. As late as circa 1980 Aimee August of Neskonlith, born circa 1905, was still reading and writing

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[30] There are counterexamples to language-dependency. In an ancient case of a script named for but independent of its source language, "The Greeks and others accepted, quite explicitly, the Phoenicians' writing system as the basis of their own (using the term *phoinikēia grámmata*), **but not a single element of their language**." (Ostler 2005:45-46; emphasis added.)

[31] *Chinuk pipa* is documented as not being understood by whites outside the southern BC Salish missionary environment. (Cf. Le Jeune's frequent advice to Indigenous writers to address mail using the Roman alphabet: *Kamloops Wawa* #14, 6 March 1892; #123, December 1894; #133, October 1895; #134, November 1895; #138, March 1896; etc. etc..) So it is reasonable to additionally infer that the customary 'X' signature was felt more appropriate than actual shorthand signatures in documents addressed to the government.

in KCW (Ellaschuk 1990:46; Wendy Wickwire, p.c.). Carl Alexander of Lillooet (p.c., 2003) recalls his father reading *Chinuk pipa*. But the evidence suggests that the trend was indeed toward a switch to English within a generation.

Chinuk pipa, in its success, is a rare pidgin literacy. As reported by both Charpentier (1997) and Mühlhäusler (1995), writing of pidgins typically remains unstandardized, impairing teaching efforts. But as noted above, *Chinuk pipa* spellings display a great deal of uniformity, which correspondingly may have aided speedy acquisition.

Another obstacle to pidgin literacy tends to be that it is perceived in the community as—and usually is—an idea imposed by 'expatriate outsiders' (Mühlhäusler 1995:252, 263, 267-9). Many pidgin users, whose values will have been formed by "local indigenous languages and the philosophy and world-view associated with them," "feel that…one can do without writing, felt to be foreign and another kind of interference in their local affairs" (Charpentier 1997:223). Exactly these kinds of attitude were reported by Le Jeune at various times in his newspaper. For example, in *Kamloops Wawa* (1901), he reported an Indigenous man as arguing that it was ridiculous to write down prayers etc., since the Indigenous people already had these in their heads; (1) reproduces his complaint:

(1) *kaltaʃ ukuk pipa kopa nsaika, nsaika komtaks st͡ʃuil kopa nsaika latit*
idle DEM writing PREP 1PL 1PL to.know prayer PREP 1PL head
'this writing is worthless to us, we know the prayers by heart [lit. in our heads]'

One chief was reported to have burned all shorthand materials in his village when he realized this literacy threatened social norms in enabling young people to have secret romances (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895e).

Yet in general, the Salish people of the southern interior of BC enthusiastically adopted *Chinuk pipa* and put it to extensive use as their first literacy, until such a time as the desired English literacy began to take hold (*Kamloops Wawa* 1893c). Le Jeune's claims of a rapidly burgeoning Indigenous literacy and a steadily growing subscriber base—from 75 at first report, in early 1892 to 2,000 within three years' time—indicate this (*Kamloops Wawa* 1892a, 1895a). Texts written by Indigenous people appear in considerable numbers in 1892, and are known from dozens of authors until past 1900, with some known to have been sent from the western front during World War 1 (Robertson et al. 2005). Additional evidence supports the view that *Chinuk pipa* was enthusiastically received. Le Jeune and his correspondent L.N. St. Onge frequently discuss 'Indians' who were corresponding with priests and seminarians in Europe and North America (*Kamloops Wawa* 1894c, 1896c), as well as to each others' villages in organized letter-writing drives (*Kamloops Wawa* 1894b). Beyond its sheer ubiquity, a robust measure of the script's popularity is its use for casual purposes, apparently including love notes, cartoons, graffiti, and other diversions.[32]

Salish people had to learn this additional, quite distinct, script and language in order to reach an ultimate goal of proficiency in English—a burden that Charpentier reports as being typically resisted by Indigenous people in pidgin-speaking environments

[32] *Kamloops Wawa* (1895e, 1897c), marginal inscriptions in items at Secwepemc Archives.

(1997:235ff). Mühlhäusler concurs (1995:259), reporting an unwillingness of Indigenous populations to let their children gain literacy in any language *but* English. This attitude is strikingly absent from the *Chinuk pipa* situation. Indigenous children at Kamloops Industrial [residential] School had *Chinuk pipa* lessons as well as English (*Kamloops Wawa* #78, 14 May 1893; #128, May 1895; #148, January 1897). The Salish found the shorthand literacy well worth undertaking for as long as necessary; they repeatedly reported themselves to be enthusiastic about it, at the same time as knowledge of English spread among them. (Examples appear in *Kamloops Wawa* #72, 2 April 1893; #123, December 1894; #130, July 1894; etc.) This result supports at least one of Mühlhäusler's generalizations: "a greater share of [pidgin] literates invariably means a greater share of literates in St[andard] E[nglish]" (1995:267). Certainly *Chinuk pipa*'s very success implied its demise in favour of English.

2.3 Structural description

In providing the first structural description of *Chinuk pipa*, I have found it useful to analyze the script in terms of the following parameters: the characteristically 19th-century trait of having rational, intentional structure (§2.3.1), broad phoneticity (§2.3.2), alphabeticity (§2.3.3), cursiveness (§2.3.4), direction of writing (§2.3.5), and subdivisions within written texts (§2.3.6).

The discussion of *Chinuk pipa*'s structure that follows can be cross-referenced with the alphabet chart in Table 2 below.

CONSONANTS:

Plain ***With diacritic (on short form)***

Connecting letters (inherently rightward and/or downward unless specified)**:**

STRAIGHT		*short*	*long*	*with diacritic*
	/	l	r; #5	ɬ
	—	t; #2	d	θ
	\	f; #3	v	--
	|	p; #1	b	--
[down, left]	/	k; #4	g	k’; (q)

CURVED			
	∩	ʃ; #8	t͡ʃ
	∪	s; #9	t͡s
	)	n; #7	ŋ
	(	m; #6	--

Non-connectors:

·	h
ʿ	x

VOWELS (no inherent direction)**:**

Singletons:

°	a; #connector of identical ‘straight’ numerals
O	o; #0
ω, 🕐	u (second form used in isolation only)
ᶜ	i

Diphthongs:

⊙	a͡w
ɷ	w͡a
©	w͡i
⎩	j̇͡u

Triphthong:

◎	w͡a͡w

Table 2: *Chinuk pipa* alphabet with IPA transliterations

In Table 2, for the sake of illustrating patterns in the structure of *Chinuk pipa*, the first group of consonants shown are those that can connect cursively to other letters. The two non-connecting consonants are shown separately. The vowel letters are shown last, divided into the relatively simple single-vowel shapes and the comparatively complex diphthong and triphthong forms. These patterns are elaborated on in §2.3.1 below.

In the following discussion, written forms, including the abstract 'species' of symbols (§2.3.1), are given *in italics.*

2.3.1 Rationality

Le Jeune's goal in creating *Chinuk pipa* was to introduce a rational, easily learned script based on a logical, intentional system (cf. *Kamloops Wawa* 1893b). Additionally, all symbols were to be written as quickly as possible, making this a tachygraphy—a system specifically designed for rapid writing—like the many other shorthands invented in the 19th century (§2.2). Effort too was to be conserved, by minimizing the number of strokes required to write each letter symbol by hand (*Kamloops Wawa* 1902, p.116).

One secondary reason for this interest in manual efficiency lies in editor Le Jeune's need to disseminate the *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper. No typeface (*aj͡u tanas t͡ʃikmin stamp* 'many little metal stamps') for *Chinuk pipa* existed. Therefore all publications in KCW were handwritten and laboriously printed in one of two ways. They were most frequently composed, sometimes with the help of Indigenous women from Kamloops, on an Edison mimeograph machine that printed them as images using a roller press. For a time, when Le Jeune had access to greater monetary resources, masters were written on tablets and mailed to 'Canada' (eastern Canada) to be photoengraved. This gave a crisper image that resembled typeset publications (*Kamloops Wawa* 18953).[33]

The very basic shapes resulting from the impulse toward *Chinuk pipa* efficiency were 'geometric', here approximated by word-processor symbols.[34] These included straight lines that can be imagined as compass indicators ideally in the directions Northeast, East, Southeast, South, and Southwest (2a-e respectively; '#' indicates that the symbol has an additional function as a *Chinuk pipa* numeral; cf. *Kamloops Wawa* 1898):

[33] Contemporary claims that Le Jeune was typesetting in a shorthand font probably misinterpret the appearance of the photoengraved editions. These claims probably are based on Zeh (1906) (cf. Chamberlain 1911 and Bates 1912). Such publications sometimes further confused *Chinuk pipa*, which Le Jeune often taught syllable-by-syllable (cf. Le Jeune 1893), with Morice's Carrier / Dakelh Athabaskan syllabics, which had been successfully committed to a typeface (Johnnie and O'Hara 1992:21). Le Jeune added to the confusion himself; cf. his statement on page 48.

[34] Glatte (1959:13) calls shorthands using such shapes 'geometric' as distinguished from 'cursive' ones (where symbols are simplifications of standard longhand letters). Since I discuss *Chinuk pipa*'s 'cursivity' in another sense below, that distinction is not followed in the present discussion.

(2)	(a)	/		*l*
	(b)	—		*t, #2*
	(c)	\		*f, #3*
	(d)	|		*p, #1*
	(e)	/	*[downward]*	*k, #4*[35]

There were also curves, both semicircles (3a-e) and quarter-circles (f):

(3)	(a)	∩	*ʃ, #8*
	(b)	∪	*s, #9*
	(c)	)	*n, #7*
	(d)	(	*m, #6*
	(e)	ᶜ	*i*
	(f)	⌊	*ju͡*

Circles were used also, as in (4):

(4)	(a)	°	*a, #connector (of identical 'straight' numerals)*
	(b)	O	*o, #0*

And there were two nonconnecting letters, a point and a tilde-like shape, both shown in (5):

(5)	(a)	·	*h*
	(b)	ʻ	*x*

The only letter shape consisting of more than a single stroke is the round letter *u*. It is also the only letter whose form varies, unlike the Roman alphabet, which has many formally distinct pairs such as <A a, D d, N n> etc. *U* has an alternate shape when in isolation (unconnected to other letters); both are shown in (6):

(6)	(a)	ɷ	(connecting)
	(b)		(in isolation)

A corollary of shape-invariancy is that no distinction of capital from lower-case forms exists.

Size is another dimension along which some symbols are differentiated, as (7) illustrates:

[35] See §2.3.5 below for more information on the direction of writing.

(7)		*(shorter length)*		*(longer)*
	(a)	/	*l*	/ *r, #5*
	(b)	—	*t, #2*	— *d*
	(c)	\	*f, #3*	\ *v*
	(d)	|	*p, #1*	| *b*
	(e)	/ *[downward]*	*k, #4*	/ *g*

Only the straight symbols are consistently distinguished this way. The pattern is that the short member of a pair is unvoiced, and the long one is voiced (excepting of course the *l*:*r* set in (a)). Le Jeune advised learners to exaggerate the difference in length, making it a 1:2 or even 1:3 ratio (*Kamloops Wawa* 1896a).

The following discussion will make use of a concept of straight-line letter 'species'. Each symbol-form, with its characteristic spatial orientation but without regard for relative size, will be termed a species hereinafter. Each species will be named for its shorter, non-diacritically marked member. Thus the 5 species, indicated here by capital letters, are *T K P L F*.[36]

2.3.2 Broad phoneticity

Following Duployé's approach, Le Jeune referred to his script as a 'phonography'—a way of representing the way words sound (*Kamloops Wawa* 1893f). The former's French-language script had striven for isomorphy, the representation of each distinct sound with a unique symbol. In turn, Duployé was probably inspired by Pitman's (1837) invention of what was called 'phonographic shorthand'.

Chinuk pipa, however, lacks a way to indicate certain phonemic distinctions, such as /e i j/, /t͡s t͡s'/, /k k^{w}/, and /k q/, that are present in pan-Chinúk Wawa. This fact is illustrated in (8):

(8)		**KCW**	**pan-CW**[37]	**gloss**	**text #**[38]
	(a)	*tiki*	/tíki/	'to want'	[86]
		sints	? /sénts/	'cents'	[116]
		iaka	/jáka/	3rd person	[124]
	(b)	*t͡ʃok*	/t͡sə́q^{w}/	'water'	[134][39]
		tsim	/t͡s'ə́m/	'written'	[142]
	(c)	*komtaks*	/kə́mtəks/	'to know'	[3]
		mokst	/mák^{w}st/	'two'	[76]
	(d)	*kat*	? /kə́t/	'to cut'	[45]
		kata	/qáta/	'how?'	[109]

[36] I represent the species with capital letters, following the linguist's way of notating archiphonemes (neutralization of the distinction among two or more otherwise contrastive sounds).
[37] Pan-CW phonological forms are based on Zenk and Johnson (2003), / CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Program (2011), except inferred forms, which are marked with '?'.
[38] See Appendix for the full list of texts in the corpus.
[39] This KCW spelling norm reflects a common pan-CW variant pronunciation.

In other phonological domains, more distinctions are made than exist in CW, particularly in the vowel system. For example, although no special symbol exists for schwa /ə/ (a trait shared with Duployé's original French-language shorthand), this sound is written with its approximate phonetic value from word to word, as in (9):[40]

(9)	(a)	*wi͡ih̲t*	/wə́χt/	'also'	[109]
	(b)	*skuku̲m*	/skúkə̲m/	'strong'	[111]
	(c)	*ta̲na̲s*	/tə́nə̲s/	'little'	[120]

Being overspecified, vowels are written in effect as phones, that is in more detail than a strictly phonemic transliteration would use. The overdifferentiation of vowels extends to the use of certain special diphthong symbols *a͡w*, *wa͡*, *wi͡*, and *ju͡,* as shown in (10):[41]

(10)	(a)	*ha͡wsw̲*	/háwsw̲/	'building'	[121]
	(b)	*W̲a͡ii*	? /wajiw̲/	(personal name)	[14][42]
	(c)	*wi͡ik̲*	/wík̲/	'not'	[15]
	(d)	*ju͡tl̲*	/ju͡tɬiɬ/	'happy'	[20]

Resultantly, no separate letters exist for glide (approximant) consonants **w j*. In general, consonants are underrepresented. Consonants often function as archiphonemes, cover symbols for "the unit resulting from neutralization of two established phonemes in the language", Dixon (2010a:272).

Glottal stop is one possibly phonemic sound that has *no* representation in *Chinuk pipa*, as the blanks in (11) illustrate:

(11)	(a)	*ha ha*	~ /χaʔχaʔ/	'holy'	[31][43]
	(b)	*tai i*	/tajʔi/	'chief'	[38]

KCW suprasegmentals such as stress, intonation, and juncture are essentially absent from my corpus. No KCW material from Indigenous writers or Le Jeune indicates prosody in an interpretable way. Since the much later audio recordings, Myers (1989) and Gabriel [n.d.], are sung those are poor fallback sources for such information. The available data on KCW suprasegmentals is nearly encompassed by one consultant's

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[40] Duployé, on the other hand, implicitly analyzed schwa as a non-phoneme of French. His system never transliterated this sound with any symbol at all. Thus, his shorthand represented the masculine singular definite article *le* as <l>, and the preposition *de* as <d>.

[41] The inclusion of diphthong symbols in *Chinuk pipa* of course does not make it a syllabary, any more than the symbols *е ю я ё* /je ju ja jo/ make Russian writing syllabic.

[42] Recorded as <Y-ee> in documents at Chase and District Museum and Archives, Chase, BC.

[43] This is clearly from some Salishan language, whether coastal or interior. Cognates including this term are found in KCW as *haha milalam* 'holy communion' as well as in Coast Salish territory, where this could have originated. See Kuipers (2002:122, s.v. *x̌aʔ*). Donna Gerdts (p.c., 2011) notes the Hul'q'umi'num' / Vancouver Island Halkomelem cognate *x̌eʔx̌eʔ*.

memories about emphatic lengthening: Indigenous ranch hands in the Quilchena, BC area would greatly lengthen the stressed vowel of a 'Chinook' word in order to impart emphatic effect, for example [sajá::] 'way far away' (Guy Rose, p.c., 2006; compare other CW *sajá* 'far' in e.g. Zenk and Johnson 2003, CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Program 2011).[44]

2.3.3 Alphabeticity

Chinuk pipa was approximately phonemic in nature, and so it is properly classified as an alphabet (Coulmas 1989:159ff). The individual short, long or diacritically marked symbols had names. For consonants, these were patterned on corresponding letters of the English-language alphabet: *bi si di if ʃi it͡ʃ ʃi ki il im in pi* for 'B C D F G H J K L M N P' respectively, etc. Vowels were named for their sounds, "ah", "wa", etc. (as written in an English-language explanation in *Kamloops Wawa* 1891b).

In writing words, *Chinuk pipa* letters are sequenced linearly, as the next section discusses.

2.3.4 Cursiveness

An implicit additional strategy for maximizing *Chinuk pipa*'s efficiency was to reduce the number of times the writing instrument could be lifted from the paper. Le Jeune saw this as a way to save time. The illustrations in Figures (4-6) exemplify letters joined in the cursive fashion that this dictum allowed.

One nuance of cursiveness emerges when the *K* and *L* species occur consecutively. Because these species are identical but written in opposite directions, joining one of each implies retracing over the first letter. This of course would obliterate that letter. The solution to this dilemma takes advantage of the overall rightward flow of writing, extending this principle by jogging the second letter slightly rightward. (The following discussion continues the metaphor of straight-line letters as compass pointers.) For example, in *klaha͡wiam* 'greetings', the *k* is written to Southwest, then the *l* to about East-Northeast (rightward of the canonical Northeast) as in (12a); similarly, *arkaʃ* 'archangel' has *r* written to Northeast, then *k* to South-Southwest (rightward of canonical Southwest), as in (b):

(12) (a)  *kl*
(b) *rk*

It can be seen that within 180° of arc the writer and reader must distinguish seven directions, from North-Northeast through Southwest: five for the canonical positions of

[44] An identical hyper-lengthening is known from pan-CW, cf. Thomas' note coincidentally about the same word: "For 'very far off'…the usual method is to express very great distance by prolonging the last syllable and saying si-a-h [sic]" (1970 [1935]:95). The same phenomenon, sometimes called 'rhetorical lengthening', is found with stressed vowels in the local Salishan languages (see for example Thompson and Thompson 1992:25).

the letters, and two for situationally conditioned variants of *L* and *K*. When not delicately managed, this convention leads to the possibility of confusion in the second members of some digraphs, such that an intended *kl* can resemble *kt*, as in (13a), an intended *rk* may look like *rp*, as in (b), and so on:

(13) (a)  *kl*  *kt*
(b)  *rk*  *rp*

Sequences of identical straight-line consonants are never cursively joined; the result would be indistinguishable from a single long straight-line form. To connect two identical straight-line *numerals* (i.e. the shapes identical to letters *p t f k r*) requires a second extension of the cursive principle: a small circle identical to the letter *a* is inserted as a connecting element. Thus e.g. *11* is identical to the syllable *pap*, shown in (14):

(14)  *11 / pap*[45]

There are two classes of exceptions to the cursive principle. The first is the nonconnecting letters shown in (4) above, the lightning-bolt shaped *x* and (by definition) the dot / point *h*. Since this quasi-phonemic alphabet was invented by French-speakers (Le Jeune and ultimately Duployé), and there is no sound /h/ in standard French pronunciation, that letter was perhaps something of an afterthought. *X* seems to have been seen as analogous to *h*, and shares its behaviour. Two other letters include a dot, which necessitates lifting the writing instrument and prevents cursive connection, at least to the right: the diphthong symbol *a͡w* and the triphthong *w͡a͡w*. These symbols, shown in (15), can however connect to a preceding letter as can any of the circular symbols:

(15) (a) ⊙ *a͡w*  *k'a͡w* 'to tie'
(b) ◎ *w͡a͡w*  *Kw͡a͡wt* 'Quaaout' [Indian village]

The second, related exception are those letters bearing diacritic marks. These letters, like the dotting of an *i* in the English alphabet, force the writer to lift the pen in order to make the diacritic. This mark can be a tick <u>to the side</u>, as (16) shows:

(16) (a) / *l* +tick = *ɬ*
(b) — *t* +tick =  *ð*
(c) / [46] *k* +tick = *k'* [47]
(d) ∩ *ʃ* +tick = *t͡ʃ*
(e) ∪ *s* +tick = *t͡s*
(f)) *n* +tick =  *ŋ*

[45] A large circle here would be interpreted as the numeral zero (cf. Table 2), resulting in a reading '101'.
[46] The shorthand letter for *k* is written downward, as are the instances of *k*, *k'* and *q* following.
[47] The letter *k'* tends to signal what are known from other sources to be /k'/ or /q'/, as in *k'a͡w* 'to tie' (compare /k'áw/) and *k'o* 'to arrive' (compare /q'ú?/) (both comparisons are from CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Program 2011).

The other possible diacritic mark is a short slash all the way through a straight-line letter. This mark can indicate a completely distinct sound, as in the rare *q* in (17):

(17) / *k* +slash = ⊀ *q*

2.3.5 Direction of writing

Chinuk pipa writing follows a generally rightward direction, with successive lines of text placed immediately below preceding ones. However, certain individual letters violate this generalization.

Most letters, i.e. the consonants, have a specific direction in which they must be written. This is overall rightward and (with *B*, *F*) secondarily downward, following the flow of *Chinuk pipa* text in general. However, the *K* species breaks this flow, being written 'backwards' from it in a Southeast orientation. Also, *m* and *n* each curve leftward for part of their downward strokes.

Vowels, on the other hand, lack inherent direction. They are generally written in whatever direction the writer prefers. However there is a strong tendency to write the vowel in what may be termed the most 'ergonomic' orientation for writing the consonant(s) that it is connected to. In this sense the consonant symbols are privileged.

A second restriction on vowels' freedom of direction is that vowels joined to *L*- or *K*-species letters are strictly required to follow the dictum of rightward flow. Thus the *a* in *al* and *ak* (18a) is leftward of the relevant consonant, while in *la* and *ka* it stands rightward (b):

(18) (a) o *al* *ak*
(b) o *la* *ka*

This convention prevents confusion among otherwise homographic sequences, since these two consonant species are nearly identical to one another.

The final restriction on vowel direction is a nonstructural yet pervasive tendency. Le Jeune reported,

> "Most of the Indians learn first to read the words, then, after a few days' practice, they become able to distinguish the syllables, and, last of all, the letters. But there are in every camp a few Indians who can read by spelling from the beginning, and they soon teach the others the proper way of reading and writing." (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895c) [emphasis added]

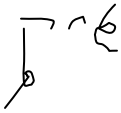
The whole-word approach taken by most learners was reported to work fairly well, partly due to the "limited number" of words in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895d); including personal names, there are roughly 670 words in my KCW lexicon (Robertson, in progress). This approach, undermining the intentionally rational structure of the writing system (§2.3.1), brings to mind Coulmas' observation that few people at any time in the history of writing have "understood the systematic make-up" of any script they used (1989:43, also referring to Gelb 1963:110).

The word-forms that people were copying tended to derive from the most widely available pedagogical materials. These were Le Jeune's writings, including sporadic explicit shorthand lessons, in his *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper (for example in *Kamloops Wawa* (1891c). Thus Le Jeune's habitual choice of the direction a vowel was written in in a given word—which was fairly arbitrary, as the preceding discussion has noted—became the *de facto* norm. Memorized as complex shapes, individual words soon achieved nearly invariable form.

In addition, most Indigenous people learned *Chinuk pipa* from other Indigenous people (as the above quotation points out), so Le Jeune's norms became autonomous from his own production. Successive waves of learners introduced subtle changes in some words' forms, which Le Jeune himself never produced. Consequently most Indigenous *Chinuk pipa* writing is quite uniform in its choice of vowel-direction in most instances of any given word, a uniformity that defies both random probability and structural rules because it is socially motivated.

Support for the claim of whole-word learning may come from the countless Kamloops Chinúk Wawa words that most Indigenous writers realized (1) differently from Le Jeune, (2) similarly to one another, and (3) in a form not mandated by the principles of this alphabet, such as (19a) and especially (b):

(19)

	Indigenous rendition	gloss	norm
(a)	 *ti.^{li}.kom*	'[Indian] people'	 *ti.li.kom*
(b)	*vuki*	'book'	*buk*

Here the superscripted text indicates a part of the word that is written above the remainder of the word. The form *vuki* is most easily explained as an item learned by rote whole-word acquisition, leading literates to prioritize its approximate shape over its component letters' canonical spatial orientation. In other words, normative South *b* could now freely vary to Southeast *v*, while final *k* could even include a curving deviation from straight-line shape that in principle should represent *i*. If writers, and of course readers, of *Chinuk pipa* had been parsing this script on a strictly alphabetic basis, a great many forms such as *vuki* would have been quite unrecognizable.

In order to mitigate this potentially confusing variation, I normalize transliterated KCW words written in *Chinuk pipa* in this dissertation when showing examples of spelling and grammar. Normative forms are determined when possible by reference to Cheadle et al.'s (2006) dictionary of published *Kamloops Wawa*. Otherwise, I have taken the most frequent spelling of a given word as the standard.

2.3.6 Subdivisions in *Chinuk pipa* text

Chinuk pipa writers used several techniques to subdivide text at various levels. The following subsections can be compared with the illustrative texts in Figures 4-6 above.

2.3.6.1 Syllabification

KCW writers normally subdivided words into syllables. This syllabification is suggested in Le Jeune's words, "Whereas a character [sic; in longhand] represents only a letter, it represents a syllable, or a full word" [in *Chinuk pipa*] (*Kamloops Wawa* 1895d). His statement would be untrue if the word 'character' were taken literally; *Chinuk pipa* is actually an alphabet, not a syllabary or a Chinese-style logographic writing. Clearly he meant to contrast the amount of information that one could convey with a few strokes in shorthand versus standard English writing.

Each syllable is a group of cursively connected letters containing a vowel symbol. A small space separates syllables. Syllabic dividing space is represented by a period in example (20), which shows that unsyllabified versions of the same words are not found in the corpus:

(20)	(a)	*t͡ʃi.nuk pi.pa*	'Chinúk Wawa writing'	**t͡ʃinuk pipa*
	(b)	*kom.takst*	'to know'	**komtakst*

Words often left unsyllabified include proper names of persons and of months (less often of places), such as the examples in (21):

(21)	(a)	*Itiin*	'Etienne'	**I.ti.in*
	(b)	*Siptimbir*	'September'	**Sip.tim.bir*

As with spelling and vowel direction, syllabification tends to match Le Jeune's own writing in the newspaper *Kamloops Wawa*. His decision to syllabify Kamloops Chinúk Wawa was probably didactic in intent. He was not, for example, in the habit of splitting words in this manner in his (Duployé) shorthand French, written for non-Indigenous native speakers (cf. *Kamloops Wawa* 1897a). Syllabification must have been a compromise with the Indigenous whole-word learning tendency mentioned above (§2.3.5). While Le Jeune taught the script letter-by-letter at first (*Kamloops Wawa* 1891a), he quickly shifted to the larger syllable unit to speed learners' acquisition of *Chinuk pipa* while minimizing the number of graphical units to memorize (viz. *Kamloops Wawa* 1891a, 1892b).

2.3.6.2 Word spacing

Larger spaces separate words. The distinction between KCW syllable- and word-spacing in *Chinuk pipa* is plainly visible in Figures 4 and 5 above. Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is an isolating / analytical language, and there is virtually no variation among the writers with regard to the placement of word boundaries.

2.3.6.3 Larger units: punctuation

Punctuation was most often omitted entirely by Indigenous writers. Therefore indications of higher-level structures like 'sentences', already a concept that is hard for

linguists to agree on but that I impressionistically correlate with 'utterances', are usually lacking. Compare Dixon's evaluation that "no simple definition is feasible" of 'sentence' (2010b:430), although some languages may have e.g. intonational or grammatical markers of sentence boundaries, (2010b:132ff.).

Since small spaces were used to separate syllables and larger ones between words, it might be expected that an even greater space signified the end of a unit that might be taken as a sentence, paragraph, etc. But this is not observed. The strongest tendency correlating with sentential boundaries is that many writers started new 'utterances' at the left edge of the paper, but this is a weak guideline at best. Most extant texts authored by Indigenous people occupy a single piece of paper, often leading the writers to fit text in wherever they could. This sometimes seems to have led them to end compositions abruptly.

Among the punctuation marks found in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa texts, two are highly characteristic of *Chinuk pipa*. An **<x>** shape (variant form: **<+>**), when used, tends to mark phrase- or sentence-boundaries, as (22) demonstrates:[48]

(22) (a) *Luis Andri iaka sik* **<+>** *Iaka tiki pus msaika hilp iaka kopa stj͡uil* [127]
'Louise Andrew is ill. She wants you folks to help her through prayers.'

(b) *…tlus maika w͡awa͡ kopa naika man ikta naika w͡awa͡* **<*x*>** *Naika tlap sik naika tomtom…* [136]
'Tell my husband what I say. I'm upset…'

Equals sign, <=>, used by Le Jeune as a line-final break in the middle of a word, is instead for the Indigenous writers another way of signaling phrasal or sentential boundaries. Examples are given in (23):

(23) (a) *iaka tiki mamuk kopa <1200> tala* **<=>** *iaka w͡awa͡ pus mamuk ilip tlus kopa Knim Lik Sondi haw͡s iakwa͡* [116]
'He wants to do the job for $1,200. He promises to build better than the Canim Lake church here.'

(b) *pus k'o Istir Sondi* **<=>** *nsaika komtaks kah son maika k'o…* [147]
'When it gets to be Easter, we'll know which day you'll be arriving…'

Many other punctuation marks are used sporadically—most of them more or less unique to individual writers. For example <:> appears in the letter in Figure 2, and other marks include < . ≡ | > and so forth.

Rarely, proper names were given a dotted underline, as in (24):

[48] Material not in *Chinuk pipa* script in the original text is enclosed in <angled brackets>. *Chinuk pipa* punctuation marks are here shown in angled brackets to distinguish them from similar shorthand letters (such as *x*) and from analytical conventions of the present study (such as + indicating compounding and = indicating clitics). Word-by-word glosses are omitted from the following examples because they are not directly relevant to the subject at hand.

(24) (a) *Lilwa͡t Falat ilihi* [72]
'Lillooet Flats village'
(b) *Alik Samsan* [72]
'Alec Sampson'

Other devices sporadically found include single or a few stacked horizontal bars topped by one or more dots, placed above a word apparently to indicate emphasis. This device is represented in (25):[49]

(25)

nanit͡ʃ maika t͡sim iawa͡ t͡ʃinuk pi wi͡ht maika t͡sim iawa͡ tkop man t͡sim [127]
'Look, write *Chinuk [pipa]* there and also write white man's writing there'

Structurally salient features of KCW that are not found to be represented by any orthographic devices include compounding (cf. §3.2.1.2), affixation (§3.2.2.1) and cliticization (§3.2.2.2).

2.3.6.4 Other symbols

Abbreviations are possible in *Chinuk pipa*. These are realized by the convention of crossing letters over one another instead of the usual cursive joining that created 'phonographic' words. Some abbreviations are frequently found, such as those in (26):

(26) (a)  *SʃB* short for *Sin ʃon Batist* 'North Thompson'[50] [79]
(b)  *ST* " " *Sahali Taii* 'God'[51] [4]
(c)  *ʃK* " " *ʃisju͡ Kri* 'Jesus Christ' [4]
(d)  *ʃB* " " *ʃon Batist* 'Jean-Baptiste'[52] [21]

Graphemes without phonological significance are also used, one of them frequently. This is shown in (27):

(27) ⊕ represents *likalisti* 'eucharist' [16][53]

Tangentially mentioned in the discussion of symbol-shapes above is the set of shorthand numerals. These were hardly used by the Indigenous writers—a rare instance

[49] I have found no way to represent these shorthand marks in the word-processor used to write this study.
[50] A Secwépemc / Shuswap village, now known as Chu Chua. The abbreviation is of the name of the Catholic mission there, 'St. John the Baptist' (cf. example (d)). (Simpcw First Nation 2006.)
[51] Literally 'the high chief'.
[52] A local personal name.
[53] The reference of this symbol is known from its use and definition in *Kamloops Wawa*.

is the date "May 4, 1892" on Text 61—and were quickly replaced by the numerals of standard written English. ('Arabic' numerals.) A likely problem was the fact that the shorthand numerals were identical to shorthand letters (q.v.), and thus it could be difficult to tell a word from a number. A second problem was that exceptional rules applied to shorthand numerals, e.g. to connect two identical straight numerals, one inserts a small circle identical to shorthand *a*. Overall, the shorthand numerals turned out to be an unnecessary complication of *Chinuk pipa*, and all writers preferred English numerals, which they used with reasonable facility. Table 2 includes all shorthand numerals, for reference.

2.4 Epilogue: Adapting *Chinuk pipa* to latter-day technology

Chinuk pipa has resisted machine character encoding, i.e. a typeface or font. This is why even the mass-produced *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper and associated books and pamphlets were all written out by hand on a mimeograph, and sometimes then photolithographed. This is also the reason why all *Chinuk pipa* material cited in this dissertation has been transliterated into an IPA-based orthography of my own devising. It would have been preferable to create an electronic font for word-processing Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, reproducing the original texts as faithfully as possible. Such a font would benefit research on KCW, on Le Jeune's newspaper, and on the numerous languages he wrote with it. Also standing to benefit is the revitalization of this BC Indigenous-associated language variety, as it might be most historically accurate for learners to read and write KCW the way preceding generations did. But the paradoxical unmechanizability of this intentionally rational writing system has so far been an intractable issue. A few words about that are in order.

At the time of *Kamloops Wawa*, publication in *Chinuk pipa* was accomplished by image reproduction of handwritten texts. First the Edison mimeograph, and later the process of photoengraving, were used to create mass print runs of a great deal of material in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa and other regional languages. (Cf. Le Jeune's own bibliography: "All of this comes to at least 3500 pages in total…There are easily a thousand more pages…but those have mostly disappeared.")[54] Whether these mechanisms were employed simply because they were the least expensive and most readily available to a missionary priest, or were chosen precisely because of the handwritten nature of shorthand, no *Chinuk pipa* font was ever invented (cf. *Kamloops Wawa* (1895e). *Chinuk pipa* is one of relatively few scripts (about 80) that have yet to be encoded as fonts (Karen Stollznow, p.c., February 17, 2006; Script Encoding Initiative 2007).

It would be very desirable to have a computer-usable font for this writing system, since about 75% of existing data in Chinúk Wawa (Chinook Jargon) uses *Chinuk pipa*. Most people have no access to the few archives containing this material. With a font, it would be possible to republish the original texts faithfully, sometimes in a form more legible than certain inexpertly-written originals. It would become possible too to make *Chinuk pipa* materials more interactive and portable, by disseminating them via the preferred technology of the moment, be it Internet, email or mobile phones. Also through

[54] "Tout cela ensemble constitue 3500 pages au moins…Il y a bien 1000 autres pages…mais elles ont disparu pour la plupart" (*Kamloops Wawa* 1916).

the Internet and scholarly print media, knowledge of this writing system's existence could be increased; shorthands and related scripts are documented very little or not at all in mainstream writing-systems textbooks and studies. This unique BC heritage orthography and the languages it was written in could be more easily taught—thus maintained—with a font rendering the production of teaching materials feasible. A searchable database also could be constructed for corpus-linguistic analysis, for making a complete dictionary, etc.

As useful as such a font would be, there are major reasons why one has been very difficult or impossible to create. These reasons include the following:

- The flow of writing alters direction frequently instead of following a strict linear sequence. As discussed above, this leads sometimes to stacking of letters vertically instead of simply following the general left-to-right flow of writing. (E.g. *Bob* is a descending sequence.)
- The choice of which side of a consonant to adjoin a vowel to, while in principle usually free, is in best practice determined by pragmatic factors. As noted above, vowels tend to be inserted in the most ergonomic position as well as in completely unpredictable positions, the choice of which relies on the idiosyncratic preferences of Le Jeune having become norms for the entire *Chinuk pipa* community.

Possible solutions for facilitating the creation of a font compatible with word-processors might include the following:

- Creating a set inventory of possible syllable shapes, since the words are normally broken into syllables. A drawback to this approach is that this violates the intended flexibility of *Chinuk pipa*, which was meant to be able to represent the sound of any new word or name that one might use in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa.
- Instead of a font, creating something more like an 'application' (computer program), with the intelligence to manipulate the complex spatial relations among *Chinuk pipa* letters. A drawback here is that this would require a great deal of programming work, time and therefore funding.

Such fontmaking has been beyond the scope of the present dissertation project. But late in the writing of this dissertation, a pleasant surprise has occurred in the form of the appearance of a technically skilled volunteer independently leading an effort to create a *Chinuk pipa* font in Unicode (Van Isaac, p.c. February 2009). Mr. Isaac has worked with the members of an internet listserv devoted to the subject (named CHINOOK, to be distinguished from the Chinook Jargon listserv I have moderated since 1998). His group has at this writing (summer of 2011) just been informed that the Unicode organization has accepted their proposed encoding. The benefits to Indigenous and other Canadians, and to the scholarly community, are potentially considerable.

3 How extensive is KCW morphology?

> *Grammar of the Jargon: [t]here is no inflection of words. The same form is used generally for both singular and plural, though occasionally an* s *is added to indicate the plural of* olallie *(berry or berries),* iktas *and* wappatoo*. (Gill 1989 [1909]:46)*

Readers with experience of the literature on pidgins may be surprised to find a chapter devoted to Kamloops Chinúk Wawa morphology in this dissertation. Widespread in this field, and a truism in the Chinúk Wawa literature, is the notion that a pidgin language can most profitably be described largely by reference to its syntax. That consensus is summarized in Bakker (2003b), Plag (2006) and Roberts and Bresnan (2008.) Vrzić for example writes exclusively of the lack of overt nominal and verbal inflection in the closely related literary variety printed in *Kamloops Wawa* (Vrzić 1999:108-112).[55] KCW overt morphology, if it were narrowly understood as demonstrably non-free forms having exclusively inflectional or derivational use, would be scant in comparison with that of many nonpidgin languages, including its users' mother-tongue Salishan and the English that was dominant among local non-Indigenous people—just as the consensus in pidginistics predicts. And in reality many KCW grammatical operations are expressed by other means, primarily through permutations in phrase- and clause-order and structure (about which see chapter 4).

For the polemical purpose of making up for previous gaps in research by describing KCW in maximal detail, I follow the broader sense of the term 'morphology' as the structure of words, which include roots and any purely grammatical operators modifying them (cf. Dixon 2010a:217-218). I investigate the possibility that this pidgin's structure is more nuanced than would be predicted, at least in a literal interpretation of the idea that 'pidgins are morphologically simple' by what Dixon calls "linguists…who use the term morpheme solely for grammatical elements, not for the root" (2010a:217-218). Most of this chapter discusses the existence of various morphological types in opposition to root heads, thus a non-minimal morphology.

Among studies of CW to date, it is only descriptions of the innovative Grand Ronde creole variety that tend to point out grammaticalized operators. Grammaticalization is understood as any instance in which a word's lexical meaning is supplanted by a newer, grammatical-function meaning (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002 for a book-length illustration). Examples of it are full [postposed] reduplication for 'distributive' and *haj(u)-* for 'imperfective' (etymologically 'much'), cf. respectively Grant (1996a, 2003) and Zenk (1984). It has been suggested that creoles are functionally and structurally expanded pidgins (Bakker 2003b). Under that view, any Chinúk Wawa variety such as KCW that remained a pidgin presumably should display, as did the earliest known forms of the language, morphology that is relatively less elaborate than its creole relative has.

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[55] Cf. Jacobs (1932:43) on the creolized Grand Ronde variety, whose grammatical structure he describes thus: "All expression of relations between concepts or words is supplied by means of precise word-order patterns".

But as recent groundbreaking work on pidgins makes clear, pidgin languages contradict expectations. They constitute an identifiable typological class of languages (cf. Bakker et al. 2011:35), typically displaying more morphology on average than do creoles (cf. Mühlhäusler 1997; Bakker 2002:71, 2003b:23-24, forthcoming; Siegel 2004). Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, I argue, is in several ways just such a morphologically nuanced pidgin, and is more complex in this grammatical domain than the Grand Ronde creole. To contribute to the ongoing reassessment of pidgin and contact-language structure, this chapter focuses on morphology in more detail than previous literature on CW has done (cf. Jacobs 1932, Vrzić 1999:108-114).

In addition, the recent morphological reexamination in the literature seldom distinguishes morphology 'inherited' from the lexifier language(s) from that which is internally innovated in the pidgin. Therefore potentially fossilized non-productive morphemes in the pidgin are usually not contrasted with those that are productively used. Roberts and Bresnan (2008), for example, refer only to 'retained' inflections, while section 4 of Plag (2006) focuses on how such morphology emerges in a nascent contact language, but not on its subsequent employment. Bakker (2003b) is the only study known to me that explicitly refers to both sources of pidgin morphological markers, though the matter is tangential to his purpose there. A quote from Siegel is illustrative of the question at hand:

> "…while some Tok Pisin words may seem to have…morphology [i.e. grammatical morphemes] derived from English, such as *–s* in *independens* 'independence' and *–sen* in *politisen* 'politician'… these are not actually separate morphemes in Tok Pisin, but rather unanalyzed parts of the English-derived words, and certainly not productive" (2004:151)

In order to more clearly understand the *degree* to which pidgin morphology may be productive, I highlight in this chapter the instances in which Kamloops Chinúk Wawa has innovated by grammaticalizing pan-CW morphs into grammatical morphemes.

As already noted, Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is by no means morphologically highly complex. Strictly bound morphemes are few in KCW. Thus this language is quite analytic (it has a "smallish number of components—root(s) plus grammatical elements—per word", Dixon 2010a:226). In fact KCW probably borders on the isolating, as it is very nearly the case that "each word consists of one morpheme" (2010a:226) and "words are invariable" (Crystal 1985:16, 166).[56] Certainly it lacks reduplication, a morphological trait long thought to be characteristic of both pidgins and creoles.[57] (Cf. Thompson 1961, cited in Bakker 2003b:37; see also Bakker 2003a.)

KCW nonetheless contains morphemes—nearly all demonstrably grammaticalized from lexical roots—which I analyze as non-roots. These items are more

[56] Caveat: since phonetic detail is lacking in the corpus, it is not easy to define phonological or morphological words in KCW.

[57] Importantly, Bakker has recently established that all but two known pidgins actually lack reduplication (1995, 2003). Due presumably to properties of the Indigenous source languages, a large percentage of (pidgin) pan-CW lexemes are phonologically reduplicated, e.g. *tomtom* 'to.think', *makmak* 'food' (cf. Cheadle et al. 2006), but these forms are 'unpredictable in occurrence' (Grant 2003:322). This situation may be contrasted with that in creolized Chinúk Wawa, which did grammaticalize reduplication to express distributivity (cf. Grant 1996a, 2003).

or less purely 'grammatical' in nature, in that they lack lexical meaning (Crystal 1985:198-199). This trait distinguishes them from open-class lexemes such as verbs, adverbs, nouns, adjectives, etc. Grammatical morphemes also are more or less restricted to certain syntactic positions relatively close to root heads, which they modify.[58] They display their grammatical meanings only when in some specified degree of adjacency to a root. This behaviour separates them from other modifiers (dependents) of root heads in KCW on two counts. First, adjectives, adverbs, and the modifier members of compound nouns, *always* retain lexical meaning. Second, there is comparative *freedom* of ordering for these classes. For example, adverbs occur in either of two positions (cf. §4.1.9). Adjectives occur either in modifier (cf. §4.2.2.4) or 'predicative' copula complement positions (cf. §4.1.7). There is no discernible difference in meaning attached to these positional choices.

The following subsections focus on non-root KCW morphology: §3.1 looks at sporadic, unproductive examples, which are uncontroversial for any theory of pidgin morphology; a distinction is made according to the source of the morphemes (external vs. innovated internally). §3.2 examines more-regular, comparatively productive non-root morphemes found in KCW (all apparently internally innovated), which further exemplify the recent notion of a relatively robust pidgin morphology. §3.3 provides a brief summary of KCW morphology.[59]

3.1 Unproductive affixes

Sparsely occurring, and largely unpredictable, in the corpus are variant realizations of items that otherwise normally display the expected lack of overt inflectional- and derivational-type marking (§4.1). The differences in morphology between the expected and variant version are in all cases accordingly analyzed here as unproductive. That is, these formal patterns do not seem to "produce further instances of the same type" (Crystal 1985:247). The following subsections categorize unproductive KCW morphology into two types: §3.1.1 treats externally-sourced forms—which I call

[58] In other words, these grammatical forms are 'bound' in that they "cannot occur alone but must be attached to some other form", in this case a head lexeme (Dixon 2010a:333). Not only lexical roots (in some languages) but also e.g. "all affixes are, by their nature, bound" (2010a:217). I apply this concept also to the 'clitics' discussed below. It can be extended to other non-root items such as grammatical 'particles' [§3.2.2.3] too, with the caveat that degrees of boundness are implied.

[59] By no means every language clearly distinguishes derivation from inflection (Dixon 2010a:142-3). So "this is not a useful distinction for all languages" (p. 218). It should be employed only when useful and appropriate for accurate description of a language (p. 220-221). KCW may lack a strong distinction of this kind. At this writing, I cannot categorically define all of the grammatical morphs discussed below as either inflectional or derivational. I do observe that each KCW grammatical morpheme occupies a specific positional 'slot' (cf. Table 21), some closer to the head lexeme than others. This syntactic behaviour is reminiscent of the basic observation that derivational material forms stems and is therefore normally closer to the head, while inflectional material forms complete words after any derivations have taken place. (Cf. Dixon 2010a:218ff.) And some properties of KCW grammar are sensitive to this slot structure. For example the formation of dependent members in noun-noun compounds (§3.2.1.2) utilizes only the positions nearest heads, as schematized in Table 36, to build complex compound structures. But in KCW, some of the more-inflectional seeming morphemes occupy slots closer to heads than do some derivational-seeming morphemes, and some derivational-seeming morphemes occur farther from heads than seemingly inflectional material. I do not make further reference to this morphological distinction. Perhaps future research will show whether KCW and other pidgins tend to exploit an inflectional-derivational distinction.

borrowings and codeswitching—and §3.1.2 treats those patterns apparently derived from KCW-internal resources.

3.1.1 Externally-sourced affixal material

Some of the rarer, unproductive non-root morphological patterns in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa derive from other languages known by the *Chinuk pipa* writers. That is, they could not have grammaticalized from known (K)CW lexemes. I divide this foreign, affixal material into two classes, depending on its syntactic environment. If functioning with KCW syntax (§3.1.1.1), such material can be equated with borrowings, "linguistic forms…taken over by one language…from another" (Crystal 1987:36). On the other hand, KCW material in a Salish-language matrix (§3.1.1.2) is comparable to codeswitching. Codeswitching is multilinguals' employment of words or larger constituents from one language—here KCW—embedded in an utterance in a second language—here Salish and subject to Salish syntax (cf. Payne 1997:18). Examples in the following subsections will clarify this dichotomy, summarizing in §3.1.1.3.

3.1.1.1 Foreign morphological material subject to KCW syntax

A small number of items used in KCW matrices (as opposed to those occurring in foreign-language matrices, §3.1.1.2) are demonstrably foreign suffixed forms. These are readily explained as newly borrowed wholesale from the contemporary local English, rather than created from resources internal to (K)CW. This situation resembles Smith's findings in a very large speech-data sample from several hundred speakers of Tok Pisin, the Papua New Guinea pidgincreole[60]. Smith found that English *–ed* and *–ing* "appear to be adopted unanalyzed in borrowed lexical items, although there is evidence that some morphological analysis is being made by bilingual speakers" (2002:87-90).

As will be seen from the examples in (28), the lexical roots involved tend to be elsewhere found as typically bare KCW roots; it is the *-s* suffixed forms, involving noun-plural marking, which appear foreign to KCW [hyphens are added in the following examples]: [61]

[60] To use Bakker's (2003) term for a contact language whose pidgin and creole varieties coexist side by side.

[61] Potentially of interest here are a number of instances of *min* when this means 'men' in the corpus, but it is often difficult to determine whether this represents a borrowing of the English ablaut plural. The normative, invariant (cf. §4.1) Kamloops Chinúk Wawa *man* 'man, men' may have been pronounced by some speakers as [mɛn] ~ [mæn] regardless of grammatical number. Compare *ni̲ni̲tʃ* [82] where normative /a/ of *na̲nitʃ* 'to look' is represented as <i>, presumably some front vowel; also the converse, *na̲t* for 'ne̲t' [66] and *A̲ndirbi* [6] for 'E̲nderby, BC'.

(28) (a) (i) *buk -s an piinstil-ts͡* [110][62]
book-PL CONJ pencil -PL
'books and pencils'

(ii) *pus msaika iskom ukuk buk* [11]
IRR 2PL to.get DEM book
'if you folks get this book'

(iii) *aias tlil pinsil pus naika mamuk aias ts͡im kopa*
big black pencil IRR 1SG to.make big writing PREP
'a big black pencil for me to write big at the

kitasim + haw͡s [107]
catechism + building
catechism house'[63]

(b) *<10> sint -s* [65]
10 cent -PL
'10 cents'

(c) *tlun tatilam pi siks pis -s* [45]
three ten CONJ six piece -PL
'36 pieces'

(d) (i) *som ol klutʃ͡min-s* [31]
some old woman -PL
'some old women'

(ii) *kopit naika nanitʃ͡ Apil pi wi͡ht iaka klutʃ͡min* [85]
only 1SG to.see Abel CONJ also 3 woman
'I saw only Abel, as well as his wife'

<Klootchman> for 'wife; woman' was a commonly used regional English word.[64] For example there was an annual 'Klootchman's Race' in Princeton, BC, ca. 1900 [Sandness Homepage 2006]. In English, this word was sometimes pluralized as <klootchmans> (e.g. Garland 1899:56), otherwise as <klootchmen> (e.g. R. Grant 1946b:195).[65] Wholesale reborrowing of it into KCW would be an unremarkable parallel with the loanwords *buk-s, piinstil-ts͡, sint-s,* and *pis-s* above.

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[62] Shorthand *ts͡* sometimes corresponds to English [z], a convention used in Le Jeune's literary norm. This word's spelling with *-ts͡*, and its absence from Le Jeune's published output (cf. Cheadle et al. 2006), may be evidence of a (Shuswap) Salish person's own clear perception of an English allomorph alien to his own language and to KCW. A contrast can be drawn with the shorthand spellings with *-s* in (b,c,d), which fail to graphically differentiate the [z] and [s] allomorphs of the English noun-pluralizing suffix.

[63] The local church's catechism house was a customary location for lessons in *Chinuk pipa*.

[64] A common truncated alternant was <klootch> (e.g. Talbot 1911:203). All of these variants were patronizing epithets for Indigenous women, equivalent to 'squaw'.

[65] <Klootchmen> may represent an English-language reanalysis of the KCW unmarked plural, further indication of the close interaction between KCW and English.

The plural nouns borrowed from English function like KCW nouns. They act according to the morphosyntax of the KCW matrix, most notably in being invariable as to grammatical number (cf. §4.2.1.2). This type of evidence against the borrowed suffixes' English-style productivity comes from forms such as those in (29):

(29) *iht skul buk -s pi iht wiht ʃanti buk -s pi iht wiht*
one school book-PL CONJ one more hymn book-PL CONJ one more
'a primer and another hymnal, and another

ʃuʃwap stjuil buk -s [83]
Shuswap prayer book -PL
Shuswap prayer book'

Another area of English-to-pidgin grammatical-morpheme borrowing pointed out by Smith (2002:97) in Tok Pisin is in expressions of time, which are more often borrowed wholesale from English (e.g. with plural *–s*, as in *tu manths* 'two months') than expressed with Tok Pisin-internal, productive resources (e.g. *tu[-]pela mun* 'idem'). This pattern is paralleled to some extent in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Some time expressions are or seem all-English, as in (30), where unattested KCW counterparts are asterisked; again, a secondary example is given showing the same word unaffixed as is normal in KCW:

(30) (a) *15 min[i]t-s* [31]
15 minute -PL
'fifteen minutes'
**tatilam pi kwinam min[i]t-s*
'idem'

(b) (i) *tu wik -s* [42]
two week-PL
'two weeks'
**mokst sondi*
'idem'

(ii) *mokst wik naika wit kopa iaka* [124]
two week 1SG to.wait PREP 3
'I've waited two weeks for him'

The very frequent use, as in (29a), of Arabic numerals by the shorthand writers tends to mask their choice of language in expressing quantities. But English numbers used instead of KCW ones are often spelled out as words, as in (31):

(31) (a) *tu tanas= man* [58]
two DIM= man
'two young men'

(b) *tlun tatilam pi siks pis -s* [45]
three ten CONJ six piece-PL
'36 pieces'

(c) <9> *taʷsin fut* [62][66]
nine thousand foot
'9,000 feet'

(d) *iaka piii kopa waʷan iir -is kopa maika* [58]
3 to.pay PREP one year -PL PREP 2SG
'he'll pay you for one year [of *Kamloops Wawa*]'

Forms (31a-c) might arguably represent wholesale borrowing of entire phrases from English: In (a) it is possible that *man* represents [mɛn] as in note 62 above, and for (c) note the acceptable colloquial English variant 'nine thousand foot'. But the ungrammaticality of (d) in English highlights the invariability, and thus the non-productivity, of the originally-English morphology in KCW borrowings. That is, 'one years' looks more likely to have arisen via resources internal to KCW, since it is grammatical there but not in English.[67]

It bears emphasizing that the vast majority, certainly exceeding 99%, of the nouns in the KCW corpus lack any overt plural marking, as in (32):

(32) *kanawi tilikom tlus iaka tomtom kanawi man kanawi klutʃmin* [3]
all people good 3 heart all man all woman
'everyone's hearts are good, all the men, all the women'
(i.e. everyone is happy)

Also infrequently found is a suffix *–im* of unclear meaning. This form is not of standard-English origin. Though (33a-d) are the only seeming attestations of it in my data set, it occurs elsewhere in CW both addressed to and spoken by the same groups of Salish people who were using KCW. These additional single-word citations in (e-f) support the idea that *-im* had some currency:

(33) (a) *naika mamuk= kar [-]in* [sic] [96][68]
1SG CAUS= to.carry(?)[-]*im* (?)
'I'll pack (?) [some] with me'

(b) *klunas aiak naika sil [-]im kanawi* [140]
EVID quickly 1SG to.sell[-]*im* all
'I reckon I'll sell all of it right away'

[66] Note the acceptable colloquial English variant 'nine thousand foot'.
[67] Had the locution in question been something like 'one years old' [sic], however, it might have had a plausible source in colloquial English, as Leslie Saxon points out (p.c., 2011).
[68] Here *n* may be an error for *m*, its mirror image in *Chinuk pipa* (cf. Table 2). Other examples of such reverses are found in the corpus.

(c) *alta naika nanit͡ʃ Alkalai Lik taii pi naika ask [-]<u>am</u>* [98]
PRES 1SG to.see Alkali Lake chief CONJ 1SG to.ask[-]*im*
'I've just visited the Alkali Lake chief and I asked him whether those

pus ukuk buk klatwa͡ iawa͡
IRR DEM book to.go there
books had gone there [in the mail]'

(d) *naika tiki sill [-]im naika saman* [66][69]
1SG to.want to.sell[-]*im* 1SG salmon
'I want to sell my salmon'

(e) *kat͡ʃ [-]<u>im</u>*[70]
to.catch[-]*im*
'to catch'

(f) <*pash [-]<u>em</u>*> ~ <*wash[-]<u>em</u>*>[71]
to.wash[-]*im*
'to wash'

These forms call to mind the widespread stereotype of Indigenous speakers' English in North America, with verbs ending in "-um" (Meek 2006). With this syllabic-nasal (or vowel-plus-bilabial-nasal) ending, they also resemble genuinely documented contact varieties of English including so-called American Indian Pidgin English, dating at least as far back as the early 1600s (Goddard 1977).

There are similarities here also with Pacific Ocean English-based contact varieties documented from the 19th century. For example, in Tok Pisin and Bislama, a verbal transitive marker *–Vm* is ubiquitous (Tryon and Charpentier 2004:161). Perhaps some Kamloops-area English speakers could have experienced or heard of such nonstandard morphology elsewhere, and introduced it in speaking to local Indigenous people.[72] If so, conceivably settlers having colonial or nautical experience might have introduced a few lexemes in the corpus like those in (34) (cf. Tryon and Charpentier 2004:164-165):

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[69] In other CW dialects and generally in Salishan languages (even in their reduplicating morphology), geminate consonants are not found. And in *Chinuk pipa* writing, doubled consonants are cumbersome, tending to force a graphical syllable break. (For example, two consecutive shorthand *l*'s joined cursively would be indistinguishable from a single *r*.) The spelling *sillim* does not suggest gemination, but instead shows the direct influence of Le Jeune's etymologizing spelling of this word, usual in issues of his *Kamloops Wawa* (e.g. in issue #113 of February 1894).

[70] This transliteration is accurate. The form found is not **kat͡ʃ[-]im* (Le Jeune 1924).

[71] This form is given by Laforet and York (1998:78). It is here in angled brackets because not originally in shorthand.

[72] This seems a more likely scenario than one in which Interior Salish people would have served in significant numbers on sailing ships in the Pacific, returning home to strongly influence local Chinook Jargon usage. The only local Indigenous person I know to have voyaged in that region of the world was Pierre Kinbaskrette [sic] of Athalmer, BC, some of whose letters to Le Jeune from Chile and elsewhere are preserved. These are written in standard, non-shorthand English only.

(34) (a) *stap / stop* [10]
COPspa
'to be located'
(b) *spos / spus* [38; 32]
IRR
'if; when; irrealis'

However, (a) might be due to British immigrants' native speech habits (being "chiefly British" in this sense, cf. Merriam-Webster 1971 [s.v. *stop*]), and (b) is a less-common variant of the far more frequent *pus*, which is of Chinookan etymology (cf. Zenk and Johnson 2004:425). While *spos / spus* is almost certainly a reanalysis based on 'suppose' by Anglophones, the forms with and without initial *s-* alternate in all varieties of CW, including those spoken in areas having little connection with maritime traffic or British influence. Thus the case for a Pacific source is weak. The literary variety of CW closely related to Kamloops Chinúk Wawa does also have the item shown in (35):

(35) *baianbai*
FUT
'by & by'[73]

Baianbai, like *stap* and *s[a]pos*, has correspondents in Tok Pisin and other Melanesian pidgincreoles (cf. Tryon and Charpentier 2004:156).[74] But the inspiration for these Kamloops Chinúk Wawa forms remains unknown.

So-called American Indian Pidgin English is the more likely source for *–im*. In any case, neither *–im* nor overt plural marking is productive in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. These patterns are found on a very limited number of items in the corpus, with no indication that they can be freely applied to further forms.

3.1.1.2 KCW material subject to Salish syntax and morphology

There are examples in the corpus where KCW material is subject to the syntax of the letter writer's Salish first language, usually Secwepemctsín. That is, in some KCW letters, there will be a short segment of Salish, within which there can be embedded in turn a fragment of KCW. The few attestations all involve prefixes—always written separately from the following word, as was usual for shorthand Salish. Usually, as in (36) what is found is the locative prefix *n-*, approximately 'at' (Kuipers 1974:58, the source of all glosses and analyses of the Secwepemctsín in curly braces here):[75]

[73] Le Jeune (1924:15), whose gloss is given verbatim.
[74] 'Pidgincreole' is written as a non-hyphenated compound word in recent literature, distinguishing this from the separate concept 'pidgin-creole' or 'pidgin/creole' (which refer to whole sets or ranges of contact languages).
[75] I present forms from Kuipers in IPA orthography. Specialists in Secwepemctsín or Interior Salish will notice oddities in the forms of certain Salish words here. These are nonetheless faithful representations of the attested shorthand spellings.

(36) (a) {*hint͡ʃat͡ʃwa͡ l- Miʃil n-} Soda Krik* [115]
1SG ART Michel LOC- Soda Creek
'I'm Michel at Soda Creek'

(b) *{hma potos hohwa͡it i- snkolʃtktn n-} Kamlups* [31]
well goodbye all ART relative LOC- Kamloops
'Goodbye then, all (my) relatives in Kamloops'

All such examples occur within or bordering Salish-language matrices, shown here in curly braces, as in (37):

(37) *{…hohwa͡it i-} t͡ʃi͡nuk pipa pi wi͡ht {ʃuhwa͡pmahʃin…}* [94]
all ART- Chinúk.Wawa writing CONJ also Secwepemctsín
'all of the Chinook writing and also the Secwepemctsín'

Here *i-* appears to represent the Secwepemctsín deictic prefix *γj-/j-* 'this, that' (Kuipers 1974:58), suggestive of the embeddedness of the KCW material in the surrounding Salish rather than vice versa.

Furthermore, the majority of these cases involve place names used in common between KCW and regional English, and all the interpolated words have separate native Secwepemctsín synonyms. These are *χəts̓úɬ* for (35a), *tk'mlúps* for (35b), and apparently *t'ix^{w}əɬ γ ʔ-χq'əjn'tén* for (36).[76] This would appear to reinforce an analysis as codeswitching out of the Salishan language.

3.1.1.3 Summary of externally-sourced unproductive forms

Forms in the corpus that clearly derive from some contemporaneously spoken language have been identified, which pattern into two distinct classes according to the apparent matrix-language in which they are framed. On one hand, there are English-derived suffixed items used in KCW matrices, which can be compared with borrowings. On the other hand there are Salish-derived prefixes used on KCW material but in Salish matrices, comparable with code-switches. Neither category appears to have had productive application in the KCW corpus, limiting its viability as morphology.

3.1.2 Unproductive forms native to KCW

The second, also quite limited, category of unproductive non-root morphology is material that is evidently generated from (K)CW-internal resources. That is, such items lack any definite inspiration in Salish, English or other languages known to have been used by the *Chinuk pipa* writers. This material takes two forms, suffixoidal localisms (§3.1.2.1) and suppletion (§3.1.2.2), summarized in §3.1.2.3.

[76] All forms are from the dictionary section of Kuipers (1974). The third is glossed 'your writing is unusual (said of sb. doing steno)', perhaps the *Chinuk pipa* shorthand.

3.1.2.1 Sufixoidal localisms

In the corpus, uniquely KCW forms of widely known pan-CW items appear; these localisms are generally identical to the pan-CW forms except for an added 'suffixoid' *-t* or *-m* in word-final position, as in (38):

(38) (a) *komtaks-t* [121]
to.know-*t*
'to know'
(b) *komto -m* [1]
to.know-*m*
'idem'

The term suffixoid is used here to denote apparently bound material of unknown (if any) meaning and function. Though these suffixoids occur reasonably often in KCW, their productivity is doubtful. They almost exclusively occur on some form of the word *komtaks* as shown above. Furthermore, each of these two forms has a more frequent suffixoidless counterpart identical to the form *komtaks* known in other CW varieties. In any event the *-t* seems to intrude only in [+coronal] phonological environments, and thus may be due to purely phonological processes. These thus do not seem to be ironclad instances of purely grammatical material.

Such localisms are indeterminate as to source, and in some cases could be influenced by both English and Salish morphology. For a speculative example, *komtaks-t* 'to know' may represent a combination of pan-CW *komtaks* (as in Cheadle et al. 2006) with both or either of English *–ed* or a Salishan suffix (such as transitivizing *–t,* cf. Kuipers 1974:45-46 on Shuswap and Thompson and Thompson 1992:62 on Nłeʔkepmxcín; or 'continued state' *–t*, cf. Van Eijk 1997:72 on Lillooet). Probable similarly suffixoidal items of KCW outside the present shorthand corpus include the loan noun *lepél-t* 'shovel' in Secwepemctsín (Kuipers 1974:201); compare pan-CW *lepél*.[77]

The frequent writing of *m* instead of final *ks* leading to a form *komtom* is motivated by the *Chinuk pipa* writing system, in which these letter sequences resemble one another as (39) shows:

(39) (a)  *m*

(b)  *ks*

Thus the two character-strings are easily confused. In addition, morphosyntactic influence from Salish *–m*, the so-called 'middle voice', is not unlikely, nor is the formal

[77] Cf. the ultimate source in French, <la pelle>. (Collins French dictionary plus grammar 1999.) Compare the loan *lasmís[-]t* 'shirt' (from French <la chemise>) in various Okanagan dialects (Doak 1983:84-85).

and semantic influence of KCW *tomtom* 'to think, to feel'. However the provenance of suffixoidal *–m* remains unknown.[78]

Suffixoidal localisms in *–t* and *–m*, though fairly frequent, are of quite limited occurrence, occurring on an extremely few roots. This distribution is certainly too circumscribed to term these productive grammatical morphology, and these forms are mentioned primarily in order to give a full accounting of the corpus.

3.1.2.2 Possible suppletion

A final potential KCW-internally generated morphological pattern is suppletion, "where a lexeme has two forms which are not cognate" (Dixon 2010a:340). This operation is remotely plausible only in one case in the corpus: cardinal *iht* 'one' versus ordinal *ilip* 'first' as in example (40):

(40) (a) *kopa iht pipa iaka= mitlait naika nim...* [7]
PREP one paper 3AGR= COPex 1SG name
'on one of the papers is my name…'

(b) *ilip naika t͡ʃako kopa ukuk ha͡ws* [56]
first 1SG to.come PREP DEM house
'first thing, I came to this house'

Suppletion would thus be a marginal morphological operation in KCW. Such a limitation is expected crosslinguistically (cf. Kihm 2000:169); suppletion is usually restricted to a handful of lexical domains (cf. Markey 1987:5). The viability of a claim of suppletion is in fact reduced by the fact that, in certain environments (CW personal names), 'first' is expressed differently, by *iht* as in *iht ʃo* 'First Joe' in a village where several Joes reside (Robertson 2007c). I discuss suppletion here primarily to draw attention to this previously undescribed usage, which is not mentioned in Thomas (1970 [1935]:67, s.v. *ikt*), Johnson (1978:239, s.v. *!001* [sic]), or in other previous literature.

3.1.2.3 Summary of unproductive forms native to KCW

Two kinds of potentially morphological items that could have been generated from resources internal to Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, i.e. having no clear source in either Salish or English, were identified in the corpus. One type is the suffixoidal localism, a uniquely KCW variant on a pan-CW word form, distinguished by the presence of elsewhere unknown word-final material. Another type is suppletion, the expression of a

[78] For the Salish 'middle', see e.g. Kroeber (1999:25-28), Thompson and Thompson (1996:102-106), Van Eijk (1997:108-109). Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins (p.c.) points out the Salish lexical suffix *–akst* 'hand' as another possible influence; it is not known how this would work semantically. If that morpheme influenced Salish people's realization of KCW *komtaks*, one could speculate on the origin of the Okanagan-language word *kmátm* "Covada [place name]…etymology [sic]: 'okay; alright; I already knew it'" (Mattina 1987:32). That is, *kmátm* could derive ultimately from KCW *komtaks(-t)*, understood as Salish ~ *komt-akst* (i.e. as having a root *komt*), another inflected form of which would be *komt-[V]m* ('middle voice' form), to which Salish stress-assignment rules would apply. It is unknown to me whether the name Covada precedes or postdates the form *kmátm*.

grammatical alternation between two formally distinct words without an identifiably regular rule. In both instances the distribution is too sporadic for these to be termed regular operations.

3.1.3 Summary of unproductive forms

Many of the unproductive forms just discussed are at least tentatively traceable to English and Salish contact with Kamloops Chinúk Wawa at the time when a given item in the corpus was written. Some of these forms occur solely in non-KCW matrices, and none is sufficiently predictable or frequent to be termed a core part of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. It is certainly of interest to record the presence of any purely grammatical morphology, however sporadic, in a pidgin, as does Bakker (2003b) in claiming that pidgins can have more-complex morphological structure than creoles.

But the rarity and non-productivity of these forms so far reinforces the longstanding idea that pidgins like KCW are mostly isolating languages, in which morphemes and words stand in a one-to-one correspondence (Anderson 1985:9-11) and from which "all inflection…tend[s] to be eliminated" (Hock 1986:512ff). There is for example no productive overt marking of plurality directly on nouns or verbs (cf. §4.2.1.2), nor of tense on verbal or other predicates (see §4.1). Other morphological operations common in Salish languages of the area, such as reduplication as a marker of diminutivity, distributivity, and so forth, are totally absent (cf. Kuipers 1974:37-40, Thompson and Thompson 1992:48ff, van Eijk 1997:55-66). The lack of a reduplicative morpheme is paralleled across pidgin languages, per Bakker (2003a).

3.2 Productive morphology

In this section, evidence will be examined for productive morphemes. Their presence tends to contradict the longstanding view of CW as operating via a purely isolating concatenation of lexemes having more-or-less concrete meaning.
On closer inspection, it becomes clear that Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is not quite so strictly isolating nor free of dedicated grammatical morphemes. Various patterns marking aspect, person agreement, etc. emerge in frequent, more or less predictable, and apparently productive use in the corpus. Some patterns seem not quite sufficiently well-attested to be called more than semi-productive with any confidence, but they nonetheless do show signs of freely generating further exemplars. In the interest of distinguishing these from clearly non-productive morphemes, they are grouped here with the more definitely productive patterns. The following subsections divide these patterns by both general phonological form and by type, that is, into word-formation processes of conversion and compounding (§3.2.1) and other overt grammatical morphemes (§3.2.2). A brief summary of productive KCW grammatical morphology is provided in §3.2.3.

3.2.1 Word-formation: Conversion and compounding

Productive grammatical morphology that adds no bound forms to the roots involved includes conversion and compounding, discussed respectively in §3.2.1.1 and §3.2.1.2. Each is, like truncation or tone sandhi, a process rather than a morpheme per se

(Dixon 2010a:217-218). Some summary remarks on KCW conversion and compounding are presented in §3.2.1.3.

3.2.1.1 Conversion ('zero-derivation')

A common situation in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is so-called conversion or zero-derivation. This is the occurrence, common in pidgins and creoles (Bakker 2003b:10-11) in multiple syntactic classes of phonologically identical tokens (cf. Dixon 2010b:46-50).[79] Word 'class' is here understood as the bundle of syntactic structural properties shared with some set of other items, cf. Dixon (2010a:110-112), Crystal (1985:48). Conversion is "the derivational process whereby an item comes to belong to a new word class without the addition of an affix" or any other change in the stem (Crystal 1985:75; cf. Payne 1997:224). By such a mechanism, an item is said to gain membership in an additional word class. An illustration of presumed KCW conversion is *mamuk*, functioning as a verb in (41a i) but as a noun in (ii); *skukum haws* functions like an adjective in (b i) but like a noun in (b ii):

(41) (a) (i) *kopa ukuk nsaika mamuk aju͡ kul ankati* [110]
PREP DEM 1PL to.do much year PAST
'it's this that we made our living on for many years in the past'

(ii) *maika tlap= sik tomtom kopa ukuk mamuk* [112]
2SG O.C= upset heart PREP DEM action
'you'll be upset by these goings-on'

(b) (i) *iht man iaka= skukum ha͡ws kopa Nort Bind* [116]
one man 3AGR= strong house PREP North Bend
'one man is in jail (is jailed) at North Bend'

(ii) *naika ju͡tl tomtom maika klahani kopa skukum ha͡ws* [34]
1SG glad heart 2SG out PREP strong house
'I'm glad that you're out of jail'

The following subsections discuss the analysis of KCW conversion as morphological in nature (§3.2.1.1.1), give a preliminary overview of its frequency and distribution (§3.2.1.1.2), and summarize what is known of this process (§3.2.1.1.3).

3.2.1.1.1 Treating KCW conversion as morphological in nature

Not all analysts will agree that there is an operation in human languages that can be called conversion and that is morphological in nature. I treat conversion as morphological, rather than as syntactic, in line with Basic Linguistic Theory and to further my investigation of the potential extent of KCW's pidgin morphology. A different approach is Vrzić's reference to 'syntactic multifunctionality', or 'shared membership' in multiple syntactic classes, in the closely related literary CW of *Kamloops*

[79] Here identity is decided insofar as the sameness of tokens can be established from material known to us almost exclusively in written form, cf. §2.3.2.

Wawa (1999:113-114).[80] Conversion, but not Vrzić's syntactic-multifunctionality model, implicitly assumes what can be termed a base or 'underlying' form—some class-membership that was original to a given morph; cf. Dixon 2010b:48)—from which each conversion proceeded. That assumption suggests the possibility of generalization about how productively these multi-class memberships were formed in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, and about which subclasses of lexemes were involved. To assume conversion as a kind of non-overt word-formation process, creating distinct lexemes (Dixon 2010b:48ff), harmonizes with this study's overall goal of describing all seemingly patterned regularities in this language.

As will be shown, there are regularities in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa conversion relationships for which syntactic rules cannot account. In KCW it is almost exclusively constituent-order, that is syntax, which determines argument status, "the relationship of a name to the simple proposition of which it is part", per Crystal (1985:22), cf. Dixon (2010a:332). For example within the KCW personal-pronoun system, ordering is what routinely distinguishes paradigms of homographs functioning as subject/agent, object, and 'oblique' (cf. §4.1.2). By contrast, what are identified as conversions in the present study do <u>not</u> give rise to contrasting paradigms e.g. of person, transitivity or aspect. This is another reason why instead of the syntactic view, I take a morphogical view of conversion.[81]

Despite the assumption that some base of conversion exists, I wish to specify that in the present corpus it is not always possible, nor is it necessary, to determine which word-class might have been original in a given KCW conversion. The narrow timespan of attestation, and the finiteness of the corpus, lead to a situation in which the original word-class memberships of many words will remain indeterminate. Bakker observes that in conversion, "it is difficult to establish where the process originates" (2003:11). In some cases, forms underlying a conversion process can actually be identified with confidence (cf. Dixon 2010b:48ff for English). But that project is perhaps most appropriate for a historical-linguistic study having access to more substantial diachronic data than is in my corpus, to native speakers (of which none, by definition, ever existed for the pidgin KCW) or to fluent members of the speech community (none of whom are now alive). It is not essential to identify the base of conversion because the present study is a synchronic description, presenting a particular stage in KCW's history (such an approach is implied in the neutral presentation of Mundari data with 'meaning as verb' and 'meaning as noun' by Dixon 2010a:49-50). The issue that is important for a principled analysis of KCW conversion is to distinguish cases of multiple lexical-

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[80] For more on the concept of multifunctionality in pidgins and creoles, see Young-Davy (1994) and Holm (2000:228-232). Some linguists have recently explicitly mentioned, and sometimes analyzed, conversion in contact varieties, viz. Post (1995:195) for Fa d'Ambu, and Migge (2000) for Surinamese 'Plantation Creole'.

[81] The string *mamuk* in example (13) raises the related issue of morpheme types, in that the present study analyzes certain strings as sometimes non-roots and sometimes as full-root words from which the former developed diachronically. An example is the clitic *mamuk*=, §3.2.2.2.2, versus the full root *mamuk* 'to work, to do, to make'. The assumption underlying this distinction is that certain words in KCW historically underwent grammaticalization to gain bound functions. Grammaticalization is by definition an unpredictable diachronic process (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002:2-5), not governed by synchronic morphosyntactic rules. Non-root homonym of full-root forms are therefore excluded from my discussion of (synchronic) conversion.

category membership from presumable grammaticalizations, which represent changes not so much from category to category as "from less grammatical to more grammatical forms and constructions" [i.e. from more lexical to less lexical] (Heine and Kuteva 2002:4). In accordance with this observation, the term 'interconversion' will sometimes be used in the following discussion to describe the relationships among identical full root words belonging to two or more classes.

3.2.1.1.2 Frequency and distribution

To begin to grasp the sets of functions that can be borne by homographs or (what are effectively) homophones,[82] it is helpful to examine a number of examples of apparent conversion. For simplicity in this preliminary survey, only single-morpheme words are considered. Further research is needed on the possibilities of conversion of larger units in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa such as compounds (cf. §3.2.1.2) and phrases and clauses (cf. §4).

Table 3 shows the five distributions of conversion relationships, defined by the categories involved, which were found to occur more than once in the first 49 texts of my database; my preliminary observations on conversion in KCW will be limited to this data:

***Word* (with approximate sense)**	**N**	**V & cop**[83]	**Adj**	**Av**[84]
hilp 'help', *laplitas* 'penance', *piii* 'pay', *ʃanti* 'sing', *siisim* 'tell', *skul* 'school', *wa͡wa͡* 'say', *mamuk* 'do', *tomtom* 'heart'	√	√		
masat͡ʃi 'evil', *Inglis* 'English', *Sawa͡ʃ* 'Indian', *ʃusw͡ap* 'Secwepemc', *sik* 'sick'	√		√	
t͡ʃi 'new', *hlwi͡ma* 'different', *kaltaʃ* 'useless', *skukum* 'strong'			√	√
ts͡im 'marked', *mimlus* 'die'	√	√	√	
kaksit 'break', *krai* 'weep'		√	√	

Table 3: The most frequent conversion relationships

This 22-word sample is assumed to be representative, as it amounts to one-third of the total texts and spans roughly the entire date range of the *Chinuk pipa* corpus.[85] The

[82] The term 'homographs' is chosen here as most appropriate to a written corpus with limited phonological interpretability (cf. §2.3.2). 'Homophony', though hard to establish in this corpus, is one necessary condition of conversion. I omit from consideration those homographs / possible homophones that are distinct in their lexical meanings, e.g. *wit* 'wheat' / 'to.wait'.

[83] Verbs and copulas are taken as a single class of inherently predicative items, cf. §4.1.6.

[84] The class of adverbs in KCW is small but definitely exists. An example of a frequent solely adverbial lexeme is *lili* 'for a long time'.

[85] Most of these 49 texts are undated, but internal evidence, such as reference to events that are also noted in dated letters, points to their having been composed at a variety of times across approximately 10 years. Some of the examples I have found that appear to be conversion could conceivably be grammaticalizations instead. The picture of KCW conversion would be streamlined and constrained to the extent that grammaticalization could be proven to have taken place.

predominant pattern is for homographs to be distributed as noun or verb (nine examples). Second most common is the pattern noun-adjective (five examples). Third most common is adjective-adverb (four examples). Least frequent are two patterns involving verb-adjective, one of which additionally involves nouns; each is instantiated by two examples.

3.2.1.1.3 Summary of conversion

The observations on the most frequent interconversions can be tentatively summarized in diagram form in Figure 7, where double-headed arrows indicate conversion relationships:

More frequent *Less frequent*

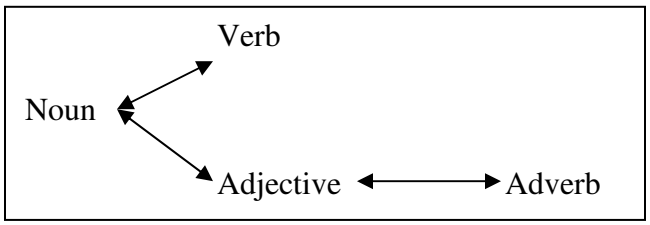

Figure 7: Conversion relationships

Here, the farther to the left a category or conversion appears, the more frequently it is found; I take this as a rough suggestion of greater productivity. Sixteen lexemes (types, not tokens) participate in conversions involving nouns, 13 each in those involving verbs and adjectives, and four in those involving adverbs.

The predominance of open classes of words here is striking; closed-system items behave as expected in resisting the addition of further members to their ranks (for more on the open-closed class contrast, cf. Crystal 1985:51). The only frequent category outside the five most frequent distributions is, interestingly, a closed class, quantifiers, represented by nine lexemes. Quantifiers, however, participate in a hodgepodge of relationships that are each attested just once. The dominance of putative KCW conversion by the open classes, to which "new items are…regularly added" (1985:51), is here taken as an additional suggestion that zero-derivation could have been a type of productive morphological operation in this language.

This very rough sketch of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa conversion could be refined, and the statistical distributions firmed up, in future work. What is needed is analysis of the remaining two-thirds of the texts, and contrastive analysis of syntactic frames surrounding tokens of conversion. Such work might lead to a more solid understanding of how productively conversion operated in this language. The data examined here can be summarized as indicating that certain kinds of interconversion were frequent in KCW, occurring perhaps predictably among the open lexical classes only.

3.2.1.2 Compounding

Also internally generated from Kamloops Chinúk Wawa resources is compounding, the morphological process by which "two roots may be joined to form one

stem" (Dixon 2010a:138), making "a linguistic unit [complex lexeme] which is composed of elements that function independently in other circumstances" (Crystal 1985:63). Such a definition excludes non-root forms such as proclitics (§3.2.2.2) or grammatical particles (§3.2.2.3). Compounds thus defined have not previously been explicitly analyzed in the CW literature. Jacobs' (1932:33-34) comments count among the most substantial discussion, but his 'compounding' is a prosodic term for "clustering, or tying[,] of words" (p. 33). He includes syntactic cliticization of pronouns and phonological reduction from primary stress of any CW morph, thus running a broader range of phenomena than the morphological. Vrzić 1999:112-113 has also briefly noted compound structures, though her use of this label includes causative (*mamuk*) morphology, which I have identified as cliticization (§3.2.2.2).

The following subsections discuss the problem of identifying compounds in KCW (§3.2.1.2.1), then examine their properties (§3.2.1.2.2), and summarize these observations (§3.2.1.2.3).

3.2.1.2.1 Identifying compounds in KCW

Identification of possible compounds in KCW is fraught with difficulty. Table 4 lists crosslinguistically frequent traits of compounds (after Payne 1997:92-94):

Trait	**Example**
Distinct suprasegmental elements	In English, *(to) hang úp* ↔ *(a) hángup*
Unusual morphophonemics	The degemination in English *bookkeeper* [ˈbʊkipəɹ]
Specialized morphology	Thompson Salish *siʔ-ɬ-núkʷ* 'they commit adultery' [< *səy'* 'play', *-ɬ-* 'linking morpheme', *núkʷ* 'wrong'] (Thompson and Thompson 1992:110); English *Rock-O-Plane* (Wikipedia [Rock-O-Plane] 2007)]
Unique orthographic devices	The hyphen in English *Butt-head* (Wikipedia [Beavis and Butt-head] 2007)
Syntax differing from the general argument structure of the language	In English, where noun + noun sequences are otherwise rare; *courts-martial* with rare N Adj order
By corollary with the above: meaning not fully predictable from those of component members	Japanese *karaoke* 'a pastime of singing along with recordings' < *kara* 'empty' + *oke* 'orchestra'

Table 4: Traits of compounds

By the above tests, compounds identifiable in the corpus are almost exclusively noun-plus-noun; only these sequences consistently and demonstrably exhibit the relevant qualities. For example, noun-noun sequences such as *stiʃon* + *man*[86] 'railway clerk'

[86] In the present study, the symbol + is introduced to mark the boundary between members of a compound.

(literally 'station man') [28] are not interpretable as some other category, say clauses (§4.1.2) or possessive phrases (§4.2.2.1.1), and thus meet the criteria of displaying distinctive syntax and of having meaning greater than the sum of their parts.

It is logically possible that other combinations of classes in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa formed compounds. It is reasonable to suppose say that an adjective-plus-noun sequence, as in *hwa͡it man* 'white people' [64], was a compound meeting the above criteria. Vrzić (1999:112-113) claims a variety of word-class combinations as compounds in the closely related *Kamloops Wawa* literary variety, though she does not elaborate on her reasoning. But virtually all KCW sequences other than noun + noun are with equal or greater plausibility interpretable as adhering to the general syntactic rules outlined in chapter 5, albeit with sometimes idiomatic meaning. The exceptions are the cases that are simply unintelligible, whether due to scribal error or my own temporal remove from the KCW speech community. *Hwa͡it man* is unremarkably and sensibly parsed as a noun phrase containing an attributive adjective (§4.2.2.4), and that is the analysis I present for such cases.

I have found a single divergent structure that I cannot explain as anything but a compound. It looks to be constructed not of noun-plus-noun but of verb-plus-(object/patient) noun. This case is reproduced in (42):

(42) *kopa mun ʃanwa͡ri 9 dita͡s 1895 Lilwa͡t [[piii + mamuk] + son]* [106]
PREP month January nine day 1895 Lillooet to.pay.for work day
'In the month of January, 9th day, 1895, Lillooet; [[pay]day]'[87]

Here *piii mamuk* is parsed straightforwardly as 'to pay for work (done)'. An interpretation by which the two bracketed strings get interpreted as nouns, giving an unremarkable KCW compound, is possible—but only if forced by a change in constituent-order that is not known elsewhere in the corpus: **mamuk* + *piii* 'work-pay'. The most sensible reading here seems to be one where a verb phrase *piii mamuk* is modifying a noun *son*. This case may be relatable to several instances where verbs seem to function rather like attributive adjectives, as in examples (43a,b) with *mamuk* 'to make', or rare preposed relative clauses, as in (c) with *patlaʧ* 'to send':

(43) (a) *naika tlap maika mamuk pipa kopa naika* [62]
1SG to.get 2SG to.make letter PREP 1SG
'I've received your written letter to me'

(b) *wi͡k- kata iaka mamuk= kilapai naika mamuk pipa kopa iaka* [94]
NEG- how? 3 CAUS= to.return 1SG to.make letter PREP 3
'He can't reply to the letter I wrote him.'

(c) *naika tlap [maika patlaʧ (t) kopa naika] ukuk ʃanti + buk* [75]
1SG to.receive 2SG to.send (t) PREP 1SG] DEM song book
'I've received the hymnals [<u>that</u> you sent me (<u>t</u>)]'

[87] This is the dateline of a letter.

More detailed analysis of the corpus is unfortunately considerably limited by its non-audio and phonetically undetailed nature (cf. chapter 2). Due to this factor, the first two criteria in Table 4 (suprasegmentals, morphophonemics) are not in evidence for KCW. The next two factors (special morphology, unique orthographic devices) do not exist in the written corpus. Barring fuller information of these sorts, it has seemed prudent to limit my study's claims of compounding to noun-plus-noun sequences, which cannot be explained by other means. Keeping in mind that "different languages employ different types of compounds, and to varying degrees" (Dixon 2010a:139), it seems possible that KCW used some additional compound types not identified at this writing.[88]

A restatement of the relevant criteria for identifying compounds in the present study is therefore as follows:

- Structure not interpretable by reference to the general syntax of phrase formation (cf. chapter 4).
- Meanings not predictable from those of the component members.
- (De facto:) consecutive noun components only.

Aside from *piii +mamuk + son*, collocations failing to meet all three of these are analyzed as grammatically unremarkable non-compounds for Kamloops Chinúk Wawa.[89]

3.2.1.2.2 Characteristics of KCW compounds

Every Kamloops Chinúk Wawa compound identified was endocentric, overtly containing its own head and in Polomé's words having "the same function as one of its members, for example, the compound *blackbird* functions in a sentence just like *bird*" (1990:359). Not found were exocentric compounds, having only an implicit head (Fabb 1998:66-67) or again in Polomé's terms "not belong[ing] to the same form or function class of either of its constituents" (1990:359). Thus all identified KCW compounds are of the form of (44a), and none are of the form of the English items in (b):

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[88] Evidence of other kinds of compounding may come from future research systematically comparing the phonologically better-documented CW varieties. Those of the lower Columbia River and Grand Ronde, for example, are said to display various word-classes as members of compounds, which impressionistically seem to meet at least the first and last two criteria above. (Zenk and Johnson 2003.) It can be noted that many languages display very numerous collocations widely accepted as 'compounds' even in the absence of formal differences from phrases or clauses; cf. Mandarin Chinese (Payne 1997:94).

[89] I have decided to exclude proper names from the discussion of compounding, as it is unclear to me to what degree KCW speakers analyzed e.g. place-names into meaningful components. In the place-names in the corpus that are written as multiple *Chinuk pipa* words, usually at least one of those words occurs nowhere but in those toponyms. For example, *Brif Lipol* 'Bridge River' [113] is a good candidate for noun + noun compound status, except that both parts of the name are unknown as KCW common nouns. In fact, most KCW place-names are transparently recent loans either via English (like *Soda Krik* 'Soda Creek' [88], *Kamlups* 'Kamloops' [90] [contrast with the ultimate source, Secwepemctsín / Shuswap Salish *Tk'emlúps*) or from a given writer's mother tongue, such as *Krapasʃiʃin* 'North Bend' [48] from Thompson Salish *Q'apeʔcícn*, cf. Thompson and Thompson (1996), and *ʃhkaltkmah* 'Sahhaltkum' [51] from Secwepemctsín.

(44) (a) (i) *ʃanti* + *man* [42]
song man
'prayer leader'
(right-headed; a kind of man)

(ii) *lam* + *patlat͡ʃ* [64]
alcohol gift
'a free drink'
(right-headed; a beverage)

(b) (i) **peg-leg*
(non-headed; neither a kind of peg nor a kind of leg, but a type of physically handicapped person)

(ii) **the Our Father*
(non-headed; not a parent, but a prayer)

Only one non-head member has been identified per compound in the corpus; that is, only two-member compounds were identified in KCW. Of all the possible dependents in a noun phrase, the non-head member of a compound is the most closely bound to the head; that is, no material is attested as intervening between the lexical nouns in a compound (cf. §3.2.2.6). So-called phrasal compounds, those with maximal phrases in dependent position, as in English *the getting-wet part*, have not been identified in the corpus—again with the exception of *piii* + *mamuk* + *son* (cf. Wiese 1996:185, Lieber 1988:204ff).

All head members of KCW compounds are formally minimal, being unmodified nominal lexical roots. Non-head members display some formal variation. They are most often simple, bare roots, as in (45) (in this subsection, compounds are indicated by [brackets] for reasons that will become clear):

(45) (a) *naika patlat͡ʃ iht tala kopa maika pus maika piii maika makmak*
1SG to.send one dollar PREP 2SG IRR 2SG to.pay 2SG food
'I'm sending you a dollar for you to pay for your food

kopa [makmak + *haw͡s]* [52]
PREP food building
at an inn'

(b) *naika [ʃanti* + *man] kopa Soda Krik* [42]
1SG song man PREP Soda Creek
'I'm the prayer leader at Soda Creek'

But the dependent member can be morphologically more complex, in ways heads cannot. KCW compounding is recursive, i.e. the dependent member may itself display compounding as in (46):

(46) (a) *klunas naika sik tomtom kopa [[post + ofis] + man]* [87]
EVID 1SG upset heart PREP post office man
'I reckon I'm upset at the postal clerk'
(cf. *post* + *kard* 'postcard')

(b) *naika Patrik Filiks kopa…Kajus Krik kopa* [130]
1SG Patrick Felix PREP Cayoosh Creek PREP
'I'm Patrick Felix from Cayoosh Creek, from
[[skul + haws] + ilihi]
school building place
the school tract'

Or the dependent may incorporate the 'diminutive' clitic as in (47a); note that no examples were identified in the corpus with this clitic having scope over the entire compound, i.e. presumably standing outside the compound, as in (b):

(47) (a) *[tanas= son + stjuil]* [98]
DIM= day prayer
'[morning prayers]'
(cf. *tanas= son* 'morning' [67]

(b) * *tanas= [son + stjuil]*
DIM= day prayer
? 'little da(il)y prayers'

Otherwise the dependent member may incorporate a single attributive adjective such as *iakwa* in (48a) and *sitkom* and *mimlus* in (b):

(48) (a) *kanawi ukuk [iakwa ilihi + stjuil]* [98][90]
all DEM here place prayer
'all of the prayers of this place'

(b) (i) *[sitkom son + stjuil] pi [mimlus son + stjuil]* [98][91]
middle day prayer CONJ dead day prayer
'the [midday prayers] and the [evening prayers]'

(ii) **sitkom [son + stjuil] pi mimlus [son + stjuil]*
?!'half (of a) day-prayer and a dead day-prayer'[92]

---

[90] *Iakwa* 'here' has among its frequent uses the attributive adjectival sense 'local'.

[91] Note that a head lexeme is always restated in coordinations, including coordinations of compounds having identical heads, even if this entails a good deal of repetition (see also example 46). Therefore structures such as *[[*sitkom pi mimlus son]] stjuil* ~ 'middle and dead-day prayers', with a single instance of *son*, are unattested. This behaviour may be evidence for compounds' having been understood in KCW as having meanings distinct from the sum of their parts.

[92] Compare *sitkom son* 'midday' [39] and *mimlus son* 'evening' [73].

Finally, a conjunction of the above kinds of material {here shown in braces} can be incorporated into a compound's dependent member, as with the diminutive and adjective in (49):

(49) *[{tanas= son pi mimlus son} + stʃuil]* [98]
DIM= day CONJ dead day + prayer
'the [{morning and evening} + prayers]'

One structure sometimes described as compounding, whole-word reduplication (cf. Nabb 1998:69), is absent from this pidgin just as the survey work by Bakker leads us to expect (1995, 2003a, b).

3.2.1.2.3 Summary of compounding

In summary, this subsection has specified for the first time in the Chinúk Wawa literature that compounding (in KCW) is binary, recursive and endocentric, that is with an identifiable head present in the right half of the compound (about which see Crystal 1985:109, 114). Head members of compounds are always bare nominal lexical roots; structural possibilities for dependent members are wider, allowing entire noun phrases utilizing the syntactic slots most closely preceding the noun head (cf. §4.2.2). In order of increasing leftward distance or freedom from that head, these are recursion, 'diminutive' marking, and attributive adjectives (see §4.7). This range of building blocks increases the expressivity of KCW compounding, and raises it above the level of either nonce usage or fossilized collocations. KCW compounding thus is at least 'semi-productive'—that is, displaying "limited or occasional" production of "further instances of the same type", in the wording of Crystal (1985:247).

Compounding is frequent. Compounding is frequently noted in the literature as a diachronic mechanism of vocabulary expansion in contact varieties.[93] In KCW, by contrast, it appears to have been a fairly frequent and productive process synchronically. Although, as noted above, structural information on compounds is sparse, two sources of evidence suggest the validity of this analysis. First, comparison with other varieties of CW shows that many compounds are unique to KCW, probably being of recent vintage. In (50) are given a few examples that are lacking in Johnson (1978) and Zenk and Johnson (2003):

(50) (a) *hilp + pipa* [87]
help document
'petition, written request for assistance'

(b) *[[hwait man] + wawa]* [38]
white man speech
'the language of white people; English'

(c) *kampani + haws* [117]
company building
'company house' (= stagecoach stop?)

[93] Cf. Holm (2000:130-132).

Second, the semantics of such combinations as actually used in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa strongly support their analysis as integral units distinct from their components, cf. Anonymous (1998).

3.2.1.3 Summary of word-formation

The word-formation morphology of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is here understood as being instantiated by two processes: conversion (zero-derivation) and compounding. Neither adds identifiably bound material to a head. But both significantly alter its meaning and, in the case of conversion, also its word-class membership. Both appear to be relatively productive, in contrast with instances where lexical material from KCW is subject to foreign syntax or vice versa (§3.1).

The following section provides a contrast with the above by examining overt productive grammatical morphemes in KCW.

3.2.2 Other grammatical morphemes

Novel to the study of Chinúk Wawa is the present study's recognition of a number of overt Kamloops Chinúk Wawa items as grammatical morphemes more or less closely bound to roots. These are items that are homonymous with, but exhibit behaviour distinct from, strictly lexical usages of the same morphs. This point will be referred to repeatedly in the following discussion of individual morphemes.

In the creolized CW of Oregon, too, many of the same morphemes I am about to discuss are widely agreed to have grammaticalized to some purely functional status (with concomitant stress loss and segment weakening), while coexisting with their more strictly lexical source words (which retain their stress and segmental content). (For details see e.g. Jacobs 1932:38-39, Grant 1996a, Zenk and Johnson 2003). The primary difference is that KCW appears to have grammaticalized even more words into functional markers. This apparently duplicates the recent findings of Bakker's innovative cross-pidgin survey work (2003b) cited in §3.1, to the effect that pidgins tend to display more overt morphology than do creoles.

These markers in KCW pattern generally into three classes that I term affixes, clitics, and 'particles'. I will emphasize that proof beyond doubt of a given item's membership in one of these categories as opposed to the others is not to be had. This level of indeterminacy, as with that in regard to phonology (see §2.3.2), is caused by the absence of prosodic information in the corpus (cf. Dixon 2010a:222). But I present evidence below that I believe supports the point that a number of grammaticalized CW forms exhibit previously unidentified syntactic regularities, behaving more as grammatical processes than as lexical words.

The six tests of Zwicky and Pullum (1983:503-504) were used to approximately gauge membership in the first two types: affix and clitic. The third type of non-root morphemes, here termed particles, can be distinguished based on their failure to meet these tests and for displaying a unique set of common traits. I hypothesize that many of Zwicky and Pullum's clitic criteria can be modified to extend to particles, taking into account the less-bound nature of this third type. I also assume that the behaviour of

heads (roots) can be distinguished in a principled way from that of the grammatical markers, even when there is identity of form between types.[94] Accordingly, a summary set of twelve criteria for all four categories is presented in Table 5:

Criterion	***Affixes***	***Clitics***	***Particles***	***Heads (roots)***
A: Selectivity with respect to heads	High	Lower	(Low)	(Non-selective with respect to other heads)
B: Gaps in paradigm	Arbitrary gaps	Fewer gaps	(Few gaps)	(No possibility of gaps)
C: Morphological idiosyncrasy of combinations with heads[95]	Some	Less	(Little)	(N/A)
D: Semantic idiosyncrasy of combinations with heads	Some	Less	(Little)	(N/A)
E: Affected by syntactic rules	Affected	Post-syntactic	(Post-syntactic)	(Governed by syntactic rules)
F: Cooccurrences	Can't attach to cliticized forms	Attach to other cliticized forms	(Occur with other forms having particles or clitics)	(Can host affixes, clitics, particles)
[G: Adjacency to heads]	[Always adjacent to head]	[Close to head]	[Can be distant from head]	[Head position]
[H: Boundness to heads]	[Bound to head]	[Loosely bound to head]	[Positional freedom from head]	[Identity with head]
[I: Relative productivity]	{Productive}	{Productive}	{Productive}	{Less productive}[96]
[J: Predictability of position]	{Predictable position}	{Predictable position}	{Predictable position}	{Non-predictable position}
[K: Cleftability]	{Can't cleft [without an accompanying head]}	{Can't cleft [without an accompanying head]}	{Can't cleft [without an accompanying head]}	{Cleftable}
[L: Meaning]	{Purely grammatical meaning}	{Purely grammatical meaning}	{Purely grammatical meaning}	{Lexical meaning}

Table 5: Tests for categorial status
(After Zwicky and Pullum 1983)[97]

[94] See chapter 4 for discussion of heads' syntactic behaviour.

[95] For KCW, with its very low degree of formal variation, I interpret criterion C as indicating that an affix will, like *wīk-* 'negative', be a non-root, grammatical morpheme having no non-grammatical-operator cognate (lexeme from which it grammaticalized), whereas clitics and 'particles' will be increasingly formally identical with some cognate free lexical-root form (e.g. *tanas*= 'diminutive' and *tanas* 'little').

[96] Heads might be considered simply non-productive, by Crystal's definition of productivity cited above ("limited or occasional" production of "further instances of the same type", 1985:247, with the implication that what are produced are forms with fairly predictable meanings). However, I have pointed out in §3.2.1.2 that heads can act like productive morphological elements in that they compound to make new heads, with partially predictable meaning.

[97] *(Parentheses)* signal extensions from Zwicky and Pullum's criteria, *[brackets]* my suggested criteria for distinguishing all morpheme types, *{braces}* my suggested tests for non-root status. Wherever tests from

Previous studies of CW varieties, such as those on the Oregon creole just mentioned and Vrzić (1999) on literary shorthand CW, have not explicitly analyzed such grammaticalized elements with regard to part-of-speech status. The present study contributes the first recognition that parts of speech other than lexical roots are present in a CW variety.

The following subsections discuss productive overt grammatical morphology in KCW from the most-bound, i.e. occupying positions closest to lexical heads, to the least-bound, standing farthest from the head. Reference will be made primarily to Zwicky and Pullum (1983), except in the case of the 'particles', where I suggest additional tests are necessary. Section 3.2.2.1 deals with the negative prefix *wi͡k-*, §3.2.2.2 with the seven proclitics, and §3.2.2.3 with the nine particles.[98] §3.2.2.4 briefly summarizes these observations on overt, productive grammatical morphology in KCW.

3.2.2.1 Prefix: Negative *wi͡k-*

A prefix, negative-polarity *wi͡k-*, seems one of the clearest cases of a bound, purely grammatical morpheme in all of KCW. The negations using it are summarized in Table 6:

Head	***wi͡k-* item**
saia [adverb] 'far'	*wi͡k-saia* [adverb] 'almost'
kata [content-question item] 'how?'	*wi͡k-kata* [particle] 'impossible/can't'[99]
tlus [particle] 'imperative'	*wi͡k-tlus* [particle] 'negative imperative'[100]
tlus [adjective] 'good'	*wi͡k-tlus* [adjective] 'bad'

Table 6: Affixal negation with *wi͡k-*

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this table are listed for a given morpheme in the following sections, each is marked √ if analyzed as confirmed for that grammatical item, **?** if dubious, or **X** if not confirmed.

[98] Since the main discussion of transitivity, mood, modality, aspect, agreement and polarity is in chapter 5 on syntax, the present chapter will refer the reader to relevant sections of chapter 5 when such terms are invoked. An additional grammatical marker, *ilip* 'comparative degree', is too sparsely attested to make possible its analysis as either an affix, a clitic or a particle. It is therefore omitted from the present discussion. Cf. §4.1.7, §4.1.8 for more information on this marker.

[99] Cf. §4.1.3.5 on potential modality.

[100] Cf. §4.1.3.3 on imperative mood.

Wik- is the one KCW item identified as an affix by Zwicky and Pullum's criteria (1983:503-504), as noted here:[101]

√ A. High selectivity of stems; cf. Dixon, "an affix is always restricted in its application, sometimes just to forms from one word class, sometimes to more than one (but never to all possible stems)" (2010a:222). *Wik*- occurs only with an arbitrary set of three roots: *saia* 'far'*, kata* 'how'*, tlus* 'good'.
√ B. Arbitrary gaps in paradigm (no discernible pattern of distribution or reason for non-occurrence on other roots). *Wik*- is obligatory in the limited sense that negation of a stem is apparent only in the presence of this affix. In its absence negation appears to have been limited to the particle *ilo* (§4.1.5.2). On the other hand, *wik*- negation was unpredictable in the sense that it was restricted to a tiny number of stems. On balance, it was negation via the particle *ilo*, which was so heavily preferred that it can be considered the default form.
√ C. Morphological idiosyncrasy (unlike most other grammatical morphs I have identified in KCW, *wik*- lacks a homonym more common than itself that has lexical rather than grammatical meaning). (The exceptions being three particles, irrealis *pus* at §3.2.2.3.2.2 and the negatives *ilo* at §3.2.2.3.2.4.1 and *wik* at §3.2.2.3.2.4.2.)
√ D. Semantic idiosyncrasy (affix *wik*- plus root, as expected, generates an unpredictable meaning—one that is more easily characterized as grammatical than as lexical).
√ E. Affected by syntactic rules (prefixes should always occur closer to root heads than clitics and indeed not be separated therefrom by any material, cf. Dixon 2010a:222).
√ F. Can't attach to cliticized forms (unattested with anything but three roots having lexical meaning).

Since all these criteria are fulfilled, the evidence for the affixal as opposed to clitic status of *wik*- is suggestive. It is reinforced by the contrast of the above traits with those of the clitics, cf. §3.2.2.2 below. In addition, *wik*- behaves like a canonical affix in that it is never separated from its following head by any material. By contrast, additional items freely intervene between the negative particle *ilo[/ wik*] (§3.2.2.3.2.2.4) and its head [here bracketed], as in (51):[102]

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[101] *Wik*- negations could be said to also meet the essential criteria for compounds (structure not interpretable by reference to the general syntax of phrase formation; meanings not predictable from those of the component members; cf. §3.2.1.2.2). An analysis of negative expressions as compounds would be most apropros in the event that KCW negators were demonstrably free lexemes. The highly restricted distribution of *wik*-, as well as that of what I call a separate negative particle *wik*, seems to me to reduce the likelihood that either is say a verb or a noun, as some languages' negators are.

[102] Throughout this discussion, it can be kept in mind that the negative particles *ilo* and *wik* pattern identically with one another (as distinguished from the negative prefix, *wik*-).

(51) (a) *…kakwa̍ naika ilo kwa̍nisim [mamuk= pipa] kopa maika* [9]
thus 1SG NEG always CAUS= letter PREP 2SG
'…which is why I haven't kept [writing] to you'

(b) *ilo drit iaka [hilp] kopa wa̍tʃman* [85]
NEG really 3 to.help PREP watchman
'he didn't [help] the watchmen much'

(c) *ilo wa̍n taim alta [lost] pipa* [117]
NEG one time PRES to.be.lost letter
'the newspaper hasn't [gotten lost] once yet'

Moreover, the non-affixal *wi̍k* seems to have only a marginal existence independent of its heads. As a negator of propositions rather than of heads (thus as a grammatical particle, §3.2.2.3), it is greatly overshadowed by the synonymous *ilo*. About 440 examples of *ilo* are found, compared with perhaps 18 of particle *wi̍k*, which is illustrated in (52):

(52) (a) *wi̍k klaska [komtaks]* [15]
NEG 3PL to.know
'they don't [know]'

(b) *naika wi̍k drit [komtaks]* [18]
1SG NEG really to.know
'I don't really [understand]'

At the clausal or higher levels, negation is marked by the occurrence of particle *ilo* in the left periphery (cf. §3.2.2.3.2.2.4, §4.1.5.2). In contrast, prefixal *wi̍k-* is normally used at the phrasal level.[103]

Following are examples of the *wi̍k-* forms and their semantic contrast with *ilo* forms. Affixally-negated 'almost' in (53a i) contrasts with particle-negated 'not far' in (a ii); affixal negation is shown by 'can't' in (b); affixally-formed 'negative imperative' in (c i) contrasts in meaning and morph-order with the particle-negation in (c ii); the affixal negation 'bad' in (d i) contrasts with the particle-negation paraphrase 'not good' in (d ii):

(53) (a) (i) *wi̍k- saia naika mamuk= mimlus iaka* [35]
NEG- far 1SG CAUS= to.die 3
'I almost killed her.'

[103] *Ilo* is apparently a phrasal negator in just two nonpersonal pronominal structures (cf. §5.2.1.1.2).

(ii) *wik-* *saia kanawi tilikom…klaska= mamuk kopa pipa…* |
NEG- far all people 3PL.AGR= to.work PREP writing
'Almost everyone…works on (learning) writing… |

Mali ʃon iaka= lisi…ilo saia klaska mitlait
Mary John 3AGR= lazy NEG far 3PL to.live
Mary John is lazy…They (her family) live not far away,

pi ilo tʃako kopa Sandi...
CONJ NEG come PREP Sunday
but don't come (to church) on Sunday....'

(b) *wik-* *kata iaka tlap tanas makmak* [63][104]
NEG- how? 3 to.get little.bit food
'He can't get (even) a bit of food.'

(c) (i) *pi wik- tlus ilo naika kilapai tanas= pipa* [88]
CONJ NEG- IMPRT NEG 1SG to.return DIM= letter
'and let me not fail to respond with a note

kopa maika
PREP 2SG
to you'

(ii) *tlus maika ilo saliks kopa naika* [51]
IMPRT 2SG NEG angry PREP 1SG
'(please) don't be angry with me'

(d) (i) *wik- tlus ukuk klutʃmin iaka mamuk* [21]
NEG- good DEM woman 3 doing
'This woman's actions are bad.'

(ii) *pus ilo tlus ukuk pipa | maika maʃ maika* [5][105]
IRR NEG good DEM writing 2SG to.send 2SG
'If this writing (of mine) is not good, | send your

tlus pipa
good writing
good writing.'

Wik- produces a distinct lexical word from a given base, rather than a derivational or inflectional paradigmatic form of the identical lexeme (cf. Payne 1997:292 on

[104] No contrasting structure **ilo kata* is attested in the corpus.
[105] Note that the use of the first *maika* '2SG' here is an imperative formation distinct from the use of the particle *tlus*; cf. §4.1.3.3.1.

"derivational negation" and Crystal 1985:89). It is applied to multiple word classes. This prefix is somewhat frequent, with some 84 attestations out of roughly 35,000 total tokens in the corpus. It stands in a patterned functional contrast with the negative particle *ilo*. Accordingly *wi͡k-* is analyzed as a relatively productive morpheme.

No previous description of Chinúk Wawa varieties has identified any strictly affixal material (viz. Jacobs 1932:33-36, Vrzić 1999:108-112.). This would make KCW *wi͡k-* a unique addition to the state of knowledge about the language.

3.2.2.2 Proclitics

Seven morphs of KCW that are homographs of, derived from and otherwise functioning as full lexical words are here identified as clitics—specifically proclitics. Proclitics have not been identified in previous analyses of Chinúk Wawa. These are listed in Table 7:

Proclitic	Gloss
tanas=	diminutive
mamuk=	'causative'
aju͡=	imperfective
tʃi͡ako=	ingressive
tlap=	'out-of-control'
iaka=	3rd-person agreement
klaska=	3rd-person plural agreement

Table 7: Proclitics

Clitics are wordlike grammatical units loosely bound to but structurally dependent on a nearby head lexeme (cf. Crystal 1985:51, Payne 1997:22-23). Here I introduce the symbol = to signal clitic status. As Dixon notes,

> the criteria for recognition of clitics must be formulated on an individual basis within the grammar of each language, *if there appears to be a unit intermediate in profile between word and affix* (Dixon 2010a:222; emphasis added)

Clitichood as opposed to affixhood is determined here based on the results of Zwicky and Pullum's (1983:503-504) tests.[106] Those tests will be discussed in application to each putative clitic in turn in the following subsections, but are summarized here:

[106] Of the few criteria that Dixon (2010a:222) suggests to differentiate affixes from clitics across *all* languages, most refer to prosodic information such as 'phonological word', 'stress placement'. The Zwicky and Pullum tests (1983) are the present study's attempt at dealing with the lack of prosodic information in the KCW corpus. See the following discussion on skeptically identifying clitics.

A. Low selectivity of stems (clitics occur with a large variety of hosts). Cf. Dixon: "A clitic is typically omni-locatable and can be added to any of a wide range of words (often, to a word of any type)" (2010a:222).
B. Few gaps in paradigm (regular patterns of distribution).
C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affixes (as noted above, I interpret this as implying that a clitic is more likely than an affix to be formally identical with some free root head having lexical meaning).
D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affixes (the meanings resulting from clitic use are more predictable).
E. Post-syntactic nature (cf. Dixon: "A clitic is added after derivational and inflectional processes are completed so that a proclitic precedes the first prefix", 2010a:222). Any KCW proclitics should be expected also to precede the entirety of any compound, when they have scope over the whole rather than just part of the compound.
F. Attachment to other cliticized forms (cooccurrences such as *aj͡u=* *mamuk=* 'imperfective' plus 'causative' are common).

By these standards, the evidence for clitic status is thought-provoking; clitics' behaviour can be contrasted not only with that of affixes but also with that of the 'particles', cf. the discussion in §3.2.2.3.

A note on methodology unique to this section: Kamloops Chinúk Wawa has proclitics, i.e. clitics "attached to the beginning of a word" (Dixon 2010a:339). It will be seen that in the following discussion generally little or no material intervenes between items analyzed as clitics and their heads. This somewhat artificial regularity reflects my skeptical decisions about identifying clitics, a stance necessitated by the lack of either orthographic or phonological clues (cf. chapter 2) in the corpus. Frequently, occurrences of potential 'clitics' followed by e.g. adverbs result in structures indistinguishable from uses of those clitics' full-lexical-word homonyms.[107] Examples are given in (54):

(54) (a) *maika* *mamuk* ***aiak*** *pipa* *kopa* *naika* [28][108]
2SG to.write **quickly** letter PREP 1SG
'write to me **right away**'
(b) *kopit* *naika* *mamuk* ***alta*** *pipa* [28]
CMPT 1SG to.make PRES letter
'I'm done writing **now**'

Here if the underlined elements were adjacent, I would interpret them as the extremely frequent causative locution *mamuk= pipa* 'to.write' (literally 'CAUS= letter'). But due to the intervening adverbial *aiak*, I analyze this utterance as if it contained the two free lexemes 'to.make' and 'letter', since adverbs freely occur between verb heads and their

[107] Such variation supports Vrzić's suggestion (1999: 111-112) that contemporary CW in the region was in the midst of an unfinished change—the grammaticalization of these clitics (her 'auxiliaries') from free lexemes.
[108] It is also possible that *aiak* is an adjective here, occurring as it does in a position indistinguishable from the canonical slot for a modifier of nouns. The motivation for an adverbial gloss is contextual: entreaties for a speedy reply are very frequent in the corpus. In any event, the point stands that a non-clitic reading of *mamuk* is possible.

objects. Thus in cases where the literal lexical meaning of a morph is at least equally as probable as the grammatical-clitic one, I have taken a conservative stance, analyzing *mamuk* etc. as having only the former. This approach maintains a simplicity and economy in my analysis, but further research involving phonologically better-documented CW varieties may result in additional data resolving ambiguities like these. It is logically possible that many more clitic attestations would result, allowing a better understanding of their workings and perhaps that of pidgins in general.

A subsidiary criterion used for identifying clitics in the corpus was frequency. That is, the cases identified by the preceding criterion of syntactic non-ambiguity were evaluated as to the number of examples found of identical or structurally similar forms in the corpus. The most frequent constructions were assumed to be the most reliably interpretable as grammaticalized clitic-plus-head phrases, on the hypothesis that frequent use correlates with routinization. By corollary, the least frequent constructions were assumed more likely to be cases where a morph otherwise found as a putative clitic might instead bear its original lexical sense, since infrequently-uttered forms are more likely to be uniquely constructed for a given situation.

The proclitics are itemized and discussed in §3.2.2.2.1. Summary remarks on KCW proclitics are provided in §3.2.2.2.2.

3.2.2.2.1 The range of proclitics

Clitics in KCW span a fairly broad range of functions. The diminutive marker *tanas*= is discussed in §3.2.2.2.1.1, the causative *mamuk*= in §3.2.2.2.1.2, aspectual clitics in §3.2.2.2.1.3, 'out-of-control' *tlap*= in §3.2.2.2.1.4, agreement clitics in §3.2.2.2.1.5, and a summary appears in §3.2.2.2.1.6.

3.2.2.2.1.1 Diminutive *tanas*=

The item *tanas*= meets all the tests for clitic status mentioned above. The list is repeated below for ready reference:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*tanas*= occurs with a large variety of hosts including adjectives such as *sik* 'ill' [105], nouns such as *man* 'male/person' [101], and verbs such as *w͡aw͡a* 'speak' [68]).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (regular pattern of distribution wherever diminutive meaning is called for).
√ C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affixes (homonymous with a free form *tanas* 'small; child', which has lexical rather than grammatical meaning; *w͡ik-* lacks such a homonym for most speakers). Diminutive marking is apparently obligatory in that diminutive meaning is not apparent in expressions lacking *tanas*=.
√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affixes (the meanings resulting from use of *tanas*= are predictable: it imparts a sense e.g. of youth to nouns, as in *tanas*= *man* 'boy' [101], and one of limited scope to other predicates, as in *tanas*= *sik* 'to be under the weather' [105]).

√ E. Post-syntactic nature: on one hand, no examples were identified of *tanas=* cooccurring with the affix *wi͡k-*. But on the other, possible cooccurrence with, and scope over the entirety of, a compound is exemplified by *tanas= skul + buk* 'instructional pamphlet' [107] and *tanas= ʃusw͡ap + pipa* 'Shuswap booklets' [98].[109]

√ F. Attachment to other cliticized forms (cooccurrences such as *t͡ʃako= tanas= tlus* 'ingressive' plus 'diminutive' plus 'good' 'to begin to recuperate from illness; get a bit better' [112] are common).

This clitic seems to signal diminutivity, roughly a metaphoric "unusual smallness" (Payne 1997:109-110, cf. Crystal 1985:94). Such a view is reinforced in that the literal meaning 'small' in size or quantity is not transparently present in all cases. Contrasting examples appear in (55), where (a) shows the clitic and (b) its adverbial homograph:

(55) (a) *naika tiki* <u>*tanas=*</u> *w͡aw͡a kopa maika* [15]
1SG to.want DIM= to.talk PREP 2SG
'I want <u>to chat</u> with you'

(b) <u>*tanas*</u> *naika kw͡as* [16]
little.bit 1SG to.fear
'I'm <u>a bit</u> afraid'

Tanas= is notable in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa nominal morphology inasmuch as nouns take no formal marking for any category except diminutivity (cf. §4.2), as in (56):

(56) (a) *tilikom* [72]
people
'people; relatives'

(b) *pi Larus* <u>*tanas=*</u> *tilikom kopa Kamlups tilikom* [120]
CONJ Larousse <u>DIM=</u> people PREP Kamloops people
'and Larousse is a <u>distant</u> relation to the Kamloops people'

The only material identified as ever intervening between the 'diminutive' clitic and the NP head is in fact a part of the head: the dependent member of a noun-noun compound, discussed in §3.2.1.2.

Tanas= is attested on all classes of predicate heads including verbs (57a), prepositional phrases (b), and adjectives (cf. §4.1) (c), as well as on dependents such as quantifiers as in (d) and phrasal-level adverbs as in (cf. §4.2.2.2, §4.2.2.3) (e):

(57) (a) *naika tiki* <u>*tanas=*</u> *w͡aw͡a kopa maika* [105]
1SG to.want DIM= to.talk PREP 2SG
'I want to chat with you'

[109] An alternative analysis of these sequences is that they contain the adjective *tanas* 'small'.

(b) *nsaika mitlait* <u>*tanas=*</u> *kikuli* *Wi͡sminstir* [33]
1PL COPspa DIM= downstream.from New.Westminster
'we're <u>a bit</u> downstream from (New) Westminster'

(c) *naika* <u>*tanas=*</u> *sik* [70]
1SG DIM= ill
'I'm under the weather'

(d) <u>*tanas=*</u> *aju͡* *tilikom tʃi͡ako= komtaks ʃinuk* *pipa* [73]
DIM= many people INGR= to.know Chinuk.Wawa writing
'several people have learned the shorthand'

(e) <u>*tanas=*</u> *ankati naika kwaʃ* *tomtom…* [71]
DIM= PAST 1SG fearful heart
'a while ago, I was worried…'

The evidence for the clitic status of *tanas=* appears to be good.

3.2.2.2.1.2 Causative *mamuk=*

The item *mamuk=* (cf. §4.1.2.4 in the section on transitivity) seems to meet tests for clitic status mentioned above, except for C; the list is repeated below for ready reference:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*mamuk=* occurs with a large variety of hosts including nouns such as *stik* 'timber' [100], adjectives such as *kakʃit* 'broken' [113], and verbs such as *patlatʃ͡* 'to.give' [38]).

√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (regular pattern of distribution wherever 'causative' meaning is called for).

× C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affixes (homonymous with a free form *mamuk* 'to work', which has lexical rather than grammatical meaning; *wi͡k-* lacks such a homonym for most speakers).

√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affixes (the meanings resulting from use of *mamuk=* are relatively predictable: it imparts a sense approximately of semantic causation to predicates as in *mamuk= taii* [CAUS= (to.be.)chief] 'to worship, to honour' [39]).

√ E. Post-syntactic nature: occurrence with affix *wi͡k-* not noted; scope over an entire compound in *mamuk= lam + patlatʃ͡* 'to bestow alcohol as a gift' [64], *mamuk= nju͡s + pipa* 'to publish (to quote someone's words in print)' [113].

√ F. Attachment to other cliticized forms (cooccurrences such as *aju͡= mamuk= masatʃi͡* 'imperfective causative evil' 'to be up to no good' [112] are attested).[110]

[110] It can be added here that an analysis of *mamuk=* as a clitic avoids (in the spirit of Basic Linguistic Theory) complicating the analysis of KCW syntax. If analyzed as a full verb, 'causative' occurrences of *mamuk*

The clitic *mamuk*= is termed 'causative' here. In common linguistic terminology this is a

> valency-increasing derivation which prototypically operates on an intransitive clause, putting underlying S[ubject] argument into O[bject] function and introducing a 'causer' as A[gent] argument (Dixon 2010a:333, cf. 168-169)[111]

Causativity sometimes seems to change the word-class of its head, as in (58); here affected heads are given dotted underlines:

(58) (a) (i) *naika jutl tomtom maika klahani kopa skukum haws* [34]
1SG happy heart 2SG outside PREP strong house
'I'm happy you're out of prison'

(ii) *masatʃi tilikom mamuk= skukum haws Pir ʃirus* [61]
evil people CAUS= strong house Père Chirouse
'the evil people jailed (~caused to be imprisoned) Père Chirouse'

(b) (i) *naika Wiliam Waspulah mamuk ukuk tsim kopa maika* [111]
1SG William Waspulah to.make DEM writing PREP 2SG
'I, William Waspulah, made this writing (letter) to you'

(ii) *naika mamuk= tsim ukuk pipa* [48]
1SG CAUS= writing DEM letter
'I'm writing this letter (~causing (it to be?) writing)'

(c) (i) *klunas kansih son naika kilapai kopa naika ilihi* [101]
EVID how.many? day 1SG to.return PREP 1SG village
'I reckon in a few days I'll go back to my village'

> "seem to depart from the canonical [transitive] SV(O) word order, and causative clauses in examples…below have VS order instead:
>
> *S.T.*$_s$ *mamuk*$_v$ *[klatwa*$_v$ *chock*$_s$ *kanawe kanamokst]*
> God make go waters all together
> 'God made the waters run all together'
>
> *Yaka*$_s$ *mamuk*$_v$ *[chako*$_v$ *tepso*$_s$*]*
> 3SG make come grass
> 'He made grass grow' " (1999:134)

[Vrzić's spellings and glosses are preserved here; 'S', 'V' and 'O' notation added. *S.T.* is a conventional abbreviation for *Sahali Taii*, literally 'the above/high chief', cf. §2.3.6.4.] Vrzić views the bracketed material as subordinate clauses whose verbs precede their subjects. Under my analysis, by contrast, the above lack subordinate clauses, their structure instead being respectively *S.T.*$_{Agent}$ *mamuk=klatwa*$_v$ *chock*$_o$ *kanawe kanamokst* and *Yaka*$_{Agent}$ *mamuk=chako*$_v$ *tepso*$_o$.

[111] The intransitive clause affected need not be verbal, as the following examples involving adjectives and nouns demonstrate.

(ii) *tlus maika mamuk= kilapai ukuk naika pipa* [105]
IMPRT 2SG CAUS= to.return DEM 1SG letter
'respond to (~cause to go back?) my letter!'

(d) (i) *pi iawa naika komtakst pus drit iaka sahali tomtom* [112]
CONJ then 1SG to.know IRR really 3 high heart
'and then I realized she was really arrogant'

(ii) *kakwa naika mamuk= komtakst kopa maika* [63]
thus 1SG CAUS= to.know PREP 2SG
'so I'm informing you…'

The sense of *mamuk=* seems roughly comparable with latter-day spoken English *–ize* or *–ify* in *Americanize* or *zombify*. What is important is to note this clitic's unique set of properties.

Mamuk= is attested with every category of predicate, those categories being defined by reference to the known behaviour (cf. §4.1) of the head when attested without this clitic: verbs as in (59a), 'predicative' adjectives as in (b), and nouns as in (c):

(59) (a) *naika tiki mamuk= komtaks ikta kopa Kolwatir* [41]
1SG to.want CAUS= to.know thing PREP Coldwater
'I want to let [you] know something about Coldwater'

(b) *ikta mamuk maika ilo mamuk= tsim nim kopa naika pipa* [9]
what? to.make 2SG NEG CAUS= written name PREP 1SG letter
'Why didn't you write a name on my letter?'

(c) *alta nsaika aju= mamuk= stjuil* [20]
PRES 1PL IMPFV= CAUS= prayer
'now we're (busily) praying'

With noun heads as in (c) above, *mamuk=* forms can seem to differ from typical causative predicates in lacking any 'predicate of effect'—specification of a caused situation—in themselves (cf. Payne 1997:175-186). In other words, while (56a,b) show *mamuk=* applied to lexemes whose sense remains unchanged from their uncliticized uses (*mamuk=* plus verb 'to know' > 'cause to know'; *mamuk=* plus adjective 'written' > 'cause (to be) written'), *stjuil* in (c) can be said to have a different sense from the corresponding bare noun lexeme (i.e. *mamuk=* plus 'prayer' > 'to pray' but not exactly *'cause (to be) prayer'). Instead, *mamuk=* seems to generate verbs from noun heads whose meanings are less predictable than with other classes (60):[112]

(60) (a) *naika mamuk= stik kopa Spjusom* [100]
1SG CAUS= wood PREP Spuzzum
'I'm logging in Spuzzum'
(~ 'I'm causing [something] to be "wood-ed" ')

[112] Leslie Saxon (p.c., 2011) compares such instances with the weaker causative senses conveyed in forms such as English light-verb 'do', Japanese *suru*, Farsi *kærdæn*, etc.

(b) *pi liplit mamuk= lamas kopa iaka* [120]
CONJ priest CAUS= mass PREP 3
'And the priest said mass for her.'
(~ '…caused her to be "mass-ed" ')

(c) *kwanisim naika mamuk= skul kopa kanawi pulakli* [63]
always 1SG CAUS= school PREP all evening
'I keep teaching every evening'
(~ '…causing [someone] to be "school-ed"…')

One alternative interpretation that could resolve this question would be that the clitic *mamuk*= simply does not occur with noun heads. Instead each such structure would be seen as the full lexical verb *mamuk* 'to do; to make' plus a noun head, creating an idiomatic (or compound) phrase. The result, however, would seem to be even greater unpredictability in the meanings of such sequences. Another possible solution could stipulate that a null 'equative' copula (cf. §4.1.7) is added in causativizing a noun. A third view might build on the observed regularity of meaning among causativized adjectives, and suggest that both adjectives and nouns in KCW are actually 'stative verbs'—predicates in and of themselves. There would consequently be fewer or no null copulas (cf. §4.1.7.1). Testing of these hypotheses remains for future research.

But the generalization remains true that all exemplars of *mamuk*= identified in this study are semantically transitive predicates (cf. Payne 1997:171), whose logical subjects/agents can be interpreted as causing a resultant situation.

3.2.2.2.1.3 Aspectual proclitics

Expressing aspectual meaning, "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" per Comrie (1976:3) are the clitics *aju*= and *tʃako*=. The clitic status of these is investigated respectively in §3.2.2.2.2.1.1 and §3.2.2.2.2.1.2, with summary remarks on KCW aspectual proclitics in §3.2.2.2.2.1.3. See §4.1.4 for a fuller exploration of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa aspect including non-clitic expressions thereof.

3.2.2.2.1.3.1 Imperfective *aju*=

The item *aju*= seems to meet most tests for clitic status mentioned above; the list is repeated below for ready reference:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*aju*= occurs with a large variety of host predicates such as *olo* 'to.be.hungry' [103], *mamuk* 'to.work' [104], and *krai tomtom* 'to.feel.devastated' [113]).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (regular pattern of distribution wherever imperfective aspectual meaning is called for).
√ C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affixes (homonymous with a free form *aju* 'much/many', which has lexical rather than grammatical meaning; *wik*- lacks such a homonym for most speakers).

√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affixes (the meanings resulting from use of *aju͡*= are predictable: it imparts a sense of a continuing scene to predicates as in *aju͡*= *wa͡m* 'to be feeling hot' [113].

? E. Post-syntactic nature: occurrence of *aju͡*= together with affix *wi͡k-* or with compounds were not identified. Since the negative prefix is found only on a handful of stems, cf. Table 6, such cooccurrence is not necessarily expected.

√ F. Attachment to other cliticized forms (cooccurrences such as *aju͡*= *mamuk*= *ʃult* 'imperfective causative salt' 'to salt (fish)' [94], *aju͡*= *mamuk*= *ilihi* 'to farm' [1] are common).

The KCW corpus seems to optionally but very frequently use the clitic *aju͡*=, homonymous with the adverb meaning literally 'much/many' (cf. §3.2.2.2.1.1.1), to mark broadly imperfective meaning. Imperfectives are taken as "viewpoints [that] present part of situation, with no information about its endpoints" (Smith 1997:73; cf. §4.1.4.2). Vrzić sees the identical morph in the literary variety of shorthand CW as an 'iterative' marker, i.e. as signaling a situation presented as lacking internal detail but taking place repeatedly (Comrie 1976:42-44). The present study finds much evidence that undermines such an analysis for Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. In (61 a-c) are examples with this clitic, while the absence of *aju͡*= in (d) illustrates that apparently the same general aspectual sense can be expressed without it:

(61) (a) *alta Lui iaka*= ***aju͡*=** *mamuk*= *masmas*… [1]
PRES Louis 3AGR= **IMPFV=** CAUS= cattle
'lately Louis **has been** herd**ing** cattle…'

(b) *naika* ***aju͡*=** *ʃanti kopa Santi kopa Santi* + *ha͡ws* [10]
1SG **IMPFV=** to.sing PREP Sunday PREP Sunday building
'**I've been** sing**ing** on Sundays at the church.'

(c) *naika maʃ Knim Lik <18> ʃulai kakwa͡* ***aju͡*=** *til kju͡tan* | …
1SG to.leave Canim Lake 18 July thus **IMPFV=** tired horse
'I left Canim Lake the 18th of July, so the horse **is feeling** tired | …

ilo naika mamuk= *sahali tomtom pi ilo naika klatwa͡*
NEG 1SG CAUS= high heart CONJ NEG 1SG to.go
'not that I'm trying to be cheeky, but I won't be going

kopa Kamlups | *kopit naika kju͡tan* ***aju͡*=** *til* [79]
PREP Kamloops only 1SG horse **IMPFV=** tired
'to Kamloops; it's just that my horse **is (still feeling)** worn-out.'

(d) *naika tlus papa Pir Lʃju͡n naika tsi͡m kopa maika* [80]
1SG good father Père Le.Jeune 1SG to.write PREP 2SG
'my dear father Père Le.Jeune, **I'm** writ**ing** to you'

None of these examples unquestionably convey iterative meaning, whereas all plausibly represent situations portrayed as being in progress. Therefore it cannot be claimed that the overall function of *aju=* is as a marker of iterativity. But the following paragraph shows that that is indeed a subset of this clitic's range of meanings.

There are dozens of expressions in the corpus that can be interpreted as bearing this clitic, though some are equally well-formed when read as having the adverbial *aju*. Presented in (62) are examples of such ambiguity, which primarily seems to occur when the predicate is susceptible to an iterative reading (cf. §4.1.4.2):

(62) (a) *aju(=)* *naika wawa kopa iaka* [112]
IMPFV/much 1SG to.say PREP 3
'I kept talking to her' / 'I talked to her a lot'

(b) *aju(=)* *naika wawa tlus* [40]
IMPFV/much 1SG to.say well
'I kept speaking nicely' / 'I spoke nicely a lot'

(c) *iaka aju(=)* *kik* *kopa* *ukuk* *rig* [43]
3 IMPFV=/much to.kick PREP DEM rig
'it (the horse) was kicking the rig / kicked the rig a lot'

Other than cases such as these, the task of distinguishing the two uses of the morph *aju* has seemed straightforward. In general the adverbial interpretation is clearest when the morph occupies the left periphery of a clause, in canonical (predicate-scope) adverbial position (cf. §4.1.8). Examples of unambiguously adverbial *aju* are provided in (63):

(63) (a) *ilo* *aju* *naika mamuk= pipa* *kopa maika Fiialis* [47]
NEG much 1SG CAUS= letter PREP 2SG Pierriche
'I haven't written to you much, Pierriche'

(b) *aju* *klaska wawa* *kopa naika* [62]
much 3PL to.talk PREP 1SG
'they talked to me a great deal'

(c) *aju* *iaka sik pi* *iaka kuli* *pus lahanʃut* [43]
much 3 ill CONJ 3 to.travel IRR to.confess
'she had been sick quite a lot, but she traveled to make confession'

The clitic interpretation, by contrast, is clearest when the morph *aju* stands between the subject/agent and the predicate head, in a position analogous to that of other clitics.

As of Vrzić's study (1999), only in Grand Ronde creolized CW had an aspectual grammaticalization from an original lexeme meaning 'much' been previously noted (by Zenk 1984:62ff). Echoing the present section's findings, Vrzić finds an aspectual use of this morph in *Kamloops Wawa*. She notes that "[t]his provides evidence for independent grammatical elaboration of [CW] outside of the Grand Ronde Reservation, and perhaps,

evidence for such grammatical elaboration…before it started spreading further North" (Vrzić 1999:145-146).

While it occurs with a range of predicates, *aju͡=* was not identified as modifying any nominal heads in the KCW corpus.

3.2.2.2.1.3.2 Ingressive *t͡ʃako=*

The item *t͡ʃako=* meets tests for clitic status mentioned above; the list is repeated below for ready reference:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*t͡ʃako=* occurs with a large variety of hosts including adjectives such as *aias til* 'weary' [85] and verbs such as *komtaks* 'to.know' [10]).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (regular pattern of distribution wherever ingressive meaning is called for).
√ C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affixes (homonymous with a free form *t͡ʃako* 'to come', which has lexical rather than grammatical meaning; affix *wik-* lacks such a homonym for most speakers).
√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affixes (the meanings resulting from use of *t͡ʃako=* are predictable: it imparts a sense of the beginning of a scene to predicates as in *t͡ʃako= iht* 'to become unified' [71]).
? E. Post-syntactic nature: possibly seen in occurrence with the negative affix in *t͡ʃako= wik-saia kopit* 'to be nearly gone' (said of snow) [125]. Occurrence with compounds not noted.
√ F. Attachment to other cliticized forms (cooccurrences such as *t͡ʃako= tanas= gitap* 'ingressive diminutive to.awake' 'to take heart to some extent' [61] are common).

The clitic *t͡ʃako=*, homonymous with the verb meaning literally 'to come', signals the ingressive, specifying "the beginning of an action" or situation (Crystal 1985:154, cf. Payne 1997:240). Comrie uses the terms *inceptive* or *inchoative* synonymously for this aspect (1976:19). Smith distinguishes these two as subtypes of ingressivity, 'inceptive' signaling the start of an event, 'inchoative' expresses that of a state (1997:22). In the present study I adopt the more neutral umbrella term 'ingressive', since *t͡ʃako=* cooccurs with both types of predicates. In Vrzić's (1999:102-103) analysis of the literary variety of shorthand CW, the identical morph *t͡ʃako* as a dependent of a head has three interrelated but separate functions, as "inchoative" aspect, a "semi-copula" 'become', and passive voice. Three reasons have led me to posit a different analysis of this item in KCW:

- The first is approximately Occam's razor. Given the alternatives of either distinguishing three meanings for this morph in apparently identical frames or suggesting a single meaning, I prefer to adopt a single meaning *in the absence of additional evidence*.

- Second, it is difficult to show a consistent gradation between these two grammaticalized uses of *t͡ʃako*, aspectual and semi-copular. The corpus lacks prosodic data to support such a distinction (cf. chapter 2). Also lacking is a pattern of distinct meanings of preverbal *t͡ʃako*. Semi-copulas are said to add more-lexical meaning, while clitics/auxiliaries add more-grammatical meaning (cf. Pustet 2003:6). This difference is not obvious in the KCW corpus.
- Third, and counter to Vrzić (1999), there is no clear evidence of a true passive in KCW. Forms with preverbal *t͡ʃako* as a rule denote more a change of state than the subjecthood of a logical patient.[113]

Therefore my analysis of the CW variety at hand opts for the most economical account of this form, as a single aspectual clitic.

The ingressive is the most frequently marked aspect (and category) on predicates, with the result that effectively the basic aspectual distinction is [±ingressive], as in (64). This contrast is clear in pairs (a) and (b), whose first members can to the best of my knowledge only be understood as ingressive, and their second members based on the identical predicates can never have that meaning [here again predicate heads are underlined; aspect markers hereinafter are bolded]:

(64) (a) (i) *…naika* ***t͡ʃako=*** *komtaks pus kah mamuk= pipa* [15]
1 **INGR=** to.know IRR where? CAUS= letter
'**I've** f**ou**nd **out** where to write

kopa maika
PREP 2SG
to you'

('…**have come to** understand…')

(ii) *wik- saia naika komtaks ukuk maika patlat͡ʃ pipa kopa naika* [19]
NEG- far 1SG to.know DEM 2SG to.send letter PREP 1SG
'I almost understand what you sent (in your) letter to me'

(b) (i) *alta naika tilikom iaka=* ***t͡ʃako=*** *tlus* [1]
PRES 1SG people 3AGR= **INGR=** good
'now my people **are improving**'
('…**come to** be good')

(ii) *Lui ʃif iaka= tlus* [47]
Louis chief 3AGR= good
'Chief Louis is well'

t͡ʃako= is attested with various classes of predicates, as can be seen from the preceding examples. One class with which it is not certainly attested is nominals.

[113] See the following examples and §4.1.2.6 on a separate 'quasi-passive' strategy.

3.2.2.2.1.3.3 Summary of aspectual proclitics

Two clitics have been identified as aspectual markers in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Signaling respectively the beginning and the continuation of a situation, both ingressive *t͡ʃako*= and imperfective *aju͡*= occur with a range of root-word classes. Neither of these markers is clearly attested with nominal roots. This is a tendency among several KCW clitics, as the following subsections will show.

3.2.2.2.1.4 Out-of-control (transitivity) *tlap*=

The item *tlap*= meets most tests for clitic status mentioned above; the list is repeated below for ready reference:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*tlap*= occurs with a large variety of hosts including *sik tomtom* 'to.be.upset' [112] and *komtaks* 'to.know' [61]).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (regular pattern of distribution wherever diminutive meaning is called for).
√ C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affixes (homonymous with a free form *tlap* 'to find, to get', which has lexical rather than grammatical meaning; *wi͡k*- lacks such a homonym for most speakers).
√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affixes (the meanings resulting from use of *tlap*= are predictable: it imparts a sense of lack of agentive control to predicates as in *tlap*= *komtaks* 'to find out accidentally' [61]).
× E. Post-syntactic nature: *tlap*= was not identified in cooccurrence with either *wi͡k*- or compounds.
√ F. Attachment to other cliticized forms (cooccurrences such as *tlap*= *mamuk*= *kat* 'out-of-control causative to.cut' 'to manage to get [something] cut' [45] are found).

Tlap= appears to function as a marker of nonvolitionality, i.e. that an action is not done on purpose by the agent / subject; cf. Payne 1997:49). Unknown in CW outside of BC interior Salish country, this previously unattested category is here termed 'out-of-control' in homage to the Salish linguistic literature where awareness of this category originated (cf. Carlson and Thompson 1982, Thompson and Thompson 1992:99ff).[114] KCW 'out-of-control' is different from 'causative' *mamuk*= in specifying an agent as a non-causer whose volition plays no role in the realization of the proposition. Examples with *tlap*= are shown in (65 a,b), while *nanit͡ʃ* without *tlap*= has a similar meaning in (c):

[114] As Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins (p.c.) points out, in the Salishan linguistics tradition 'out-of-control' is not necessarily taken as a type of transitivity, but instead as a grammatical category unto itself. I connect the behaviour of O.C= in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa with the notion of ±transitivity discussed in §4.1.2, as the use of *tlap*= correlates with a specific argument status, subject/agent.

(65) (a) *nawi͡tka pus maika komtaks maika tlap= sik tomtom kopa* [112]
indeed IRR 2SG to.know 2SG O.C= upset heart PREP
'really, if you knew, you'd get upset about

ukuk mamuk
DEM doings
these goings-on'

(b) *…nsaika tlap= komtaks kata masatʃi͡ tilikom mamuk=* [73]
1PL O.C= to.know how? evil people CAUS=
'…we found out how some bad people had

skukum hawi͡s…
strong building
imprisoned [him]'

(c) *aju͡ tilikom kuli tiki nanitʃ͡ Ø pi ilo nanitʃ͡ Ø* [73][115]
many people to.travel to.want to.see 3OBJ CONJ NEG to.see 3OBJ
'a lot of people went out looking for her, but didn't manage to find her'

The 'out-of-control' form is sparsely attested, with only 20 or so tokens. Therefore, it is probably not obligatory. In an interesting specialization of use, both this *tlap=* and the 'permissive' *patlatʃ͡* are strongly associated with mental-state expressions involving *tomtom* 'heart'. This usage appears more common than the two otherwise obligatory markers, 'ingressive' aspect *tʃ͡ako=* and 'causative' transitivity *mamuk=*, cf. §4.1.2.4. An example in which it is not *tlap* but *tʃ͡ako=* that conveys a non-control sense is reproduced in (66):

(66) *wi͡k- saia tʃ͡ako= tʃ͡ok naika siahus* [113]
NEG- far INGR= water 1SG face
'I was almost [finding myself] starting to cry'

Tlap= was not surely identified as modifying any nominal heads in the corpus.

3.2.2.2.1.5 Subject/agent agreement: *iaka=, klaska=*

Homonymous with the generic and the specifically-plural third-person pronouns (see §4.2.1), *iaka=* and *klaska=* frequently function non-pronominally, as optional clitic markers. These express overt nouns' agreement with a predicate, as third-person subject

[115] Here the third-person inanimate-object pronoun Ø is used, instead of animate *iaka*, for a referent already specified as dead in the text.

or agent (thus on a nominative-accusative basis, cf. Dixon 2010a:122); example (67) illustrates this:

(67) (a) *…iht tanas= klutʃ͡min iaka= mimlus...* [77]
one DIM= woman 3AGR= to.die
'…one girl died…'

(b) *...Iasant aiak iaka= iskom iaka kj͡utan...* [85]
Hyacinthe quickly 3AGR= to.take 3 horse
'…Hyacinthe immediately got his horse…'

(c) *…tilikom klaska= tlap= sik tomtom…* [80]
people 3PL.AGR= O.C= upset heart
'…the people have become sad…'

(d) *…kw͡inam tilikom klaska= tiki Ø...* [139]
five people 3PL.AGR= to.want 3
'…five people want it…'

Iaka= is much more frequent and is unspecified for number, while *klaska*= is rarer and is specified for plurality.[116] For reference, Table 8 summarizes these:

iaka=	3AGR
klaska=	3PL.AGR

Table 8: Optional person agreement clitics

The items *iaka*= and *klaska*= meet most tests for clitic status mentioned above; the list is repeated below for ready reference:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*iaka*= and *klaska* = occur with a large variety of hosts, such as *tlus* 'to.be.well' [148], *tiki* 'to.want' [5], *drit ol man* '(to.be.)a.really.old.man' [106]).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (in fact none are apparent; there is a regular pattern of distribution wherever third-person agreement meaning is called for).
√ C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affixes (homonymous with free pronouns *iaka* '3', *klaska* '3PL', which have less-grammaticalized meaning; prefix *w͡ik-* lacks such a homonym for most speakers).
√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affixes (the meanings resulting from use of *iaka*= and *klaska* = are predictable: they impart to predicates a sense of coreference with an overt noun argument as in *tkop man klaska= mamuk* 'the whites are building [something]' [110]).
× E. Post-syntactic nature: proclitics *iaka*= and *klaska*= were not identified preceding the negative affix *w͡ik-* or with compounds.

[116] See §4.1.1 for many more examples.

√ F. Attachment to other cliticized forms (cooccurrences such as *Pir Lʃ͡ʃun* *iaka=* *mamuk= k'a͡w* 'Père Le Jeune 3agreement causative tied' 'Père Le Jeune is delaying [our newspapers]' [99] are common).

The present study is the first in the CW literature to identify *iaka=* and *klaska=* as clitics, functioning as agreement markers. Previous work has represented these items in pan-CW in terms such as 'resumptive' or 'pleonastic' pronouns, i.e. as recurrences of subject / agent pronouns within the clause. (Cf. Thomason 1983, CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Progam 2011:33-34.) The reader is referred to §4.1.1 for more discussion of the behaviour of the agreement clitics.

3.2.2.2.1.6 Summary of the range of proclitics

Several non-root items have been analyzed as relatively productive proclitics of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. These, unlike affixes, are attested with a wide variety of word classes including nominals. I have suggested that, while each gives rise to a somewhat broad range of meanings, these nonetheless constellate around fairly predictable core senses. (I reiterate that firmer proof of their clitic status would however depend on access to prosodic data, which is completely absent from the corpus.) The KCW clitics have various functions: aspectual, lack of control on the part of the agent (unknown in previous CW literature), third-person subject/agent person agreement, etc. Most forms lacking a clitic can be synonymous with a cliticized version. The exception is *tʃ͡ʃako=*, without which a predicate will not have an ingressive meaning.

3.2.2.2.2 Summary of proclitics

As was noted also of prefixes, no previous description of CW has clearly identified the presence of clitics. Jacobs (1932:34), in discussing the "several degrees of firmness of knit" of what he terms "compounds and clusters" of morphs, seems to allow for such a distinction, though he defines neither those degrees nor these two terms. However, Jacobs states, "Almost any words may cluster", giving examples with conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, determiners, etc.. Thus he does not delineate any class of words whose behaviour can be described as clitic. Vrzić identifies a number of the items discussed in the present section (*tʃ͡ʃako=, mamuk=,* and *tlap=*) as "auxiliary verbs", thus referencing at least implicitly their relative boundness with respect to predicate heads (1999:100-105). But she does not discuss the other items identified here as clitics in the same light, and does not overtly identify the degree of boundness of any of these items. Thus the present discussion of KCW clitics is a significant addition to the state of knowledge of CW morphosyntax.

3.2.2.3 Notes on 'grammatical particles'

Nine additional non-lexical morphemes of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, though not analyzed as meeting the criteria for affix or clitic status, still do not behave as root heads either. I take these nine morphemes as a third class of morpheme, here termed

'grammatical particles'. This is a broad term for "minor grammatical categories" (Payne 1997:32) of "invariable items with grammatical function" (Crystal 1985:222)—a concept that in fact is not invoked in Basic Linguistic Theory (cf. Dixon 2010a, b). I discuss grammatical particles here for two reasons. First, I am attempting to describe all items analyzed as non-root, grammatical morphemes. Second, I explicitly point out a subset of these operators carrying similar inflectional and derivational functions as 'word'-building affixal and clitic items, but behaving differently.

A trait that these particles have in common is operation at the clausal level, that is at a wider scope than the strictly phrase-level clitics and affix discussed above. Grammaticalized items of non-derivational and non-inflectional function whose presence modifies the meaning of an entire sentence are treated with other syntactic phenomena, as discourse markers (§5.4.2.2). This distinction has been made in order to limit the present chapter to discussion of comparable units. Table 9 lists the particles to be discussed:

Grammatical particle	Gloss
patlat͡ʃ	Permissive transitivity
pus	Irrealis mood
tlus	Imperative mood
wi͡k-kata	(Negative) potential modality
kopit	Completive aspect
trai	Conative aspect
ilo	Negative polarity
wi͡k	Negative polarity

Table 9: Grammatical particles

The following subsections examine the class of KCW grammatical particles in more detail (§3.2.2.3.1) and give the range of functions they express (§3.2.2.3.2), summarizing in §3.2.2.3.3.

3.2.2.3.1 Defining KCW grammatical particles

The term 'particle' is of notoriously heterogeneous application in linguistics so that it should be defined here with reference to Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. As Crystal implies, this label has been a catchall for virtually any kind of morph, "especially one which does not readily fit into a standard classification of parts of speech" (1985:222). Certainly the history of CW studies has presented no consensus on this matter. Vrzić identifies as 'particles', without defining her use of that term, three items in the closely related literary variety of shorthand CW (1999:96). Two of these (modal [imperative] *tlus* and negator *wi͡k*) are identified as such in the present study, as will be seen; the third (postposed polar question marker *na*) is unattested in the KCW corpus, as in creolized Grand Ronde CW (Zenk 1984:48). Vrzić does not however address the possible particle status of the several other morphs that the present study assigns to this category. The paper by Jacobs (1932), which explicitly analyzes CW into syntactic categories, does not distinguish a class equivalent to particles.

The 'grammatical particles' in my morphological analysis are a set of morphemes that have derivational or inflectional function rather than lexical meaning; are dependent on root heads; occur in less close proximity to their heads than do either clitics or affixes; and operate at a level lower than the sentence. In the written Kamloops Chinúk Wawa corpus, a difficulty for analysis is that the items under discussion in this section can in some environments be indistinguishable from free lexical roots. Exactly as in the cases of KCW compounding, cliticization, and affixation, the lack of phonological detail in the corpus restricts conclusions about grammatical particles' behaviour. It is for this reason that I am forced to refer more to positional than phonological evidence for grammatical-particle status. For example, when supposed grammatical particles are immediately adjacent to heads, the former can be difficult to distinguish from clitics and affixes, which can occur in what (in writing) seem the identical positions.

Nevertheless, grammatical particles regularly share a range of properties that I take as evidence for for distinguishing them from affixes, clitics and head roots, as well as from particles operating at the sentential level such as some interjections, discourse markers, etc.[117]. Based on the previous discussion of those categories, Table 10 lists criteria for a separate grammatical-particle category:

[117] See chapter 5.

Type of criterion	***Criterion***	***Evidence***
For non-affix status (tentatively; after Zwicky and Pullum 1983:503-504)	A. Low selectivity of stems	Occur with a variety of hosts, unlike NEG affix *wi̱k-*
”	B. Few gaps in paradigm	Patterned distribution, unlike *wi̱k-*
”	C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy	Identical in form to free words, unlike *wi̱k-*
”	D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy	Resulting meaning is more predictable than that of *wi̱k-* forms
”	E. Post-syntactic	Ability to cooccur with, and have scope over, affixal *wi̱k-* negations and compounds.
”	F. Attach to other forms having particles	E.g. the cooccurrences *trai pus* [Conative & Irrealis], *tlus ilo* [Imperative & Negative]
For non-clitic status (my own suggested tests)	G. Greater distance from head, compared to clitics	Often separated from predicate head by a significant and varying number of intervening items of various classes
”	H. Freer (not bound)	No identifiable positional restrictions vis-à-vis predicate head—much material can intervene
For non-root status (my own suggested tests)	I. Productive	Generate additional examples of same type of inflected clause
”	J. Predictable position	At left edge of the clause, a non-head position (and always with a head to the right); see §4.3 below
”	K. Doesn’t cleft [without an accompanying head]	Unlike predicate heads, which do cleft to express focus; see §6.4.1
”	L. Purely grammatical meaning	Rather than lexical meaning
”	M. Not taking grammatical morphology	Only roots host grammatical operators

Table 10: Evidence for ‘grammatical particles’ as a distinct category

The following subsections will apply these criteria to grammatical-particle candidates in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa.

3.2.2.3.2 Functions of the grammatical particles

The Kamloops Chinúk Wawa grammatical particles, like the proclitics, mark a range of grammatical categories. These are discussed respectively in the following subsections: transitivity (§3.2.2.3.2.1), mood and modality (§3.2.2.3.2.2), aspect (§3.2.2.3.2.3), and polarity (§3.2.2.3.2.4), with a summary of grammatical-particle functions in §3.2.2.3.2.5.

3.2.2.3.2.1 Transitivity (permissive): *patlat͡ʃ*

The morph *patlat͡ʃ*, etymologically 'to.give', appears to express what I term permission, a subtype of transitivity. Similarly to a causative, "the anterior event/agent has the power to prevent the effect from coming about" (Comrie 1981:164). Examples appear in (68):

(68) (a) *iht liplit iaka= patlat͡ʃ naika mamuk kopa aju͡ tanas= man* [83]
one priest 3AGR= PERM 1SG to.work PREP many DIM= man
'a certain priest had me work with several children'

(b) *naika patlat͡ʃ pus klaska aʃnu kopa Sondi...* [85]
1SG PERM IRR 3PL to.kneel PREP Sunday
'I had them kneel on Sunday…'

This item meets tests for particle status as follows:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*patlat͡ʃ* occurs with a variety of hosts such as *mamuk* 'to work', *aʃnu* 'to kneel', *komtaks* 'to know', unlike NEG affix *wi͡k-*).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (patterned distribution, unlike *wi͡k-*; i.e. the presence of *patlat͡ʃ* is regular where a permissive meaning is appropriate).
√ C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affix (identical in form to a free word *patlat͡ʃ* 'to give', unlike *wi͡k-*).
√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affix (the meaning resulting from combination of root with *patlat͡ʃ* is predictable [permissive], unlike *wi͡k-* forms).
x E. Post-syntactic: *patlat͡ʃ* was not identified as preceding the negative prefix *wi͡k-*, nor immediately before any compounds.
√ F. Attachment to other forms having grammatical particles (e.g. the cooccurrence *patlat͡ʃ pus* 'permissive irrealis').
√ G. Distance from head (can be separated from predicate head by intervening items, cf. F just above).
√ H. Free, not bound (no identifiable positional restrictions vis-à-vis predicate head).
√ I. Productive (generating additional examples of same type of inflected clause).
√ J. Predictable position (left edge of the clause, which is a non-head position; see §3.3 below).
√ K. Doesn't cleft to express focus (unlike predicates, see §5.4.1).
√ L. Purely grammatical meaning (rather than lexical meaning).

By these criteria, the evidence for the grammatical-particle status of permissive *patlat͡ʃ* appears to be fair.

This particle was not identified in the corpus with any adjective or noun heads. Indeed, a phrase such as *patlat͡ʃ buk* would be better translated as 'give a book' than *'to let something/someone be a book'.[118]

Examples of *patlat͡ʃ* are found with the idiomatic expression *sik tomtom* 'feeling upset' as in (69):

(69) *wi͡ht iaka patlat͡ʃ sik tomtom kopa naika* [112]
again 3 to.give/PERM upset heart PREP 1SG
'she got me feeling upset again'

The word-class status of the frequent *sik tomtom* is not entirely clear; it is structurally an adjective-modified noun phrase, but it functions with adjectival meaning (cf. §4.2).[119]

3.2.2.3.2.2 Mood and modality particles

A second kind of category expressed by putative grammatical particles in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is that of mood and modality (cf. §4.1.3 and §4.1.4). Four moods and modalities were identified as having particle exponence, which can be considered complementizers introducing clauses. Dixon (2010a:333) considers as a complementizer a "grammatical form which marks a complement clause", while all four KCW mood and modality particles can introduce main clauses. Each is assigned a separate subsection below in order to establish the particle status of the relevant morph. The irrealis-modality *pus* is discussed in §3.2.2.3.2.2.1, imperative-mood *tlus* in §3.2.2.3.2.2.2 and (negative) potential-modality *wi͡k-kata* in §3.2.2.3.2.2.3. A summary of observations about mood and modal particles follows in §3.2.2.3.2.2.4.

3.2.2.3.2.2.1 Irrealis *pus*

The morph *pus*, etymologically 'if/when' in pan-CW, appears to express irrealis modality. The irrealis, as its name implies, prototypically makes statements about reality, "referring to something that didn't happen in the past (but could have) and to all or most of the post-present domain," depending on the language it is used in (Dixon 2010a:153). Payne defines the distinction of realis modality, "assert[ing] that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened" versus irrealis, "mak[ing] no such assertion whatsoever" (1997:244). Examples appear below, where (70 a,b) refer to potential future events while (66c) is a typically KCW use with a content-question item, marking uncertainty in a question:

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[118] See §4.1.2.2 on transitivity.

[119] There are several structurally parallel idioms with *tomtom*, such as *sahali tomtom* 'arrogant' (literally 'high heart'); *tlus tomtom* 'happy' (literally 'good heart'); *skukum tomtom* 'resolved' (literally 'strong heart'); etc. These mental-state constructions with *tomtom* exhibit further behaviour of interest; see the comments on double pronominal-subject exponence (DPSE) at §4.2.1.1.1.1.1.2. These also fail to appear with causative *mamuk*= morphology (§3.2.2.2.1.2).

(70) (a) *naika aias tiki* *pus kwanisim naika nanitʃ maika pipa* [101]
1SG very to.want IRR always 1SG to.see 2SG paper
'I really want to keep reading your newspaper'

(b) …*pus litl* *mor tʃikmin* || *naika iskom…* [111]
IRR little.bit more money 1SG to.get
'…when I get a little bit more money…'

(c) *pus ikta* *maika wawa* *kopa naika* [40]
IRR what? 2SG to.say PREP 1SG
'What do you say to me?'

This item meets tests for grammatical-particle status as follows:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*pus* occurs with a variety of head items, unlike NEG affix *wik-*).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (patterned distribution, unlike *wik-*; i.e. the presence of *pus* is regular where an irrealis meaning is appropriate).
× C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affix: this is not borne out. *Pus* is not clearly identical in form to a free lexical word, a property which it shares with affix *wik-*. Compare the negative operators, §3.2.2.3.2.4.1 on *ilo* and §3.2.2.3.2.4.2 on particle *wik*. It is not clear that an irrealis operator should be expected to have a homonym that has only lexical meaning.
√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affix (the meaning resulting from combination of root with *pus* is predictable [irrealis], unlike *wik-* forms).
√ E. Post-syntactic: cooccurrence with the negative affix: *pus wik-saia iaka mimlus…* 'when he was nearly dead…' [111]; cooccurrence with compounds: *pus sawaʃ + wawa…* 'whether it's an Indigenous language…' [38].
√ F. Attachment to other forms having grammatical particles (e.g. the cooccurrences *patlatʃ pus* [permissive irrealis]), *pus ilo* [irrealis negative].
√ G. Distance from head (can be separated from predicate head by intervening items, cf. F just cited).
√ H. Free, not bound (no identifiable positional restrictions vis-à-vis predicate head).
√ I. Productive (generating additional examples of same type of inflected clause).
√ J. Predictable position (left edge of the clause, which is a non-head/-root position; see §3.3 below).
√ K. Does not cleft to express focus (unlike headed entities, see §5.4.1).
√ L. Purely grammatical meaning (rather than lexical meaning).

In sum, the evidence for the grammatical-particle (function word) status of irrealis *pus* appears to be good. It fails to clearly meet only test C, lack of cognacy with an item having lexical meaning.

3.2.2.3.2.2.2 Imperative *tlus*

A second item, *tlus*, was identified as a mood particle. It appears to have expressed imperative mood, that is commands (cf. §4.1.3.3). This particle has both positive- and negative-polarity forms, respectively *tlus* and *wik̂-tlus* (cf. §4.1.3.3.3). This polarity distinction has not previously been pointed out in the CW literature, cf. Thomas (1970 [1935]:75 [s.v. *klo-she*]) and Vrzić (1999:111-112). Examples appear in (71):

(71) (a) *tlus naika piii kopa ukuk tʃ̂inuk pipa* [100]
IMPRT 1SG to.pay PREP DEM Chinook paper
'Let me pay for this Chinúk Wawa newspaper [i.e. *Kamloops Wawa*]'

(b) *Pir Lʃak iaka= wâwâ wik̂- tlus kakwâ* [82]
Père LeJacq 3AGR= to.say NEG- IMPRT thus
'Père Le Jacq said don't let it be like that'

(c) *tlus maika klahâwiam naika kopa ukuk naika wâwâ kopa maika* [6]
IMPRT 2SG to.pity 1SG PREP DEM 1SG to.say PREP 2SG
'Take pity on me for what I'm saying to you.'

(d) *pi wik̂- tlus naika ilo aiak naika kilapai maika pipa* [42]
CONJ NEG- IMPRT 1SG NEG quickly 1SG to.return 2SG letter
'and let me not fail to quickly answer your letter'

(e) *...kopa Pir Lʃak iaka= wâwâ wik̂- tlus kakwâ...* [82]
PREP Père Le.Jacq 3AGR= to.say NEG- IMPRT thus
'…about Père Le Jacq's saying that it shouldn't be so…'

Tlus is analyzed as a grammatical particle on the basis of the following tests:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*tlus* occurs with a variety of heads including *piii* 'to pay', *storkipir* 'storekeeper' and *sik tomtom* 'to be upset', unlike NEG affix *wik̂-*).

√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (patterned distribution, unlike *wik̂-*; i.e. the presence of *tlus* is usual where an imperative meaning is appropriate). Without imperative *tlus*, clauses are formally identical to declaratives (§4.1.3.2.1).

√ C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affix (identical in form to a free word *tlus* 'good', unlike *wik̂-*).

√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affix (the meaning resulting from combination of root with *tlus* is predictable [imperative], unlike *wik̂-* forms).

× E. Post-syntactic: occurrences of *tlus* with the negative prefix *wik̂-* were not identified; neither were occurrences with compounds.

√ F. Attachment to other forms having grammatical particles (e.g. the cooccurrence *tlus ilo* [imperative negative].

√ G. Distance from head (can be separated from predicate head by intervening items, cf. F just above).

√ H. Free, not bound (no identifiable positional restrictions vis-à-vis predicate head).

√ I. Productive (generating additional examples of same type of inflected clause).
√ J. Predictable position (left edge of the clause, which is a non-head/non-root position; see §3.3 below).
√ K. Doesn't cleft to express focus (unlike headed entities, see §5.4.1).
√ L. Purely grammatical meaning (rather than lexical meaning).

In sum, the evidence for the grammatical-particle status of imperative *tlus* appears to be good.

3.2.2.3.2.2.3 (Negative) potential *wik͡-kata*

A fourth modality particle, *wik͡-kata*, expressed (negative) potential modality. Payne sees the potential as one of the "kinds of assertions that are close to the irrealis end of the realis-irrealis continuum" (1997:245). As noted in the preceding subsection, the pair *kata* and *wik͡-kata* differ from the positive- and negative-polarity particles (*tlus* and *wik͡-tlus* in §3.2.2.3.2.2.2), in that *wik͡-kata* expresses an entirely distinct function from *kata* (see §5.4.2.2.8, on the admirative discourse marker). Examples appear in (72):

(72) (a) *wik͡- kata nsaika tlap mamuk* [99]
NEG- how? 1PL to.get work
'We can't find work.'

(b) *wik͡- kata iaka mamuk= kilapai naika mamuk pipa kopa iaka* [94]
NEG- how? 3 CAUS= to.return 1SG to.make writing PREP 3
'He can't reply to the letter I wrote him.'

(c) *kopit naika kjutan aju͡= til kakwa͡ wik͡- kata pus naika klatwa͡*
only 1SG horse IMPFV= tired thus NEG- how? IRR 1SG to.go
'It's just that my horse is feeling tired, so I can't go

kopa Kamlups [79]
PREP Kamloops
to Kamloops.'

Wik͡-kata is analyzed as a grammatical particle on the basis of the following tests:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*wik͡-kata* occurs with a variety of hosts including *mamuk* 'to act, carry on', *mamuk= hilp* 'to help', *tlap* 'to find' and *wa͡wa͡* 'to say', unlike NEG affix *wik͡-*).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (patterned distribution, unlike *wik͡-*; i.e. the presence of *wik͡-kata* is regular where a negative-potential meaning is appropriate).
√ C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affix (identical in form to (an affixed form of) a free word *kata* 'how?', unlike *wik͡-*).

√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affix (the meaning resulting from combination of root with *wi͡k-kata* is predictable [negative potential], unlike *wi͡k-* forms).
× E. Post-syntacticity: *wi͡k-kata* was not identified as occurring in close proximity with negative prefix *wik-*, or with compounds.
√ F. Attachment to other forms having grammatical particles (e.g. cooccurrence *wi͡k-kata pus* [negative-potential irrealis]).
√ G. Distance from head (can be separated from predicate head by intervening items, cf. test F just noted).
√ H. Free, not bound (no identifiable positional restrictions vis-à-vis predicate head).
√ I. Productive (generating additional examples of same type of inflected clause).
√ J. Predictable position (left edge of the clause, which is a non-head position; see §4.3 below).
√ K. Doesn't cleft to express focus (unlike headed entities, see §6.4.1).
√ L. Purely grammatical meaning (rather than lexical meaning).

The evidence for the grammatical-particle status of negative-potential *wi͡k-kata* appears to be good.

3.2.2.3.2.2.4 Summary of mood and modality particles

Three mood and modality particles have been identified in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, expressing the irrealis, imperative and (negative) potential. The last is of interest in being formed with the morph *kata*, etymologically 'how?', which itself is grammaticalized as an admirative discourse marker. The range of KCW moods and modalities, including those expressed by non-particle means, is discussed in §4.1.3 and §4.1.4.

3.2.2.3.2.3 Aspect particles

Two aspect particles have been identified: the completive *kopit*, discussed in §3.2.2.3.2.3.1, and the conative *trai*, which is discussed in §3.2.2.3.2.3.2; a summary of observations on KCW aspect particles appears in §3.2.2.3.2.3.3.

3.2.2.3.2.3.1 Completive *kopit*

The first of the two identified aspect particles is *kopit*. It appears to have expressed completive aspect, signaling the end of a state or event. Examples appear in (73):

(73) (a) *kopa Samin Arm ilo kopit sno* [10]
PREP Salmon Arm NEG CMPT snow
'it hasn't stopped being snowy at Salmon Arm'

(b) *klunas <15> minit naika kopit mamuk= waʃ iaka pi* [111]
EVID 15 minute 1SG CMPT CAUS= to.wash 3 CONJ
'I reckon in 15 minutes I'd finished baptizing her, then

iaka mimlus
3 to.die
she died'

(c) *tlus maika kopit maʃ pipa kopa Sipria* [117]
IMPRT 2SG CMPT to.send paper PREP Cyprian
'Stop sending the newspaper to Cyprian.'

Kopit is analyzed as a grammatical particle on the basis of the following tests:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*kopit* occurs with a variety of verb heads including *wawa* 'to say', *mamuk= waʃ* 'to baptize', *makmak* 'to drink', unlike NEG affix *wik-*).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (patterned distribution, unlike *wik-*; i.e. the presence of *kopit* is regular where a completive meaning is appropriate).
√ C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affix (identical in form to a free word *kopit* 'to be finished; only', unlike *wik-*).
√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affix (the meaning resulting from combination of root with *kopit* is predictable [completive], unlike *wik-* forms).
× E. Post-syntactic nature: *kopit* in cooccurrence with negative *wik-* or with compounds was not identified in the corpus.
√ F. Attachment to other forms having grammatical particles (e.g. cooccurrence *tlus kopit* 'imperative completive').
√ G. Distance from head (can be separated from predicate head by intervening items, cf. test F).
√ H. Free, not bound (no identifiable positional restrictions vis-à-vis predicate head).
√ I. Productive (generating additional examples of same type of inflected clause).
√ J. Predictable position (left edge of the clause, which is a non-head position; see §3.3 below).
√ K. Doesn't cleft to express focus (unlike head-containing entities, see §5.4.1).
√ L. Purely grammatical meaning (rather than lexical meaning).

The evidence for the grammatical-particle status of completive *kopit* appears to be good.

3.2.2.3.2.3.2 Conative *trai*

A possible second aspect particle, *trai*, appears to have expressed conative aspect, signaling attempted realizations of events/states. Examples of its use appear in (74):[120]

(74) (a) *alta nsaika trai pus mamuk sondi + haws* [117]
PRES 1PL CNAT IRR to.make Sunday building
'Now we're trying to build a church.'

(b) *alta naika trai pus naika ilo iskom skukum masatʃi mamuk* [17]
PRES 1SG CNAT IRR 1SG NEG to.take strongly bad act
'Now I'm trying not to get involved in wicked doings.'

Trai is tentatively analyzed as a grammatical particle on the basis of the following tests:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*trai* occurs with a variety of hosts including *mamuk* 'to build' and *iskom* 'to take up [a habit]', unlike NEG affix *wik*-).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (patterned distribution, unlike *wik*-; i.e. the presence of *trai* is regular where a conative meaning is appropriate).
√ C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affix: identical in form to a possible free word *trai* 'to try' (i.e. with no following overt head), unlike *wik*-.
√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affix (the meaning resulting from combination of root with *trai* is predictable [conative], unlike *wik*- forms).
× E. Post-syntactic: *trai* was not found with the prefixal negator *wik*-, nor with compounds.
√ F. Attachment to other forms having grammatical particles (e.g. cooccurrence *trai pus* 'conative.aspect irrealis').
√ G. Distance from head (can be separated from predicate head by intervening items, cf. test F).
√ H. Free, not bound (no identifiable positional restrictions vis-à-vis predicate head).
√ I. Productive (generating additional examples of same type of inflected clause).
√ J. Predictable position (left edge of the clause, which is a non-head position; see §3.3 below).
√ K. Doesn't cleft to express focus (unlike headed entities, see §5.4.1).
√ L. Purely grammatical meaning (rather than lexical meaning).

The evidence for the grammatical-particle status of conative *trai* on these grounds appears to be fair.

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[120] The cooccurrence of conative with irrealis, *trai pus*, parallels that of imperative *tlus* with *pus*. However, *trai*, as a recent loan from English—which *tlus* was not—may have reflected usage patterns from the source language. There, *try to build* is acceptable while *try build* is not.

3.2.2.3.2.3.3 Summary of aspect particles

The aspect particles identified in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa express completive and conative ('attempting') senses. The range of KCW aspects that have been identified, including those expressed by non-particle means, are discussed at §4.1.4.

3.2.2.3.2.4 Polarity (negative) particles

While positive polarity is not marked in KCW (cf. §4.1.5.1), negative polarity is (§4.1.5.2). Two apparent negative particles have been identified in the corpus: *ilo*, discussed in §3.2.2.3.2.4.1, and *wik*, discussed in §3.2.2.3.2.4.2; a summary of observations on (negative) polarity particles appears in §3.2.2.3.2.4.3.

3.2.2.3.2.4.1 *ilo*

The first of the two polarity particles identified is *ilo*. It expresses negative polarity, cf. §4.1.5. Examples appear in (75):

(75) (a) *naika ilo drit komtaks ukuk tʃinuk pipa* [100]
1SG NEG really to.know DEM Chinúk.Wawa writing
'I don't really understand this *Chinuk pipa*'

(b) *naika tomtom naika ilo klatwa kopa Kamlups* [104]
1SG to.think 1SG NEG to.go PREP Kamloops
'I think I won't be going to Kamloops'

(c) *nsaika ilo kanamokst wawa kopa klaska* [106]
1PL NEG together to.speak PREP 3PL
'We don't talk with them (sc. speakers of Shuswap)'

Ilo is analyzed as a grammatical particle on the basis of the following tests:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (*ilo* occurs with an effectively unlimited variety of hosts, unlike NEG affix *wik*-).

√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (patterned distribution, unlike affixal *wik*-; i.e. the presence of *ilo* is regular where a negative-polarity meaning is appropriate).

× C. Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affix: not borne out. (As with the other negative particle *wik* below, no homonymous free word *ilo* having lexical rather than grammatical meaning was identified. This is presumably to be expected of negative operators. Cf. irrealis *pus*, §3.2.2.3.2.2)

√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affix (the meaning resulting from combination of root with *ilo* is predictable [negative polarity], unlike affixal *wik*- forms).

× E. Post-syntactic: *ilo* in combination with the affixal negative *wik*-, or together with compounds, was not identified in the corpus.

√ F. Attachment to other forms having grammatical particles (e.g. cooccurrences *ilo tlus* 'negative.polarity imperative' and *pus ilo* 'irrealis negative.polarity').
√ G. Distance from head (can be separated from predicate head by intervening items, cf. test F just mentioned).
√ H. Free, not bound (no identifiable positional restrictions vis-à-vis predicate head).
√ I. Productive (generating additional examples of same type of inflected clause).
√ J. Predictable position (left edge of the clause, which is a non-head position; see §3.3 below).
√ K. Doesn't cleft to express focus (unlike headed entities, see §5.4.1).
√ L. Purely grammatical meaning (rather than lexical meaning).

The evidence for the grammatical-particle status of negative-polarity *ilo* appears to be good.

3.2.2.3.2.4.2 *wik͡*

The second of the two polarity particles identified is *wik͡* (not to be confused with the affix *wik͡-*, §3.2.2.1). Examples appear in (76):

(76) (a) *o wik͡ wiht naika mamuk= komtaks kopa maika* [105]
oh NEG again 1SG CAUS= to.know PREP 2SG
'Oh, I won't report (anything) more to you.'

(b) *…naika nanitʃ kalakala pi naika wik͡ komtaks mamuk= pu* [113]
1SG to.see bird CONJ 1SG NEG to.know CAUS= to.shoot
'…I saw birds but I'm not good at shooting a gun'

(c) *wik͡ nsaika tlap tʃikmin pus nsaika piii* [99]
NEG 1PL to.get money IRR 1PL to.pay
'We don't (sc. aren't able to) get money to pay.'

This rarer alternative to *ilo* (with only about 18 occurrences identified) is analyzed as a grammatical particle on the basis of the following tests:

√ A. Low selectivity of stems (particle *wik͡* occurs with a variety of hosts including *komtaks* 'to know how', *mamuk= mimlus* 'to kill', *tiki* 'to want' and *mamuk= nawik͡tka* 'to believe', unlike NEG affix *wik͡-*).
√ B. Few gaps in paradigm (patterned distribution, unlike affixal *wik͡-*; i.e. the presence of *wik͡* [or *ilo*] is regular where a negative-polarity meaning is appropriate).
× C. (Not borne out:) Less morphological idiosyncrasy than affix (*wik͡*, like the other negative particle *ilo* above, is not found to be homonymous with a free lexical word, cf. §3.2.2.1). (Cf. §3.2.2.3.2.2 on irrealis *pus*.)
√ D. Less semantic idiosyncrasy than affix (the meaning resulting from combination of root with particle *wik͡* is predictable [negative polarity], unlike affixal *wik͡-* forms).

√ E. Post-syntactic: particle *wi̱k*, like its synonym *ilo*, was not identified as occurring together with affixal *wi̱k-* forms, nor with compounds.
√ F. Attachment to other forms having grammatical particles (e.g. cooccurrence *wi̱k kopit* 'negative.polarity + completive.aspect').
√ G. Distance from head (can be separated from predicate head by intervening items, cf. test F).
√ H. Free, not bound (no identifiable positional restrictions vis-à-vis predicate head).
√ I. Productive (generating additional examples of same type of inflected clause).
√ J. Predictable position (left edge of the clause, which is a non-head position; see §3.3 below).
√ K. Doesn't cleft to express focus (unlike headed entities, see §5.4.1).
√ L. Purely grammatical meaning (rather than lexical meaning).

By these standards, evidence for the grammatical-particle status of negative-polarity *wi̱k* appears to be good.

3.2.2.3.2.4.3 Summary of polarity particles

Two polarity particles have been identified in KCW. Both are negative and are clausal in scope, but one is much more commonly used than the other. A fuller discussion of polarity, including positive polarity and phrasal polarity, appears at §5.1.5.

3.2.2.3.2.5 Summary of grammatical-particle functions

A robust range of inflectional- and derivational-type grammatical functions is expressed by items identified in KCW as particles. This parallels the variety found in the affixal (§3.2.2.1) and clitic systems (§3.2.2.2).

3.2.2.3.3 Summary of grammatical particles

This section has presented a significant number of grammatical morphemes, distinct in their syntactic behaviour from the roots, affix, and clitics of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. These grammatical particles are a newly defined category in the CW literature.

3.2.2.4 Summary of overt, productive grammatical forms

The overt, productive grammatical morphology of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is more varied than previous studies of CW and of pidgins would lead one to expect. A fairly large range of functions is expressed in a consistent manner via grammatical morphemes that are in many cases distinct from any previously identified for CW.

3.2.3 Summary of overt grammatical forms

This section has presented 17 overt grammatical markers that express categories of person agreement, aspect, diminutivity, mood/modality, polarity, and transitivity. All

exhibit more-or-less productive use and grammatical (as opposed to lexical) meaning, under tests for (1) affix-, (2) clitic- and (3) grammatical particlehood. All behave differently from root heads. No previous study of CW varieties has identified the first two of these categories, nor presented a principled argument for the presence of the third. Granted that the grammatical particles can be argued to be free words yet purely grammatical, their behaviour as a group is nonetheless distinct from lexical heads. All of the grammatical particles have grammaticalized from previous free lexemes into newer items that have nonlexical meanings and are positionally restricted with reference to head roots. These observations seem relevant enough to the goal of elucidating a previously understudied domain that I include them in the discussion of KCW grammatical morphemes.

In summary, the present study's identification of grammatical morphemes adds nuance to the known morphological inventory, and by extension syntactic structure (see chapter 5), of Chinúk Wawa. These forms additionally support Bakker's (e.g. 2003b) claim that pidgins, contrary to previous hypotheses that they totally lack grammatical morphological nuance, can in fact show a significant degree thereof.

3.3 Summary of morphology

This chapter has argued that, along with lexical root heads, purely grammatical material of various levels of productivity and 'boundness' to those heads is also to be found in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Three categories of overt grammatical morphemes—prefixes, proclitics, and preposed grammatical particles—have been identified in the present study. In addition, the morphological operations of compounding and conversion have been identified. The grammatical particles of course differ from the affixal and clitic items in operating syntactically (at clausal level) rather than strictly morphologically.

With the exception of the negative morphs *ilo* and *wi͡ik*, irrealis *pus* and conative *trai*, all of these operators are homonymous with demonstrably free morphs. Kamloops Chinúk Wawa has thus developed through grammaticalization a system of grammatical morphemes that is of greater complexity than previous consensus has expected in pidgins.

Having identified an inventory of grammatical operators for KCW, including some (syntactic) grammatical particles, it is possible to make meaningful syntactic generalizations about the language. It will be seen that all of the overt grammatical operators (as well as dependent members of compounds) precede heads at various distances and degrees of 'boundness'. As a sort of prelude to the discussion of syntax in chapters 4 and 5, Table 11 roughly sketches the positional properties of productive KCW grammatical morphemes:[121]

[121] Further research is needed on the distributional properties of the morphemes. This table omits discourse markers and lexical material such as adverbs in various positions between the slots shown. Key: **-** affix, **=** clitic. *Ilo* occurs twice in this table because it is attested in distinct positions (although never simultaneously in both): phrasal and clausal.

Mood, Transitivity, Aspect, Modality	**Modality**	**Polarity**	**Agreement**	**Aspect, Mood, Transitivity**	**Transitivity, Aspect**	**Diminutive**	**Polarity**	Dependent member of **Compound**	HEAD of predicate (see also **Conversion**)
tlus, ***wik- tlus,*** ***patlaʧ,*** ***trai,*** ***wik- kata***	***pus***	***ilo***	***iaka=,*** ***klaska=***	***kopit,*** ***tlap=,*** ***aju=***	***mamuk=,*** ***ʧako=***	***tanas=***	***wik-***		

Table 11: Relative ordering of productive morphemes

4 Syntax 1: Phrases and simple clauses

> *None of the syntactic features [of Chinúk Wawa] is especially unusual in languages of the world, but none of them is common in the better-known pidgins and creoles, either. (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:183)*

The present chapter examines Kamloops Chinúk Wawa syntax. KCW's constituent order is rather rigid. It can be called fundamentally SVO, with infrequent VS; see §4.1.2.1,2 'Intransitive', 'Transitive and Ditransitive' below. It is syntactic means, primarily constituent order and the use of prepositions, which bear much of the functional load of marking grammatical relations. But that characterization of course misses crucial details of KCW syntax. This chapter and the next will be devoted to describing those details, beginning with simple clauses in the present chapter. I follow Dixon's definition of a clause as "the description of some activity, state, or property" (2010a:93ff), having:

- internal structure:
  - a predicate (prototypically verbal)
  - some arguments
    - core (agent; subject, object; must be stated or inferable)
    - peripheral (optional)
- distinct function:
  - pragmatic (i.e. type of speech act—'mood')
  - syntactic (main or other [linked] clause)

It is the internal structure of simple clauses, and of their constituent phrases that guides the discussion in the present chapter. The core propositional material contained in the predicate complex is examined in §4.1. Virtually all discussion of verbs, which are the canonical predicate, occupies that section.[122] The description proceeds to the nominal arguments of predicates (§4.2), where most discussion of nouns and adjectives takes place.

Chapter 5 ('Syntax 2: Beyond simple clauses') moves on to more complex and higher-level structures. Because the discussion of syntax is divided in this fashion, a summary will be postponed to §5.5.

4.1 Predicates

The present section discusses predicates, taken as the meaningful core of a clause (cf. Payne 1997:111), which "will determine the number and type of arguments" (Dixon 2010a:98). A related concept that I invoke is 'predicate complex', by which I mean the predicate together with any grammatical morphemes germane to it.

The kinds of predicates identified in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa are verbs and copulas. The copulas involve nominal, adjectival, and prepositional 'copular

[122] See also the sections of chapter 3 that deal with verbal morphology.

complements'. The simple examples in (77) illustrate: a verb in (a), copula (indicated as ∅) with noun phrase in (b), copula ∅ with a (non-attributive) adjective in (c), and copula *mitlait* with a prepositional phrase in (d):[123]

(77) (a) *tlun tanas= klut͡ʃmin klaska= kanamokst suim* [73]
three DIM= woman 3PL.AGR= together to.swim
'three girls were swimming together'

(b) *klunas maika komtaks pus naika ∅ kaltaʃ man* [68]
EVID 2SG to.know IRR 1SG COPeq worthless man
'I reckon you know whether I'm a no-good man'

(c) *ukuk ʃinuk pipa ilo ∅ kaltaʃ* [72]
DEM Chinúk.Wawa writing NEG COPeq worthless
'the shorthand isn't worthless'

(d) *naika tlus papa Pir Lʃʃun iaka= mitlait kopa Kamlups* [52]
1SG good father Père Le.Jeune 3AGR= COPspa PREP Kamloops
'my good father, Père Le Jeune, who is in Kamloops'

These types of predicates behave quite similarly to one another. They lack marking for many grammatical categories. Definiteness is not marked (there are no KCW 'articles'). Tense—the "grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered" (Payne 1997:236)—is normally implicit. There are no grammatical morphemes (cf. chapter 4) expressing tense, so that no further modification is required of the stems *t͡ʃako* (and ∅) in (78a), *wawa* and *t͡ʃako* in (b), and *wawa* and *mamuk= aʃnu* in (c):

(78) (a) *pus iaka= t͡ʃako ukuk maʃin kopa iawa | iaka ∅ aias tlus* [52]
IRR 3AGR= to.come DEM machine PREP there 3 COPeq very good
'if that machine [mimeograph] comes over there, | that'll be wonderful'

(b) *naika wawa kopa maika | pus maika t͡ʃako kopa ʃhkaltkmah* [12]
1SG to.ask PREP 2SG IRR 2SG to.come PREP Sahhaltkum
'I'm asking you | whether you're coming to Sahhaltkum'

(c) *maika wawa kakwa | pi klaska mamuk= aʃnu Hari Makki* [68]
2SG to.say thus CONJ 3PL CAUS= to.kneel Harry McKay
'you said that, | but they made Harry MacKay kneel [as punishment]'

It is true that the adverbs (cf. §4.1.8, §4.2.2.3) *alki* 'future', *alta* 'present', and *ankati* 'past' can be employed to clarify time reference as shown in (79):

[123] For information on noun phrases functioning as arguments, see §5.2.1, and on attributive adjectives, see §5.2.2.4.

(79) (a) *alki naika mamuk= t͡sim kopa iaka* [17]
FUT 1SG CAUS= written PREP 3
'I will write to him'

(b) *alta naika stop kopa ʃuʃwap ukuk Santi* [10][124]
PRES 1SG COPspa PREP Shuswap DEM Sunday
'I'm at Shuswap this Sunday'

(c) *naika ilo tiki ukuk iht tala naika patlatʃ kopa maika ankati* [78]
1SG NEG to.want DEM one dollar 1SG to.send PREP 2SG PAST
'I don't care about that $1.00 I sent you'

But the point is that these tense-referring words are adverbs and are optional; there is no way of marking tense as an intrinsic grammatical category on KCW predicates. However, a number of other categories are overtly and even obligatorily distinguished for the Kamloops Chinúk Wawa predicate complex.[125] These categories are discussed in §4.1. on person agreement, §4.1.2 on transitivity, §4.1.3 on mood, §4.1.4 on modality, §4.1.5 on aspect, and §4.1.6 on polarity. The subsections thereafter go into additional important topics relevant to predicates: copular constructions in §4.1.7, degree in predicative adjectives in §4.1.8, and predicate-scope adverbs in §4.1.9.

4.1.1 Person agreement: third person

The etymological third-person pronouns, *iaka* and *klaska* (see §4.2.1.1.1), have grammaticalized into a non-pronominal function. These are extremely frequent clitic markers of third-person agreement between a predicate and a subject/agent nominal not already specified for person. Thus, personal pronouns do not take these two markers. There is no overt agreement marking of first and second persons. In most environments, *iaka*= and *klaska*= are optional. No difference in meaning or e.g. topicality is detectable between their presence and absence. But as §4.2.2.8 notes, they are always present in relativizations of nouns. *Iaka*= is used far more frequently than the plural *klaska*=. For reference, Table 12 summarizes these markers, repeating Table 8:

iaka=	3AGR

[124] The present-tense adverb *alta* (not past-tense *ankati*) is the way to express 'ago'. That is, specification of past-time 'distance' from now is treated as more relevant to the present than to the past. See the two examples with *alta* at the end of §4.2.1.2, which can be contrasted with the following:

pi kopa ukuk nsaika mamuk aju͡ kul ankati [110]
CONJ PREP DEM 1PL to.work much gold PAST
'and in it [our creek] we used to pan a lot of gold'

If this were an instance where *kul* were a variant spelling of *kol* 'cold; winter', then this would mean 'and in it, we worked many years ago'. But the next sentence in the text confirms the analysis shown above: *pi klaska k'olan pus naika tlap aju͡ tala kopa ukuk plis* 'and they [the white people] have heard that I've gotten a lot of money out of that place'.

[125] Exceptions occur with copulas, cf. §4.1.7.

klaska=	3PL.AGR

Table 12: Optional person agreement clitics

In (80) are shown two similar examples, respectively with and without agreement marking: [126]

(80) (a) *som ol klutʃ͡min klaska= aju͡= sik* [31]
some old woman 3PL.AGR= IMPFV= ill
'some old women (, they) are feeling sick'

(b) *pi mokst tanas= klutʃ͡min tanas= komtaks pipa* [18]
CONJ two DIM= woman DIM= to.understand writing
'and two of the girls can kind of read'

In the great majority of attestations *iaka=* and *klaska=* have overt-noun coreferents, as in the preceding example. These agreement markers can also in fact cooccur with the non-personal pronouns, such as *ukuk* in (81):

(81) *ukuk iaka= klatwa kopa Pir Lʃ͡jun* [79]
DEM 3AGR= to.go PREP Père Le Jeune
'this (sc. letter) goes to Père Le Jeune'

No such marking is attested with personal pronouns, nor with double pronominal-subject exponence (DPSE, cf. §4.2.1.1.1.1.2), which primarily appears in non-third person environments. These facts support an analysis of *iaka=* and *klaska=* as markers of third-person agreement on antecedents that are not inherently specified for it.

The overt agreement marker is attested not only as can be expected (based on its etymology) with referents that are semantically third-person, but sometimes even coreferent with a noun denoting an addressee, as in the opening salutation of a letter in (82):

(82) *naika tlus papa Pir Lʃ͡jun iaka= mitlait kopa Kamlups* [52]
1SG good father Père Le.Jeune 3AGR= COPspa PREP Kamloops
'my good father, Père Le Jeune, who is in Kamloops'

Agreement markers stand leftward in the predicate complex. This is so whether the Predicate referenced comes after the subject/agent (83 a,b), or precedes it in what is normally an intransitive ordering, cf. §4.1.2.1 (c,d):[127]

[126] The parenthesized material in the English translations is intended as an approximate overt representation of the agreement markers. It is not intended as suggesting that those markers are a topicalization mechanism, which is how such structures would automatically be interpreted, at least in my own dialect of Pacific Northwest English.

[127] Here 'S', as is common in linguists' typological discussions, broadly refers to both subjects and agents; predicates are enclosed in braces.

(83) (a) *pi Mois*$_{subject}$ *aiak* <u>*iaka=*</u> *{t͡ʃako}* *kopa Krapaʃiʃin* [48]
CONJ Moise quickly 3AGR= to.come PREP North.Bend
'and Moise (<u>, he</u>) {came} from North Bend right away'

(b) *alta Lui*$_{agent}$ <u>*iaka=*</u> *a͡ju=* *{mamuk}* *musmus* [1]
now Louis 3AGR= IMPFV= to.work cattle
'now Louis (<u>, he</u>) is busy {herding} cattle'

(c) <u>*iaka=*</u> *{∅}* *aias klaha͡wiam | ukuk klut͡ʃmin*$_{subject}$ *alta* [16]
3AGR= COPeq very pitiful | DEM woman now
'that woman (<u>, she</u>) {is} miserable now'

(d) <u>*iaka=*</u> *{wa͡wa͡}* *| Pir ʃirus*$_{subject}$ *kopa nsaika* [33]
3AGR= to.say | Père Chirouse PREP 1PL
'Père Chirouse (<u>, he</u>) {said} (so) to us'

The precise placement of the agreement marker is subject to some variation. Examples (83b) above and (84c) below show that the agreement marker can either precede or follow other grammatical morphemes such as the imperfective *a͡ju=*. Agreement marking can, due to clefting, become the leftmost item in a sentence—as in examples (c, d) above. Or it can be preceded by an adverb (as in (83a), (84a) below), a negative particle (as in (84b)), and/or an aspect clitic (as in (84c)):[128]

(84) (a) *Lui iaka mama*$_{subject}$ *wi͡k-* *saia* <u>*iaka=*</u> *{mimlus}* [16]
Louis 3 mother NEG- far 3AGR= dead
'Louis' mother (<u>, she</u>) is nearly dead'

(b) *pi wi͡ht Idwa͡r*$_{agent}$ *ilo drit* <u>*iaka=*</u> *{hilp}* *kopa wa͡t͡ʃman* [85]
CONJ also Edward NEG really 3AGR= to.help PREP watchman
'and even Edward (<u>, he</u>) didn't really help the watchmen'

(c) *wa͡it man*$_{subject}$ *a͡ju=* <u>*klaska=*</u> *{∅}* *krai* *tomtom=* *kopa* [6]
white man IMPFV= 3PL.AGR= COPeq to.weep heart PREP
'the white people (<u>, they</u>) have {been} feeling devastated about

iaka wi͡t
3 wheat
their wheat'

In the agreement usage, *iaka=* freely functions as singular or plural, animate or inanimate, as in (85 a,b), which can be contrasted with the animate <u>pronoun</u> *iaka* (see §4.2.1.1.1.1.1.1); *klaska=* seems to be used when specification of plural animacy is desired, as in (c):

[128] In addition, (79b) and (80c) show that the agreement marker can either precede or follow other grammatical markers, such as the imperfective *a͡ju=*.

(85) (a) *ukuk pipa iaka= kwata* [65][129]
DEM paper 3AGR= quarter
'This paper(, it) is (sc. costs) twenty-five cents.'

(b) *ukuk lakit man iaka= tiki ʃanti + buk* [18]
DEM four man 3AGR= to.want song + book
'These four men(, they) want hymnals.'

(c) *kanawi tilikom klaska= tiki ukuk* [13]
all people 3PL.AGR= to.want DEM
'Everyone(, they) want(s) this.'

The agreement markers appear to normally have scope over any and all main-clause (i.e. including appositively or conjunctively joined) predicates to their right within the sentence. Only one agreement marker has been confidently identified per sentence, as in (86a), but sometimes it seems possible that there are separate agreement markers on coordinated main clauses of a single sentence, as in (b) [here each predicate is separately bracketed]:

(86) (a) *kanawi tilikom klaska= [Ø tlus] [Ø ilo sik]* [23]
all people 3PL.AGR= COPeq well COPeq NEG ill
'everyone's well, not sick'
(~ 'all the people (, they) are well, not sick')

(b) *naika papus iaka= [Ø tlus] iaka= [ilo Ø sik]* [19]
1SG baby 3AGR= COPeq well 3AGR= NEG COPeq ill
'my baby (, she) is well, (she is) not sick'

The near-total lack of punctuation in the KCW texts, and the lack of phonetically detailed data, is an obstacle to determining whether examples like (b) are single or multiple sentences. Thus, two possible readings of (b) are 'My baby is well, not sick' and 'My baby is well. She's not sick.' This problem is unresolved.

4.1.2 Transitivity

Transitivity can be overtly distinguished in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Marking of it can cooccur with aspect marking (see §4.1.4). The following subsections survey the transitivity-marking repertoire of KCW. Marking applies differently to intransitives (§4.1.2.1), versus transitive predicates (§4.1.2.2). Both are marked by word order, in a difference from the other subtypes of transitivity: 'permissive' (§4.1.2.3) and 'causative' (§4.1.2.4), which are signaled by phonological material. Optional explicit 'out-of-control' transitivity marking (§4.1.2.5) is available as well for both intransitives and transitives. Finally, mention will also be made of a quasi-passive strategy (§4.1.2.6).

[129] There is presumably a ∅ equative copula in this sentence, whose position is somewhat difficult to determine (§4.1.6). The copula has been left out of the parse here since nothing in the present discussion turns on its position.

4.1.2.1 Intransitive

Simple intransitives, univalent or single-participant predicates, are marked as such by the fact of having only a subject (cf. Payne 1997:171), the 'core' argument.[130] Verbs, as well as copulas with either noun phrases or non-attributive adjectives, can all function as intransitive predicates, as in (87 a-c) respectively:

(87) (a) *ilo nsaika kaltaʃ kuli pus Santi* [33]
NEG 1PL idly to.wander IRR Sunday
'We don't go gallivanting around on Sundays.' (sc. when it's Sunday)

(b) *naika ∅ iht man* [38]
1SG COPeq one man
'I'm (just) one man.'

(c) *wik- saia ∅ kakʃit naika* [38]
NEG- far COPeq broken 1SG
'I'm almost worn out.'

Constituent ordering is fairly free in intransitives: (c) above and (88a) show a post-predicate subject; (b, c) show subjects preceding the predicate:

(88) (a) *naika maʃ Knim Lik <18> ʃulai kakwa aju= ∅* [79]
1SG to.leave Canim Lake 18 July so IMPFV= COPeq
'I left Canim Lake on July 18th, so

til kjutan
tired horse
the horse is feeling tired'

(b) *iaka kakʃit kopa trin* [67]
3 broken PREP train
'he was run over by a train'

(c) *pi naika ilo lisi…* [68]
CONJ 1SG NEG lazy
'but I'm not too lazy...'

Thus the subject of an intransitive can vary in position, and it is not constituent-order but the presence of no more than one argument that marks intransitivity.

Intransitive predicates can be followed by what I will call obliques, non-core arguments.[131] A usual form *kopa* alternates with a far less common ∅ (lack of overt preposition) in oblique-marking, as generally in KCW prepositional usage (§5.1.1.1). Thus a streamlined analysis is reached of the syntactic behavior of non-core arguments.

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[130] Compare the analogous use of the term 'core' with transitives, §4.1.2.2.

[131] See Payne (1997:48), comparable with Dixon's (2010a:97-101) 'peripheral arguments' including prepositional phrases.

Obliques in KCW are characteristically marked by the preposition *kopa* as (89) shows:

(89) (a) *naika tiki tanas= wawa [kopa maika]$_{oblique}$* [13]
1SG to.want DIM= to.talk PREP 2SG
'I want to chat [with you]$_{oblique}$'

(b) *naika Ø tlus tomtom [kopa saman]$_{oblique}$* [40]
1SG COPeq good heart PREP salmon
'I like [salmon]$_{oblique}$' (Literally ~ 'I'm happy about salmon')

'Bare' obliques (those lacking the overt preposition *kopa*) are quite rare after intransitives, since the result would often be a construction formally indistinguishable from a transitive with a direct object (cf. §4.1.2.2). In practice, bare obliques of intransitives usually occur only with spatial copulas (§4.1.6.2) or motion verbs, two predicate types that are not susceptible to misinterpretation as transitives. An additional observation about such cases is that they use the Subject—Predicate order only. Examples, with the lack of *kopa* symbolized by *Ø* since these are analyzed as containing a null allomorph of the preposition (§5.1.1.1), are provided in (90):

(90) (a) *alta naika mitlait [Ø Knim Lik ilihi]$_{oblique}$* [80]
PRES 1SG COPspa PREP Canim Lake village
'now I'm [at Canim Lake village]$_{oblique}$'

(b) *…pus naika ilo aiak klatwa [Ø Kwawt]*$_{oblique}$ [51]
IRR 1SG NEG quickly to.go PREP Quaaout
'…for my not hurrying [to Quaaout]$_{oblique}$'

Table 13 summarizes the observed intransitive orders (S = subject):

Constituent order	***Subtype***	***…optional oblique of form:***
S - Predicate	General	*…kopa* / ∅ NP
"	Predicate is a spatial copula or motion verb	*…Ø* NP
Predicate – S	--	*…kopa* NP

Table 13: Intransitive constituent orders

4.1.2.2 Transitive

In contrast to intransitivity, transitivity is marked via word-order as well as by the number of arguments present. A simple transitive verb is here understood as divalent, "describ[ing] a relation between two participants such that one of the participants [the agent] acts toward or upon the other [the object/patient]"[132] (Payne 1997:171). Every

[132] In the present study I use the label 'object' as a synonym for what is also known as 'patient'. For present purposes nothing turns on this choice of terminology. However, 'subject' and 'agent' can be

transitive KCW predicate has two 'core' arguments, agent and object. Kamloops Chinúk Wawa agents stand before the verb.[133] In the absence of fronting (§5.4.1.1) either a patient or an oblique—a peripheral argument, not an agent or patient—follows the verb.

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa can be called fundamentally an SVO language, as Table 14 schematizes:

Agent/'S'	(AGR=)	Verb	Patient/'O'	(oblique)

Table 14: Transitive constituent order
(AGR= is an agreement clitic; parentheses indicate optionality)

These facts are illustrated in (91) [all arguments are bracketed in the following examples]:

(91) (a) *[kanawi͡ tilikom]$_{agent}$ klaska= tiki [ukuk]$_{patient}$* [13]
all people 3PL.AGR= to.want DEM
'[Everyone]$_{agent}$ wants [it]$_{patient}$'

(b) *…[maika]$_{agent}$ patlat͡ʃ [∅ naika]$_{oblique}$ [ʃinuk buk]$_{patient}$* [69]
2SG to.give PREP 1SG Chinúk.Wawa book
'…[You]$_{agent}$ give [me]$_{oblique}$ [a Chinúk Wawa book]$_{patient}$'

The one identified exception to the very strong generalization that agents are preverbal is in (92), where the deviant word order is of unknown motivation:[134]

(92) *pus ilo wi͡ht tolo [masat͡ʃi]$_{agent}$ [naika]$_{patient}$* [89]
IRR NEG again to.win evil 1SG
'so that [evil]$_{agent}$ doesn't overtake [me]$_{patient}$ ever again'

Like the agent, the patient is marked only by its position relative to the verb. Patient marking is potentially ambiguous in ditransitives, given that the relative order of patient and bare (i.e. non-prepositionally marked) oblique after the verb can vary as (93) shows:[135]

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distinguished based on their syntactic behaviour, and are discussed respectively in the sections on intransitivity and transitivity.

[133] Along with the agent, an optional third-person subject / agent agreement marker can occur, such as *klaska=* in example (87a) following (cf. §4.1.1 on agreement marking).

[134] Leslie Saxon (p.c.) notes that, being an abstract noun, *masat͡ʃi* 'evil' is not a typical agent. I have not been able to determine whether its inanimacy bears on the unusual constituent order observed in this example.

[135] It is unclear whether full-noun and pronoun bare obliques behave differently. This question is left for future research.

(93) (a) *[kanawi͡ Hai Bar tilikom]*$_{agent}$ *wa͡wa͡ [maika]*$_{oblique}$ *[putah]*$_{patient}$ [18][136]
all High Bar people to.tell 2SG goodbye
'[All the High Bar people]$_{agent}$ tell [you]$_{oblique}$ [goodbye]$_{patient}$'

(b) *alki [msaika (sic)]*$_{agent}$ *piii [ukuk]*$_{patient}$ *[maika]*$_{oblique}$ [54]
FUT 2PL to.pay DEM 2SG
'[we]$_{agent}$ will pay [you]$_{oblique}$ [this]$_{patient}$'

In actuality, (b) is the only counterexample in the corpus to the generalization that bare obliques precede objects. Perhaps it is relevant that this example is found in one of the least expertly written letters. Its author demonstrates relatively low control of the conventions of *Chinuk pipa* writing, with the result that various letters are written identically and some words are misspelled, such as *msaika* for 1PL *nsaika*. These facts could imply less fluency in KCW.

Obliques of transitives are overtly marked in either of two ways. Bare obliques are overtly signaled—as opposed to the covert marking provided by the assumed null prepositional allomorph involved—by constituent order. The oblique then stands immediately to the right of the verb. Normally the patient immediately follows, as in (94 a,b), but patients can be moved elsewhere by clefting (left-dislocation), as in (c), or by 'WH-movement' (§4.1.3.2.2.2), leaving the bare oblique at the right periphery of the clause [the symbol || signals a cleft boundary]:

(94) (a) *…[naika]*$_{agent}$ *mamuk= komtaks [∅ kanawi͡ tanas= man]*$_{oblique}$ *[ukuk*
1SG CAUS= to.learn PREP all DIM= man DEM
'…[I]$_{agent}$ teach [all the young people]$_{oblique}$ [the

ʃinuk pipa]$_{patient}$ [69]
Chinúk.Wawa writing
shorthand]$_{patient}$'

(b) *pi [naika]*$_{agent}$ *kakʃit [∅ tanas= stik]*$_{oblique}$ *[NULL]*$_{patient}$
CONJ 1SG to.beat PREP DIM= wood 3
'and [I]$_{agent}$ beat [it (horse)]$_{patient}$ [with a branch]$_{oblique}$

pi aiak iaka pulbak [43]
CONJ immediately 3 to.pull.back
and it pulled right back'

(c) *[kopit iht kwa͡ta]*$_{patient}$ || *[naika]*$_{agent}$ *patlatʃ͡ [∅ maika]*$_{oblique}$ *alta* [42]
only one quarter 1SG to.send PREP 2SG PRES
'[(It's) just 25¢]$_{patient}$ || [I]$_{agent}$ am sending [you]$_{oblique}$ now'

[136] It should be noted that quoted speech in KCW is formally indistinguishable from the object (patient) of a verb of speaking, like those "languages [that] lack indirect speech, using only the direct variety" (Dixon 2010b:397ff).

Otherwise obliques are marked by the ubiquitous prepositional allomorph *kopa*. The relative ordering of the patient and oblique is then apparently free as in (95 a-d), a fact that is especially clear from (a,b) which turn on the same verb:

(95) (a) *[iaka]$_{agent}$ patlat͡ʃ [buk]$_{patient}$ [kopa nsaika]$_{oblique}$* [11]
3 to.give book PREP 1PL
'[he]$_{agent}$ gave [us]$_{oblique}$ [a book]$_{patient}$'

(b) *tlus [naika]$_{agent}$ patlat͡ʃ [kopa klaska]$_{oblique}$ [ukuk pipa]$_{patient}$* [7]
IMPRT 1SG to.give PREP 3PL DEM letter
'[I]$_{agent}$ should give [them]$_{oblique}$ [this letter]$_{patient}$'

(c) *[naika]$_{agent}$ mamuk= komtaks [kopa maika]$_{oblique}$ [aju͡ tanas*
1SG CAUS= to.know PREP 2SG many child
'[I]$_{agent}$ am letting [you]$_{oblique}$ know [that many children are

tanas= sik]$_{patient}$ [31]
DIM= ill
under the weather]$_{patient}$'

(d) *[iaka]$_{agent}$ mamuk [lam + patlat͡ʃ]$_{patient}$ [kopa naika]$_{oblique}$* [64]
3 to.make alcohol gift PREP 1SG
'[he]$_{agent}$ made [a present of alcohol]$_{patient}$ [to me]$_{oblique}$'

Prepositional marking of obliques is normally restricted to animates in the corpus, but it should be noted additionally that most examples involve verbs of transfer, whether of materials or of information. Perhaps the association with animacy is a byproduct of this data sample: in the real world verbs of giving and telling usually involve animate receivers. There is one prepositional oblique in the corpus, shown in (96), which is unclear in regard to animacy:

(96) *[ikta]$_{patient}$ [naika]$_{agent}$ mamuk [kopa ukuk saman]$_{oblique}$* [40]
what? 1SG to.do PREP DEM salmon
'[what]$_{patient}$ ǁ shall [I]$_{agent}$ do [with/about these salmon]$_{oblique}$?'

4.1.2.3 Permissive

'Permissive' is optionally marked by the 'particle' *patlat͡ʃ*, literally 'to give'. A subtype of transitivity, it seems to express an indirect causation roughly equated with Comrie's 'permissive' variety of causative, where "the anterior event/agent has the power to prevent the effect from coming about," contrasting with his 'true causative' (cf. *mamuk*=, described in the following section) where "the anterior event/agent has the power to bring the effect about" (1981:164). This contrast between non-prevention and causation more typically defined is demonstrated by (97), in particular by the example pair (a):

(97) (a) (i) *naika tiki pus maika patlatʃ komtaks pus kah son* [23]
1SG to.want IRR 2SG PERM to.know IRR where? day
'I want you to let (me) know which day

maika tʃako
2SG to.come
you're coming'

(ii) *pi wiht naika tiki mamuk= komtaks kopa maika* [31]
CONJ also 1SG to.want CAUS= to.know PREP 2SG
'and I also want to inform you that

aju tanas tanas= sik
many child DIM= ill
many of the children are under the weather'

(b) *iht liplit iaka= patlatʃ naika mamuk kopa aju tanas= man* [83]
one priest 3AGR= PERM 1SG to.work PREP many DIM= person
'a priest had me work with several young people'

(c) *naika patlatʃ pus klaska aʃnu* [85]
1SG PERM IRR 3PL to.kneel
'I had them kneel'

The PERM structure is not frequent, with around a half-dozen examples identified. As varied as the above examples are, its use is not completely clear.

As Comrie notes (1981:164), many languages encode both the true and permissive types of causativity identically. In the case of KCW, it is *mamuk=* that by default encompasses both uses. Permissive *patlatʃ* is a perhaps incomplete grammaticalization away from the original lexical meaning 'to give' and toward some subset of functions otherwise expressed by the general causative, *mamuk=*, which will now be discussed.

4.1.2.4 'Causative'

Another subtype of transitivity, 'causative' *per se*, is overtly marked by the clitic *mamuk=* (cf. §3.2.2.2.1.2). Granted the difficulty of ascertaining a 'base' word class from which a given surface form has been derived (as discussed in §3.2.1.1 regarding conversion), *mamuk=* seems to be attested with every major word class except prepositions: verbs as in (98a), nouns as in (b), and non-attributive adjectives as in (c):

(98) (a) *naika tiki mamuk= komtaks ikta kopa Kolwatir* [41]
1SG to.want CAUS= to.know thing PREP Coldwater
'I want to inform [you] of something about Coldwater'

(b) *ikta mamuk maika ilo* <u>*mamuk= t͡sim*</u> *nim kopa naika pipa* [9]
what? to.make 2SG NEG CAUS= written name PREP 1SG letter
'Why didn't you <u>write</u> a name (sc. address) on my letter?'

(c) *alta nsaika aju͡=* <u>*mamuk= stju͡il*</u> [20]
PRES 1PL IMPFV= CAUS= prayer
'now we're (busily) <u>praying</u>'

While (a) and (b) above show *mamuk=* applied to words whose sense then clearly remains unchanged ('to know' > 'cause to know', 'to be written' > 'cause to be written'), (c) does not appear to contain a noun having the same sense as the corresponding bare predicate noun. That is, *stju͡il* '[to be] (a) prayer' with *mamuk=* gives 'to pray' but not *'cause to be (a) prayer'. Particularly when applied to nouns as in (c) above, *mamuk=* forms can seem to differ from typical causative predicates in lacking any 'predicate of effect' in themselves (cf. Payne 1997:175-186). Instead, *mamuk=* plus a noun seems to generate a structure wherein the noun takes on a sense roughly of a denominal adjective, cf. (99 a-d):

(99) (a) *ʃK iaka=…*<u>*mamuk= kwa͡rt + ha͡ws*</u> [136]
Jesus 3AGR= CAUS= court house
'Jesus…<u>judges</u> [people]'
('… "courthouses" people', 'makes them "courthoused" ')

(b) *ST iaka=* <u>*mamuk= lapilitas*</u> *kopa nsaika* [65]
God 3AGR= CAUS= penance PREP 1PL
'God <u>punishes</u> us'
('… "penances" us', 'makes us "penanced" ')

(c) *naika aias tiki pus maika* <u>*mamuk= nju͡s + pipa*</u>
1SG very to.want IRR 2SG CAUS= news paper
'I very much want you <u>to publish</u>

kopa t͡ʃinuk ukuk t͡sim [31]
PREP Chinúk.Wawa DEM writing
in Chinúk Wawa this writing'
('…to "newspaper" it', 'to make it "newspapered" ')

(d) *masat͡ʃi tilikom* <u>*mamuk= skukum ha͡ws*</u> *Pir ʃirus* [61]
evil people CAUS= strong house Père Chirouse
'the bad people <u>imprisoned</u> Père Chirouse'
('… "prisoned" Père Chirouse', 'made him "prisoned" ')

Consonant with this analysis are adjectives such as that shown in (100), a non-causative counterpart to the form in (d) above:

(100) *pus naika kapʃwa͡la trin klunas naika ∅ skukum haw͡s* [25]
IRR 1SG to.steal train EVID 1SG COPeq strong house
'if I stowed away on a train, I reckon I'd be imprisoned'
(' …be "prisoned" ')

The issue of exactly what effect *mamuk*= has on nouns remains indeterminate at this writing. What all instances of *mamuk*= have in common is that they are transitive predicate complexes whose agents are indeed causers of a resulting state.

'Causative', unlike intransitivity and transitivity/ditransitivity, is overtly marked (recall that they are signaled by constituent structure instead), so that [±causative] may be seen as the basic transitivity-marking distinction in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa.

4.1.2.5 Out-of-control

Outside the transitivity system *per se*, another possible option is evident, marked by a clitic *tlap*=. This is here termed 'out-of-control', cf. §3.2.2.2.1.4.

It is perhaps surprising that this structure is analyzed as transitivity marking in the present study. Yet this too is valence-marking, an "[operation] that adjust[s] the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations in clauses" (Payne 1997:169). And as Comrie observes of more-commonly recognized distinctions, "The most important point that we want to make concerning the relations among agent, force, instrument, and patient is that this is not so much a set of discrete semantic relations, but rather a…continuum of control." He thus makes control a central grammatical conception, and shows control to be quite commonly formally expressed in the languages of the world (1981:53ff). 'Out-of-control' thus would seem to have a fitting role interacting with ±transitivity in the grammar of KCW.

In a sense, 'out-of-control' resembles 'permissive' above since both contrast with 'causative' in identifying a subject/agent as somehow a non-prototypical causer. But 'out-of-control' specifies that agentive volition is not decisive in the realization of a proposition, whereas 'permissive' implies that the agent volitionally refrains from impeding that realization.

'Out-of-control' is overtly marked both on intransitives as in (101a) and transitives as in (b), but given the relatively few attestations of it (around 20), it is apparently not obligatory (cf. §3.2.2.2.1.2):

(101) (a) *iaka ilo tlap*= *sik tomtom* [4]
3 NEG O.C= upset heart
'he didn't get mad'

(b) *t͡ʃi nsaika tlap= komtaks Pir ʃirus… t͡ʃako klahani kopa*
just.now 1PL O.C= to.know Père Chirouse to.come outside PREP
'we've just found out that Père Chirouse has gotten out of

skukum haw͡s [61]
strong building
'prison'

Much as the functions of 'permissive' *patlat͡ʃ* are often approximated with 'causative' *mamuk=,* those of O.C are often subsumed under those of 'inchoative' aspect *t͡ʃako=* as in (102):

(102) *wa͡l alta naika t͡ʃako= sik tomtom kopa ukuk* [84]
well now 1SG INGR= upset heart PREP DEM
'well, now I'm getting upset about this'

O.C can occur on the same predicate with overt CAUS marking as in (103):

(103) *…naika ilo tlap= mamuk= kat ukuk ra͡wn* [45]
1SG NEG O.C= CAUS= to.cut DEM round
'…I didn't manage to get the rounds [round pieces of wood] cut'

4.1.2.6 Passivization strategy

An incipient grammaticalization seems likely in the sporadic use of *klaska*, literally third-person plural, to express a passive-like sense. (No true passive has been found in KCW, contrary to claims made for CW by Thomas 1970 [1935]: 59 [s.v. *cha'ko*] and Vrzić, whose analysis of the closely-related literary variety identifies the morph *t͡ʃako* as a passivity marker 1999:103. The present study terms that morph an ingressive aspect clitic, cf. §3.2.2.2.2.1.2, §4.1.4.1.) The quasi-passive sense is presumably to be related to the more-frequent use of *klaska* as an allomorph of the indefinite third-person pronoun *klaksta*, 'someone' (see §4.2.1.1.2.2.1.2). The passivization strategy with *klaska*, exemplified in (104 a,b), can in turn be related to the 'hearsay' evidential marker *klaska wa͡wa͡*, literally 'they say / it is said' as in (c) (see §5.4.2.3.2):

(104) (a) *ʃak ilo iskom naika kopa kah klaska iskom* <⊕> [48]
Jack NEG to.take 1SG PREP where? 3PL to.take communion
'Jack didn't take me to where communion was being received'

(b) *pi* *klaska* *k'olan* *pus* *naika* *tlap* *aj͡u͡* *tala* [110]
CONJ 3PL to.hear IRR 1SG to.get much money
'but it was heard [word got out] I might have earned a lot of money

kopa *ukuk* *plis*
PREP DEM place
out of that place'

(c) *klaska* *w͡aw͡a* *pus* *maika* *t͡ʃ͡ako* *iakw͡a* [17]
3PL to.say IRR 2SG to.come here
'it's said you're coming here'

What all three usages just mentioned have in common is that they lack coindexed antecedents that would be expected if these were instances of the personal-pronoun etymological source word. This forces a nonliteral interpretation of *klaska* in each case. Although this quasi-passive deemphasizes the logical agent of a predicate by expressing it as an indefinite agent pronoun, it does not correspondingly emphasize the logical patient by promoting it to subjecthood. This therefore does not seem to be a true passive-voice structure, but it is a passivization 'strategy' (echoing Dixon's distinction of actual complement clauses from complementation strategies, 2010b:405ff). This use of the third-person plural pronoun is previously unidentified in the CW literature (cf. CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Program 2011:130-131 [s.v. *ɬaska*], Johnson 1978:248 [s.v. *!3RD3*] [sic]). Its presence parallels the local Salish languages' use of indefinite-agent forms. For example Nɬeʔkepmxcín has a paradigm for "object with indefinite subject" (Thompson and Thompson 1992:58). Indefinite-agent forms are in fact sometimes called 'passives' as in Kuipers' grammar of Secwepemctsín (Kuipers 1974:47-48). Speakers even gloss them quite often with English passives as in Okanagan-Colville (Mattina 1973:51-52).

4.1.2.7 Summary of transitivity

Several transitivity distinctions are marked on Kamloops Chinúk Wawa predicates. Constituent order, interacting with the number of arguments, is employed to mark the broadest contrast, that of intransitivity versus transitivity. Phonologically overt means are used to mark the transitive subtypes: the causative (obligatorily) and the similar permissive (optionally), as well as 'out-of-control'. Out-of-control interacts with other members of the transitivity system, e.g. in cooccurring with intransitives and with causatives. A conventionalized passivization strategy exists as well, which however does not seem to represent an actual voice.

4.1.3 Mood

Mood also is indicated on KCW predicates. The grammatical category of mood is defined variously as:

- the indication of a sentence's pragmatic function, "concerning what type of speech act it is"—a statement, a command or a question (Dixon 2010a:95).
- "a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts" whose meanings include "especially attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance, e.g. uncertainty, definiteness, vagueness, possibility" (Crystal 1985:198).
- also "solicit[ing] the hearer's attitude" (Schachter 1985:58).

The identified KCW mood possibilities, and the subsections below in which they are discussed, are summarized in Table 15:

Declarative	§4.1.3.1
Interrogative	§4.1.3.2
Imperative	§4.1.3.3

Table 15: Mood possibilities

4.1.3.1 Declarative

A thoroughgoing mood distinction of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is that between declaratives and interrogatives. Declarative mood, which states a proposition (Crystal 1985:85), is never overtly marked.[137] This mood is effectively indistinguishable from realis modality. Both lack overt marking (§4.1.3.1), and all declaratives are realis propositions. As in other KCW oppositions whose default member is a null (compare realis vs. irrealis modalities, §4.1.4), declarative mood is <u>not</u> indicated by a symbol ∅ in the transliterations outside of the present section. The placement of ∅ in these examples is more or less arbitrarily chosen to parallel that of *pus* (compare §4.1.4.1), as in (105):

(105) (a) *<u>∅</u> maika wawa kopa Bonapart kopa naika* [148]
DECL 2SG to.say PREP Bonaparte PREP 1SG
'you talked at Bonaparte [Indian reserve] to me'

(b) *wal <u>∅</u> naika skukum sik* [147]
DSCM DECL 1SG strongly ill
'well, I'm awful sick'

For a similar parallelism between interrogatives and irrealis, as well as the point of divergence between the declarative-interrogative and realis-irrealis systems, see the following section.

4.1.3.2 Interrogative

Interrogative mood, the questioning of a proposition (Crystal 1985:162), is rather limited in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. It is usually identical in form to (and inseparable

[137] As in other oppositions where the default member is a null (compare realis vs. irrealis), declarative mood is not indicated by a symbol ∅ in the transliterations except in the present section. The placement of ∅ in these examples is more or less arbitrarily chosen to parallel that of *pus*.

from) the irrealis modality, i.e. marked by the particle *pus* (§4.1.4.1). Cf. Payne (1997:294) on the crosslinguistic tendency for irrealis and interrogative marking to coincide. The CW literature to date provides no evidence of this homomorphy since previous studies

- have not overtly discussed a declarative-interrogative or a ±realis distinction (for example Vrzić 1999:111, in discussing mood, mentions only 'imperative'/ 'optative' *tlus*),
- have opted for a greater focus on lexicon than on syntax, assigning *pus* a relatively circumscribed gloss as any of the following: 'in case that, provided that'; 'conditional'; 'to, of'; 'for, sign of interrogation'; 'when' (quotation marks separate distinct sources; tabulated by Johnson 1978:348-349),
- and have apparently not had access to data as unambiguous as that in the present corpus, where especially the use of *pus* to mark irrealis in content-question main clauses is hard to interpret in any of the ways just listed. A partial exception is 'sign of interrogation', but that is a weak candidate for a unified understanding of the particle's function, given its common occurrence in both Interrogative and Irrealis utterances. Vrzić considers *pus* in literary *Chinuk pipa* CW, very closely allied with KCW, to be only a subordinat[ing] conjunction (1999:99-100).

Table 16 summarizes the forms that signal the interrogative mood:

Type of interrogative	***Subtype***	***Environment***	***Form***
Polar	Yes/no	Embedded clauses	*pus*
"	Alternative	"	*pus… pus…*
Content	--	Main & embedded clauses	(*pus*) content-question word

Table 16: Types of interrogative

Largely echoing the parallels between the declarative mood and realis modality (§4.1.3.2.1), interrogative mood is marked in a manner distinct from irrealis modality only in content questions, and there only optionally. Polar questions (§4.1.3.2.1) are marked non-distinctively, being formally identical with multiple irrealis expressions. The distribution of question types is partially complementary, cf. §5.1.3.2.2: Polar questions occur in embedded clauses only, content questions in both main and embedded clauses.

4.1.3.2.1 Polar questions

A KCW polar question, to which the expected answer is one from a small set of choices such as 'yes' / 'no', 'either' / 'or', uses syntax more or less identical to that of an irrealis statement. (Cf. Dixon 2010a:95-96, Payne 1997:295-99, Crystal 1985:338.) Its distributional properties are different, however, as polar questions are unattested in main clauses.

A notable, perhaps pragmatic, restriction limits KCW polar questions to embedded clauses [in brackets below], subordinate to and rightward of a main-clause mental-state predicate head expressing a lack of information. A motivation for this

distribution may lie in the mother-tongue Interior Salish languages of the KCW users. In Nłeʔkepmxcín, for example, whereas content interrogatives stand in main clauses, polar questions appear to be formed with main-clause *(c)keʔe* 'is.it.that?' followed by a subordinate irrealis ('unrealized') clause expressing the questioned proposition (Thompson and Thompson 1992:166); a similar construction is described by Kuipers (1974:81). Whatever its explanation, this phenomenon is not evident in the previous (pan-) CW literature. There it is consistently absent from polar questions, hence the underlined main-clause interrogative in the following: *Mika tumtum hiyu snass okoke sun?* 'Do you think it will rain much today?' (Thomas 1970 [1935]:74, s.v. *klo'-nas*). Regarding KCW's closely allied literary variety in *Kamloops Wawa*, Vrzić claims that "Yes-no questions are formed by placing the interrogative marker *na* after the first element of the sentence," but this form does not occur in my KCW corpus. She later terms *na* 'optional', and reports that in any case "embedded interrogatives…are very rare in the corpus" she used (1999:123-124). Thus her corpus and KCW show opposite behaviour in regard to subordinate-clause questions.

Two kinds of polar questions, yes/no and alternative questions, were identified in the corpus, and these are discussed in the following subsections.

4.1.3.2.1.1 Yes/no questions

It follows from the preceding remarks that those polar questions in KCW containing just one (subordinate) *pus* clause can always be interpreted equally well as interrogatives or as irrealis 'whether' clauses. Their main-clause verb tends to express or imply a lack of information. This can be seen in (106):

(106) (a) *naika tiki wa͡wa͡* | *[pus drit naika mamuk alta]* [5]
1SG to.want to.ask IRR correctly 1SG to.do PRES
'I want to ask, | [am I doing (this) correctly now?]'
('… | [whether I'm doing…].')

(b) *naika ilo komtaks* | *[pus naika klatwa͡ kopa Kamlups alta]* [11]
1SG NEG to.know IRR 1SG to.go PREP Kamloops PRES
'I don't know | [whether I'm going to Kamloops now].'

(c) *naika tiki komtaks* | *[pus maika tlap ʃikmin…]* [17]
1SG to.want to.know IRR 2SG to.get money
'I want to know, | [did you get the money?]'
('… | [whether you got…].')

(d) *pi iht liplit iaka= tiki pus komtaks* | *[tilikom kopa*
CONJ one priest 3AGR= to.want IRR to.know people PREP
'And a certain priest wants to know | [the people at

ʃuʃwa͡p || pus iaka komtaks ʃinuk pipa] [17]
Shuswap IRR 3 to.know Chinúk.Wawa writing
Shuswap, do they read shorthand?]'
('…| [whether the people at Shuswap read…].')

(e) *kakwa naika wawa kopa maika | [pus maika komtaks ukuk*
so 1SG to.ask PREP 2SG IRR 2SG to.know DEM
'So I'm asking you, | [do you know this

tanas= man] [19]
DIM= man
young man?]'
('… | [whether you know…]')

(f) *naika tiki komtaks | [pus drit ilo maika tʃako kopa iakwa*
1SG to.want to.know IRR really NEG 2SG to.come PREP here
'I want to know, | [are you really not coming over here

∅ Samin Arm] [20]
PREP Salmon Arm]
to Salmon Arm?]'
('… | [whether you're really not…]')

Whether this ambiguity is related to some factor such as the lack of punctuation in most writers' *Chinuk pipa*, or a cultural taboo on direct questioning, or to any other consideration, is a question left open to future research.

4.1.3.2.1.2 Alternative questions

A subtype of polar question, a request for a choice among alternatives, is formed as above, but is additionally signaled by constituent juxtaposition. (See also the implicit coordination in 'either-or' conjunctions, §5.2.2 below.) All options offered are marked as interrogative/irrealis, with adjacency [here signaled by |] the clearest indicator of their interrogative status, as (107) shows:

(107) (a) *naika tiki pus maika wawa ikta ukuk wawa | [pus*
1SG to.want IRR 2SG to.tell what? DEM language IRR
'I want you to tell me what that language was: (either)

ʃinuk] | pus wait man + wawa] | [pus
Chinúk.Wawa IRR white man language IRR
(or) [white people's language], | (or)

ʃanaman + wawa] | [pus sawaʃ wawa] [38]
Chinese.person language IRR Indigenous language
[Chinese], | (or) [Indian].'

(b) *wiht naika tiki komtaks | [pus patlatʃ tikat kopa iakwa kopa*
also 1SG to.want to.know IRR to.send ticket PREP here PREP
'I also want to know, | [should I send (you) a ticket for here, for

Samin Arm] | [pus tilikom klatwa kopa ʃuʃwap] [23]
Salmon Arm IRR people to.go PREP Shuswap
Salmon Arm], or | [should the people go to Shuswap?]'
('… | [whether I should send…], or | [whether the people should go…].')

(c) *iaka tiki komtaks iaka tilikom kopa iakwa pus kata |* [32]
3 to.want to.know 3 people PREP here IRR how?
'He wants to know, (about) his relatives over here, how they are:

[pus tlus] | [pus klahawiam…]
IRR well IRR miserable
[well] | or [miserable].'
('… | [whether (they're) well] or | [whether (they're) miserable]')

Naturally, this formation too is previously unattested in the CW literature.

The related topic of grammatical polarity is discussed in §4.1.5.

4.1.3.2.2 Content questions

Main-clause interrogatives are limited to content questions, essentially, requests for further information (cf. Dixon 2010a:95). In these constructions the questioned element stands at the left edge of the clause. Some linguistic theories would term this phenomenon 'WH- movement' or 'raising'. In such a view of KCW, an interrogative element (e.g. an object / patient *ikta* 'what') is seen as appearing in a clause-initial instead of canonical position for that function (for objects, immediately rightward of predicate, cf. §4.1.2.2). As there is no non-'raised' counterpart attested (with the argument in question appearing somewhere besides the left margin), Basic Linguistic Theory does not make use of this concept.

Table 17 summarizes the attested content interrogatives:

content item	***Gloss***
ikta	'what?'; 'why?'
(ikta mamuk)[138]	'why?' (literally 'what makes …?')
kah	'where?'
(kah son)	'when?' (literally 'where day?')[139]
kansih	'how much (…)? how many (…)?'
kata	'how?; what kind of …?'
klaksta	'who?'

Table 17: Content interrogatives
(parenthesized content phrases are based on preceding simplexes)

Usually but not obligatorily, this apparent content-word fronting occurs in concert with interrogative / irrealis marking, an option unattested in the previous CW literature. (Cf. Thomas 1970 [1935]: 96, s.v. *spose*; Vrzić 1999:89-90 regarding content words; recall too Vrzić's claim that *pus* functions only to introduce subordinate clauses in the *Chinuk pipa* CW of *Kamloops Wawa*, 1999:99-100). The pairs (108 a,b; c,d; e,f; g,h) demonstrate this optionality; the fronted constituent can be for example an agent as in (a), an object as in (b,c), or an adverbial expression as in (d-g):[140]

(108) (a) *ikta mamuk [Ø maika mamuk kakwa̅ kopa nsaika]* [51]
what? to.make [Ø 2SG to.do thus PREP 1PL]
'Why do you treat us this way?'
('~Why is it [that you treat us this way]?')

(b) *pus ikta maika tomtom kopa ukuk…* [6]
IRR what? 2SG to.think PREP DEM
'What do you think about this…?'

(c) *pus kansih ʃikmin naika lolo kopa ukuk mamuk* [56]
IRR how.much? money 1SG to.take PREP DEM work
'How much money should I take for this work?'

[138] *Ikta mamuk* is the only content-question item hardly ever used with the irrealis complementizer *pus*, cf. §4.1.4.1.

[139] *Kah son* is the only term for 'when?' identified in the corpus. All attestations are attempts to find out which day a given event will occur on, matching the literal meaning of this expression. It is unknown whether any other content-question expression was used for inquiries specifying smaller-scale time units.

[140] The expression *ikta mamuk* 'why?' semantically functions as a single content-question operator, but syntactically is exceptional, for example in being unattested with irrealis *pus* (cf. §4.1.4.1) and in apparently selecting for subordinate complements as in (a). Animate agentive content-question items (i.e. *klaksta* 'who?') are unattested in main clauses; cf. the discussion of embedded content questions in the text following. The present study leaves open the question of whether content-question adverbials literally undergo fronting, since predicate-scope adverbs in general already tend to stand at the left periphery (§4.1.9), and nothing in my analysis turns on this question.

(d) [*pus maika ilo tiki tʃ͡ako iakwa͡] | pi kansih* [44]
IRR 2SG NEG to.want to.come here CONJ how.much?
'[If you don't want to come here], | then how long (will it be until you come)?'

(e) *pus kata maika tomtom kopa ukuk kwi͡nam man* [8]
IRR how? 2SG to.feel PREP DEM five men
'How do you feel about these five men?'

(f) *kata naika mamuk ukuk pipa* [7]
how? 1SG to.do DEM letter
'How shall I deal with these letters?'

(g) *kah mitlait Pir Lʃak* [11]
where? COPspa Père Le.Jacq
'Where is Père Le Jacq?'

(h) *pus kah maika mitlait* [65]
IRR where? 2SG COPspa
'Where are you?'

Content questions are not restricted to main clauses, however. As (109) shows, they are to be found frequently in embedded-clause complements to a main-clause predicate expressing lack of information (as with polar questions, §4.1.3.2.2.1); (c) is the only known example of *klaksta* in the interrogative sense 'who?', which is unattested in main clauses:[141]

(109) (a) *…naika wa͡wa͡ kopa maika [pus ikta maika tomtom…]* [15]
1SG to.say PREP 2SG IRR what? 2SG to.think
'I'm asking you [what you think…]'

(b) *naika tiki komtaks [pus kansih Santi pi maika tʃ͡ako*
1SG to.want to.know IRR how.many? Sunday CONJ 2SG to.come
'I want to know [how many Sundays till you come

kopa ʃKH] [23]
PREP Sahhaltkum
to Sahhaltkum]'

(c) *naika tiki komtaks [pus klaksta lost buk]* [92]
1SG to.want to.know IRR who? to.lose book
'I want to know [who lost the books]'

[141] The word *klaksta* is common, but remarkably all other attestations of it in the texts are in the indefinite sense 'someone' (cf. §4.2.1.1.2 on non-personal pronouns).

(d) *naika tiki komtaks [kah son maika tʃ͡ako* [124]
1SG to.want to.know where? day 2SG to.come
'I want to know [when you're coming

kopa Spisom]
PREP Spuzzum
to Spuzzum]'

The optionality of *pus* in each type of expression suggests that part of the function of interrogative marking is borne by the content words themselves; cf. the similar observation regarding irrealis marking (§4.1.4.1).

4.1.3.2.3 Summary of interrogative mood

Interrogative marking in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, as has been observed crosslinguistically, tends to be formally identical to the irrealis modality (i.e. the particle *pus* is used). Only in content questions, where *pus* is optional, is there sometimes an overt difference between the two. The general parallelism between them is so close that it is effectively impossible to parse them separately from one other.

4.1.3.3 Imperative

The imperative mood contrasts with the other moods in functioning to express commands (Dixon 2010a:95ff, Crystal 1985:153). Such commands can be expressed either to a second-person actor, or through what traditional grammars call hortative and optative forces—respectively exhortations and wishes. The following subsections discuss three KCW imperative structures, no nuances of meaning being definitely distinguishable among them at this writing. Negation of these structures is also discussed here, and can be compared with the discussion of general predicate negation in §4.1.6. Table 18 summarizes these three imperative structures:

Structure	***Subtype***	***Frequency***	***Negation***	***Neg. frequency***
2nd person subject/agent, realis	Overt subject/agent	Rare	*Ilo*	Frequent
"	Implied subject/agent?[142]	Very rare	Unattested	--
tlus (particle) (any person/number)	--	Very frequent	*tlus (…) ilo*	Very frequent
"	"	"	*wi͡k-tlus*	Rare

Table 18: Imperative structures

[142] Perhaps not a true imperative but a grammaticalization into a discourse marker. See the following discussion.

4.1.3.3.1 Second-person realis

Just a few examples have been identified of a seeming alternate imperative, identical in form to a positive-polarity second-person realis, as seen in (110):

(110) (a) *msaika wit pus klaksta k'o kopa Kamlups* [128]
2PL to.wait IRR 3PL to.arrive PREP Kamloops
'wait for them to arrive at Kamloops'

(b) *pus ilo tlus ukuk pipa | maika maʃ maika tlus pipa* [5]
IRR NEG GOOD DEM writing 2SG to.send 2SG good writing
'If this writing (of mine) is not good, | send your good writing.'

Yet a very common imperative structure is just such a formally realis clause negated by preposing *ilo* 'not' (cf. §4.1.6), as in (111):

(111) (a) *ilo msaika sik kopa naika* [16]
NEG 2PL upset PREP 1SG
'don't (you folks) be upset with me'

(b) *ilo maika sik tomtom kopa naika* [19]
NEG 2SG upset heart PREP 1SG
'don't (you) be upset with me'

(c) *pus maika nanit͡ʃ ukuk klut͡ʃmin | ilo maika patlat͡ʃ Ø ⊕*
IRR 2SG to.see DEM woman NEG 2SG to.give 3 communion
'when you see this woman | don't (you) give her communion

kopa Kamlups [21]
PREP Kamloops
'at Kamloops'

This common negated imperative can be compared with the negation of the imperative particle *tlus* seen below.

4.1.3.3.2 Implied second-person pronoun

Also quite rare is a possible imperative signaled by the lack of an overt second-person subject pronoun (i.e. this pronoun is implied) in an otherwise realis-like clause. Occurrences of this unproductive construction mostly seem to be grammaticalizations of *nanit͡ʃ*—literally 'to look/see'—into a discourse marker (see §5.4.2.2.3) as in (112):

(112) (a) *nanit͡ʃ naika mamuk kanamokst kopa naika kj͡utan pi*
to.look 1SG to.work together PREP 1SG horse CONJ
'Look, I worked together with my horse but [now]

naika mamuk= mimlus iaka [43]
1SG CAUS= to.die 3
I've killed him.'

(b) *nanit͡ʃ aj͡u= kakʃit laplaʃ* [39]
to.look IMPFV= broken board
'Look now, boards are getting broken.'

Probably a sign that the subjectless imperative structure has grammaticalized away from any original imperative function it may have had, and into a discourse marker, is that negation of it is unattested.

Aside from these, there are a handful of examples that look like subjectless imperatives, shown in (113):

(113) *...patlat͡ʃ kopa W͡iliam pus iaka patlat͡ʃ kopa maika...* [17]
to.give PREP William IRR 3 to.give PREP 2SG
'…give to William for him to give to you [sic; i.e. Le Jeune]…'

These directives, some of them written on the outsides of letters in the corpus, sometimes appear directed to fellow Indigenous people. One intriguing possible interpretation is that a politeness distinction was encoded in KCW. Thus a respectful imperative (addressed to Le Jeune) might be signaled by *tlus* and a familiar one (addressed to one's peers) by subjectless clauses. Not enough examples, nor enough letters from Le Jeune to Indigenous people, are available to judge this hypothesis. Perhaps more likely, these instances can be interpreted as 'to [be] give[n] to William', etc.

For a single occurrence of a separate subjectless imperative construction that uses *tlus* 'imperative', see the end of the next subsection.

4.1.3.3.3 Imperative particle *tlus*

The particle *tlus* (etymologically 'good/well') is the normal signal of the (positive-polarity) imperative.[143] This is the only unambiguous and common option for expressing commands. It is also the most flexible, generating imperatives in any person whereas the other two imperative structures are confined to second-person subjects / agents. This particle is added to clauses that are otherwise identical in form with the realis as in (114):

[143] See §3.2.2.1 on *wik-* and §4.1.6.2.2 for more on bound negative marking.

(114) (a) *drit naika ʃutl tomtom kopa ukuk maika maʃ pipa kopa naika*
really 1SG happy heart PREP DEM 2SG to.send letter PREP 1SG
'I'm really happy about this that you sending letters to me;

| *tlus maika kwanisim maʃ pipa kopa naika* [80]
IMPRT 2SG always to.send letter PREP 1SG
keep sending me letters!'

(b) *pus maika tlap ukuk ʃikmin tlus maika mamuk= tsim* [17]
IRR 2SG to.get DEM money IMPRT 2SG CAUS= written
'When you receive this money, write

kopa naika
PREP 1SG
to me!'

(c) *…tlus nsaika trai* [71]
IMPRT 1PL try
'…Let's try!'

(d) *… tlus tilikom hilp iaka kopa stjuil* [77]
IMPRT people to.help 3 PREP prayer
'…people should help him through prayer'

Predicates with imperative *tlus* are negated by adding the particle *ilo* 'not' (cf. §4.1.6) immediately after *tlus*, as in (115 a,b), or immediately after the subject/agent, as in (c,d):

(115) (a) *tlus ilo maika maʃ ukuk kopa klaska* [13]
IMPRT NEG 2SG to.send DEM PREP 3PL
'don't send it to them'

(b) *tlus ilo maika tomtom kopa naika* [35]
IMPRT NEG 2SG to.worry PREP 1SG

(c) *tlus maika ilo sik tomtom kopa ukuk* [35]
IMPRT 2SG NEG upset heart PREP DEM
'don't be upset about this'

(d) *tlus maika ilo saliks kopa naika* [51]
IMPRT 2SG NEG angry PREP 1SG
'don't be angry with me'

A related but rarer negative structure is *wik-tlus*. (See under §4.1.6 for more on the phrasal negator *wik-*.) This structure is attested twice in the corpus, and seems perhaps mildly imperative or even optative (here like a negative wish) in force, as (116) suggests:

(116) (a) *pi* *wi͡k- tlus* *ilo* *naika* *kilapai* *tanas=* *pipa* *kopa* *maika* [88]
CONJ NEG- IMPRT NEG 1SG to.return DIM= letter PREP 2SG
'and don't let me fail to respond to your letter'
(literally ~'and let it not be that I don't respond…')

(b) *pi* *wi͡k- tlus* *naika* *ilo* *aiak* *naika* *kilapai* *maika* *pipa* [42]
CONJ NEG- IMPRT 1SG NEG quickly 1SG to.return 2SG letter
'and lest I fail to answer your letter right away'
(literally ~'and let it not be that I not immediately answer…')

A few occurrences were found of a *tlus* imperative without a subject / agent pronoun, symbolized by 0 here: *pus maika patlat͡ʃ pipa[,] tlus 0 maʃ Ø kopa Krapaʃiʃin* [67] 'if you send a letter, mail it to Q'ape?cícn'. (Cf. the preceding subsection on a more common subjectless imperative construction.)

4.1.3.3.4 Summary of imperative marking

The great majority of imperatives attested in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa are formed in one way, depending on their polarity. Positive commands are nearly always formed with the particle *tlus*, grammaticalized from the word meaning 'good' or 'well'. Prohibitions are normally expressed with the generic negative particle *ilo*, with or without *tlus*. Variant formations are attested, most of which appear likely to have been quite marginal.

4.1.4 Modality

By contrast with mood, which refers to pragmatic function at the level of the sentence (§4.1.3), modality "relates to a clause and its predicate [and] describes semantic distinctions within an irrealis specification" (Dixon 2010a:96). Irrealis refers to that which "didn't happen in the past (but could have) and to all or most of the post-present domain", contrasting with realis, "something that has happened or is happening" (Dixon 2010a:153). Table 19 summarizes the modalities that KCW distinguishes:

Realis and irrealis	§4.1.4.1
Potential	§4.1.4.2

Table 19: Modalities distinguished

Because the realis is never distinctively marked in KCW, it is discussed together with the irrealis in the following discussion.

4.1.4.1 Realis and irrealis

The basic, obligatory, modality distinction in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa (and crosslinguistically, cf. Payne 1997:244) is that between realis and irrealis. Generally it is the irrealis that is overtly marked, while the realis is left as an unmarked default. Interestingly for a clausal-level operation (per Dixon's definition above), and unlike most

grammatical marking in KCW, irrealis is reflected at various scopes—levels of the syntax at which it exerts its semantic effect (cf. Payne 1997:69). The relevant levels are the phrasal (§4.1.4.1.1), clausal (§4.1.4.1.2), and sentential (§4.1.4.1.3). Table 20 summarizes the scopal distinctions that will be discussed in the relevant subsections:

Level	**Subtype**	**Modality value**	**Marking**
Phrasal (relativizers):	Referent is a pronoun	Realis	*ukuk*, possessed nominalization[144]
”	Referent is a noun	”	Full clause
”	Referent is a pronoun	Irrealis	*ikta*[145]
Clausal (complementizer particles):[146]	Main:	Realis	*Ø*
”	”	Irrealis	*pus*
”	Subordinate:	Realis	*Ø*[147], *kopa*[148]
”	”	Irrealis	*pus*
Sentential (evidential particles):	--	Realis	*Ø*
”	--	Irrealis	*klunas*

Table 20: Realis / irrealis marking

4.1.4.1.1 Phrasal level (relatives)

In dependents of (noun) phrases (i.e. in relative clauses), the realis-irrealis distinction is marked in different ways according to the syntactic class of the NP with which the relative is coreferenced: noun or pronoun. Antecedents that are pronouns are inanimates, and take dependent clauses either introduced by one of two relativizing pronouns or else in the form of a possessed nominalization.[149] Antecedents that are nouns can be animate or inanimate, and they take subordinate clauses of identical form to that of independent (main) realis clauses, thus not overtly signaling a realis/irrealis distinction. These variants are examined in the following subsections.

[144] Possessed nominalizations are limited to dependents of the objects of verbs of reception.
[145] No overt NPs with irrealis dependents were identified in the corpus.
[146] Dixon (2010a:333) consider complementizers as those morphemes that signal complement (i.e. subordinate) clauses, but in KCW at least irrealis *pus* also can introduce main clauses.
[147] Dependents of reported-speech and definite-knowledge predicates.
[148] Dependents of objectively-known fact predicates.
[149] Animate antecedent pronouns were not identified in the corpus. Examples of such in English are found in ‘abandon all hope, ye who enter here’ and ‘he who smelt it, dealt it.’ By implication, no non-third person antecedent pronouns were found, since the first and second person are inherently animate.

4.1.4.1.1.1 Realis

Realis marking in dependents of pronouns is implicit in their being hosted by *ukuk*—the non-personal, specific, indefinite pronoun 'this' (§4.2.2.1.3). *Ukuk* is coreferenced with inanimate referents, such as the oblique in (117a) and the subject in (b) [relative clauses are bracketed; traces of logical-argument referents are denoted by *t*]:

(117) (a) *pus ikta maika tomtom kopa ukuk [naika wawa t]* [15]
IRR what? 2SG to.think PREP DEM 1SG to.say t]
'what do you think about what [I say t]?'

(b) *t͡ʃi alta nsaika komtaks t͡ʃinuk pipa: kakwa ilo* [72]
just.now PRES 1PL to.know Chinúk.Wawa writing thus NEG
'we only now (have come to) know shorthand, so it's no

tliminhwit ukuk [nsaika wawa t]
lie DEM [1PL say t]
lie what [we say t]'

But if the main-clause verb is one of reception, *ukuk* is not used. Instead relative clauses then behave like nominalizations in which a semantic object (patient), here too inanimate, is syntactically possessed by the semantic agent of a subordinate verb of transfer. The transitive matrix clause would presumably be incomplete without the nominalized subordinate (here with a dotted underline) as its object, as in (118), since *tlap* and *iskom* are unattested without objects:

(118) (a) *t͡ʃi naika tlap [Pir Lʃak iaka mamuk=* [20][150]
just.now 1SG to.receive Père Le.Jacq 3POSS CAUS=
'I've just received what [Père Le Jacq wrote (t)
(~ '[Père Le Jacq's writing

pipa (t) kopa naika]
letter (t) PREP 1SG
to me]'
to me]')

(b) *ilo naika iskom [msaika wawa (t)]* [39]
NEG 1SG to.receive [2PL.POSS to.say (t)]
'I won't listen to what [you folks say (t)]'
(~ '…accept [you folks' words / talking]')

[150] Regarding this example, note that *mamuk= pipa* functions consistently in the corpus as a verb, not e.g. as a lexical verb *mamuk* with a lexical-noun patient *pipa*.

Relatives that are dependents of overt nouns, such as ‘brother’, ‘woman’ and ‘book’ in the following, lack complementizing pronouns or nominalization, and have forms identical to realis full clauses (i.e. they lack overt marking of realis modality; see next section). These relatives usually follow the NP with which they are coreferenced, as in (119 a-c), though (d) illustrates a rarer alternative ordering in which the relative precedes that noun:

(119) (a) *naika hilp naika broðir [iaka kiskis musmus kopa ʃuswa͡p]* [10]
1SG to.help 1SG brother 3 to.drive cattle PREP Shuswap
‘I’m helping my brother [who is driving cattle from Shuswap]’

(b) *iht klutʃ͡min [iaka nim Ø Mali] iaka iskom masatʃ͡i* [28]
one woman 3 name COP.EQ Mary 3 take.up sin
‘a woman [named Mary] has taken to sinning’

(c) *pus msaika iskom ukuk buk [iaka tlus kopa msaika]…* [11]
IRR 2PL to.take DEM book 3 good PREP 2PL
‘if you folks take this book [which is good for you]…’

(d) *naika tlap [maika patlatʃ͡ (t) kopa naika] ukuk ʃanti + buk* [75]
1SG to.receive 2SG to.send (t) PREP 1SG] DEM song book
‘I’ve received the hymnals [that you sent me (t)]’

For more discussion of main-clause realis structure, the reader is referred to the section on the clausal level, below.

4.1.4.1.1.2 Irrealis

Irrealis marking in dependents of pronouns is effectively implied by their host being *ikta*, the non-personal, inanimate, non-specific content pronoun ‘what?’, as (120) illustrates:

(120) (a) *wi͡k klaska komtaks ikta [klaska mamuk t]* [15]
NEG 3PL to.know what? [3PL to.do t]
‘they have no idea what [they’re doing t]’

(b) *klunas taii Lio siisim ikta [iaka wa͡wa͡ t]* [38]
EVID chief Leo to.tell what? [3 to.say t]
‘I reckon Chief Leo$_j$ will tell whatever (it was) [he$_k$ said t]’

Not identified were relative-clause cooccurrences of the irrealis complementizer *pus* with this *ikta* (by contrast with the behaviour of main-clausal level content words), such that a structure like that in (121), based on (b) above, is not found:

(121) **klunas taii Lio siisim pus ikta [iaka wa͡wa͡ t]*
EVID chief Leo to.tell IRR what? 3 to.say t
?‘I reckon Chief Leo$_j$ will tell whatever (it was) [he$_k$ said t]’
‘I reckon Chief Leo will tell whether [he said anything]’

As the suggested glosses show, such a sequence of words would be expected to instead have the function of a 'whether / if' subordinate clause (cf. §4.1.3.2.1.1) as in (122):

(122) *pi ilo naika komtaks pus [ikta || naika mamuk kopa iaka* [112]
CONJ NEG 1SG to.know IRR what? 1SG to.do PREP 3
'but I'm not sure whether [I did anything to her]'
* 'but I'm not sure [what I did to her]'

Also unattested are irrealis dependents of nouns. Relative clauses coreferenced with nouns lack an overt distinction between irrealis and realis, and have realis form only (as noted in the preceding section).

4.1.4.1.1.3 Summary of phrasal-level ±realis marking

At the phrasal level of scope, realis and irrealis modality are overtly distinguished in dependents of pronouns. Dependents of nouns, on the other hand, lack such a distinction, defaulting to a form identical with realis main clauses. Additional factors that determine the form of modality marking include the semantic category (word subclass) to which a predicate belongs. For example verbs of perception signal realis versus irrealis differently than do other predicates—in the form of nominalized clauses (cf. §4.1.1.1.2.2, §4.1.4.1, §4.1.4.1.2.2.1, §4.2.2.4, §5.1.1.1, §5.1.2 and §5.3.2.1.5 for more on nominalizations).

4.1.4.1.2 Clausal level

At the clausal level, the realis-irrealis modal contrast is primarily encoded as the complementizers *Ø* versus (the particle) *pus*, respectively. The behaviour of these forms in main clauses is explored at §4.1.4.1.2.1 and in subordinates at §4.1.4.1.2.2, where an additional realis marker *kopa* is encountered. The lack of a formal factual-counterfactual distinction in subordinates is discussed in §4.1.4.1.2.3.

4.1.4.1.2.1 Main clauses

Both options for clausal realis-irrealis marking can preface main clauses: ∅ for realis (§4.1.4.1.2.1.1), *pus* (as well as content words themselves) for irrealis (§4.1.4.1.2.1.2).

4.1.4.1.2.1.1 Realis

Main-clause realis marking is non-overt, as (123) shows:

(123) (a) *Ø alki naika mamuk= t͡sim kopa iaka* [17]
Ø FUT 1SG CAUS= written PREP 3
'Ø I'll write to him'

(b) *Ø nsaika nanitʃ ukuk nim mitlait kopa gavmint* [71]
Ø 1PL to.see DEM name COPspa PREP government
'Ø we see that that title [of 'chief'] belongs to the government'

As has been noted in the previous section, relative clauses dependent on nouns exhibit this identical structure.

The null realis marker is not indicated in the rest of this study. It is the default 'elsewhere case' of main-clause ±realis marking; by contrast *pus* is of more restricted distribution and is always transliterated, glossed and translated in this study.

4.1.4.1.2.1.2 Irrealis

Overt main-clause irrealis marking, by the complementizer *pus*, is restricted to content questions (requests for information; cf. next section and §4.1.4.2.2.2). Such a use of *pus*, exemplified in (124a), is not obligatory for most speakers, cf. the variant in (b) as well as §4.1.4.2.2.2 on content items:

(124) (a) *pus ikta maika tiki [Ø mamuk]* [44]
IRR what? 2SG to.want Ø to.do
'Ø what do you want [Ø to do]?'
(b) *Ø ikta naika mamuk kopa ukuk saman* [40]
Ø what? 1SG to.do PREP DEM salmon
'Ø what shall I do about these salmon?'

The complex content-question form *ikta mamuk* 'why?' is in fact unattested with *pus*, cf. (125):

(125) (a) *Ø ikta mamuk msaika maʃ msaika tʃikmin kopa hwiski* [43]
Ø what? to.make 2PL to.throw 2PL money PREP alcohol
'Ø why do you folks waste your money on alcohol?'
(b) **pus ikta mamuk…*

It can be noted that the sequence *pus ikta mamuk* is found, but only with a subordinate clause involving the homonymous idiomatic phrase *ikta mamuk* 'what's the matter (with…)?', as in (126):

(126) *wal naika ilo komtaks pus [ikta mamuk ukuk*
DSCM 1SG NEG to.know IRR what? to.do DEM
'well, I don't know [what might be wrong with the

stʃuil + haws] [122]
prayer building
church]'

The lack of *pus* with *ikta mamuk* 'why?', and comparison with the irrealis-marking function of the homonym *ikta* 'what?' at the phrasal level (see previous section), suggest that Kamloops Chinúk Wawa content-question words themselves encode irrealis modality in main clauses.

4.1.4.1.2.1.3 Summary of main-clausal level ±realis marking

Main-clause marking of the realis vs. irrealis distinction is largely optional, and is effected respectively by the complementizers ∅ and *pus*. The irrealis complementizer is restricted to content questions.

4.1.4.1.2.2 Subordinate clauses

In subordinates (dependents of main clauses), a choice among complementizers is obligatory in order to express the realis-irrealis distinction. These two modalities are discussed in §§4.1.4.1.2.2.1,2; brief observations on counterfactuals are presented in §4.1.4.1.2.2.3.

4.1.4.1.2.2.1 Realis

Realis *Ø* characteristically seems to introduce subordinate-clause complements of mental events, including reported speech and definite knowledge, as in (127):

(127) (a) *iaka wawa [Ø aju tilikom mimlus kopa Lilwat]* [20]
3 to.say Ø many people to.die PREP Lillooet
'he says [Ø a lot of people have died at Lillooet]'

(b) *naika komtaks [Ø kah maika mitlait]* [23]
1SG to.know Ø where? 2SG COPspa
'I know [Ø where you are]'

Another realis marker, the preposition *kopa*, seems to introduce nominalized subordinate clauses referring to objectively known causes of events, as in (128):

(128) (a) *drit iaka sik tomtom [kopa iaka mimlus]* [1]
really 3 upset heart PREP 3 to.die
'he's very sad [about her dying]'

(b) *naika tlap tanas laplaʃ [kopa maika wawa]* [45]
1SG to.get little.bit lumber PREP 2SG to.say
'I got a bit of lumber [upon your saying so]'

Further types of subordinate realis clauses have not been identified in the corpus.

4.1.4.1.2.2.2 Irrealis

As in main clauses (§4.1.4.1.2.1.2), subordinate-clause irrealis *pus* seems to signal a speaker's lack of accurate knowledge, e.g. of events such as future possibilities and other people's thoughts, as in (129) [in contrast with (128b) above]:

(129) (a) *nsaika kwa͡ʃ [pus mimlus nsaika iktas]* [10]
1PL to.fear IRR to.die 1PL cattle
'we're worried [that our cattle might die]'

(b) *tlus maika ilo tomtom [pus nsaika tliminhwi͡t]* [72]
IMPRT 2SG NEG to.think IRR 1PL to.lie
'don't go thinking [we're lying]'

Also as in main clauses (§4.1.4.2.2.2), *pus* can introduce a content-question form. In that case the speaker's lack of knowledge (prior to the time of the main clause) may be only implicit, with mention of it obviated by both the main predicate (e.g. 'find out') and the information in the subordinate clause as in (130):

(130) *alta naika ʧa͡ko= komtaks [pus kah mamuk= pipa kopa maika]…* [15]
now 1SG INGR= to.know IRR where? CAUS= letter PREP 2SG
'now I've learned [where to write to you]'

The syntactic position of a *pus* subordinate strongly correlates with its interpretation. That is, such irrealis clauses when preceding the main clause seem to be normally interpreted as (quasi-)temporals with the sense 'if…' or 'when…', while postposed *pus* clauses appear to usually have more abstract modal interpretations. (See §5.3.2.2.1 for more details and examples.) The (quasi-)temporal type of irrealis clause can be iterated, that is, at least two can cooccur preceding a single main clause as in (131):

(131) *…[pus klaksta makmak hwi͡ski] [pus ilo palam] iht tala…* [68]
IRR who? to.drink alcohol IRR NEG drunk one dollar
'…[when someone drinks alcohol], [if (they're) not drunk], it (the fine) is $1…'

Iteration at the left periphery of the sentence does not appear to interfere with clear interpretation as an 'if/when' clause.

4.1.4.1.2.2.3 Counterfactuals

Among IRREALIS subordinates, counterfactuals are not formally distinct from other clauses. Only pragmatic factors, discernible from context, appear to select for one or the other sense. These observations are exemplified in (132), showing the actual reading of each first, then the logically possible reading (in some other context) under the opposite [±factual] value:

(132) (a) *pus naika kapʃwala trin…* [25]
IRR 1SG to.steal train
COUNTERFACTUAL: 'If I were to stow away on a train…'
FACTUAL: 'If/when I stowed away…'

(b) *o pus nsaika skukum tomtom…* [65]
oh IRR 1PL strong heart
COUNTERFACTUAL: 'Oh, if only we were (more) resolved…'
FACTUAL: 'Oh, if we're resolved…

(c) *[pus ilo naika lost naika tomtom…]* | *naika tlus tomtom*
IRR NEG 1SG to.lose 1SG mind 1SG good heart

kopa kaptin [39]
PREP captain

FACTUAL: '[If I haven't lost my mind…] | I (can still) trust the captain.'
COUNTERFACTUAL: '[If I hadn't lost…] | I could…'

(d) *pi pus maika tiki patlatʃ Ø kopa naika* | *tlus maika wawa*
CONJ IRR 2SG to.want to.give Ø PREP 1SG IMPRT 2SG to.say

kansih ʃikmin [42]
how.much money

FACTUAL: 'And if you want to send me it, | say how much (it costs).'
COUNTERFACTUAL: 'And if you had wanted… | you should have said…')

Nothing overt in these examples distinguishes the two possible readings.

4.1.4.1.2.2.4 Summary of subordinate-clausal level ±realis marking

Realis subordinate clauses denoting mental events are introduced by ∅, while those denoting objectively known facts are signaled by *kopa* plus nominalization of the subordinate clause. Irrealis subordinates, including those with content-question words, lack claims about actual occurrence of an event, and are marked by *pus*. Such clauses are iterable at the left periphery of the sentence. Only context distinguishes counterfactuals from other irrealis subordinates.

4.1.4.1.2.3 Summary of clausal-level ±realis marking

Overall, most of the work of distinguishing realis from irrealis at the clausal level falls upon two complementizers, respectively ∅ and *pus*. Two interesting facets of the

behaviour of *pus* are its optional occurrence in main clauses, and its iterability at the left edge of a sentence. A third marker, also irrealis, is the preposition *kopa* on subordinate nominalizations of objectively-known fact predicates. Counterfactuals are not overtly distinguished from other irrealis subordinates.

4.1.4.1.3 Sentential level

At the sentential level of scope, i.e. encompassing both a main clause and any subordinate clauses it may have, evidential markers fulfill the function of realis-irrealis marking. Evidentials are a language's overt indication of the "relative certainty of truth" (Payne 1997:251). The following subsections examine the expression of ±realis at the sentence level.

4.1.4.1.3.1 Realis

The evidential Ø 'assumed' signals realis modality on sentences. Examples of 'assumed' and its contrast with *klunas* 'inferred' (cf. next subsection) are given in (133):

(133) (a) (i) *Ø* *wa͡it* *man* *aju͡=* *klaska* *krai* *tomtom* [6]
ASSUMED white man IMPFV 3PL to.weep heart
'Ø the whites have been feeling devastated

kopa *iaka* *wi͡t*
PREP 3 wheat
about their wheat'

(ii) *klunas* *naika* *krai* *iht* *a͡wr* [113]
INFERRED 1SG to.weep one hour
'I reckon I cried for an hour'

(b) (i) *Ø* *alta* *mitlait* *iht* *somil* *kopa* *Samin* *Arm* [7]
ASSUMED PRES COPex one sawmill PREP Salmon Arm
'Ø there's one sawmill in Salmon Arm now'

(ii) *klunas* *ukuk* *mitlait* *kopa* *Kamlups* *alta* [11]
INFERRED DEM COPspa PREP Kamloops PRES
'I reckon it's in Kamloops now'

(c) (i) *pi* *kakwa* *Ø* *drit* *naika* *sik* *tomtom* [43]
CONJ thus ASSUMED really 1SG upset heart
'so Ø I'm really upset

kopa *klaska*
PREP 3PL
with them'

(ii) *iaka wa͡wa͡* *kakwa͡* *kopa naika | kakwa naika* [50]
3 to.speak thus PREP 1SG thus 1SG
'That's how she was talking to me, so <u>I reckon</u>

<u>klunas</u> *sik naika tomtom*
INFERRED 1SG upset 1SG heart
I was angry'

The position of null 'assumed' in the sentence is based on comparison with that of *klunas*. For reasons of economy, outside the present subsection of this dissertation I do not overtly indicate the 'elsewhere case' null 'assumed' evidential, which is present in the majority of sentences. Because the irrealis evidential *klunas* 'inferred' has both a more restricted occurrence and an overt exponence, it is always shown, glossed, and translated. (This same reasoning is applied to null declarative versus overt interrogative marking, about which see §4.1.3.2.) Cf. §5.4.2.3 for more on evidentials.

4.1.4.1.3.2 Irrealis

Irrealis modality over an entire sentence is generally signaled by the evidential particle *klunas* 'inferred', as illustrated by (134):

(134) (a) *pus naika kapʃwa͡la trin <u>klunas</u> naika skukum ha͡ws* [25][151]
IRR 1SG to.steal train INFERRED 1SG strong building
'if I stowed away on a train, <u>I reckon</u> I'd be in jail'

(b) *<u>klunas</u> naika ilo tlap= mamuk= kat ukuk ra͡wn* [45]
INFERRED 1SG NEG O.C= CAUS= to.cut DEM round
'I <u>may</u> not have managed to get the round ones cut'

(c) *<u>klunas</u> maika tiki komtaks kopa kah san* [53]
INFERRED 2SG to.want to.know PREP where? day
'<u>apparently</u> you want to know which day

iaka= paia naika ha͡ws
3AGR= to.burn 1SG house
my house burned down'

So far as can be ascertained, irrealis marking is quite obligatory at the sentential level.

The reader is referred to §5.4.2.3 for more on evidentials, several of which can be seen as bearing more or less irrealis force.

[151] The noun phrase *skukum haws*, normally 'jail', also has a zero-derivation (conversion) counterpart, adjectival 'captive'.

4.1.4.1.3.3 Summary of sentential-level ±realis marking

At sentence-level scope, realis is the 'elsewhere case' as it is at the clausal level (see §4.1.4.1.2), and carries null marking. Irrealis at this level of scope is signaled by the evidential particle *klunas* 'inferred'.

4.1.4.1.4 Summary of ±realis marking

It has been shown in the preceding sections that ±realis marking is pervasive in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, and that the expression of this distinction is sensitive to scopal level. Overt distinction of realis vs. irrealis appears to be ever more obligatory the higher the level of scope involved.

4.1.4.2 Potential

Potentiality, the indication of ability, is another modality that is overtly marked in KCW. Payne defines potentiality as "the speaker's attitude toward a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood" (1997:244). He includes (p. 246) clause types like "I might earn a million dollars" as potentials. Such nuances are however expressed either by irrealis modality (§4.1.3.1) or by evidential marking (§5.4.2.3) in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Potentiality in the sense of English 'can, able' can be marked overtly, but only in the negative. Table 21 illustrates the options:

Polarity	***Form***	***Frequency***
Positive	*Ø* (i.e. realis)	somewhat frequent
Negative	*wik-kata*	very frequent
"	*ilo skukum*	very rare

Table 21: Potential marking

4.1.4.2.1 Ability

Many formally realis, declarative expressions can be understood as connoting positive potential, which is always unmarked as in (135), where Ø stands where potential marking might be expected:

(135) *pus iaka Ø komtaks kanawi maika wawa | iaka= tʃako klaska* [21]
IRR 3 Ø to.know all 2SG to.say 3AGR= to.become 3PL
'If they understood (could understand) everything you say | they'd become

sik tomtom
upset heart
upset.'

Of course since such expressions are not distinctively marked, they can also be read as simple realis clauses, in some cases counterfactuals (§4.1.4.1.2.2.3).

4.1.4.2.2 Inability

When overt potentiality marking is present, it is only with negative polarity.[152] This marking can apparently take either of two forms. The first and most common negative potentiality marker is the 'inability' particle *wi͡k-kata* (literally 'no-how'; cf. §4.1.6.2.2 on phrasal negation), standing immediately to the left of the clause as in (136):

(136) (a) *wi͡k-kata naika ikta mamuk* [25]
INAB 1SG what? to.do
'I can't do anything.'

(b) *klunas wi͡k-kata naika klatwa͡* [2]
EVID INAB 1SG to.go
'I reckon I can't go.'

(c) *wi͡k-kata iaka tlap tanas makmak* [63]
INAB 3 to.get little.bit food
'He can't get any food.'

(d) *wi͡k-kata nsaika tlap iaka* [77]
INAB 1PL to.find 3
'we couldn't find her'

Clauses marked with 'inability' can be either realis like the preceding, or irrealis as in (137) [here the irrealis marker is bracketed to highlight it]:

(137) (a) *nsaika || wi͡k-kata [pus] ilo tiki liplit* [21]
1PL INAB IRR NEG to.like priest
'As for us, it's impossible to hate the priest.'

(b) *wi͡k-kata [pus] naika tʃa͡ko= tlus tomtom kopa iaka tomtom* [35]
INAB IRR 1SG INGR= good heart PREP 3 heart
'I can't make myself be happy about her feelings'

(c) *kakwa͡ wi͡k-kata [pus] naika klatwa͡ kopa Kamlups* [79]
thus INAB IRR 1SG to.go PREP Kamloops
'so I can't go to Kamloops'

It is unclear whether there is a difference in meaning between realis and irrealis 'inability' clauses. For example, the irrealis modality might be expected to signal the

[152] The simplest explanation for the confinement of potential-marking to negative-polarity clauses is that antecedent stages of Chinúk Wawa had this same restriction. Johnson (1978:467), for example, attests to earlier *χáwqaɬ* (to use Zenk and Johnson's 2003 phonetics) 'inability', but no entry for 'can', 'able', etc. No cognate of *χáwqaɬ* is attested for KCW, where *wi͡k-kata* and rarely *ilo skukum* fulfill the identical function.

speaker's lack of conviction of the "relevance of the situation to him/herself" (cf. Payne 1997:244). This question is unresolved at this writing.

A second way negative potentiality is perhaps marked is by *ilo skukum*, literally 'not strong (enough)'. (A negated scalar predicate P can have the meaning 'not P enough', §4.1.6.2.1) In (138) is the only example identified:

(138) *klunas maika ilo skukum nanit͡ʃ ukuk pipa* [29]
EVID 2SG NEG strong to.read DEM letter
'I reckon you weren't able to read that letter.'

Ilo skukum cannot be termed more than a marginal usage or even a possible scribal error, given its rarity in the corpus. It can be speculated that it was inspired by exposure to the CW of non-Indigenous people such as Father Le Jeune, whose newspaper *Kamloops Wawa* sometimes used the locution *skukum* 'strong (enough)' to express positive ability. That sense conceivably was Le Jeune's or another European's innovation; it is unattested for *skukum* in pan-CW. Whatever its source, it is notable that *ilo skukum* follows the general CW and Kamloops Chinúk Wawa pattern of overtly marking only negative potential.

4.1.4.2.3 Summary of potential modality

Potential modality is marked in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa only with negative polarity, by *wik-kata* (literally 'no-how'). Other possibilities, such as positive potential and an alternative negative potential structure, are rather marginal.

4.1.5 Aspect marking

Aspect, too, can be marked in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, but this morphosyntactic category seems less thoroughly developed than are transitivity, mood and modality. Most predicates do not overtly indicate aspect, "the internal temporal shape" (Payne 1997:238) or "duration or type of temporal activity" of a predicate (Crystal 1985:24). Any hint of aspectual information often derives solely from optional adverbs as in (139) [relevant adverbs are bolded, while predicate heads are underlined]:

(139) (a) *aias* ***lili*** *iaka tomtom kakwa͡ pi naika* ***kwa͡nisim*** *wa͡wa͡* [35]
very **long.time** 3 to.think thus CONJ 1SG **always** to.say
'He's thought that way for quite **a long time**, but I'm **always** telling

kopa iaka pus ilo kakwa͡
PREP 3 IRR NEG thus
him it's not so.'

(b) ***t͡ʃi*** *alta naika nanit͡ʃ ukuk ilihi* [81]
newly now 1SG to.see DEM place
'I'm **just** now seeing this place.'

Here, *lili* ‘for a long time’ and *kwanisim* ‘always’ in (a) connote duration or continuativity, and *tʃi* ‘newly’ in (b) connotes the beginning of a situation. But similar sentences without these adverbs (140) suggest the optionality thereof:

(140) (a) *naika tlus papa Pir Lʃjun naika tsim kopa maika* [80]
1SG good father Père Le.Jeune 1SG to.write PREP 2SG
‘my dear father Père Le.Jeune, I’m writing to you’

(b) *pus maika tlap ukuk pipa tlus maika kilapai* [104]
IRR 2SG to.receive DEM letter IMPRT 2SG to.return
‘when you’ve received this letter, please write back

pipa kopa naika
letter PREP 1SG
to me’

Table 22 summarizes such overt aspectual distinctions as are available in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, their obligatory or optional nature, and the subsections in which they are discussed below:

Aspect	***Marking***	***Obligatory?***	***Subsection***
Ingressive	*tʃako=*	Yes	§4.1.5.1
Imperfective	*aju=*	No (frequent)	§4.1.5.2
Completive	*kopit*	No? (very frequent)	§4.1.5.3
Conative	*trai*	No (very rare)	§4.1.5.4

Table 22: Overt aspectual distinctions

4.1.5.1 Ingressive

The only aspect that is obligatorily marked is the ‘ingressive’, specifying the beginning of an action (cf. Comrie 1976:19, Crystal 1985:154 and Payne 1997:240). It is signaled by the clitic *tʃako=*, grammaticalized from the verb meaning literally ‘to come’ (see §3.2.2.2.1.1.2). A consequence of its obligatory status is that the basic aspectual distinction is [±ingressive]. This contrast is clear in the pairs (141 a,b) and (c,d), whose first members can only be understood as ingressive, while their second members based on the identical predicates cannot have that meaning [here again predicate heads are underlined; aspect markers hereinafter are bolded]:

(141) (a) *…naika* ***t͡ʃako=*** *komtaks pus kah mamuk= pipa kopa maika* [15]
1SG **INGR=** to.know IRR where? CAUS= letter PREP 2SG
'I**'ve** found **out** where to write to you'
*'I know…'

(b) *wik- saia naika komtaks ukuk maika patlat͡ʃ pipa kopa naika* [19]
NEG- far 1SG to.know DEM 2SG to.send letter PREP 1SG
'I almost understand what you sent (in your) letter to me'
* '…**have** almost found **out**…'

(c) *alta naika tilikom iaka= **t͡ʃako=** tlus* [1]
PRES 1SG people 3AGR= **INGR=** good
'now my people **are** improv**ing**'
* '…are well'

(d) *Lui ʃif iaka= tlus* [47]
Louis chief 3AGR= good
'Chief Louis is well'
* '…**is** improv**ing / has** improv**ed**'

As noted in §4.1.2.5, in some instances *tlap=* 'out-of-control' can express a similar sense of ingressivity.

4.1.5.2 Imperfective

The 'imperfective' aspect (imparting a sense of continuing state or action (Crystal 1985:246, Payne 1997:240-241)) is very frequently yet optionally specified by the clitic *aju͡=*, grammaticalized from the adverb meaning literally 'much/many' (cf. §3.2.2.2.1.1.1). There are dozens of expressions in the corpus that can be interpreted as bearing this clitic, though admittedly some are equally well-formed when parsed as having the adverbial *aju͡*. In (142 a-c) are examples with this clitic, while (d) (repeated from (140a) above) illustrates the same aspectual sense without it:

(142) (a) *alta Lui iaka= **aju͡=** mamuk= masmas…* [1]
PRES Louis 3AGR= **IMPFV=** CAUS= cattle
'Lately Louis **has been** herd**ing** cattle…'

(b) *naika **aju͡=** ʃanti kopa Santi kopa Santi + haw͡s* [10]
1SG **IMPFV=** to.sing PREP Sunday PREP Sunday building
'I**'ve been** sing**ing** on Sundays at the church.'

(c) *naika maʃ Knim Lik <18> ʃulai kakwa̍* ***aju̍=*** *til* [79]
1SG to.leave Canim Lake 18 July thus **IMPFV=** tired
'I left Canim Lake the 18th of July, so the

kju̍tan | …ilo naika mamuk= sahali tomtom pi ilo naika
horse NEG 1SG CAUS= high heart CONJ NEG 1SG
horse **is feeling** tired | …not that I'm trying to be cheeky, but I

klatwa̍ kopa Kamlups | kopit naika kju̍tan ***aju̍=*** *til*
to.go PREP Kamloops only 1SG horse **IMPFV=** tired
won't be going to Kamloops; it's just that my horse **is (still feeling)** worn-out.'

(d) *naika tlus papa Pir Lʃju̍n naika tsi̍m kopa maika* [80]
1SG good father Père Le.Jeune 1SG to.write PREP 2SG
'my dear father Père Le.Jeune, I**'m** writ**ing** to you'

Vrzić (1999:110-111) sees this morpheme as an 'iterative' marker in the closely-related literary variety. Iterative aspect signals a punctual (instantaneous) situation taking place repeatedly, as opposed to one that occurs just once (Payne 1997:241, cf. Comrie 1976:42-44). That analysis of the meaning of *aju̍=* is untenable for KCW, given the above examples. Of these, only *aju̍= ʃanti kopa Santi* 'have been singing on Sundays' in (b) has a habitual sense of successive instances of one event that is presented as lacking internal temporal structure. The remaining examples lack iterative interpretations, e.g. 'my horse is feeling worn-out' does not imply that the animal is experiencing fatigue repetitively and 'I am writing to you' does not rest on any implication of a series of previous or future identical events. What the sum of these examples illustrates is that iterativity is a subtype of imperfectivity in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, adding an aspectual nuance available only under marked circumstances.

4.1.5.3 Completive

The 'completive' aspect is signaled by the particle *kopit*. It is quite common in the corpus, given that nearly every letter-writer closes with some variation on the formula *kopit naika wawa* 'I'm done talking'. Examples of the completive are given in (143):

(143) (a) *kopit naika wawa* [67]
CMPT 1SG to.talk
'I'm done talking.'

(b) *kopit naika tlap ukuk klutʃmin kopa iakwa* [21]
CMPT 1SG to.get DEM woman PREP here
'I'm finished putting up with that woman over here.'

Despite its frequency, this seems a more weakly or incipiently grammaticalized category, since the same aspectual sense can be inferred from clause-initial *kopit* even using that particle's original lexical meaning ('to finish').

4.1.5.4 Conative

Rarer is the 'conative' aspect, expressed with a recent English loan, the particle (?) *trai*, as in (144); any subordinate clause is in the irrealis as in (c,d):

(144) (a) *nsaika Sawa͡ʃ taii ilo ikta nsaika nanit͡ʃ mamuk*
1PL Indigenous chief NEG what? 1PL to.see to.do
'We Indian chiefs don't see the

tanas ikta kopa ukuk ilihi | tlus nsaika trai [71]
little what? PREP DEM country IMPRT 1PL CNAT
least thing being done in this country. | Let's try (doing
it ourselves).'

(b) *alta naika aju͡= mamuk pus aiak mamuk= tsi͡m |* [106]
now 1SG IMPFV= to.work IRR quickly CAUS= written
'Lately I've been working to write (more) quickly. |

wi͡k- saia kanawi͡ san naika trai pi wi͡k- kata
NEG- far every day 1SG CNAT CONJ NEG- how?
'Almost every day I try, but I'm unable

naika tolo
1SG to.win
to succeed'

(c) *alta naika trai [pus naika ilo iskom skukum* [17]
PRES 1SG CNAT [IRR 1SG NEG to.take.up powerfully
'Now I'll try [not to get involved in any awful

masat͡ʃi mamuk]
bad doing]
goings-on].'

(d) *alta nsaika trai [pus mamuk Sondi + ha͡ws]* [116]
now 1PL CNAT [IRR to.make Sunday building]
'now we're trying [to build a church]'

All attestations of this aspect are listed here. The conative can be justifiably termed a recent KCW innovation. In Johnson's 1978 compendium of the known 19th-century CW

dictionaries there is no word for 'try', 'attempt', etc.—other than in attestations from Le Jeune at the end of the century (p. 442). In other words, no variety of CW seems to have this loanword except Kamloops Chinúk Wawa and the closely allied literary variety used by Le Jeune, whose evaluation of it as 'a common English word' (1924) also suggests its novelty in KCW.

4.1.5.5 Summary of aspect marking

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is able to overtly mark four aspects by means of grammaticalizations from content words. Of these just one, the ingressive, is obligatorily distinguished; thus the basic aspectual distinction in KCW is ±ingressive. The remaining three aspects (imperfective, completive and conative) are optionally distinguished; the last is of very rare occurrence.

This pattern of marking in KCW may or may not be unusual; comparison with other CW varieties and other languages is difficult at this writing. Among the previous studies of CW, aspect has been analyzed very little; Vrzić devotes a sentence each to "Inchoative" *t͡ʃako* and "Iterative" *aju͡* (1999:110-111) while Zenk discusses a single "Continuative-Repetitive" aspect, homonymous with *aju͡* (1984:61-66). And crosslinguistically, "no language necessarily grammaticalizes any of [the] aspects, and…the aspectual operations grammaticalized in any given language may not line up exactly with these notions" of 'perfective', 'imperfective', 'habitual' and so forth (Payne 1997:238). Certainly no previous study has overtly identified an ingressive-imperfective-completive CW aspectual distinction, but additional work will be needed to enable comparison of KCW's aspectual system with any others.

4.1.6 Polarity

Positive versus negative polarity is a contrast that, like realis versus irrealis modality and non-ingressive versus ingressive aspects, is overtly marked on only one member of the opposition in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Table 23 summarizes this situation:

Polarity	***Subtype***	***Marking***
Positive	--	Ø
Negative	Clausal	*ilo* (usual) / *wi͡k* (rare)
"	Phrasal	*wi͡k-* (usual) / *ilo* (perhaps; rare)

Table 23: Negative polarity marking

This opposition is absolutely obligatory—no negative expression can lack overt negative marking—so polarity is the single most stringently enforced grammatical contrast in KCW. Because nearly all productive marking of polarity is clausal, i.e. on predicates, the subject of polarity is discussed primarily in the present section. (Note: For related topics already discussed, see polar questions in §4.1.3.2.1 and negated imperatives in §4.1.6.2.2;

positive- and negative-polarity non-personal pronouns will be discussed in §4.2.1.1.2. Negative and positive interjections are not found in KCW, cf. §4.4.2.1.)

4.1.6.1 Positive polarity

Positive polarity is obligatorily null-marked. That is, a predicate not marked as negative (see §4.1.6.2) is of positive polarity, as in (145):

(145) (a) *∅ naika tlap ukuk lakit buks* [99]
POS 1SG to.get DEM four book
'I received those four books.'

(b) *wa͡l Pir Lfju͡n ∅ kata maika* [120]
well Père Le.Jeune POS how? 2SG
'Well, Père Le Jeune, how are you?'

(c) *pus ∅ k'o kopa mokst sno iawa naika kopit iskom pipa* [130]
IRR POS to.arrive PREP two year then 1SG CMPT to.get paper
'at the end of two years I stopped receiving the newspaper'

(The position of ∅ here is arbitrarily determined by me by analogy with that of the overt negative markers.) As with other oppositions whose default member has null marking, only in the present section is positive polarity indicated in the transliterations.

4.1.6.2 Negative polarity

Negative polarity is obligatorily marked, which is accomplished in either of two ways depending on the syntactic scope involved. The most broadly applied negator is the particle *ilo*, which usually has clausal scope (cf. Payne 1997:282-293). The affix *wi͡k-* operates in a well-defined smaller-scope niche of its own (here termed 'phrasal', cf. Payne's 'non-clausal negation', op.cit.:292-293). These scope levels are respectively treated in §§4.1.6.2.1,2, while the general subject of the scope of negation is discussed in §4.1.6.2.3.

4.1.6.2.1 Clausal negation

The norm for clausal negation is to use the particle *ilo* (literally 'nothing; not' in other CW varieties). In a distribution similar to that of predicate-scale adverbs (§5.1.7), the negator immediately precedes either the predicate, as in (146a) and the main clause of (b), or the entire clause, as in the subordinate clause of (b):

(146) (a) *lili naika ilo mamuk= pipa kopa maika* [145]
long.time 1SG NEG CAUS= letter PREP 2SG
'I haven't written you in a long time.'

(b) *tlus maika ilo kwa͡s [pus ilo maika tlap maika ʃikmin]* [126]
IMPRT 2SG NEG to.fear IRR NEG 2SG to.get 2SG money
'Don't worry [that you won't get your money].'

Restricted in application is the particle *wik͡*, appearing in identical positions to those described for clausal *ilo*. While *wik͡* is the general negator in some varieties of CW such as the creole of Grand Ronde (Zenk and Johnson 2003), it is a very uncommon variant for KCW clausal negation. In (147) is provided a representative sampling of the 23 occurrences of this particle (compare with the circa 550 of *ilo*):

(147) (a) *wik͡ klaska komtaks ikta klaska mamuk* [15]
NEG 3PL to.know what? 3PL to.do
'they don't know what they're doing'

(b) *pi alta wik͡ kopit sno kopa Samin Arm* [56]
CONJ PRES NEG CMPT snow PREP Salmon Arm
'but for the time being the snow isn't gone from Salmon Arm'

(c) *tilikom…wik͡ tlap ukuk tanas= klutʃ͡min* [73]
people NEG to.find DEM DIM= woman
'the people…didn't find this girl'

(d) *wik͡ nsaika tlap iaka* [77]
NEG 1PL to.find 3
'we didn't find her'

(e) *wik͡ klaska tlap…* [78]
NEG 3PL to.find
'they didn't find…'

(f) *naika wik͡ drit komtaks* [18]
1SG NEG really to.know
'I don't really know'

When a predicate is scalar or gradient (broadly conceived), negation sometimes appears to impart the sense 'not enough', 'not completely'. The predicate can be an adjective as in (148a) (cf. also *ilo skukum* 'unable' ~ 'not strong enough' in §4.1.3.5), or verbal as in (b,c):

(148) (a) *klunas maika iahsut ilo iaka= lon* [53]
EVID 2SG hair NEG 3AGR= long
'I reckon your hair's not long enough'
(Context [teasing] makes this sense clear.)

(b) *kaltaʃ pus ilo naika komtaks iht ilihi*
idle IRR NEG 1SG to.know one village
'No matter if I'm not well-acquainted (enough) with a certain village;

| *naika wa͡wa͡ kopa kanawi͡ kah ilihi* [71]
1SG to.speak PREP every where? village
| I speak for[153] villages everywhere.'

(c) *naika aju͡= wa͡wa͡ kopa naika tilikom pus klaska mamuk kopa* [99]
1SG IMPFV= to.say PREP 1SG people IRR 3PL to.work PREP
'I've been telling my people to work on

t͡ʃinuk pipa | pi wi͡k naika tlap klaska
Chinúk.Wawa writing CONJ NEG 1SG to.reach 3PL
'the shorthand | but I haven't quite reached (all of) them.'

Here 'scalarity' is understood as the potential for a given predicate to be less or more true, e.g. under a more absolute interpretation (c) could mean '…I haven't reached any of them'.

4.1.6.2.2 Phrasal negation

While *wi͡k* is quite marginal as a clause-negating particle, the homophonous affix *wi͡k-* is normal as a bound morpheme at the phrasal level (see §3.2.2.1), in more-or-less frequent negative-polarity collocations that are summarized in Table 24:

***wik-* item (phrasal)**	**# of attestations**	***ilo* item (clausal)**	**# of attestations**
wi͡k-saia 'almost'	35	*ilo saia* 'not far'	1
wi͡k-kata 'impossible/can't'[154]	26	**(ilo kata)* ? 'look how (it's) not…!'	--
wi͡k-tlus 'negative imperative'[155]	2	**(ilo tlus)* ? 'don't!'	--
wi͡k-tlus ?'bad'	1	*ilo tlus* '(it's) not good'	1

Table 24: Negators: phrasal *wi͡k-* versus clausal *ilo*

[153] Or 'to'.
[154] Cf. §4.1.4.2 on potential modality.
[155] Cf. §4.1.3.3 on imperative mood.

W͡ik- seems definitely identifiable as occurring with two function items ('how?' and 'imperative') and one adverb. Its collocation with the predicative adjective *tlus* 'good' is equally well parsed as the clausal negative particle *w͡ik*, synonymous with the usual *ilo*, so that the single example of this structure is of dubious interpretation. *W͡ik-* is not found with nominals (§5.2.) or other word classes.

Ilo here clearly seems to have been used productively, generating predictable negation of a proposition. *W͡ik-*, while attested with only three lexemes (giving four phrases), appears to negate the meaning of nothing more than those lexemes.

Following are examples of the *w͡ik-* forms: 'almost' in (149a) contrasts with non-grammaticalized, i.e. semantically decomposable, *ilo saia* 'not far' in (b); 'can't' is in (c) [but **ilo kata* 'negative admirative' (?) is not known]; 'negative-imperative' in (d) contrasts with non-grammaticalized 'imperative negative' in (e, f); 'bad' in (g) possibly contrasts with non-grammaticalized *ilo tlus* 'not good' in (h):[156]

(149) (a) *w͡ik- saia naika mamuk= mimlus iaka* [35]
NEG- far 1SG CAUS= to.die 3
'I almost killed her.'

(b) *w͡ik- saia kanaw͡i tilikom…klaska= mamuk kopa pipa…* | *Mali*
NEG- far all people 3PL.AGR= to.work PREP writing | Mary
'Almost everyone…works on (learning) writing… | Mary

ʃon iaka= lisi… ilo saia klaska mitlait pi
John 3AGR= lazy NEG far 3PL to.live CONJ
John is lazy…They (she and her family) live not far away, but

ilo t͡ʃako kopa Sandi...
NEG to.come PREP Sunday
don't come on Sunday....'

(c) *wik- kata iaka tlap tanas makmak* [63][157]
NEG- how? 3 to.get little.bit food
'He can't get (even a) bit of food.'

(d) *pi wik- tlus ilo naika kilapai tanas= pipa kopa maika* [88]
CONJ NEG- IMPRT NEG 1SG to.return DIM= letter PREP 2SG
'and don't let me fail to respond to your letter'
(literally ~'and let it not be that I don't respond…')

---

[156] Grammaticalization in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa has greatly altered the functions of both negative lexemes inherited from pan-CW. The original meaning of *ilo* had been 'nothing, none'; that of *w͡ik* 'not, no' (Johnson 1978:375-376).

[157] No contrasting structure **ilo kata* is attested in the corpus. This example's sense 'even a little bit' also brings to mind the discussion of 'scalar' negatives, §4.1.6.2.1.

(e) *tlus maika ilo saliks kopa naika* [51]
IMPRT 2SG NEG angry PREP 1SG
'don't be angry with me'

(f) *tlus wik maika sik tomtom kopa naika* [99]
IMPRT NEG 2SG upset heart PREP 1SG
'don't be upset with me'

(g) *wik(-) tlus ukuk klutʃmin iaka mamuk* [21]
NEG- good DEM woman 3 doing
'This woman's actions are bad.'

(h) *pus ilo tlus ukuk pipa | maika maʃ maika tlus pipa* [5]
IRR NEG GOOD DEM writing 2SG to.send 2SG good writing
'If this writing (of mine) is not good, | send your good writing.'

Ilo is a possibly phrasal negator in two nonpersonal pronominal structures: *ilo ikta* 'nothing' as in (150 a,b) and *ilo klaksta* 'nobody' as in (c,d) (cf. §4.2.1.1.2.2.1 for these and their positive-polarity counterparts):

(150) (a) *ilo ikta naika siisim* [15]
NEG what? 1SG to.tell
'I won't say anything (more)'

(b) *ilo ikta nsaika nanitʃ mamuk* [71]
NEG what? 1PL to.see to.do
'we don't see anything being done'

(c) *ilo klaksta sik kopa Krapaʃiʃin | kanawi skukum maika tanas* [65][158]
NEG who? ill PREP North.Bend all healthy 2SG child
'Nobody's sick at North Bend; | all your children are well'

(d) *ilo klaksta hilp naika kopa ikta* [64]
NEG who? to.help 1SG PREP what?
'nobody helped me with anything'

At least one other (etymologically) content-question item also has a negative-polarity counterpart, which functions adverbially as (151) illustrates:

(151) *pi ilo kah klaska klatwa* [110]
CONJ NEG where? 3PL to.go
'but they can't go anywhere'

Phrasal negation with *ilo* is otherwise unattested.

[158] Normalized from *ilo klaska sik*, which would mean literally 'they're not sick'. *Ilo klaksta sik* is a formulaic pleasantry in the Indigenous letters.

4.1.6.2.3 Scope of negation

The first negator—be it phrasal or clausal—in a clause also has scope over any subsequent semantically negative-polarity items (NPIs). That is, any second NPI in the clause (here shown with dotted underlining) lacks overt negation. One example with a causal negator has been seen at (146d) above (where *ikta* is the second NPI). Instances with phrasal negators are shown in (152) below:[159]

(152) (a) (i) *wik- kata kah naika koli* [15]
NEG- how? where? 1SG to.travel
'I can't go anywhere.'
*? 'I can't go somewhere'

(ii) *(*wik-kata … ilo kah …*)

(b) (i) *wik- kata naika ikta mamuk* [25]
NEG- how? 1SG what? to.do
'I can't do anything'
*? 'I can't do something'[160]

(ii) *(*wik-kata … ilo ikta …*)

Concomitantly, when there is a second (overt, higher-scope) negator in a clause, it overrides the logical effect of the first negator, rather than merely adding meaningless negative-polarity exponence. Two of the rare examples of this appear in (153), where (b) shows such relations in a subordinate structure:

(153) (a) *wik- tlus naika ilo aiak naika kilapai maika pipa* [42]
NEG- IMP 1SG NEG quickly 1SG to.return 2SG letter
'I mustn't fail to answer your letter quickly'
('May I not not [sic] quickly answer…')

(b) *pi klaska wawa | nsaika || wik- kata pus [ilo* [21][161]
CONJ 3PL to.say 1PL NEG- how? IRR NEG
'and they said, "there's no way [*we* could hate

tiki liplit]
to.like priest
(dislike) the priest]" '

---

[159] Second NPIs are given dotted underlines.

[160] In the rare event when a positive indefinite sense of a content-question word is intended in a negated clause, two mechanisms generate the desired result: (1) The content-question word is replaced by a non-personal pronoun and (2) that item is clefted to the left of the sentence, as in the following:

kopit iht || naika ilo komtaks [40]
only one 1SG NEG to.understand
'(there's just) one thing I don't understand'

[161] The notation || here, as elsewhere, indicates an apparent fronting/focusing construction

Multiple negation in the usual sense of the term is thus effectively lacking in KCW. This is the more striking because some content-question forms and nonpersonal pronouns have opposite-polarity counterparts (§4.1.6.2.2, §4.2.1.1.2) that in principle could be used more frequently than they actually are. For example no synonymous double-negative parallel to (152b) above is attested (**wik-kata naika ilo ikta mamuk*). Such a structure instead always has a decomposable meaning ('there's no way I could do nothing' and not * 'I can't do anything').

The lack of KCW multiple negation makes for a typologically "exotic" language (Payne 1997:293).

4.1.6.2.4 Summary of negation

Negation in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is highly sensitive to syntactic scope, being marked differently at the phrasal and clausal levels. Multiple negation is effectively absent.

4.1.6.3 Summary of polarity

The only polarity that is ever marked in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is the negative, which is realized distinctly at different syntactic scope levels. This scopal distinction in negation has not been noted in the previous CW literature, cf. most relevantly Vrzić's claim that in closely-related *Kamloops Wawa* CW, "Both markers [*wik* and *ilo*] are used as constituent and sentential negators," that is phrasal and clausal respectively, and that "the negative marker *wek* [i.e. *wik*] is much more common in use"—whereas it is quite rare in KCW (1999:126).

4.1.7 Copular constructions

For Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, copulas are taken to be those morphemes with intransitive "relational meaning" (Dixon 2010a:100ff) linking subjects with non-verb complements (cf. Payne 1997:114, Crystal 1985:76). Copulas display two morphosyntactic similarities with verbs proper. First, copulas and verbs both take arguments. (With existential copulas, subject and complement may be coextensive, §4.1.7.2.2.1.) Second, at least the overt copulas pattern with verbs in occupying a position to the right of subjects and to the left of other arguments. However, copulas differ from verbs in not being modified by most grammatical morphemes, such as clitics (about which see chapter 4).[162]

Two major types of copular construction can be distinguished by their morphosyntactic behaviour in the data, so that equatives pattern differently from 'spatials' broadly construed. Within the spatial category are three formally and

[162] The exception is copulas' frequent cooccurrence with the agreement clitics *iaka*= and *klaska*=. Just one other, rather unclear, case was found in the following segment of text 137: *klaska mamuk*= *stop* <*5*> *talas* meaning apparently 'they made [me] have $5' (perhaps equivalent to 'they gave [me] $5'.

functionally distinct subclasses. Table 25 shows these various distinctions in the copula system [Adj=adjective, N=noun, PP=prepositional phrase, CS=copular subject]:[163]

Copular construction	***Subtype***	***Members***	***Form***
Equative (COPeq)	--	--	CS <u>Ø</u> N/Adj
Spatial (*mitlait*)	Locative (COPspa)		CS <u>*mitlait*</u> PP / CS <u>*stop*</u> PP
”	Non-locative	Existential (COPex)	<u>*mitlait*</u> N / N <u>*mitlait/stop*</u>
”	”	Possessive (COPposs)	CS <u>*mitlait*</u> N / CS N <u>*mitlait*</u>, (?) CS (<u>Ø</u>) N / (?) CS N (<u>Ø</u>)

Table 25: Copular distinctions

Each of these distinct types will be discussed in turn in the following subsections.

4.1.7.1 Equatives

The equative copula, linking a subject and nominal predicate in a relation either of identity or “proper inclusion” as part of a class (after Payne 1997:114), is here taken to be *Ø*. Its form is so analyzed since other copulative functions are overtly marked. That is, the equative construction is more economically analyzed as a distinct form standing in identical position to other KCW copulas (see following subsections) than as simple juxtaposition of subject and predicate. Example (154) illustrates this construction, where (a,b) include predicate nouns and (c) a predicative adjective:

(154) (a) *maika komtaks pus naika* <u>*Ø*</u> *kaltaʃ man* [68]
2SG to.know IRR 1SG COPeq idle man
‘You know whether I’<u>m</u> a no-good man.’

(b) *ukuk buk iaka=* <u>*Ø*</u> *tlus kopa msaika kopa st͡ʃuil liʃapli* [11]
DEM book 3AGR= COPeq good PREP 2PL PREP to.pray rosary
‘This book <u>is</u> good for you folks for praying the rosary.’

(c) *…pus kanaw͡i* <u>*Ø*</u> *tlus | pus klaska* <u>*Ø*</u> *sik* [70]
IRR all COPeq good IRR 3PL COPeq ill
‘…whether everyone’<u>s</u> all right (or) whether they’<u>re</u> sick’

Illustrations of the overt copulas with which COPeq ∅ stands in complementary distribution are to be found in the following sections.

[163] ‘Copula subject’ or ‘CS’ is used here, following Dixon (2010b:159ff), to distinguish intransitive subjects’ properties from those of the subjects of copula clauses. Dixon usefully groups those items that in KCW appear to the right of the copula as ‘copula complements’.

4.1.7.2 'Spatials'

Spatials are so termed here for two reasons. First, they are typically expressed with the word *mitlait*, originally meaning literally 'to sit; to be located somewhere' (cf. Johnson 1978:411). Second, these copulas signal the literal or metaphoric proximity of the entity labeled by the predicate to that expressed by the subject. KCW spatials pattern into two smaller groups according to their functions: the locative on one hand versus the non-locative existential and possessive on the other. Payne (1997:127) notes a tendency for these three constructions to be encoded with identical or similar morphology in a given language because they "are conceptually quite similar: they all embody a stative (i.e. non-eventive) situation in which the location or existence of one item…is specified with respect to some other item". The main differences among these constructions, he hypothesizes, is the relative topicality of each "item" (loc.cit.). The following subsections examine the locative (§4.1.7.2.1) and existential-possessive nonlocative (§4.1.7.2.2) subtypes of spatial copular constructions.

4.1.7.2.1 Locative spatials

The locative spatial copulas, expressing a subject's relation to a prepositional phrase (§5.1; cf. Payne 1997:121-123) are *mitlait*, which is in general use, as in (155a) and the rarer *stop* as in (b-d):

(155) (a) *naika mitlait iakwa̍ kopa Samin Arm* [51]
1SG COPspa here PREP Salmon Arm
'I'm here at Salmon Arm.'

(b) *naika stop alta kopa Samin Arm* [58]
1SG COPspa PRES PREP Salmon Arm
'I'm here at Salmon Arm now.'

(c) *ilo naika stop kwa̍nisim kopa iakwa̍* [10]
NEG 1SG COPspa always PREP here
'I'm not always here'

(d) *naika stop ∅ Samin Arm alta* [2]
1SG COPspa PREP Salmon Arm PRES
'I'm at Salmon Arm now'

Stop is analyzed here as a copula for two reasons. First, it is used in contexts where no reference to or implication of travel, or of cessation of motion, is detectible. Second, *stop* is used elsewhere in another kind of copular function, which perhaps is related to any locative-copula sense.

Locative *mitlait* is attested once with 'causative' marking (cf. §4.1.2.4), apparently in the sense 'to put, place somewhere' as in (156):

(156) *pi naika mamuk= mitlait iht tala kopa ukuk pipa* [61]
CONJ 1SG CAUS= COPspa one dollar PREP DEM newspaper
'and I'm putting in (including in this letter) a dollar for the newspaper'

Stop with the same marking appears to have existential rather than locative meaning, so it is discussed in the following subsection. This morph appears, it may be mentioned, to be previously unattested in CW; it is lacking in Johnson's (1978) and Thomas' (1970 [1935]) compilations of prior lexicons.

4.1.7.2.2 Non-locative spatials

'Non-locative spatials' are those copular clauses that assert the existence of a predicate noun phrase without implying its location, whether as a general fact (existentials) or in relation to a certain possessor (possessives). These two functions exhibit parallel syntax, with a subject accompanied by an overt copula and predicate noun phrase. The formal differentiation between them is that existentials (§4.1.7.2.2.1) have no subjects separate from their predicate nominals, while possessives (§4.1.7.2.2.2) have separate overt subjects.

4.1.7.2.2.1 Existential copulas

The existential copula "introduce[s] participants onto the discourse stage," and accordingly the subject tends to be indefinite—not identifiable from previously-established information in the discourse (Payne 1997:123). This copular function is normally signaled by a structure combining a participant-noun with *mitlait* (etymologically 'to sit'). There is no overt copula subject separate from the copula complement (CC), which appears as if coextensive with the logical subject. Most often the noun follows *mitlait* as in (157 a-c), but sometimes it precedes the copula as in (d,e):

(157) (a) *mitlait {aias rup}$_{CC}$…* [43]
COPex big rope
'there was a thick rope…'

(b) *ilo mitlait {pipa}$_{CC}$ kopa stj͡uil + ha͡ws* [15]
NEG COPex paper PREP prayer building
'there's no paper in the church'

(c) *aiak klaska kuli [kah mitlait {hwi͡ski}$_{CC}$]* [43]
immediately 3PL to.run where? COPex alcohol
'they run right off [to where booze is]'

(d) *nsaika nani͡ʃ {ukuk nim}$_{CC}$ mitlait kopa gavmint* [71]
1PL to.see DEM name COPex PREP government
'we can see that that title (of chief) belongs to the government'
('…(only) exists with the government')

(e) *{aju͡ man}$_{CC}$ mitlait kopa mamuk* [15]
many man COPex PREP work
'plenty of men are available for work'

Such variable word order is identical with that of intransitive expressions in general (§4.1.2.1).

A less-common alternative existential copula may be *stop*. As (158) shows, this item appears in usages that seem literally existential, but with senses bordering on the possessive; in (b) it is inflected for causativity (!):

(158) (a) *ilo ʃikmin stop kopa naika* [25]
NEG money COPex PREP 1SG
'I have no money (just now)'
(Literally 'There's no money with me (just now).')

(b) *naika iskom <5> talas | klaska mamuk= stop <5> talas* [136]
1SG to.get five dollar 3PL CAUS= COPex five dollar
'I got five dollars; they let [me] have five dollars'
(Literally ~'…they made/let five dollars be [with me]')

That *stop* is a copula, not some other sort of predicate having a meaning more like its English source, is suggested particularly clearly by these two examples. It seems unlikely that they could mean literally 'No money is staying with me' or '…they made $5 stay [with me].'

Contrasting with these quasi-possessive examples are possessive copulas *per se*, discussed in the following section.

4.1.7.2.2.2 Possessive copulas

Possessive clauses are not to be confused with the semantically similar but syntactically smaller-scope possessive noun phrase (cf. §4.2.2.1.1, Payne 1997:126-127). Again it is typically *mitlait* that expresses possession, in this case with an overt subject as in (159); frequent in possessive constructions is a word order in which the possessed NP precedes the copula, as in (c,d) {in these examples each possessum is set off in curly braces}:

(159) (a) *naika mitlait {ʃanti + buk}* [42]
1SG COPposs song book
'I have {the hymnal}'

(b) *…iaka mitlait {nim taii}* [71]
3 COPposs name chief
'…they have {the title of chief}'

(c) *iawa̍ msaika {aju̍ makmak} mitlait kopa msaika tanas* [31]
there 2PL much food COPposs PREP 2PL child
'then you folks will have plenty of food for your children'

(d) *nsaika {ilo taii} mitlait kopa Hid Lik* [16]
1PL NEG chief COPposs PREP Head Lake
'we have no chief at Head Lake'

Far rarer is the alternative, an apparent null or lack of copula, with only two identified occurrences in the corpus (160); position of putative null in (a) is indeterminate from the scant evidence):

(160) (a) *ilo (Ø) naika taim ~ ilo naika (Ø) taim* [90]
NEG *(?Ø)* 1SG time ~ NEG 1SG *(?Ø)* time
'I have no time'

(b) *maika ilo (∅) bisnas* [68]
2SG NEG (?∅) business
'you have no business (in this)' (it's none of your business)

In the absence of additional evidence, these cases are noted simply as exceptions.

4.1.7.3 Summary of copular constructions

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa utilizes a fairly rich array of copular constructions formed by combinations of various copulas with particular word-order structures. Several copular types appear to have allomorphs involving either distinct copular morphemes or alternations of word order. Equative copulas are distinguished from spatials, which are here broadly construed to include metaphorical locations, as in expressions of possession. Spatial copulas pattern into two subclasses, the locative and non-locative. The non-locatives are in turn composed of two smaller classes, the existential and the possessive.

4.1.8 Note on degree in predicate adjectives

One syntactic trait distinguishing the adjective class, as opposed to nouns and verbs, is that it can undergo marking for degree, as can adverbs, which are discussed in §4.1.9. Degree "specif[ies] the extent of a comparison between adjectives or adverbs" (Crystal 1985:86). Table 26 summarizes the four-way degree distinction provisionally identified from the admittedly sparse Kamloops Chinúk Wawa attestations:

Degree	***Marking***
Positive	*Ø*
'Comparative'	*ilip=*
Superlative	*drit…kopa*
Excessive	*Ø* / *tu(-)*

Table 26: Degree marking

Adjectives are of positive degree if not overtly specified for any of the other degrees. Positive degree does not imply a comparison with any other entity (Crystal 1985:238). This degree is in fact attested both in the predicative/copula-complement (161 a,b) and attributive (c,d) functions of adjectives:

(161) (a) *ukuk buk drit aias ∅ tlus kopa stʃu͡il liʃapli* [11]
DEM book really very POSDEG good PREP to.pray rosary
'this book is really wonderful for praying the rosary'

(b) *naika* || *drit* ∅ *aias naika ʃim kopa ukuk* [21][164]
1SG really POSDEG big 1SG shame PREP DEM
'as for me, my shame about this is really great'

(c) *o naika* ∅ *tlus papa Pir L͡ʃʃun* [10]
INTERJ 1SG POSDEG good father Père Le.Jeune
'oh, my good father, Père Le Jeune'

(d) *kah maika iskom* ∅ *aias lplp* [35][165]
where? 2SG to.get POSDEG big bottle (?)
'where did you get the big bottle?'

The positive is the only attested degree of KCW attributive adjectives.

The placement of ∅ 'positive degree' above has been somewhat arbitrarily based on analogy with that of the overt degree markers (see following discussion), and with other dependents' generally leftward position throughout KCW. As in other oppositions having a null-marked member, positive degree goes unmarked in interlinearizations outside the present section.

Adjectives may bear 'comparative'-degree marking, the indication of the relative status of two entities with respect to a given property (cf. Dixon 2010a:177-179, where the comparative is described as "often a rather unusual feature of the grammar, for languages in which it occurs", Crystal 1985:59, Payne 1997:88-89). Such marking occurs via the preposed marker *ilip*, etymologically 'before; first'. (Cf. Johnson 1978:320; the same strategy is apparently employed with adverbs, §4.1.9.) The standard of comparison, if overt, follows to the right and is indicated by the preposition *kopa* (here 'than'; cf. the superlative, below). In most attested examples nothing definitively indicates whether either the comparative or the superlative was intended. It is possible that this syntactic construction carried both functions, but since another superlative construction was identified (see below), the label 'comparative' has been adopted here.

Another indeterminacy in analyzing comparative *ilip* is that four of the five attestations—three of which are from a single text—modify *tlus*, etymologically 'good'. Occurring in the left periphery of their clauses, these verge on the grammaticalized use of *tlus* as a modal particle (§3.2.2.3.2.2.2). This reduces the certainty that *tlus* here is an adjective rather than a modal. While the negative-prefixed imperative *wik͡-tlus* (also in §3.2.2.3.2.2.2) seems an inflected form of modal *tlus*, it is unclear whether *ilip tlus* is as well. If so, perhaps it expressed for example a more urgent request than simple *tlus*. In (162) are listed the known attestations of the so-called comparative degree; (a-d) are those that resemble imperatives while (e) is clearly a comparative:

[164] The double occurrence of *naika* here is possibly an example of double pronominal-subject exponence (§4.2.1.1.1.2).

[165] The word *lplp* found here appears to mean 'bottle', cf. standard Chinuk Wawa's word ultimately from French 'la bouteille' as in Grand Ronde /lapot^{h}áy/ (CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Program 2011:122). Whatever its precise meaning, it is clearly a noun and (d) is a good example of attributive (adjective) modification.

(162) (a) *ilip tlus pus maika mamuk= komtaks kopa Lui…* [31]
CMPR good IRR 2SG CAUS= to.know PREP Louis
'it would be better / best if you let Louis know…'
? 'pretty please let Louis know…'

(b) *pi wih̄t ilip tlus pus maika siisim…* [31]
CONJ also CMPR good IRR 2SG to.tell
'and it would also be better / best for you to tell…'

(c) *ilip tlus pus naika mamuk= komtaks kopa Lui Lahlahkin…* [31]
CMPR good IRR 1SG CAUS= to.know PREP Louis Clexlexqen
'it's better / best if I let Louis Clexlexqen know…'

(d) *kakwa̅ Pir Toma iaka= wa̅wa̅ ilip tlus pus* [139]
so Père Thomas 3AGR= to.say CMPR good IRR
'So Père Thomas says it's better / best if

naika storkipir
1SG storekeeper
I'm the storekeeper'

(e) *iaka wa̅wa̅ pus mamuk ∅ ilip tlus kopa Knim Lik +* [117]
3 to.say IRR to.make 3 CMPR good PREP Canim Lake
'he lets on like he can build it better than the Canim Lake

sondi + ha̅ws
Sunday building
church'

A final observation about comparative-degree marking is that *ilip* seems to cooccur only with predicate adjectives (copula complements, Dixon 2010a:100ff), not with attributive (modifying dependent) ones. Overall this member of the KCW degree-marking system is less robustly attested than absolute-degree marking, and is comparable [no pun intended] in this respect with the superlative degree (see below).

Just one distinct example of a possible 'superlative' degree, the indication of the relative status of one entity versus all others in its class with respect to some property (cf. Crystal 1985:59), was identified. This too was in a predicate adjective, not an attributive or an adverb. It is constructed with *drit* 'really' followed by a predicative adjective. The standard of comparison is indicated by the prepositional phrase *kopa kanawi̅…* 'from/than all…' (cf. the comparative). This formation is reproduced in (163):

(163) *maika komtaks ukuk Liluit ilihi drit klahawiam* [99]
2SG to.know DEM Lillooet country really poor
'You know this Lillooet country is the poorest

kopa kanawi ilihi
PREP all country
of all (countries).'

It bears reiterating that the 'comparative' in a majority of its attestations seems equally well interpreted as a superlative. Overall, the superlative, like the comparative, appears not to have been a robustly employed member of the KCW degree system.

What may be termed the 'excessive' degree, the expression of the undesirably great extent of some quality in a given entity (cf. Trask 1993:95), is attested although sparsely. Like the comparative and superlative, this degree is found (or implicit) only on predicative and not modifying ('attributive') adjectives (§4.2.2.4.1), nor is it attested on adverbs (§4.1.8, §4.2.2.3). It is manifested overtly perhaps once, only with positive polarity and only by the recent English loan *tu(-)* in (164):

(164) *alta naika tu(-)lit kopa klatwa kopa Kamlups kopa knim* [62]
PRES 1SG too.late PREP to.go PREP Kamloops PREP canoe
'I'm too late now to go Kamloops by canoe'

Tulit is frequent in texts published in the closely related literary variety of the *Kamloops Wawa*. In that newspaper the adjective *lit* 'late' also is found, albeit just once in the positive degree (*Kamloops Wawa* 1896b). But otherwise, as in all of the Native-written texts, *lit* is attested only with *tu(-)* and with apparent excessive meaning, so these two items are analyzed as a unit here. Consequently it might be said that *tulit* does not in fact represent marking of excessive degree, in which case the above matches the behaviour of the other few scalar items having inherent semantic excessive degree. Example (165) is representative of these; when *lisi* 'lazy' is accompanied by a prepositional phrase, the adjective may have the sense 'too lazy for/to…':

(165) (a) *nawitka aias lili naika lisi kopa mamuk= pipa* [64]
indeed very long.time 1SG lazy PREP CAUS= letter
'indeed, for a long time I've been too lazy to write

kopa maika
PREP 2SG
to you'
(~ '…been lazy about writing…')

(b) *Mali ʃon iaka= lisi kopa stʃuil* [95]
Mary John 3AGR= lazy PREP prayer
'Mary John is too lazy for prayers'
(~ '…is lazy about praying/prayers')

Nor is the negative excessive degree—the equivalent of 'not…enough' / 'insufficiently…'—attested with any overt marking. But there often seems to be an implication of such insufficiency when scalar adjectives are negated, as in (166):

(166) (a) *…drit naika aias klahawiam | ilo skukum naika tomtom* [25]
really 1SG very pitiful NEG strong 1SG heart
'…I'm really miserable | my spirit is not strong enough'
(~ '…is not strong')

(b) *klunas maika iahsut ilo iaka= lon kakwa maika ilo* [53]
EVID 2SG hair NEG 3AGR= long so 2SG NEG
'I reckon your hair isn't long enough, which is why you haven't

aiak tʃako…
quickly to.come
hurried here' [sc. to visit in the dead of winter]
(~ '…isn't long, which is why…')

Overall, excessive degree appears to have been a marginal member of the KCW degree system. Its overt form seems to have been a recent innovation, borrowed from local English.

In summary, overt marking of degree is not extensively attested in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. The absolute degree is null-marked and is predictably very common. Comparative, superlative and excessive degrees are much less well-attested and at least the last of these seems likely to have been a recent innovation in the overt degree-marking system. The limitation of degree distinctions to adjectives, and to predicates at that (so that e.g. adverbs show no degree distinctions), appears to be unknown in the previous CW literature. (Cf. Vrzić 1999:119-120.)

4.1.9 Predicate complex-scope adverbs

Predicate complex-scope adverbs take any of three positions, their placement being apparently sensitive to two factors. Adverbial position correlates strongly with two factors. One is the presence of neighbouring functional words (particles). The other is the syntactic makeup of the adverb; those that are prepositional phrases are treated differently from most lexical adverbs. Table 27 summarizes the distributional options that will be discussed in this section:

Syntactic position	***Frequency***	***Context***
Before predicate	Common	No clause-initial particles
Before subject/agent	Common	Clause-initial particles present
Clause-final	Less common	Esp. prepositional adverbs

Table 27: Predicate complex-scope adverb positions

An adverb may immediately precede the predicate complex over which it has scope, as in (167):

(167) (a) *naika aias tiki komtaks kansih san maika t͡ʃako* [19]
1SG very.much to.want to.know how.much? day 2SG to.come
'I badly want to know which day you're coming'

(b) *kanawi͡ klaska skukum mamuk kopa t͡ʃinuk pipa* [29]
all who? hard to.work PREP Chinúk.Wawa writing
'everyone works hard on the shorthand'

(c) *taii iaka= hloima wa͡wa͡* [38]
chief 3AGR= differently to.talk
'the boss spoke differently'

(d) *ukuk klut͡ʃmin iaka= drit aju͡= mamuk= masat͡ʃi* [21]
DEM woman 3AGR= really IMPFV= CAUS= bad
'this woman is really misbehaving'

This position is perhaps the most common when no clause-initial grammatical particles (§3.2.2.3) are present; cf. §4.1.8 on pre-subject/agent position.

Predicate complex-scope adverbs otherwise tend to immediately precede the subject or agent, as in (168 a,b); this position is usual in the presence of a clause-initial particle (in practice, often 'imperative' *tlus* as in (c); cf. §3.2.2.3.2.2.2), an exclamation (as in (d), a discourse marker (as in (e), or a subordinate phrase at the left periphery (as in (f)):

(168) (a) *lili iaka sik* [43]
long.time 3 ill
'she's been ill for a long time'

(b) *alki wi͡ht naika maʃ <10> sints* [35]
FUT again 1SG to.send ten cent
'I'll eventually send 10 cents more'

(c) *tlus aiak maika mamuk= pipa* [2]
IMPRT immediately 2SG CAUS= writing
'write immediately'

(d) *o wi͡k- saia naika lost* [23]
oh NEG- far 1SG to.lose
'oh, I almost forgot (sc. to mention)'

(e) *nawi͡tka aias lili iaka kakwa͡* [35]
DSCM very long.time 3 thus
'indeed, he was like that for a very long time'

(f) *pus Matilta wa͡wa͡ ikta kopa naika[,] aiak naika* [35]
IRR Matilda to.say what? PREP 1SG immediately 1SG
'if Matilda gives me a hard time, I

wa͡wa͡ kopa iaka kaltaʃ kopa naika
to.say PREP 3 idle PREP 1SG
tell her right away, "I don't care" '

This adverbial position and the pre-predicate position appear to be the most frequent; these can be contrasted with clause-final position.

A few adverbials freely take clause-final position: these are certain lexical adverbs (as in (169 a,b), and especially prepositional phrases functioning adverbially (as in (c-e); cf. §4.3):

(169) (a) *iht || naika siisim maika kopa ukuk ilip* [6]
one 1SG to.tell 2SG PREP DEM before
'there's one other thing I'll tell you in this [sc. letter] first'

(b) *naika tiki wa͡wa͡ kopa maika tanas* [66]
1SG to.want to.talk PREP 2SG little.bit
'I want to talk to you a little'

(c) *…mamuk= pipa kopa iakwa͡* [2]
CAUS= writing PREP here
'…write [a letter to me] over here'

(d) *tatilam min mitlait kopa iawa͡ kopa Saman Arm* [2]
ten man COPex PREP here PREP Salmon Arm
'ten men are over here at Salmon Arm'

(e) *nanitʃ iht liplit iaka= kuli kopa kah Ø nsaika ilihi* [83]
DSCM one priest 3AGR= to.travel PREP where? $Ø_{prep}$ 1PL country
'look, a certain priest was traveling all around in our country'

Clause-final position (where adverbs are iterable as in (c) above) appears to have been somewhat less frequent than the two leftward positions discussed in the previous sections.

As already noted, positive degree is abundantly attested for adverbs; as with adjectives, the adverbs default to positive degree in the absence of other degree marking (§4.1.7). The superlative and excessive degrees are not clearly attested for clause-level adverbs in the corpus; the comparative degree of predicate-scope adverbs is attested only once, but very clearly. It is formed as with predicative adjectives, by preposing the particle *ilip* to the relevant clause as in (170):

(170) *pi tlus ilip naika aias tiki…* [4]
CONJ IMPRT CMPR 1SG very.much to.want
'and I ought more to desire…'

No other overt degree marking of adverbs was identified in the corpus, making this another domain in which such marking is much less robustly employed than the absolute degree.

Constructions combining *kopa* 'PREP' with adverbs such as *kanamokst* and *iakwa͡* are analyzed as adverbials having more general meaning than the corresponding simplex adverb. Examples have appeared above; more are given in (171):

(171) (a) *nanit͡ʃ naika mamuk kanamokst kopa naika kj͡utan* [43]
DSCM 1SG to.work together PREP 1SG horse
'look, I work together with my horse'

(b) *ilo aju= kol kopa iakwa͡* [115]
NEG IMPFV cold PREP here
'it's not been cold around here'

In summary, predicate-scope adverbs in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa can occupy any of three positions: pre-predicate, pre-subject/agent, or clause-final. Some syntactic-class preferences seem to have been in play with at least the clause-final adverbs. Overt degree marking on predicate-scope adverbs is very poorly attested, with just one example of the comparative identified. A preposition accompanying a predicate-scope adverb seems to impart a despecified sense to it.

4.1.10 Summary of predicate phrases

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa predicative phrases exhibit a range of overt properties. Prominent among these are person-, transitivity-, mood-, modality-, aspect- and polarity-marking. Within predicates, syntactic classes worthy of special mention include copular constructions, predicative adjectives and predicate-scope adverbs.

4.2 Noun phrases

This section begins by briefly recapitulating, from the discussion of verbal arguments in §4.1 above, observations applicable to all Kamloops Chinúk Wawa nominals—both nouns and pronouns.

It is not overt marking but word-ordering relative to the predicate that indicates most of the functions of nominals. This most powerful observation about Kamloops Chinúk Wawa syntax subsumes the following details:

Functions of nominals:

- Predicate: A nominal may occupy predicate (clause head) position (§4.1.).
- Non-predicate (clause dependent; noun-phrase head):

- Subject/agent:
  - Stands most often to the left of the predicate (§4.1.2.2).
  - In certain circumstances a subject stands rightward of its predicate without clefting having occurred (about which see §4.1.2.1). This ordering occurs primarily with intransitive verbs, including equative copulas (§4.1.6.1).
- Non-subject/non-agent:
  - Canonically follows the verb (§4.1.2).
  - Generally, bare obliques are closer to the verb, objects farther from it (§4.1.2.2).
  - Obliques can be, and usually are, overtly and unambiguously marked as such by the preposition *kopa*, which licences free variation in the relative ordering of oblique and object (§4.1.2.2).

Thus nominals can be heads as well as dependents. Table 28 summarizes the ordering of the various classes within noun phrases:

Determiner §4.2.2.1	*Quantifier §4.2.2.2*	*Phrase-level adverb §4.2.2.3*	*Adjective §4.2.2.4*	*Diminutive= §4.2.2.5*	*Dependent NP in noun+noun compound §4.2.2.6*	*NOMINAL HEAD §4.2.1*	*Measured NP §4.2.2.7*	*Relative clause §4.2.2.8*

Table 28: Constituent order within noun phrases

This table graphically represents the right-headedness of NPs; only dependent material that is loosely bound to the head and is comparatively optional, such as unit-of-measurement expressions and relative clauses, follows to the right. With respect to grammatical morphemes (§3), there is thus only one kind of productive overt derivation in noun phrases (*tanas=* 'diminutive'), and one less-productive derivational process (noun-noun compounding).[166] All other dependents in noun phrases are free words.

The following subsections provide additional information as follows: §4.2.1 describes the properties peculiar to nominal heads. The various noun-phrase dependents listed in the above table are examined in §4.2.2 in a sequence reflecting their linear ordering therein.

4.2.1 Nominal phrase heads

The two major morphosyntactic subclasses of nominals identified in this study are the pronouns (discussed in §4.2.1.1) and nouns (§4.2.1.2). Kamloops Chinúk Wawa nominals are nearly always heads of NPs. Their only identified non-head function is nouns (not pronouns) as dependent members of compounds (cf. Table 28 above and §4.2.2.6).

[166] In passing it may be noted that negation (attested in other sorts of phrases, cf. §5.1.5.2.2) is not found to occur in nominal phrases. Thus no locutions on the order of English 'unCola' or 'non-pidgins' were identified in the corpus.

4.2.1.1 Pronoun nominal-phrase heads

Pronominal heads in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa usually constitute noun phrases by themselves, having no overt dependents, as exemplified by the personal pronouns in (172):

(172) (a) *…pus nsaika mitlait kopa Kifirs kopa <april 29>* [35]
IRR 1PL COPspa PREP Keefers PREP April 29
'when we were at Keefers on April 29th'

(b) *…ilo msaika piii ukuk msaika tlus pipa* [43]
NEG 2PL to.pay DEM 2PL good newspaper
'you folks haven't paid for this good newspaper of yours'

(c) *pi klaska tlap klaska pipa kanawi͡ Sandi* [21]
CONJ 3PL to.get 3PL newspaper all Sunday
'and they get their newspaper every week'

Certain plural pronoun heads cooccur apparently freely with a quantifier, either *kanawi͡* 'all' as in (173 a-c) or *ilo* 'none' as in (d,e; cf. §4.2.1.1.2 on non-personal pronouns), but never in the same phrase with members of any other subclasses listed in Table 28 above:

(173) (a) *…kanawi͡ nsaika mitlait kopa Samin Arm* [32]
all 1PL COPspa PREP Salmon Arm
'…all of us who are in Salmon Arm'

(b) *klahawiam kanawi͡ msaika* [77]
greetings all 2PL
'hello (to) all of you folks'

(c) *kanawi͡ klaska tlus* [6][167]
all 3PL well
'all of them are well'

(d) *ilo klaksta sik…* [32]
NEG who? ill
'nobody's sick'

(e) *ilo ikta nsaika nanit͡ʃ mamuk* [71]
NEG what? 1PL to.see to.do
'we don't see anything (being) done'

[167] An alternative reading of this example would be as '…everyone is well', i.e. analyzing *klaska* as 3AGR=. No examples of *kanawi͡ klaska* where the second word is definitely a pronominal rather than an agreement marker were identified in the corpus. It also bears repeating that *klaska* and *klaksta* 'who?' often seem to be in free variation in the corpus, functioning as nonspecific non-personal pronouns (§5.2.1.1.2.2 below).

Pronominal heads fall, according to their syntactic behaviour, into two syntactic subclasses: personal and non-personal. These are examined respectively in sections §4.2.1.1.1-2. A summary of pronominal properties follows in §4.2.1.1.3.[168]

4.2.1.1.1 Personal pronouns

Three persons, two numbers, and (in the third person) animacy are distinguished in the KCW personal-pronoun system. As with the agreement clitics (§4.1.1), third-person *iaka* is unspecified with regard to grammatical number, and plural *klaska* is relatively infrequent. These pronouns are subdivided on both formal and functional grounds into subjects/agents (§4.2.1.1.1.1) and objects (§4.2.1.1.1.2). A phenomenon characteristic of KCW pronominals, double pronominal-subject exponence [DPSE], is described in §4.2.1.1.1.2.

(Other uses of pronouns are discussed elsewhere; phrasal-level pronouns—those functioning as dependents of nouns in possessive constructions—are treated as determiners in §4.2.2.1.1; those functioning as 'objects' of prepositions are described in §5.1; a separate non-pronominal use of the forms *iaka* and *klaska* as optional verbal agreement clitics is treated above in §4.1.1.)

4.2.1.1.1.1 Subject/agent

Table 29 summarizes the attested subject / agent pronouns; here as with the agreement clitics (§4.1.1), *iaka* is unspecified with regard to grammatical number, and *klaska* is relatively infrequent:

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[168] No reflexive pronouns or constructions were identified. A reciprocal pronoun *kanamokst*, literally 'together', is evident in one passage with a transitive verb:

…Aisa pi iaka klut͡ʃmin klaska= fait wa͡wa͡ pi klaska tiki [139]
Isaac CONJ 3 wife 3PL.AGR= to.fight to.talk CONJ 3PL to.want
'Isaac and his wife have been arguing and they want

maʃ <u>*kanamokst*</u>
to.leave RECIPROCAL
to leave <u>each other</u>'.

This is the only instance found of a transitive verb with *kanamokst*, although numerous intransitive verbs are accompanied by this form (which then coindexes the subject and a non-core argument, exceptionally without a preposition). This dialect uses the first of Dixon's two strategies for expressing multiple S/A arguments exchanging O function: "Maintain transitivity [of the clause], and place a (bound or free) reciprocal pronoun in O slot" (2010a:176). However, KCW appears equally likely to use yet a fourth approach, simply finding alternative expression for what might otherwise be reflexives or reciprocals—in fact the example quoted above is immediately followed by the paraphrase *Aisa iaka= tiki maʃ iaka klut͡ʃmin pi Mari Aisa iaka= tiki maʃ iaka man* 'Isaac wants to leave his wife and Mary Isaac wants to leave her husband'. This is followed by an instance of an intransitive with the reciprocal pronoun: *klaska aju͡= sik tomtom* <u>*kanamokst*</u> 'they're being upset <u>with each other</u>', which illustrates that a non-core (oblique) argument that is coreferent with the subject/agent is, unusually, not marked by a preposition (cf. §4.1.1.1.2.1.)

	Singular	***Plural***
1	*naika*	*nsaika*
2	*maika*	*msaika*
3	*iaka*	*iaka, klaska*

Table 29: Subject / agent pronouns

Most properties of personal subject pronouns have been covered in the general discussion under headings §4.2-4.2.1.1 above. The present subsection is devoted to observations of two Kamloops Chinúk Wawa phenomena: the animacy of subject / agent *iaka* and *klaska* (§4.2.1.1.1.1.1) and Double Pronominal-Subject Exponence (§4.2.1.1.1.1.2).

4.2.1.1.1.1.1 Animacy

Like their object-pronoun homonyms (§4.2.1.1.1.2), *iaka* or *klaska* as the sole expression of subject/agent in a clause are always animate, as in (174):

(174) (a) *...patlat͡ʃ kopa Wi͡liam pus iaka patlat͡ʃ kopa maika...* [17]
to.give PREP William IRR 3 to.give PREP 2SG
'…give to William for him to give to you…'

(b) *tanas= man iaka* [6]
DIM= man 3
'He's a boy.'

(c) *pi klaska wa͡wa͡ kopa Hari Makki maika makmak wi͡ski* [68]
CONJ 3PL to.say PREP Harry MacKay 2SG to.drink alcohol
'and they said to Harry MacKay, "you've been drinking" '

(d) *kopit klaska tlap tanas= kol + sik* [115]
only 3PL to.catch DIM= cold illness
'they (people) have only caught a bit of the cold'

This contrasts with the behaviour of the agreement clitic *iaka=*, §4.1.1, which can have either animate or inanimate reference.

The restriction of pronominal *iaka* to animate subjects/agents has not been previously noted in the Chinúk Wawa literature. A synthesis of various previous sources is formulated in Thomas' definition of this word: "He, his, him, she, her, hers, it, its (anything pertaining to the third person, singular, all cases)" (1970 [1935]:103; emphasis added), echoed by Johnson's summary of animate and inanimate referents for it (1978:247-248) and Vrzić's terse gloss, without reference to animacy, of *iaka* as third-person singular [sic] in *Kamloops Wawa* CW.[169]

It would seem that the specific non-personal pronoun *ukuk* 'this/that' was preferred as one means of expressing an inanimate subject/agent (see §4.2.1.1.2.1).

[169] Thomas accompanies his gloss of *ya'-ka*, as he spells it, with four example sentences, two of which actually illustrate clitic *iaka=* (with one inanimate noun referent, one animate) while one each illustrates the pronoun with animate subject and patient reference.

Another means was the repetition of an overt nominal argument, often preceded by the demonstrative *ukuk* as exemplified in the extended passage in (175):

(175) *kaltaʃ nsaika mitlait nim taii* | [71]
to.no.avail 1PL COPposs name chief
'we bear the title of chief in vain;

kaltaʃ ukuk nim |
to.no.avail DEM name
'it/this title is worthless;

…nsaika nanit͡ʃ ukuk nim mitlait kopa gavmint
1PL to.see DEM name COPposs PREP government
'we can see that it/this name belongs to the government'

The lack of inanimate referents for subject/agent *iaka*, and the range of alternative strategies for expressing such, are paralleled in the KCW third-person object pronoun system (§4.2.1.1.1.1.2).

4.2.1.1.1.1.2 Double pronominal-subject exponence

An optional construction, of uncertain function but robustly attested in intransitive environments, is double pronominal-subject exponence [DPSE]. (For a syntactic analysis of a similar construction in Irish, see Ó Baoill 2006).[170] To the best of my knowledge, DPSE is unknown in other CW varieties, being absent for example from the creole and pidgin texts in Jacobs (1936) and the examples in CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Program (2011).

Double exponence in KCW is largely confined to first-person singular logical subjects of (intransitive) emotion predicates with *tomtom* (literally 'heart'). Example set (176) below shows the much more frequent single-exponence version of the same construction: the semantic subject can stand either as in (a) in the most common, pre-predicate syntactic intransitive subject position (cf. §4.1.2.2)—which is identical to the position of a possessor of a complex noun phrase (§4.2.2.1.1), or as in (b) in what can be likened to the position of a possessor immediately preceding a noun head (as in (b); cf. §4.2.2.1.1):

(176) (a) *naika tlus tomtom* [15]
1SG good heart
'I'm happy'
(otherwise 'my good heart')

[170] Personal communications from Hideki Maki (various dates, 2007) have also been useful to me in attempting to understand DPSE.

(b) *tlus* *naika* *tomtom* [13]
good 1SG heart
'I'm happy'
(literally 'My heart is (feels) good')

The double-exponence construction in effect resolves this variation by opting for both positions simultaneously, as in the first-person singular declarative/indicatives in (177):[171]

(177) (a) *naika* *skukum* *naika* *tomtom* [16: Okanagan]
1SG strong 1SG heart
'I'm decided'

(b) *naika* *t͡ʃako=* *tlus* *naika* *tomtom* [19: Shuswap]
1SG INGR= good 1SG heart
'I'm becoming happier'

(c) *naika* *t͡ʃako=* *sik* *naika* *tomtom* [21: Shuswap]
1SG INGR= upset 1SG heart
'I've gotten upset'

(d) *naika* *aju͡=* *krai* *naika* *tomtom* [34: Shuswap]
1SG IMPFV= to.weep 1SG heart
'I've been feeling devastated'

(e) *naika* *lost* *naika* *tomtom* [39: Shuswap][172]
1SG be.lost 1SG heart
'I have no (common) sense'

(f) *naika* *klunas* *sik* *naika* *tomtom* [50: Thompson]
1SG EVID upset 1SG heart
'I may be upset'

(g) *naika* *ilo* *sik* *naika* *tomtom* [52 (x2): Shuswap]
1SG NEG upset 1SG heart
'I'm not upset'

(h) *naika* *aju͡=* *sik* [34, 56, 62 (twice), 63: Thompson, Shuswap]
1SG IMPFV= upset
'I'm feeling

naika *tomtom*
1SG heart
upset'

The two instances of this *tomtom* construction in other persons and numbers perhaps represent an analogical extension to the rest of the pronoun paradigm. (Analogy

[171] The ethnicity of the writer is indicated next to the DPSE examples, for reasons that will be taken up below.

[172] *Lost* in (e) is possibly to be glossed as 'to lose', which would be the second known example of transitive DPSE.

is here understood generally as the "copy[ing] and modif[ying], lift[ing] out of their original contexts" of linguistic units (Anttila 2003:429) due to some speaker-perceived similarity.) The known examples are reproduced here as (178):

(178) (a) *nsaika tʃako= skukum nsaika tomtom* [71: Shuswap]
1PL INGR= strong 1PL heart
'we've resolved'

(b) *maika ilo sik maika tomtom kopa ukuk* [2: Shuswap]
2SG NEG upset 2SG heart PREP DEM
'don't (you) be upset about this'

Example (b) above is the only instance found of the *tomtom* DPSE construction in a mood (the imperative, §4.1.3.3) other than declarative, and here the first *maika* clearly has a distinct function signaling a request.

Just four examples of double pronominal-subject exponence are found with constructions not involving *tomtom*, perhaps representing another analogical extension. They are reproduced in (179) where the first two are in the first-person singular [(a) exceptionally is transitive], while two more are in the number-unspecified third person, shown in (c,d):

(179) (a) *naika aju= naika mamuk= pipa kopa klaska* [7: Shuswap]
1SG IMPFV= 1SG CAUS= letter PREP 3PL[indefinite]
'I'm writing to various people.'

(b) *…kakwa naika wik- kata naika klatwa pus maika* [2: Shuswap]
so 1SG NEG- how? 1SG to.go IRR 2SG
'So I can't go if you

tʃako aiak
to.come soon
come any time soon.'

(c) *klunas iaka ilo iaka skukum tsim* [88: Shuswap][173]
EVID 3 NEG 3 strongly written
'I reckon it's not well-written'

(d) *wiht iaka kopa nsaika iaka taii* [5: Shuswap?][174]
also 3 PREP 1PL 3 chief
'he (sc. God) is a chief to us too'

The recurrence of *iaka* in these third-person examples demonstrates a difference from the use of the agreement clitics (§4.1.1). In (c,d) above, the apparent coreferent of the second

[173] The gloss of (c) could just as plausibly end with an adjective + noun, 'strong writing', and maintain an analysis as DPSE.

[174] The context of (d) precludes a non-DPSE reading as pronominal possessor + possessed noun, 'his/their chief'.

iaka is a pronoun, whereas all of the dozens of instances of the agreement clitics contain first an overt noun and second *iaka*= or *klaska*=. Thus (c,d) mirror the behaviour of the other DPSE examples rather than that of agreement markers.

Most attestations of DPSE come from the writing of ethnically Shuswap people, but one example above is from an Okanagan, and a Thompson wrote some of the other tokens. The simple reason why a majority of DPSE attestations are from Shuswaps may be the fact that most KCW writers hailed from that ethnolinguistic group (cf. Appendix).[175] DPSE may nonetheless have been a recognized strategy throughout KCW's speech area.

4.2.1.1.1.1.3 Summary of subject/agent personal pronouns

Subject/agent personal pronouns in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa are attested in every combination of three persons and two numbers. Of these, it bears mentioning that the third-person forms are animate, a trait that distinguishes them (especially the number-unspecified *iaka*) from the agreement clitic *iaka*= (§4.1.1). This animacy distinction is not previously attested in descriptions of pidgin Chinúk Wawa varieties. A structure apparently unique to KCW among Chinúk Wawa varieties is double pronominal-subject exponence, whose function remains unclear at this writing.

4.2.1.1.1.2 Object (patient)

Table 30 summarizes the attested object (patient) pronouns:

	Singular	***Plural***
1	*naika*	*nsaika*
2	*maika*	*msaika*
3 animate	*iaka*	*klaska*
" inanimate	***Ø***	--

Table 30: Object (patient) pronouns

As with the homonymous subject / agent forms, objects *klaska* (plural) and *iaka* (unspecified with regard to grammatical number) have animate reference. In practice these overt third-person object pronouns are rarely used; (180) shows all four identified examples of 3PL object *klaska*:[176]

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[175] Native-speaker Secwepemctsín written in *Chinuk pipa* also frequently employs DPSE. (Cf. Robertson 2007b.) A strong candidate for a Secwepemctsín model for DPSE in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is certain dialects' use of partial reduplication in 1SG forms both of verbs and 'independent'/predicative pronouns (cf. Kuipers 1974:39, Gibson 1973:47-49).

[176] The rarity of *iaka* and *klaska* as objects is surely a reflection of the universal 'nominal hierarchy', in which both pronouns and animate nominals more often function as subjects/agents than as objects. (Cf. Dixon 2010b:137-138.) Two further examples with *klaska* as patient actually lack explicit, definite antecedents, and thus instantiate the individuated nonspecific non-personal pronoun *klaksta/klaska* (§4.2.1.1.2.2.1) as shown in the following example:

(a) *naika kwa͡nisim hilp klaska* [129]
1SG always to.help 3PL

(180) (a) *naika nanitʃ klaska* [80]
1SG to.see 3PL.OBJ
'I can see them (sc. the people in my village)'

(b) *alta naika mamuk= nim klaska kanawi...* | [83]
PRES 1SG CAUS= name 3PL.OBJ all
'now I'll name them (sc. villagers) all off'

wal tlus maika mamuk= kansih klaska
DSCM IMP 2SG CAUS= how.many? 3PL.OBJ
'well, count them up'

(c) *pi wik naika tlap klaska* [99]
CONJ NEG 1SG to.catch 3PL.OBJ
'but I can't manage to gather them (sc. my people)'

(d) *alta naika mamuk= nim klaska ...* | [133][177]
PRES 1SG CAUS= name 3PL.OBJ
'now I'll name them (sc. new subscribers to *Kamloops Wawa*)'

tlus maika mamuk= pipa klaska
IMP 2SG CAUS= letter 3PL.OBJ
'(please) write (to) them,

maika mamuk klaska komtaks
2SG to.make 3PL.OBJ to.understand
'make them understand'

And (181) reproduces examples from the three texts where 3SG object *iaka* was identified:

(181) (a) *naika mamuk= k'aw iaka* [43]
1SG CAUS= tied 3SG.OBJ
'I tied him (sc. a horse) up'

(b) *maika mamuk= tsim iaka* [127]
2SG CAUS= written 3SG.OBJ
'(please) write it'

'I always help people'

(b) *ilo naika nanitʃ kanawi klaska* [121]
NEG 1SG to.see all 3PL
'I haven't seen everyone'

[177] The final line of this example is reconstructed tentatively from an unclear photocopy of the original.

(c) *...nsaika tiki nanitʃ iaka pi wik nsaika* [77][178]
1PL to.want to.see 3SG.OBJ CONJ NEG 1PL
'…we went looking for her but we couldn't

tlap iaka … | tlus maika hilp iaka kopa stjuil
to.find 3SG.OBJ IMP 2SG to.help 3SG.OBJ PREP prayer
find her… (please) help her through prayers'

The much more frequent Ø is used to signal a third-person object referent. This form and the animacy distinction whose encoding it makes possible—see the following examples—have not been previously identified in pidgin Chinúk Wawa varieties. (Though these have been established for the Oregon creole by Robertson 2007a.) The only CW correspondent given in previous literature for 'he', 'she' or 'it' is *iaka* in various spellings, cf. Thomas (1970 [1935]), Johnson (1978:247ff).

The referent of this KCW ∅ is usually singular and inanimate as in (182):[179]

(182) (a) *ilo naika maʃ Ø kopa kah [34]*
NEG 1SG to.send 3INAN.OBJ PREP where?
'I won't send it (money) anywhere.'

(b) *pus maika tiki patlatʃ Ø kopa naika tlus* [42]
IRR 2SG to.want to.send 3INAN.OBJ PREP 1SG IMPRT
'If you want to send it to me,

maika patlatʃ Ø
2SG to.send 3INAN.OBJ
send it.'

(c) *pus maika patlatʃ pipa kopa naika tlus maika maʃ Ø*
IRR 2SG to.send letter PREP 1SG IMPRT 2SG to.send 3INAN.OBJ
'If you send a letter to me, send it

kopa <Spuzzum> [57]
PREP Spuzzum
to Spuzzum.'

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[178] Text 77 includes four more occurrences of *tlap iaka*, three of *nanitʃ iaka*, and one of *hilp iaka*.

[179] One example was found where a possible ∅ appears to be not a patient but an animate oblique (cf. §4.1.2.2):

pus maika nanitʃ ukuk klutʃmin ilo maika patlatʃ Ø <⊕> kopa Kamlups [21]
IRR 2SG to.see DEM woman NEG 2SG to.give 3 communion PREP Kamloops
'If you see this woman, don't give her communion at Kamloops.'

No examples of clearly plural inanimate referents of object ∅ were identified, so it remains indeterminate at this writing whether ∅ or *klaska* or some third form might have been the most likely means of expressing such a referent.

Aside from ∅, another possibility very often exploited for indicating an inanimate object (as with inanimate subjects / agents, §4.2.1.1.1.1.1.1) was to repeat an overt nominal argument. That argument is often prefaced by the determiner *ukuk* (§4.2.2.1.3) as the extended passage in (183) illustrates:

(183) (a) *naika lolo kj͡utan + rig* |
1SG to.bring horse rig
'I was taking a horse-drawn rig;

saia naika kuli kopa ukuk rig |
far 1SG to.travel PREP DEM rig
'I traveled a long ways with it/this rig;

pi ukuk kj͡utan iaka= lolo ukuk rig iaka= t͡ʃako=
CONJ DEM horse 3AGR= to.bring DEM rig 3AGR= INGR=
'and (then) the horse that was pulling it/the rig went

saliks | *iaka aj͡u= kik kopa ukuk rig* [43]
angry 3 IMPFV= to.kick PREP DEM rig
'wild; it kept kicking at it/the rig'

The relative frequencies of ∅ versus such overtly repeated nominals have not been determined.

4.2.1.1.1.3 Summary of personal pronouns

Personal pronouns of KCW pattern not only according to syntactic position as expected from §4.1.2, but also into distinct paradigms. In particular the third-person inventory distinguishes the subject/agent versus the object/patient pronouns. In the subject/agent paradigm, a number-inspecific pronoun *iaka* is the default. In the object paradigm, a null pronoun is the norm. Throughout the third person, a distinction of animacy is pervasive: *iaka* and plural *klaska* are animate while ∅ is inanimate. Both the null pronoun and the animacy distinction are previously undescribed in the literature on pidgin Chinúk Wawa, though they call to mind similar observations about creolized CW in Robertson (2007a).

4.2.1.1.2 Non-personal pronouns

The non-personal pronouns of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa are words that, when not heads themselves, function as determiner or quantifier dependents of nominal heads (cf. respectively §§4.2.2.1,2). These pronouns are of course semantically third-person, and they can cooccur with the relevant person-agreement markers *iaka*= and *klaska*=

(regarding which see §4.1.1). The non-personal pronouns appear to fall into two classes according to their relative specificity; and for some pronoun functions, further subclassification as to individuation (versus group reference), definiteness, animacy and polarity occurs. As a group these are very robustly attested items of KCW, justifying a rather detailed discussion. The specific non-personals are dealt with in §4.2.1.1.2.1 while nonspecifics are discussed in §4.2.1.1.2.2.

4.2.1.1.2.1 Specific

Table 31 summarizes the specific non-personal pronouns, i.e. those having referents that are "bounded…entities in the message world" (Payne 1997:264):

Definiteness value	***Form***	***Gloss***
Definite	*ukuk*	'this (one); that (one)' §4.2.1.1.2.1.1
Indefinite	*iht*	'a certain one; one (of them); another (one)' §4.2.1.1.2.1.2
"	*iht iht*	'some (here and there)'

Table 31: The specific non-personal pronouns

Unlike the non-specific pronouns (see next section), negative-polarity counterparts of *ukuk* and *iht* were not identified in the corpus. These two pronouns are discussed respectively in the following subsections.

4.2.1.1.2.1.1 Definite

The definite specific pronoun is the demonstrative *ukuk*, 'this/that'. This is 'definite' in that its referent is determinable because it is identified in some preceding context (cf. Crystal 1985:86). A majority of occurrences of *ukuk* have inanimate reference and are non-subjects/non-agents, such as the example of an oblique in (184):

(184) *Pir Tomas iaka= skukum wa͡wa͡ kopa ukuk* [31]
Père Thomas 3AGR= strongly to.speak PREP DEM
'Père Thomas spoke forcefully about this.'

Ukuk seems to have been one preferred means of expressing an inanimate subject/agent without overtly repeating a nominal. Recall that no personal-pronoun expression of inanimate actors is known, cf. §4.2.1.1.1. In (185) are seven passages, with the eight examples of this usage identified in the corpus:

(185) (a) *ukuk iaka nim* [17]
DEM 3 name
'it/that is his name'

(b) *ukuk kakwa maika liplit kanawi klatwa kopa Sugirkin* [43]
DEM as 2SG priest all to.go PREP Sugarcane
'this was as your priests all were going to Sugarcane'

(c) *…nawitka ukuk nsaika* [72]
indeed DEM 1PL
'…yes, these are our

nim... drit ukuk nsaika wawa
name true DEM 1PL to.say
names…this which/what we say is true'

(d) *ukuk iaka= klatwa kopa Pir Lʃʃun kopa Kamlups* [79]
DEM 3AGR= to.go PREP Père Le.Jeune PREP Kamloops
'this goes to Père Le Jeune at Kamloops'

(e) *ukuk iaka= tʃinuk buk* [92]
DEM 3AGR= Chinúk.Wawa book
'these are Chinook books'

(f) *ukuk sitkom tala… pi ukuk iht tala pi sitkom* [107]
DEM half dollar CONJ DEM one dollar CONJ half
'it's half a dollar…plus it's a dollar and a half'

(g) *kopit ukuk* [110]
finished DEM
'that's the end (of that)'

On the other hand, three passages with four examples of subject/agent *ukuk* with animate reference were found. These are reproduced in (186):

(186) (a) *kopit ukuk iaka= sik kopa Kolwatir* [41]
only DEM 3AGR= ill PREP Coldwater
'only this one is ill at Coldwater'

(b) *ukuk nsaika…* [72]
DEM 1PL
'we are these (sc. the following list of names)…'

(c) *ukuk klaska(=) tʃi patlatʃ...iaka ukuk* [133][180]
DEM 3PL(.AGR=) just.now to.give 3 DEM
'these (are the ones who) have just given (sc. money)…and these are

klaska= mimlus alta
3PL.AGR= to.die PRES
the ones who are now dead'

[180] *Iaka ukuk* is a fairly common sequence (with *ukuk* either a pronoun or a determiner, cf. §4.2.2.1.3.1), seemingly having contrastive and/or emphatic force—thus the English gloss with 'and these'.

The fact that only twelve examples of subject/agent *ukuk* have been identified does not necessarily imply that this was a marginal usage. The majority of instances of this pronoun are inanimate, and the crosslinguistic animacy hierarchy finds inanimates to be rare in subject/agent functions (cf. Aissen 2003). *Ukuk* appears simply to follow universally observed patterns in human language, occurring much more frequently as a non-subject.

4.2.1.1.2.1.2 Indefinite

The indefinite specific pronoun is *iht*, literally 'one' (§4.2.2.2.2.2, cf. §4.2.2.1.3.1 on specific demonstrative determiner *iht* and §4.2.2.2 on quantifier *iht*). It is 'indefinite' in that its referent, while semantically limited to one particular entity among the set of possible referents, is not made explicit and is not determinable from context (cf. Crystal 1985:86). This item has the sense 'a certain one; one (of them); another (one) (of them)', and can denote either an inanimate as in (187 a-c) or an animate referent as in (d,e):

(187) (a) *kopa iht || naika tiki wa͡wa͡* [13]
PREP one 1SG to.want to.talk
'There's one thing I want to talk about.'

(b) *iht || naika siisim maika* [6]
one 1SG to.tell 2SG
'I'll tell you one thing.'

(c) *kopa iht pipa iaka= mitlait || Itiin iaka nim | pi kopa iht* [7]
PREP one paper 3AGR= COPex Etienne 3 name CONJ PREP one
'On one paper is Etienne's name, and on the other

iaka= mitlait || Batist iaka nim
3AGR= COPex Baptiste 3 name
is Baptiste's.'

(d) *naika tilikom iht iaka= mimlus kopa t͡ʃok* [80]
1SG people one 3AGR= to.die PREP water
'(a certain) one of my people has drowned'

(e) *iht iaka nim Miʃa pi iht wi͡ht iaka nim* [80]
one 3 name Misha CONJ one again 3 name
'the name of one of them is Misha (?), and one other's name is

ʃaʃa pi iht wi͡ht iaka nim Marik
Joachim CONJ one again 3 name Mark
Joachim(?), and one other's name is Mark'

As is true of the definite non-personal pronoun *ukuk*, *iht* freely cooccurs in examples like the above with the third-person agreement clitic *iaka=* (obviously, given the semantics of *iht*, not with plural *klaska=*). *Iht iht* 'some (here and there)' behaves similarly; compare the quantifier *iht iht* discussed below.

4.2.1.1.2.1.3 Summary of specific non-personal pronouns

The two specific non-personal pronouns are functionally distinguished from one another with regard to their definiteness. *Ukuk* is definite, overtly pointing out which of any potential logical referents is intended, while *iht* is indefinite and conveys only the information that a particular referent, while not made explicit, is nonetheless intended.

Aspects of the behaviour of these two pronouns reinforce the analysis of 'resumptive' *iaka=* and *klaska=* (§4.1.1) as having person-agreement function. *Iht* and *ukuk* freely cooccur (as do nouns) with agreement clitics. By contrast the personal pronouns do <u>not</u> cooccur with them. This distribution suggests that those clitics' function is indeed to supply person marking where it is not inherent in a nominal, that is with nouns and with non-personal pronominals.

4.2.1.1.2.2 Nonspecific

Treated in the following subsections are nonspecific non-personal pronouns. These are 'non-specific' in that their referents are not "bounded…entit[ies] in the message world" (Payne 1997:264). This set of pronouns patterns respectively into what I term those with 'individuated' reference (§4.2.1.1.2.2.1) and those with 'group' reference (§4.2.1.1.2.2.2). Each subsection touches on both positive- and negative-polarity forms, a distinction that figures prominently among this type of KCW pronoun.

4.2.1.1.2.2.1 Individuated

Table 32 summarizes the individuated nonspecific non-personal pronouns, i.e. those whose referent is some member of a set:

Polarity	***Animacy value***	***Form***	***Gloss***
Positive	Inanimate	*ikta*[181]	'something; anything; whatever'
"	Animate	*klaksta, klaska*	'someone; anyone; whoever'
Negative[182]	Inanimate	*ilo ikta*	'nothing'
"	Animate	*ilo klaksta, ilo klaska*	'nobody'

Table 32: Individuated nonspecific non-personal pronouns

The above items function as if unspecified for number, referring to singular or plural antecedents according to context. Unlike other NPs, individuated nonspecific non-personal pronouns, when used as objects, tend to be 'fronted', standing before both the

[181] Also found in the diminutive: *tanas= ikta* 'some/any little thing'.
[182] The productivity of this negative-marking is discussed in §4.1.5.2.

subject/agent and the predicate head. Examples of these pronouns in the following subsections illustrate that this is a strong, if not universal, tendency.

4.2.1.1.2.2.1.1 Inanimate

An inanimate, individuated nonspecific pronoun is *ikta* 'something; anything', literally 'what?' (cf. §4.1.3.2.2.2) as in (188 a,b); its negative-polarity counterpart is *ilo ikta* as in (c):

(188) (a) *alta pus ikta || maika tiki wawa kopa [naika]…* [19]
PRES IRR what? ‖ 2SG to.want to.tell PREP [1SG]
'Now if you want to tell [me] something…'

(b) *pus naika man wawa ikta kopa naika…* [35]
IRR 1SG husband to.say what? PREP 1SG
'If my husband says anything to me…'

(c) *ankati naika ilo ikta wawa kopa maika* [3]
PAST 1SG NEG what? tell PREP 2SG
'I didn't tell you anything.'

These items can be contrasted with the animate pronouns reported in the following subsection.

4.2.1.1.2.2.1.2 Animate

Klaska, etymologically 'they', and *klaksta*, etymologically 'who?', function in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa as allomorphs of an animate, individuated, nonspecific non-personal pronoun. The former is thus an example of Payne's observation that crosslinguistically, "third-person plural forms are often used to refer to non-specific or indefinite referents" (1997:46). When referring to a previously mentioned entity, this pronoun *klaksta/klaska* has the sense 'some (of them)', but when no relevant referent has been mentioned, the sense is 'people / somebody or other'. In either case, the allomorph *klaska* maintains its etymological plurality and animacy, as (189) illustrates:

(189) (a) *klaska aias tiki Ø* [65]
3PL very.much to.like 3
'People love it.'

(b) *naika kwanisim hilp klaska kopa ukuk stjuil* [128]
1SG always to.help 3PL PREP DEM prayer
'I keep helping people with [learning] these prayers.'

(c) *naika aju= naika mamuk= pipa kopa klaska* [7]
1SG IMPFV= 1SG CAUS= letter PREP 3PL
'I'm writing to various people.'

(d) *pi naika komtaks ukuk stʃu͡il maika patlatʃ͡ kopa nsaika…* | [68]
CONJ 1SG to.know DEM prayer 2SG to.give PREP 1PL
'And I know the prayers you gave us… |

pi naika mamuk= komtaks kopa klaska
CONJ 1SG CAUS= to.know PREP 3PL
And I teach them to people.'

The above usage is clearly analogous with the quasi-passive voice construction, §4.1.2.6, cf. Payne (1997:207) on crosslinguistic tendencies of impersonal-passive formation.

The allomorph *klaksta* 'someone; anyone' is employed as shown in (190):

(190) (a) *pus klaksta wa͡wa͡ ikta kopa naika…* [35]
IRR who? to.say what? PREP 1SG
'If someone says something to me…'

(b) *ukuk pipa iaka= wa͡wa͡* | *pus klaksta ilo palam…* [68]
DEM paper 3AGR= to.say IRR who? NEG drunk
'This paper says that if someone is not [quite] drunk…'

The negative-polarity counterpart of the above allomorphs is *ilo klaksta / ilo klaska*, as shown in (191):

(191) (a) *ilo klaksta sik* [32]
NEG who? ill
'Nobody's ill.'

(b) *alta ilo klaska sik kopa Krapaʃtʃin* [65]
NEG 3PL who? ill PREP North.Bend
'nobody's sick at North Bend at the moment'

This free variation between *klaska* and *klaksta* has not been noted of other varieties of Chinúk Wawa (cf. Johnson 1978:248 s.v. *!3rd3* [sic],453 s.v. *who*, Thomas 1935:73 s.v. *klak'-sta*, *klas'-ka*). This pattern recurs in the positive-polarity, group-reference, nonspecific non-personal pronouns (§4.2.1.1.2.2.2).

4.2.1.1.2.2.1.3 Summary of individuated nonspecific non-personal pronouns

The individuated nonspecific non-personal pronouns of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa comprise forms having animate and inanimate referents. Previously undescribed in the Chinúk Wawa literature is the animates' free variation between forms etymologically meaning 'they' and 'who?'

4.2.1.1.2.2.2 Group

Table 33 summarizes the group (i.e. non-individuated) nonspecific non-personal pronouns—those whose referent is a set. These cluster into forms for 'many' and forms for 'all', which as the following subsections illustrate can cooccur with the third-person agreement clitics (cf. §4.1.1):

Polarity	***Animacy value***	***Form***	***Gloss***
Positive	Inanimate	*aju͡,* *aju͡ ikta*	'many (things)'
"	Animate	*aju͡,* *aju͡ klaksta,* *aju͡ klaska*	'many (people)'
"	Inanimate	*Kanawi͡,* *kanawi͡ ikta*	'everything; all of it'
"	Animate	*Kanawi͡,* *kanawi͡ klaksta,* *kanawi͡ klaska*	'everyone; all of them'
Negative[183]	Inanimate	*wik kanawi͡ /* *ilo kanawi͡*	'not all (of it)'
"	Animate	--	--[184]

Table 33: Group nonspecific non-personal pronouns

The following sections treat these clusters respectively.

4.2.1.1.2.2.2.1 'Many'

One way in which plural reference of (individuated) *ikta* 'something' or *klaksta/klaska* 'someone' can be achieved is by the preposing of the quantifier *aju͡* 'many'. The inanimate *aju͡ ikta* 'much (many things)' is however extremely rare, having been identified only in example (192):

(192) *aju͡ ikta* || *naika mamuk kopa iaka pi iaka kopit* [111]
many what? 1SG to.do PREP 3 CONJ 3 to.stop
'I did many things to him until he stopped'

[183] The productivity of this negative-marking is discussed in §4.1.5.2.
[184] Not identified in the corpus.

A more usual though still rare way of expressing this concept is simply *aju͡* 'much' as in (193a), the animacy of which is however indeterminate as the contrast with (b) makes clear:

(193) (a) *alta naika mamuk aju͡ pus tʃako= tlus naika tomtom* [5]
PRES 1SG to.do much IRR INGR= good 1SG heart
'and then I'll do <u>much (many things)</u> so my heart improves'

(b) *aju͡ tilikom mimlus kopa Liluit | aju͡ sik | aju͡ mimlus* [20]
many people dead PREP Lillooet many sick many dead
'many people have died at Lillooet; <u>many</u> are sick, <u>many</u> are dead'

Parallel to what occurs in negation of individuated *klaksta* (§4.2.1.1.2.2.2), the more explicit animate group form freely varies between *aju͡ klaksta* and *aju͡ klaska* (literally 'many 3PL') as in (194):

(194) (a) *aju͡ klaska wawa͡ kopa naika | kakwa͡ aju͡= sik* [62]
many who? to.say PREP 1SG thus IMPFV= upset
'<u>many</u> are asking me, | so I'm feeling

naika tomtom
1SG heart
upset'

(b) *aju͡ klaksta klaska= hilp kopa naika* [29]
many who? 3PL.AGR= to.help PREP 1SG
'<u>many</u> will help me'

Predictably, given the observations about *klaska / klaksta* in §4.2.1.1.2.2.1.2, this free variation too is previously undescribed in the Chinúk Wawa literature.

4.2.1.1.2.2.2 'All'

Kanawi͡ (literally 'all, every') has either inanimate or animate meaning, 'all (of it/them); everyone; everything'. This pronoun is exemplified in (195):

(195) (a) *tilikom kopa Andirbi || kanawi͡ iaka= tlus* [6]
people PREP Enderby all 3AGR= good
'<u>Everyone</u> at Enderby is fine.'

(b) *…naika t͡ʃako= tlus tomtom alta pus naika piii kanawi͡* [87]
1SG INGR= good heart PRES IRR 1SG to.pay all
'…I've become happy now, to be paying off <u>everything/all of it</u>

kopa maika
PREP 2SG
to you'

Parallel to the behaviour of the forms for 'many' in the preceding section, this appears to be a synonymous variant of both the inanimate *kanawi͡ ikta* as in (196a) and the animate *kanawi͡ klaksta / kanawi͡ klaska* as in (b):

(196) (a) *naika nanit͡ʃ kanawi͡ ikta iaka wa͡wa͡ kopa buk* [68]
1SG to.see all what? 3 to.say PREP book
'I read <u>everything</u> it says in the book'

(b) *naika ilo drit komtaks mamuk= pipa | …naika kimta kopa*
1SG NEG really to.know CAUS= letter 1SG behind PREP
'I don't really know how to write; | …I'm behind

<u>kanawi͡ klaksta</u> [29]
all who?
<u>everyone</u>'

The negative counterpart of at these is *wi͡k kanawi͡ / ilo kanawi͡*, as in (197):

(197) (a) *klunas <u>wi͡k kanawi͡</u> komtaks pipa* [18]
EVID NEG all read writing
'Maybe <u>not everyone</u> knows how to read.'

(b) *naika tanas= komtaks <u>ilo</u> drit <u>kanawi͡</u>* [30]
1SG DIM= understand NEG really all
'I kind of understand, <u>not</u> really <u>all of it</u>.'

The reader is referred to §4.1.5 for more information on and examples of such variation in negative-polarity marking.

4.2.1.1.2.2.2.3 Summary

The group nonspecific non-personal pronouns of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa consist of sets of free allomorphs whose positive-polarity members are one simplex form literally meaning either 'many' or 'all' and at least one complex form based on the simplex plus a word meaning either 'thing' or 'someone'. The negative-polarity forms comprise a single set of free allomorphs whose first component is a negative form *wi͡k* or *ilo* and whose second component is a word meaning 'all'.

4.2.1.1.2.3 Summary of non-personal pronouns

The non-personal pronouns of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa appear to fall into two classes according to their relative specificity. The specific pronouns additionally subclassify for definiteness. The nonspecific pronouns subclassify for animacy, for individuation versus group reference, and (a difference from other KCW pronominal paradigms) for polarity. The animate forms display a previously undescribed free variation between allomorphs that derive from words etymologically meaning 'they' and 'who?' Non-individuated pronouns signal either 'many' or 'all' of a group. Positive-polarity non-personal pronouns of complex form tend to have simplex synonyms that are at least slightly more frequent.

4.2.1.1.3 Summary of pronoun NP heads

Pronoun NP heads in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa can be divided into personal versus non-personal forms. The personal forms fall into distinct subject/agent versus object paradigms, which differ primarily in their third-person inventories. There a rather strict animacy distinction is played out while number is of at most secondary importance. Both the null third-person object pronoun and the animacy distinction are previously undescribed in the literature on pidgin Chinúk Wawa. The non-personal forms fall into paradigms having specific reference (subclassified into definite 'this' versus indefinite 'one') versus nonspecific reference (subclassified into individuated 'some…' versus group 'many', 'all'; positive versus negative polarity; and animate 'someone' versus inanimate 'something'). Those with nonspecific reference exhibit free variation between forms etymologically meaning 'they' and 'who?', previously undescribed in the literature. Non-personal forms freely cooccur with the third-person agreement clitics *iaka*= and *klaska*=, which thus appear as markers of person on forms that do not inherently bear such information.

4.2.1.2 Nouns as heads

Preceding discussion has already covered the main properties of nouns, so that the present section will only briefly recapitulate. A noun or noun phrase can function as a predicate—a clausal head—in an equative copular construction (cf. §4.1.6.1). The subject then usually precedes it as in (198 a,b) but can follow as in (c) with no apparent difference in meaning:[185]

[185] The naming constructions in (b,c) could equally plausibly be parsed as being respectively subject-final and subject-first, without altering the substance of the present analysis.

(198) (a) *[naika]*$_{subject}$ *Ø* *[iht man]*$_{pred\ noun}$ | …*[maika]*$_{subject}$…*Ø* [38]
1SG COPeq one man 2SG COPeq
'I'm one man…you're…

[mokst man]$_{pred\ noun}$
two man
a second (sc. another) man'

(b) *[naika nim]*$_{subject}$ *Ø* *[Pitir Kwa͡l kopa Bakapil Bisi]*$_{pred\ noun}$ [87]
1SG name COPeq Peter Cole PREP Barkerville BC
'my name is Peter Cole from Barkerville, BC'

(c) *ukuk sama* || *[Sali]*$_{pred\ noun}$ *[iaka nim]*$_{subject}$ … [19]
DEM white.person Charlie 3 name
'this white man, || Charlie is his name…'

Nouns otherwise are heads only at the phrasal level. There, an NP head can be a dependent argument of a predicate, thus a subject/agent or object depending on its syntactic position relative to the predicate (cf. §4.1.2.2). Otherwise NP heads are dependents either of another NP (in compound structures, §4.2.2.6, or arguably in measured-NP constructions, §4.2.2.7) or of a prepositional phrase (oblique/'object' of preposition; cf. §5.1).

The nouns *per se* as opposed to pronouns (e.g. personal pronouns, §4.2.1.1.1) differ in completely lacking number specification. Thus, although formally plural in the donor language English, *wi͡ks* in (199) is used in both the singular and the plural in KCW:[186]

(199) (a) *pi alta iht wi͡ks naika kilapai kopa stik* [115]
CONJ PRES one week 1SG to.return PREP woods
'and now I've been back from the woods for a week'

(b) *alta tu wi͡ks naika tlap ukuk pipa* [42]
PRES two week 1SG to.receive DEM letter
'two weeks ago now I got that letter'

The reader is referred to the preceding sections for fuller details on nominal-head properties.

4.2.1.3 Summary of NP heads

The preceding sections have shown how both pronouns and nouns can function as phrasal heads in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Each of these two categories of nominal-phrase (NP) heads exhibits distinct syntactic behaviours, in turn subcategorizing into numerous more-specific NP classes.

[186] For more on the properties of the present-tense adverb *alta* used here, see the footnote at §4.1 above.

4.2.2 Noun-phrase dependents

Within the noun phrase, many dependents can occur on both sides of the head, within the constituent order presented in Table 34 (reproduced for convenience from §5.2):

Determiner §4.2.2.1	*Quantifier §4.2.2.2*	*Phrase-level adverb §4.2.2.3*	*Adjective §4.2.2.4*	*Diminutive= §4.2.2.5*	*Dependent NP in noun+noun compound §4.2.2.6*	*NOMINAL HEAD §4.2.1*	*Measured NP §4.2.2.7*	*Relative clause §4.2.2.8*

Table 34: Constituent order within noun phrases

This table's linear sequence guides the following discussion of NP dependents. Dependents that precede the head noun include determiners (§4.2.2.1), quantifiers (§4.2.2.2), phrase-level adverbs (§4.2.2.3), attributive property-item phrases (§4.2.2.4), 'diminutive' marking (§4.2.2.5), and dependent members of noun compounds (§4.2.2.6). (Cf. §4.1.1 on the lack of all of these categories, except quantifiers, before pronominal heads.) Dependents following the head noun include measured NPs (§4.2.2.7) and relative clauses (§4.2.2.8). A summary discussion of NP dependents is given in §4.2.2.9.

4.2.2.1 Determiners

Determiners are a notoriously heterogeneous class of "items whose main role is to co-occur with nouns to express a wide range of semantic contrasts" (Crystal 1985:90; cf. Payne 1997:102). The items attested in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa that can occupy the leftmost position in the NP can be divided into three major categories by virtue of their similarity with other syntactic classes discussed in this chapter. Table 35 illustrates this division:

Category	***Formally identical with***	***Subsection***
Possessors	personal pronouns	§4.2.2.1.1
Content-interrogatives	other content-question words	§4.2.2.1.2
Demonstrative	(some) non-personal pronouns	§4.2.2.1.3

Table 35: Types of determiners

It should be noted that quantifiers are not here analyzed as a subtype of determiners, against widespread practice, cf. Payne (1997:102), Crystal (1985:90). This decision is due to KCW quantifiers' occupying a distinct positional slot, following what are here labeled determiners (see §4.2.2.2 for full discussion). As Dixon notes, quantifiers, including numerals, do not necessarily pattern with determiners, behaving e.g. as verbs in some languages, nouns in others, and in some languages such as Semitic or Slavic quite a mix of categories (2010a:301).

4.2.2.1.1 Possessors

Table 36 summarizes the attested possessor markers, items identical with personal pronouns but employed at the phrasal level. As in the personal-pronoun system, third-person *iaka* is unspecified with regard to grammatical number, and plural *klaska* is comparatively seldom attested (cf. §4.2.1.1.1):

	Singular	***Plural***
1	*naika*	*nsaika*
2	*maika*	*msaika*
3	*(overt noun+) iaka*	*(overt noun+) iaka, klaska*

Table 36: Possessor (phrasal-level) pronouns

Personal pronouns' function as possessive markers is achieved by their placement at the far left of a noun phrase; in practice the possessor is almost always animate as in (200):[187]

(200) (a) *…ikta iaka= wawa ʃasa kopa iaka tilikom* [16]
what? 3AGR= to.say Joachim PREP 3 people
'…what Joachim said to his people.'

(b) *…makmak mitlait kopa msaika tanas* [31]
food COPex PREP 2PL child
'There'll be food for you folks' children.'

(c) *nsaika papa liplit* [72]
1PL father priest
'our father (the) priest'

Deceased, i.e. formerly animate, entities can be possessors, as in (201a); one inanimate possessor was identified, shown in (b):

(201) (a) *wik klaska tlap ukuk tanas= klutʃmin iaka itloil* [78]
NEG 3PL to.find DEM DIM= woman 3 body
'They couldn't find the (drowned) girl's body.'

(b) *Sondi + haws iaka laport* [85]
Sunday building 3 door
'the door of the church'

The preceding two examples illustrate how possessive constructions are always formed for any possessors that are expressed as lexical nouns. The noun is directly

[187] The possessor of a body part can optionally be left unexpressed (here shown by *0*), as in *pi klunas maika ilo drit komtaks ikta iaka= siisim ukuk pipa pi 0 latit aju= sik ukuk son* [115] 'And I reckon you won't really understand what this letter says, but my head is hurting today' and *pi Kiril Noi iaka kakʃit 0 lipii* [95] 'And Cyril Noé broke his foot'.

followed by the third-person possessor marker, and then the possessed noun. Overt, phrasal-level markers (dependents) are obligatory to signal possession in such cases. Two juxtaposed nouns without such a pronoun form not a possessive construction but a compound whose leftward, dependent member attributively modifies its head (§4.2.2.1.1), as (202) illustrates:[188]

(202) (a) *stiʃon + man* [28]
railway.station man
'railway employee'

(b) **(stiʃon Ø man)*
railway.station 3 man
? 'the railway's employee'

Thus there is no possessive marker identical in form to the null pronoun in KCW (cf. §4.2.1.1.1.2.2).

One specialized function of apparent possessed, nominalized verbal predicates is relativization (about which see §4.1.3.1.1).[189]

4.2.2.1.2 Content-question determiners

Interrogative selection from among a set of potential referents is accomplished by content-question ('WH-') determiners, "question word[s] (interrogative word[s])" (Crystal 1985:332) that "expect a more elaborate response" than the alternatives 'yes/no' (Payne 1997:299) and that are dependents of NPs. These are summarized in Table 37:

Form	***Meaning***	***(Etymology)***
kah…?	'which…?'	('where?')
kansih…?	"	('how much?')
kata…?	'what sort [of]…?'	('how?')

Table 37: Content-question determiners

Examples of each are shown in (203):

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[188] The asterisked and parenthesized variant here represents a forced reading of an identical surface string as containing the otherwise attested null third-person pronoun, which is however unattested in possessive function. Cf. §4.1.6 for a similar notation.

[189] The present discussion is of those forms not accounted for by other sections' discussion of clause-embedding (§5.3); in effect, only those verbal predicates that follow a matrix verb meaning 'to receive'. Constructions interpretable either as containing null subordinating complementizers (§5.3.2.1.1), or as possessed nominalized predicates belonging to other syntactic classes, such as prepositional phrases, are here considered as fitting the former, broader, category. Thus e.g.:

naika j͡utl tomtom (Ø) maika klahani kopa skukum haw͡s [34]
1SG glad heart (COMP) 2SG outside PREP strong building
'I'm glad (that) you're out of jail'.
(? 'I'm glad of your being out of jail')

(203) (a) (i) *naika tiki pus maika patlatʃ͡ komtaks pus kah* [23]
1SG to.want IRR 2SG PERM to.know IRR which?
'I want you to let [me] know which

son maika tʃ͡ako
day 2SG to.come
day you're coming'

(ii) *pus maika mamuk= komtaks...Ø kah ilihi* [139]
IRR 2SG CAUS= to.know PREP which? village
'that you'll let [me] know…which village

maika mitlait
2SG COPspa
you'll be staying in'

(b) *naika aias tiki komtaks kansih san maika tʃ͡ako [19]*
1SG very.much to.want to.know which day 2SG to.come
'I really want to know which day you're coming

∅ *Hlawt*
PREP Hallout
to Hallout'

(c) *kata tʃ͡ikmin ukuk maʃin* [52]
how? metal DEM machine
'what kind of metal is that machine [made of]?'

Reference to the comprehensive lexicons in Johnson (1978: 346-347 [s.v. *how, how.many*], 451-452 [s.v. *where*]) and Thomas (1970 [1935]: 69 [s.v. *kah*], 70 [s.v. *kah-ta*], 79 [s.v. *kun'-sih*]) suggests that the use of each of these morphs as a determiner is previously unattested in the CW literature. It bears noting here that certain other etymologically content-question forms such as *ikta* 'what?' and *klaksta* 'who?' function as what are here termed nonspecific demonstrative determiners, and are accordingly discussed in the following section.

4.2.2.1.3 Demonstrative determiners

Several demonstrative determiners are employed in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. These "imply 'pointing to' or 'demonstrating' the object they refer to…often express[ing] distance, or orientation with respect to the speaker/hearer" (Payne 1997:103). (The same morphs occurring alone as noun phrases function pronominally, §4.2.2.1.1.2) Table 38 summarizes the deictic determiners identified:

Type	***Subtype***	***Form***	***Meaning***
Specific §4.2.2.1.3.1	'Direct'	*ukuk*	'this/that…'
"	"	*iht*	'a certain…'
"	"	*kopit*	'only…'
"	'Contrastive'	*kakwa͡*	'such a…'
"	"	*hlwi͡ma*	'a different…'
Nonspecific §4.2.2.1.3.2	Positive polarity	*ikta, klaksta/klaska*	'any…; some…(or other)'
"	Negative	*ilo ikta, ilo klaksta*	'no(ne (of))…'

Table 38: Demonstrative determiners

4.2.2.1.3.1 Specific

The specific demonstrative determiners of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa indicate some unique entity from among the set of potential referents, either by 'direct' reference to an individual or 'contrastively' by reference to the group. Unlike the nonspecific determiners (see §4.2.2.1.3.2), the specific ones do not subcategorize for polarity. In other words, there is no determiner meaning 'not this…', 'no certain/no particular…', 'no such…', etc.

'Direct' specific determiners, a nonce label used here for those that refer more explicitly to an individual referent than to the group of potential referents of which it is a part, subcategorize for specificity. *Ukuk* (etymologically 'this') is a definite-specific and *iht* an indefinite-specific determiner (etymologically 'one' [§4.2.2.2.2.2, cf. indefinite quantifier *iht iht* at §4.2.2.2.1]; here 'a certain one'). Both are exemplified in (204):

(204) (a) *naika mamuk ukuk pipa kopa maika* [15]
1SG to.make DEM letter PREP 2SG
'I'm writing this letter to you'

(b) *iaka nim ukuk liplit Pir Sint Anʃ* [17]
3 name DEM priest Père St. Onge
'the priest's name is Father St. Onge'

(c) *iht klut͡ʃmin iaka= mimlus iaka nim Mali* [64]
one woman 3AGR= to.die 3 name Mary
'a woman died, named Mary'

(d) *iht kain iht <100> pi <8> piss | iht kain iaka=* [45]
one kind one 100 CONJ eight piece one kind 3AGR=
'one [certain] kind is 108 pieces; one [other] kind is

tlun tatilam pi siks piss
three ten CONJ six piece
36 pieces'

Kopit 'only' functions as a determiner that explicitly excludes any additional possible referents, as in (205):

(205) (a) *kopit Piir iaka tanas= papus iaka= sik* [30]
only Pierre 3 DIM= baby 3AGR= ill
'only Pierre's little baby is ill'
[and no other additional baby]

(b) *kopit iaka nis mitlait kopa ilihi* [31]
only 3 knees COPspa PREP ground
'only his knees were touching the ground'
[and not his feet as well]

(c) *iaka kopit mokst son pus iaka haha milalam* [31]
3 only two day IRR 3 holy confession
'it had been just two days since he's confessed'
[not one day more, or less]

(d) *kopit iht tala* [68]
only one dollar
'only one dollar'
[no more, no less]

The quantity-limiting function seen in (c,d) is akin to quantification (§4.2.2.2), but for two reasons *kopit* is here considered a determiner. First, the syntactic position occupied by *kopit* is identical to its position as a pre-NP determiner (viz. a,b). Second, this is a distinct syntactic position from that of the quantifiers *per se*.

Explicit comparison or contrast (thus the label 'contrastive' here) among potential referents is indicated by the demonstrative determiners *kakwa͡* 'same' (literally 'like / as') and *hlwi͡ma* 'different', as in (206):

(206) (a) *kakwa͡ pipa alta nsaika kwa͡nisim nsaika stju͡il* [15]
same booklet PRES 1PL always 1PL to.pray
'We've been constantly praying [from] such a booklet,

kopa ukuk kakwa͡ stju͡il kopa ʃuswa͡p stju͡il
PREP DEM same prayer PREP Shuswap prayer
from this kind of prayers, from the Secwepemctsín prayers.'

(b) *tlus maika wa͡wa͡ kansih tʃi͡kmin pi naika* [42]
IMPRT 2SG to.say how.much money CONJ 1SG
'say how much money and I'll send

patlatʃ͡ kakwa͡ tʃi͡kmin
to.send same money
that much money'

(c) *naika tiki hlwi͡ma pipa* [51]
1SG to.want different paper
'I want a different newspaper'

(d) *hlwi͡ma tilikom klaska wa͡wa͡ pus iaka* [26]
different people 3PL to.say IRR 3
'other people said he supposedly

drit skukum makmak wi͡ski
really hard to.drink alcohol
drank really hard'

Nonspecific determiners are taken up the following subsection.

4.2.2.1.3.2 Nonspecific

The nonspecific demonstrative determiners are perhaps an indefinite *ikta* 'some…' (etymologically 'what…?') and two far more common definites *klaska* 'some [particular] (etymologically 'they') / *klaksta* (same meaning; etymologically 'somebody/who?'). Nonspecific determiners in KCW, unlike specific ones, subcategorize for polarity as will be shown.

The one attestation of determiner *ikta* with positive polarity is shown in (207a), with examples of the usual *klaska* and *klaksta* in (b,c):

(207) (a) *alki naika nani͡tʃ ikta man pi naika wa͡wa͡ aiak* [75]
FUT 1SG to.see some man CONJ 1SG to.say quickly
'eventually I'll see some person or other and say right away to

pus piii…
IRR to.pay
pay up…'

(b) *tlus naika tomtom pus maika pati͡tʃ pipa | pi wi͡ht* [3]
good 1SG heart IRR 2SG to.send letter | CONJ also
'I'd like you to send a letter, | and also

klaska tanas= man tiki pipa
3PL DIM= man to.want letter
some (particular) young men want letters.'

(c) *...naika komtaks ikta maika wa͡wa͡ kopa klaksta man* [75]
1SG to.know what? 2SG to.say PREP who? man
'…I know what you've said to some (particular) people.'

A check against the cumulative CW vocabulary of Johnson (1978:449-450 [s.v. *what*] indicates that the nonspecific-determiner use of the morph *ikta* is previously unattested in the literature on CW. *Klaksta* as a definite determiner is likewise absent from the previous literature, though Gill (1909:56 [s.v. *klax'-ta*] and Hale (1890:38) show one example each of this item in indefinite determiner use.[190]

The negative-polarity counterparts of these items are formed with the negative quantifier *ilo* (see §4.1.5), thus *ilo ikta* as in (208a) and *ilo klaksta* as in (b) [**ilo klaska* is unattested as a determiner, as it happens]:

(208) (a) *ilo ikta siisim tlap kopa iawa ∅ Klinton*
NEG what? news to.reach PREP there PREP Clinton
'no news gets over there to Clinton'

(b) *ilo klaksta tanas= man mamuk ukuk kantl stik* [45]
NEG who? DIM= man to.make DEM candle stick
'None of the boys have made those candlesticks.'

Paralleling the distributions of their positive-polarity counterparts, *ilo ikta* is attested just once while *ilo klaksta* is usual.

4.2.2.1.4 Summary of determiners

Determiners in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa pattern into three classes: possessors (all of etymologically pronominal form), content-question determiners (interrogatives for selection among potential referents), and demonstrative determiners. The demonstrative determiners pattern according to their specificity, with nonspecific determiners having as many as three forms in free variation. The specific determiners further subcategorize for 'direct' or 'contrastive' reference, i.e. foregrounding respectively of an individual referent entity or of the group of possible referents of which it is a part. The nonspecific determiners for their part subcategorize for polarity.

4.2.2.2 Quantifiers

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa uses several quantifiers, "items which express contrasts in quantity, such as *all, some, each*" (Crystal 1985:253). Despite Trask's claim that "separat[ing] the quantifiers into a separate part of speech from determiners [has] little or no grammatical justification" (1999:74), the syntactic position of quantifiers in KCW word-order is after the items labeled 'determiners' above. Therefore quantifiers are here considered to occupy a distinct syntactic slot. They can be subclassified according to the precision of the quantificational scope they display; nonspecific quantities (§4.2.2.2.1) or specific (§4.2.2.2.2). Table 39 summarizes the observed subclassification of quantifiers:

[190] These of course are non-KCW sources. Hale's example is the following from a popular translation of the Lord's Prayer: <…nesika mamook klahowya klaksta man spose yaka mamook mesachie kopa nesika> ("…we do pity any man if he does evil to us") (Hale 1890:38).

Type	*Subtype*	*Subytpe*	*Form*	*Gloss*
Nonspecific	--	--	*aju͡,* *tanas= aju͡,* *tanas,* *som,* *litlmo,* *iht iht*	'many…, several…, a little…, some/a few…, a little more…, some (here and there)'
Specific	Totality	--	*kanawi͡,* *ilo*	'all (of)…, no(ne of)…'
"	Numerals	Cardinal	*iht,* *mokst,* *tlun,* *sitkom,* *kwa͡ta* etc.	'one, two, three, half, quarter' etc.
"	"	Ordinal	*ilip/iht,* *mokst* etc.	'first, second' etc.

Table 39: Quantifiers

4.2.2.2.1 Nonspecific quantity

The quantifiers that express nonspecific amounts are *aju͡* 'much / many' as in (209a,b), its diminutive *tanas= aju͡* 'several'[191] as in (c,d), *tanas* 'a little' as in (e,f), *som* 'some' as in (g), *litlmo* 'a little more…' as in (h) and *iht iht* 'some (here and there) [literally 'one one'] as in (i):[192]

(209) (a) *drit* *aju͡* *snas* *alta* [6]
really much rain PRES
'there's really a lot of rain now'

(b) *aju͡* *man* *mitlait* *kopa* *mamuk* [15]
many man COPex PREP work
'many men are around to do the work'

(c) *tanas= aju͡* *tilikom* *tʃako= komtaks* *tʃinuk* *pipa* [73]
DIM= many people INGR= to.know Chinúk.Wawa writing
'a number of people have learned shorthand'

(d) *alta* *tanas= aju͡* *tilikom* *mitlait* *kopa* *Knim* *Lik* *ilihi* [80]
PRES DIM= many people COPex PREP Canim Lake village
'now there are several people at Canim Lake village'

[191] The diminutive "expresses unusual smallness" (Payne 1997:109-110, cf. Crystal 1985:94).
[192] Cf. numerals at §4.2.2.2.2.2. *Iht iht* is the only example identified of full-word reduplication, which is absent as a productive mechanism in KCW (cf. chapter 3).

(e) *ilo drit kopit sno <u>tanas</u> mor* [10][193]
NEG really CMPT snow little.bit more
'it's not really done snowing; [there's] <u>a bit</u> more'

(f) *naika tlap <u>tanas</u> laplaʃ kopa maika wa͡wa͡* [45]
1SG to.get little.bit lumber PREP 2SG words
'I got <u>a bit</u> of wood at your request'

(g) *aju͡ tanas tanas= sik alta kopa iakwa͡ pi wiht <u>som</u>* [31]
many child DIM= ill PRES PREP here CONJ also some
'a number of kids are under the weather over here, and also <u>some</u>

ol klutʃmin -s
old woman -PL
old women'

(h) *…pus <u>litlmo</u> tʃikmin naika iskom* [110]
IRR little.more money 1SG to.get
'…if I get a little more money'

(i) *tanas= ankati naika kwa͡ʃ tomtom kopa iht ilihi kopa* [71]
DIM= PAST 1SG afraid heart PREP one place PREP
'not long ago, I was anxious about some villages, about

<u>iht iht</u> ilihi pus ilo kakwa͡ klaska tomtom kanamokst
one one place IRR NEG thus 3PL to.think together
'<u>some</u> villages <u>here and there</u>, that they might not be in agreement about this'

Aju͡ and *iht iht* are the only ones of these attested as overt dependents of pronominal heads, as are *kanawi͡* and *ilo*, which are described in the following subsection.[194]

4.2.2.2.2 Specific quantity

The quantifiers that express specified amounts are those that signal positive or negative totality (§4.2.2.2.2.1) and the numerals (§4.2.2.2.2.2).

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[193] Regarding *mor* and *litlmo*, these forms are unattested in the published literature on CW, but for a hint of their presence in or near the KCW speech area cf. Rena Grant (1945:233), who reports without attribution or specification of a region: "I am told that a corrupt method of comparison has been in use in the Jargon as it is used in British Columbia: <kloshe> 'good', <<u>mo'</u> kloshe>, <delate kloshe> 'better', <elip kloshe> 'best'." [These are her spellings; emphasis, angled brackets and quotation marks on glosses are added by me. She claims (with reference to pan-CW rather than KCW) that <elip kloshe> would be normal for 'better', and <elip kloshe kopa konaway> or <delate elip kloshe> for 'best'.]

[194] Variants of *iht iht* are *iht pi iht* (literally 'one and another'), *iht kopa iht* ('one to another') and *iht pus iht* ('one if another'). Despite their literal glosses , these are not reciprocal pronouns (about which see §4.2.1.1.)

4.2.2.2.2.1 Totality of quantity

Kanawi͡ 'all' and *ilo* 'none' express totality of quantity, as in (210 a,b) and (c,d) respectively:

(210) (a) *klaha͡wiam kanawi͡ liplit* [16]
greetings all priest
'goodbye, all [you] priests'

(b) *kanawi͡ maika tanas kopa iakwa͡ iaka= tlus* [21]
all 2SG child PREP here 3AGR= well
'all of your children over here are well'

(c) *alta ilo sno kopa ʃuʃwa͡p* [10]
PRES NEG snow PREP Shuswap
'now there's no snow at Shuswap'

(d) *nsaika ilo taii mitlait kopa Hid Lik* [16]
1PL NEG chief COPposs PREP Head Lake
'we have no chief at Head Lake'

These two quantifiers are the only overt dependents attested of pronominal heads, as in (211):

(211) (a) *naika nanitʃ kanawi͡ ikta iaka wa͡wa͡ kopa buk* [68]
1SG to.see all what? 3 to.say PREP book
'I read everything it says in the book'

(b) *ilo klaksta sik* [32]
NEG who? ill
'Nobody's ill.'

For more on negative-polarity non-personal pronouns, see respectively §4.2.1.1.2.1.2 and §4.2.1.1.2.2.2.

4.2.2.2.2.2 Numerals

The largest set of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa definite quantifier lexemes are the numerals, here understood as including both whole numbers and fractions as well as combinations of the two. It must be noted that numerals not found written out as words are omitted from the present discussion. That is, numerals attested in the corpus only in the form of Roman digits reveal little that is unique to the structure of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa and therefore are not considered here. My criteria match Hammarström's narrow linguistic definition of numerals as:

- *spoken* (the equivalent of this for the KCW corpus is 'alphabetically written-out')
- *normed expressions* that are used to denote the
- *exact number* of objects for an

- *open class of objects* in an
- *open class of social situations* with
- *the whole speech community* in question

(2007:1-2).

The attested KCW simplex numeral lexemes, several forming synonymous pairs of which one member is pan-CW in origin and the other English, are tabulated in Table 40:[195]

Numeral	***Form(s)***
¼	*kwa͡ta*[196]
½	*sitkom*
(0)	--[197]
1	*iht / wa͡n; (ilip)*[198]
2	*mokst / tu*
3	*tlun*
4	*lakit*
5	*kwi͡nam / faiv*
6	*siks*
7	*sinmokst*
8	*itt [sic]*
9	--[199]
10	*tatilam*
1,000	*ta͡wsin*

Table 40: Simplex numerals

These numerals form a decimal number system (cf. Payne 1997:66ff), with unitary terms for quantities through ten. Above that point, multiples of ten or of higher-level numerals are employed, with the addition of a phrase 'and [integer]' as needed. This system is apparent from (212):

(212) (a) *mokst tatilam pi mokst iaka= mimlus kopa Nikola Lik* [46]
two ten CONJ two 3AGR= to.die PREP Nicola Lake
'twenty-two have died at Nicola Lake'

[195] There is also an implicit fraction *bit / mit*, used only in monetary expressions as 'dime'. Also found is one collective numeral, *dosin* 'dozen': *Pus maika maʃ iht mokst dosin klunas aiak naika silim kanawi͡* 'if you send 1 or 2 dozen, I reckon I can easily sell all of them' [140]. It can be added in passing that numerals behave distinctly from other modifiers of noun phrases in not requiring an overt conjunction *pi* between alternative quantity choices—*iht mokst* here means 'one or two'.

[196] *Kwa͡ta* is also used as a noun 'quarter', i.e. 'twenty-five cent piece'.

[197] I.e. '0' (zero) is unattested, though cf. *ilo ikta* 'nothing' (§4.2.1.1.2.2.1).

[198] *Ilip* has ordinal use only, being in complementary distribution with *iht*.

[199] I.e. '9' is unattested.

(b) <9> *taw͡sin* *fut* || *naika* *tlap* *alta* [62]
nine thousand foot 1SG to.get PRES
'I've got 9,000 feet [of lumber] so far'

This completely regular numeral structure is what Hammarström, in the first study of pidgin / creole numerals known to me, terms 'simple' / regular (in contrast with 'complex' / irregular; 2007:5-10, 17). Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is in this respect unusual among pidgins and creoles worldwide, which he finds do not tend to analyticity (Hammarström 2007:18).

Disregarding synonyms such as those for '2' and '5', and the two fractions (because Hammarström deals with integers only), KCW uses 10 unique numeral words. Assuming that an unattested word for '9' was used, which seems reasonable, KCW had 11 integer numerals.[200] Hammarström notes that "impressionistically, the pidgin/creole numeral systems are on the average more complex than the world average" (pg. 18), which is estimated as being about 11 to 15 'rote forms' per language. In this respect KCW seems again a perhaps unusual contact language; the unusually small size of the KCW numeral system has not been noted in previous studies. (CW numeral formation is discussed by Thomas 1970 [1935]:55-56 and Vrzić 1999:95.)

Numerals can be further subclassified according to their function as either cardinals (§4.2.2.2.2.2.1) or ordinals (§4.2.2.2.2.2.2).

4.2.2.2.2.2.1 Cardinals

The cardinal numerals are those that indicate an NP's quantity, without regard for any other NP. Examples of their use are presented in (213), which demonstrates that simplex cardinals—either integers as in (a-c) or fractions as in (d, e)—stand before the head noun:

(213) (a) *wa͡n* *san* *pi* *wa͡n* *pulakli* *iaka* *aʃnu* [41]
one day CONJ one night 3 to.kneel
'for one day and one night he knelt'

(b) *mokst* *klutʃ͡min* *tanas=* *komtaks* *pipa* [18]
two woman DIM= to.know writing
'two women sort of know how to read'

(c) *kwi͡nam* *man* *tiki* *ʃabon* [8]
five man to.want credit
'five men want credit'

(d) *naika* *tlap* *sitkom* *tala* [64]
1SG to.find half dollar
'I found half a dollar'

[200] A word for '9' is known in the other recorded varieties of CW, e.g. <k'wayts> (CTGR Chinuk Wawa Language Program 2011:116), <nain> (Johnson 1978:244, s.v. !009A).

(e) *tlun kwata insi laplaʃ* [45]
three quarter inch board
'three-quarter-inch boards'

Fractions predictably are used only as cardinals, never as ordinals. Mixed fractions are formed of a whole-number component followed by the head noun, then the conjunction *pi* 'and', followed by the fraction. Thus, wording equivalent to 'one and a half dollars', with the head noun phrase-final, is not found. This generalization is exemplified in monetary expressions as in (214):

(214) (a) *iht tala pi sitkom tʃikmin* [64]
one dollar CONJ half money
'$1.50 cash'
(literally 'a dollar and a half of money')[201]
(b) *iht tala pi iht bit* [69]
one dollar CONJ one tenth
'$1.10'

The behaviour of cardinal numerals can be contrasted with that of ordinals, described in the following section.

4.2.2.2.2.2.2 Ordinals

Whole numbers can function ordinally, that is as indicators of rank in either a listed or an implicitly numbered sequence. Among the points of divergence between cardinal and ordinal usage, fractions are not found as ordinals; only whole numbers are employed this way, as exemplified in (215):

(215) (a) *putiha Fiiaris mokst naika wawa putiha* [47]
greetings Pierriche two 1SG to.say greetings
'goodbye, Pierriche, a second [time] I say goodbye'
(b) *naika nim Mokst ʃali…* [76]
1SG name two Charlie
'my name is Second Charlie…'

Also, as can be seen in (a), ordinals can be used to refer to iterations ('times'). And the concept 'first' is expressed suppletively, by *ilip* (etymologically 'before') as in (216a) except in a usage of *iht* (etymologically 'one') that is confined to personal names such as the pair in (b):

(216) (a) *ilip tilikom || kopit iht klaska= mitlait wawa* [38]
first people only one 3PL.AGR= COPposs language
'the first people had just one language'

[201] See the comments on measure noun phrases, §4.2.2.7.

(b) *naika nim Mokst ʃali pi wiht naika nim ʃo | alta naika*
1SG name two Charlie CONJ also 1SG name Joe PRES 1SG
'My name is Second Charlie and also my name is Joe. I've gotten

maʃ naika nim Iht ʃo [76]
to.leave 1SG name one Joe
'rid of my name, First Joe'

This onomastic usage of numbers is previously unattested in the published Chinúk Wawa literature (having been first noted by Robertson 2007c).

In addition, a cardinal-like sense of 'number of repetitions' is found in the phrases *iht taims, mokst taims, lakit taims* 'once', 'twice', 'four times'.

4.2.2.2.3 Summary of quantifiers

Quantifiers occupy a distinct syntactic slot from determiners in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, and subcategorize for specificity. The nonspecific quantifiers signal non-explicitly delimited amounts such as 'some', 'a few', while specific ones denote either totality ('all', 'none') or precise numerical amounts. Most KCW numerals function both cardinally or ordinally, but the distinction is clear in two lexical subsets. Fractions are never attested as ordinals, and the numeral *iht* never means 'first' except in a previously-unattested usage confined to personal names ('First Joe'). 'First' is otherwise always expressed suppletively by *ilip* (etymologically 'before; in front of'). The numeral system of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa appears to be uncharacteristically small and highly analytic for a pidgin/creole, an observation absent from previous literature.

4.2.2.3 (Noun-) phrase level adverbs

Adverbs that have phrasal scope modify attributive adjectives (§4.2.2.4) or other adverbs, and stand directly to the left thereof. (Contrast with clausal-level adverbs, §4.1.8). In practice phrasal-level adverbs are usually intensifiers as in (217):

(217) (a) *naika ilo iskom skukum masatʃi mamuk* [31]
1SG NEG to.take.up powerfully bad doings
'I won't get involved in terribly evil doings'

(b) *ukuk buk drit aias tlus kopa stʃuil liʃapli* [11]
DEM book really very good PREP to.pray rosary
'this book is really very good for praying the rosary'

Phrasal-level adverbs are attested with diminutive marking, as in (218):

(218) (a) *iaka mimlus…tanas= saia kopa kotin [sic]* [31]
3 to.die DIM= far PREP cabin (?)
'he died a little ways from the cabin (?)'

(b) *pi* *tanas= lili* *alta* *Iasant* *iaka=* *kilapai* [39]
CONJ DIM= long.time PRES Hyacinthe 3AGR= to.return
'and after a little while then Hyacinthe came back'

Marking for degrees other than the positive (which is demonstrated in the preceding examples) is unattested in adverbs within noun phrases. (See §4.1.8 for information on the comparative and superlative degrees of clausal adverbs, and §4.1.7 for information on the excessive degree.)

4.2.2.4 Attributive adjectives

Not many adjective lexemes are found in KCW. A few dozen have been identified out of a corpus having around 700 root lexemes. More are attested in predicative (copula-complement) than in attributive function as dependent modifiers of NP heads (Crystal 1985:26), cf. Payne's 'descriptive adjectives' (1997:63ff). However, sufficient examples exist for a sketch to be made of the behaviour of attributives. These items display two kinds of overt grammatical marking, for degree and diminutivity.

As with noun-phrase level adverbs, only the positive degree of attributive adjectives is abundantly attested. This degree is expressed by the relevant lexeme without overt modification, as illustrated in (219):

(219) (a) *pus* *∅ til* *mamuk* *kwi͡nam* *tala* [68][202]
IRR POS heavy doings five dollar
'if [he exhibits] rough behaviour, [a person must pay] $5'

(b) *ukuk* *ol* *man* *iaka* *∅ last* *wa͡wa͡* *pus* *iaka* *mimlus* [31]
DEM old man 3 POS last words IRR 3 to.die
'this old man's last words when he died'

The reader is referred to §4.1.7 for discussion of predicative adjectives, the only category that displays all four degrees in KCW.

The 'diminutive' clitic *tanas=* can modify an attributive adjective. The diminutive is a morpheme that "expresses unusual smallness" (Payne 1997:109-110, cf. Crystal 1985:94). The one example identified is given in (220):

(220) *naika* *tlap=* *tanas= sik* *tomtom* [87]
1SG O.C= DIM= ill heart
'I've become a little upset'

There is some ambiguity in this example, however. It is conceivable that the form *tanas* here is a quantifier meaning 'a little bit (of)', cf. §4.2.2.2.1. However, other (i.e. predicative) adjectives, notably including *sik* 'ill', indeed cooccur with clitic *tanas=*, a fact that has led to the clitic interpretation seen above. Diminutivity marking is a trait that KCW attributive adjectives thus seem to have in common with predicates of all kinds

[202] From a standardized list of punishments for infractions of Catholic village rules.

and certain other dependents such as quantifiers (§4.2.2.2) and phrase-level adverbs (§4.2.2.3).

4.2.2.5 Diminutive (of nouns)

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa nouns are formally unmarked for any category except one, diminutivity, a morphological option that they share with other predicates as well as with nonspecific quantifiers, phrasal-level adverbs, and attributive adjectives (cf. §3.2.2.2.2.1). Examples of diminutivized nouns are shown in (221):

(221) (a) *tanas=* *man* [3]
DIM= man
'boy'

(b) *tanas=* *klutʃ͡min* [83]
DIM= woman
'girl'

(c) *alki maika tulu aju͡* *tanas=* *tala* *kopa klaska* [83]
FUT 2SG to.earn much DIM= money PREP 3PL
'you'll earn plenty of coins from them (sc. subscribers)'

The only material that has been identified as intervening between the 'diminutive' clitic and the NP head is a dependent member of a noun compound, discussed in the following subsection.

4.2.2.6 Dependent members of noun-noun compounds

A final pre-head syntactic slot is exclusively occupied by dependent members of noun-noun compounds. Because these dependents are simply nouns and noun phrases, no more will be said about them here. For further discussion of noun properties the reader is referred to earlier sections of this chapter. For a broader discussion of compounding, see §3.2.1.2.

4.2.2.7 Measured NPs

Count nominals are found in a construction where a head NP is a unit measure, stating the quantity of the dependent count NP.[203] The unit measure is usually a mass noun, though e.g. *tanas= buk* 'booklet' is an attested measure. Generally the measure NP (underlined in the following examples) is in two parts, a cardinal numeral followed by a noun as in (222 a-d); but a lone noun is sometimes used as in (e):

[203] Presumably to be considered a type of possession in a Basic Linguistic Theory view, cf. the Lango example in Dixon (2010b:286).

(222) (a) *wa͡n tala ʃikmin* [64]
one dollar money
'$1 cash [lit. of money]'

(b) *<9> ta͡wsin fut || naika tlap ukuk laplaʃ kopa iakwa͡* [62]
nine thousand foot 1SG to.get DEM lumber PREP here
'I've got 9,000 feet of this lumber over here'

(c) *iht kain || iaka tlon tatilam pi siks piss* [45]
one kind 3 three ten CONJ six piece
'[there are] 36 pieces of one [of the] kind[s]'

(f) *naika tiki makuk iht tala buk pi maika maʃ iht* [130]
1SG to.want to.buy one dollar book CONJ 2SG to.send one
'I wanted to buy one dollar's worth of books, but you send one

buk kopa naika...pi naika wa͡wa͡ pus maika patlat͡ʃ
book PREP 1SG CONJ 1SG to.say IRR 2SG to.give
book to me…and [then] I asked you to give me

iht sno pipa kopa naika
one year newspaper PREP 1SG
one year of the newspaper'

(e) *tanas= buk ʃuswa͡p stʃui͡l* [78]
DIM= book Shuswap prayer
'a booklet of Shuswap prayers'

The measured NP is usually directly juxtaposed to the right edge of the unit noun phrase as in (a, d) above, but can be clefted to a position noncontiguous with the unit of measurement as in (b, c).[204]

4.2.2.8 Relative clauses

Proceeding rightward, the final element in the linear order of possible NP-dependents is the relative clause, "one that functions as a nominal modifier" (Payne 1997:325). The discussion of realis and irrealis marking at §4.1.3.1.1 has already

[204] Possibly to be considered the same construction are the several examples in which a writer refers to a written text's subject, where what the text is 'about' behaves like a measured NP. An example:

naika tomtom naika tiki hlwi͡ma pipa kanawi͡ ikta mamuk [51]
1SG to.think 1SG to.want other newspaper all what? to.happen
'I think I want a different newspaper, [one about] everything going on

sahali ukuk ilihi
above DEM land
above this earth'

covered some topics germane to relative clauses that will not be repeated here. It should be noted that the general lack of punctuation and of any other trace of prosodic information in the corpus (discussed in chapter 2) precludes positive identification of subtypes such as restrictive, non-restrictive, etc. (cf. Keenan 1985:168-170).

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa relative clauses usually follow the crosslinguistic tendency to occupy postnominal position in VO languages. Both (223a) and various examples below demonstrate this, but a rare, possibly alternative position is for the relative to precede the head NP as in (b) (cf. Payne 1997:326-327):

(223) (a) *iht klutʃ͡min [0$_{possessor}$ iaka nim Ø Mali]* [28]
one woman [0$_{possessor}$ 3 name COPeq Mary]
'a woman [0 named Mary]
(~ '…[whose name is Mary]…')

iaka= iskom masatʃ͡i
3AGR= to.take.up sin
has taken to sinning'

(b) *naika tlap [maika patlatʃ͡ (0$_{object}$) kopa naika]* [75]
1SG to.receive 2SG to.send 0$_{object}$ PREP 1SG
'I've received the hymnals that [you sent me 0]'
(~ '…the sent-by-you-to-me

ukuk ʃanti + buk
DEM song book
hymnals')

These examples illustrate two additional generalizations about KCW relative clauses. First, a full range of grammatical functions is relativizable in KCW. This observation relates to previous work by Keenan and Comrie on a universal hierarchy of relativization, reproduced as Table 41:

Most relativizable…	**…**	**…**	**…**	**…Least so**
Subject[/agent]	[Direct] object	Indirect object	Oblique	Possessor

Table 41: Keenan and Comrie's (1977) relativization hierarchy

On finding that some position on this hierarchy is relativizable, it can be assumed that all positions leftward of it can be relativized as well (as Payne 1997:335 notes). Given example (a) above of a relativized possessor—the rightmost position—it can be assumed that all other functions in the hierarchy can be relativized.

Second, as in other languages with rigid word order, especially verb-medial languages, KCW relative clauses tend to employ a gap, symbolized here by *0*. That is,

they lack phonological exponence "in the position where the [relativized NP] would be if it were overtly expressed" (Payne 1997:330). The relativized (that is, the head) NP is overt only in the main clause.

There is what superficially looks like an exception to this generalization. Relative clauses whose main-clause relativized NP is the subject / agent seem always to include the 'optional' third-person agreement clitic *iaka=* as in (224) (the rarer plural-specified counterpart *klaska=* being unattested in this position):[205]

(224) (a) *naika hilp naika broðir [0$_{agent}$ iaka= kiskis* [10]
1SG to.help 1SG brother 0$_{agent}$ 3AGR= to.drive
'I'm helping my brother who [is driving

musmus kopa ʃuswa͡p]
cattle PREP Shuswap]
cattle from Shuswap]'

(b) *pus msaika iskom ukuk buk [0$_{subject}$ iaka=* [11]
IRR 2PL to.take DEM book 0$_{subject}$ 3AGR=
'if you folks take this book which [is

tlus kopa msaika]…
good PREP 2PL
good for you]…'

But by the analysis in §4.1.1, *iaka=* in the above examples is actually a person-agreement marker on the following verb, rather than actual pronominal subject / agent exponence (cf. §4.1.2.1,2). As Payne (1997:332) notes, retention of a subject pronoun is rare in relative clauses crosslinguistically.

Also apparent in the above examples is the lack in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa of a specialized relativizer (complementizer whose function is to mark a clause as a dependent of an NP, e.g. English *that*, cf. Payne 1997:332-333). However, inanimate relative pronouns *ukuk* and *ikta* (with respective realis and irrealis force, cf. §4.1.3.1.1.1,2) can be employed to relative-like effect when no overt coreferent noun is present in the main clause, as (225) illustrates:

(225) (a) *wi͡k klaska komtaks ikta [klaska mamuk 0]* [15]
NEG 3PL to.know what? 3PL to.do 0
'they have no idea what [they're doing]'

(b) *klunas taii Lio siisim ikta [iaka wa͡wa͡ 0]* [38]
EVID chief Leo to.tell what? 3 to.say 0
'I reckon Chief Leo$_j$ will tell what(ever) (it was) [he$_k$ said]'

[205] This is perhaps comparable with the observation that the third-person agreement clitic *iaka=* is found coreferent even with vocative NPs (§5.1.1).

(c) *pus ikta maika tomtom kopa ukuk [naika wawa 0]* [15]
IRR what? 2SG to.think PREP DEM 1SG to.say 0
'what do you think about what [I say]?'

(d) *tʃi alta nsaika komtaks tʃinuk pipa: kakwa ilo* [72]
just.now PRES 1PL to.know Chinúk.Wawa writing thus NEG
'we only now (have come to) know shorthand, so what [we say] is

tliminhwit ukuk [nsaika wawa 0]
lie DEM 1PL to.say 0
no lie' ('…it's no lie, what we say')

(e) *naika ilo tlap ukuk [maika maʃ 0 kopa <8> ʃulai]* [98]
1SG NEG to.get DEM 2SG to.send 0 PREP eight July
'I haven't received what [you sent on July 8th]'

A possibly separate construction involving non-overt main-clause objects is found. That construction occurs with main-clause verbs of transfer (cf. §4.2.1.1.1.1.1), specifically those expressing reception of information, as well as intransitive relative-clause predicates. Like the relative-pronoun strategy as in (e) above, this alternative construction has a relative clause that is coreferent or coextensive with the object of the main-clause predicate, as in (226) [alternative parses are indicated by lowercase Roman numerals]:

(226) (a) (i) *tʃi naika tlap Pir Lʃak iaka* [20][206]
just.now 1SG to.receive Père Le.Jacq 3POSS
'I've just received what Père Le Jacq
(literally ~ '…Père Le Jacq's

mamuk= pipa (Ø) kopa naika
CAUS= letter $Ø_{3pat}$ PREP 1SG
wrote to me'
writing (it) to me')

[206] In (274a), note that *mamuk= pipa* functions consistently in the corpus as a verb, not e.g. as a verb *mamuk* with a noun patient *pipa*. Parallels with (b) reinforce the former analysis.

(ii) *t͡ʃi naika tlap ∅ [Pir Lʃak iaka=*
just.now 1SG to.receive $∅_{3pat}$ Père Le.Jacq 3AGR=
'I've just received [<u>what</u> Père Le Jacq
(literally ~ '…received it (, the thing that) [Père Le Jacq

mamuk= pipa 0 kopa naika]
CAUS= letter *0* PREP 1SG
wrote to me]'
wrote 0 to me]')

(b) (i) *ilo naika iskom msaika w͡aw͡a (Ø)* [39]
NEG 1SG to.receive 2PL.POSS to.say *Ø*
'I won't listen to <u>what</u> you folks say'
(literally ~ '…accept [you folks' words / saying (it)]')

(ii) *ilo naika iskom (Ø) [msaika w͡aw͡a 0]* [39]
NEG 1SG to.receive $Ø_{3object}$ 2PL to.say *0*
'I won't listen to <u>what</u> [you folks say 0]'
(literally ~ '…accept it (, that which) [you folks say (0)]')

Given the lack of overt distinction between gaps and null pronouns in KCW, there are two possible analyses of every such example, respectively indicated by versions (i) and (ii) of each. The present study takes no stance on the analysis of this subtype of relative clause, leaving that question open for future research.

4.2.2.9 Summary of NP dependents

A large range of noun-phrase dependents occupy distinct syntactic slots in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. The majority (six) of these types precede the head nominal, while two follow it. Pronominal heads are severely restricted as to the types of dependents with which they cooccur.

4.2.3 Summary of noun phrases

Heads and dependents of noun phrases in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa each subcategorize into a large number of syntactic classes and behaviours. A great many of these—for example Double Pronominal-Subject Exponence, the third-person animacy distinction and null personal pronoun, and free variation between *klaksta* (etymologically 'who?') and *klaska* (etymologically 'they')—are previously undescribed in the Chinúk Wawa literature.

5 Syntax 2: Beyond simple clauses

> *Suggestions: [t]he Chinook jargon can be more readily learned by first briefly studying the Dictionary and then converse with Indians. Their peculiar guteral articulations is beyond the power of our alphabet to apply any given rules, and scarcely any grammatical rules can be applied. (sic; Chinook dictionary and original Indian names of western Washington [n.d.]:[4])*

The remaining syntactic structures of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa to be considered are those outside the clausal core that is constituted by predicate complexes together with (noun phrase) arguments, which was discussed in the preceding chapter. The present chapter examines in turn prepositional phrases (§5.1), conjunctions (§5.2), complementization (§5.3) and structures above the level of the clause, i.e. sentential operations (§5.4).

5.1 Prepositional phrases

The Kamloops Chinúk Wawa adpositions ("particles…that say something about the semantic role of an adjacent noun phrase in the clause" (Payne 1997:86)) are all prepositional. That is, they occur only preceding their NP complements (cf. Crystal 1985:243). Prepositions (heads of prepositional phrases) are discussed in §5.1.1, their dependents in §5.1.2.

5.1.1 Prepositions

There are four members of the closed class of prepositions. All four are simplex, i.e. composed of a single word; these are listed in Table 42:[207]

Type	***Preposition***	***Meaning***
Generic	*kopa / ∅*	[various]
Specific	*kanamokst*	'(together) with'
"	*sahali*	'above'
"	*kikuli*	'downstream from'

Table 42: Prepositions

The generically used preposition *kopa / ∅* is discussed in §5.1.1.1, and possible additional ones having specific meanings are examined in §5.1.1.2.

[207] Constructions combining *kopa* 'PREP' with any adverbial, including *kanamokst*, *kikuli* or *sahali*, are analyzed as adverbials having more general meaning than the corresponding simplex adverb (cf. §4.1.8).

5.1.1.1 Generic preposition *kopa* (and allomorph ∅)

The only fundamentally prepositional item is *kopa* with an allomorph *Ø* that is previously unattested in the CW literature. (Thomas 1970 [1935]: 76-77 [s.v. *ko'pa*], Johnson 1978: 357-358 [s.v. *locative*] and Vrzić 1999:96-98 discuss only phonologically overt prepositions.) Its range of meanings is very broad, including both spatial and grammatical senses, and it has no lexical meaning of any sort.

Kopa frequently has spatial meaning. Such meaning is further subclassified according to the kind of dependent that this preposition takes. With a nominal dependent, *kopa* can have a locative sense as in (227):

(227) (a) *naika tlap kaltaʃ wa͡it man kopa Samin Arm* [56]
1SG to.catch idle white man PREP Salmon Arm
'I caught a white man up to no good at Salmon Arm'

(b) *aias taii kopa kikuli* [61]
big chief PREP downriver
'the governor[, who is] downriver'

(c) *…kata maika wa͡wa͡ kopa ukuk maika tsi͡m* [43]
how? 2SG to.say PREP DEM 2SG writing
'…how you spoke in that letter of yours'

Kopa also commonly indicates direction or origin as in (228):

(228) (a) *ukuk man naika lolo kopa Kamlups kopa skukum ha͡ws* [56]
DEM man 1SG to.take PREP Kamloops PREP strong building
'this man, I'm taking to Kamloops, to jail'

(b) *ukuk tilikom tʃa͡ko klahani kopa skukum ha͡ws* [61]
DEM people to.come outside PREP strong building
'those Indians have gotten out of jail'

(c) *naika ʃanti + man kopa Soda Krik* [39]
1SG song man PREP Soda Creek
'I'm the shanti man at/from/of Soda Creek'

Its allomorph *∅* is much less frequent than *kopa*. The null form usually has only a spatial—not grammatical—sense, e.g. the locative in (229a) and the directional in (b), but (c) shows a non-core argument marking function both with null and with *kopa* (cf. §4.1.1.1.2.1 on obliques):

(229) (a) *alta naika aju͡= kwa͡ʃ kopa sno ilihi Ø Samin* [sic] [44]
PRES 1SG IMPFV= to.fear PREP snow land PREP Salmon.Arm
'Just now I'm feeling worried about the snowy weather at Salmon Arm.'

(b) *pus naika ilo aiak klatwa̍ Ø Kwa̍wt* [51]
IRR 1SG NEG immediately to.go PREP Quaaout
'if I don't hurry to Quaaout'

(c) *wa̍l naika ilo komtaks pus ikta mamuk Ø* [122]
DISCM 1SG NEG to.know IRR what? to.do PREP
'but, well, I don't know what [you want me] to do to

ukuk stju̍il + ha̍ws... iawa̍ maika wa̍wa̍ pus ikta
DEM prayer building then 2SG to.say IRR what?
the church…but then you can tell what

naika mamuk kopa ukuk stju̍il + ha̍ws
1SG to.do PREP DEM prayer building
I should do to the church'

Nuanced spatial meanings are conveyed by a lexical adverb directly preceding a *kopa* phrase as in (230):

(230) (a) *maika klahani kopa skukum ha̍ws* [34]
2SG outside PREP strong building
'you're out of jail'

(b) *kopit iht tala || nsaika klatwa̍ maʃ kanamokst kopa ukuk pipa* [8]
only one dollar 1PL to.go to.send together PREP DEM letter
'we're going to go ahead and send just $1 together with this letter'

(c) *iaka mimlus… kopa tanas= saia kopa kotin [sic]* [31]
3 to.die PREP DIM= far PREP cabin
'he died…some short distance from (near) the cabin (?)'

Such expressions bear much of the function of what would be prepositions in other languages, e.g. English.

When its dependent (object) is a spatial adverbial, *kopa* seemingly despecifies the adverb's meaning as in (231)—compare the final example with (c) above:

(231) (a) *wi̍k- saia kanawi̍ mimlus | naika iktas kopa iakwa̍*
NEG- far all to.die 1SG cattle PREP here
'they're almost all dead, my cattle over here' [2]

(b) *iaka lahanʃut kopa iawa̍ pi alta iaka mimlus*
3 to.confess PREP there CONJ PRES 3 to.die
'he made Confession over there and then died'

(c) *ilo naika maʃ Ø kopa kah*
NEG 1SG to.send 3 PREP where?
'I didn't send it anywhere'

(d) *iaka mimlus… kopa tanas= saia kopa kotin [sic]* [31]
3 to.die PREP DIM= far PREP cabin
'he died…some short distance from the cabin (?)'

Example (d) here illustrates the cooccurrence of this prepositional despecification with adverbial nuancing of a second *kopa* phrase.

Kopa has two distinct grammaticalized functions: marking of obliques and subordination of nominalized predicates. Especially with animate nouns and pronouns, *kopa* generally represents an oblique semantic case. That is, the preposition expresses some participant other than subject / agent and object (cf. §4.1.2.1, 2), such as recipient, location, etc. The oblique use of *kopa* is illustrated in (232):

(232) (a) *naika mamuk= pipa kopa Pir Lʃ͡ʃun* [1]
1SG CAUS= writing PREP Père Le.Jeune
'I'm writing to Father Le Jeune'

(b) *naika tiki maika hilp kopa naika* [56]
1SG to.want 2SG to.help PREP 1SG
'I want you to help me'

(c) *naika tiki pipa kopa maika* [57]
1SG to.want letter PREP 2SG
'I want a letter from you'

(d) *tu tanas= man mamuk kopa naika* [58]
two DIM= man to.work PREP 1SG
'two young men are working for me'

(e) *iaka w͡aw͡a pus iaka piii kopa w͡an iiris* [58]
3 to.say IRR 3 to.pay PREP one year
'he says he'll pay for one year'

This usage can be contrasted with subordination by *kopa*. *Kopa* can occur with possessed nominalized, i.e. subordinate, clauses as in (233) (examples repeated from §4.1.4.1.2.2.1):

(233) (a) *drit iaka sik tomtom kopa iaka mimlus* [1]
really 3 upset heart PREP 3POSS to.die
'he's very sad about her dying'

(b) *naika tlap tanas laplaʃ kopa maika w͡aw͡a* [45]
1SG to.get little.bit lumber PREP 2SG.POSS to.say
'I got a bit of lumber upon your saying so'

The nominalized clause expresses the cause of the main-clause event.

Kopa sometimes accompanies what appear to be non-possessed, subordinate deverbal nominalized (i.e. non-finite) clauses. The clauses identified as such in the corpus have subjects / agents coreferential with those of the main clause, but non-overt in

the subordinate clause.[208] The preposition then has a purposive complementizer function as in (234):

(234) (a) *klaska mamuk kwanisim tlus tomtom kopa [0 mamuk= stjuil]* [40]
3PL to.make always good heart PREP 0 CAUS= prayer
'they are always well resolved to pray'

(b) *…pus naika tlap tanas tʃikmin kopa [0 klatwa* [58]
IRR 1SG to.get little.bit money PREP 0 to.go
'…for me to get a bit of money to [go

kopa Kamlups]
PREP Kamloops]
to Kamloops]'

Like some other CW varieties such as Grand Ronde creole (Zenk and Johnson 2003), Kamloops Chinúk Wawa uses irrealis *pus* and other complementizers for much of its subordination. The myriad attestations of *pus* et al. in KCW occur with verbal dependents (dependent clauses). *Kopa*, by contrast, is usually associated with nominal dependents in KCW; the present study treats complementization by *kopa* as an instance of nominalized predicates. That usage is previously unattested in the CW literature (see the references at the beginning of the present section). By way of comparison, with concrete nominal dependents too, it is *kopa* that conveys the purposive sense as in (235):

(235) (a) *nanitʃ naika aias tiki ukuk kopa* [13]
DSCM 1SG very.much to.want DEM PREP
'look, I badly want this for

naika Sandi + haws
1SG.POSS Sunday building
my church [building]'

(b) *ilo naika tlap tʃikmin kopa ukuk wawa wit* [25]
NEG 1SG to.get money PREP DEM to.advertise wheat
'I haven't received any money for that advertised wheat'

(c) *Ogjust iaka tʃikmin kopa lisivik iaka wawa pi wiht* [34]
August 3 money PREP bishop 3POSS to.talk CONJ also
'August's money is for the bishop's address and also

kopa pipa pus iaka piii
PREP paper IRR 3 to.pay
for the newspaper, for him to pay up [his subscription]'

[208] See §5.3 on subordinate clauses for an explanation of the notation **0** in the present examples.

Example (c) illustrates both nominal purposives and a verbal purposive with the appropriate usual subordinator *pus*.

5.1.1.2 Specific prepositions: *kanamokst*, *sahali* (?) and *kikuli* (?)

Three items besides *kopa* are attested at least tentatively as 'specific' (non-generic) prepositions. One of these, *kanamokst* '(together) with', is relatively well-attested. The remaining two are *sahali* from earlier pan-CW 'high(er)', and *kikuli* from earlier pan-CW 'below', which are both quite rare. The following discussion touches on each of these items individually.

Kanamokst 'with' (otherwise an adverb 'together') is by far the most frequent of the three specific prepositions, with 34 attestations identified in the corpus. Examples of its use appear in (236):

(236) (a) *Pir Toma iaka= mitlait iht wi͡ik <u>kanamokst</u> nsaika* [139]
Père Thomas 3AGR= COPspa one week with 1PL
'Père Thomas is staying <u>with</u> us for a week

kopa ʃugirkin alta
PREP Sugarcane now
at Sugarcane now'

(b) *…naika maʃ ukuk pipa <u>kanamokst</u> iht tala* [114]
1SG to.send DEM letter with one dollar
'I'm sending this letter <u>with</u> one dollar'

(c) *…pi pus naika tʃi͡ako <u>kanamakst</u> iaka pi naika* [111]
CONJ IRR 1SG to.come with 3 CONJ 1SG
'and when I got together <u>with</u> him and I

kopit makmak wi͡iski…
CMPT to.drink alcohol
stopped drinking alcohol…'

Less frequent than *kanamokst* are two other possible, but dubious, prepositions. *Sahali*, otherwise an attributive adjective 'high(er)' in KCW, is attested once as a possible preposition 'above'. This *sahali* may be a recent grammaticalization, from the very frequent lexical adjective of the same form in KCW, into a syntactic function. However, it can be just as plausibly analyzed as the only attestation of an adverb *sahali*, followed by the null allomorph of the general preposition *kopa* (§5.1.1.1). Whatever its most appropriate analysis, the example in question is reproduced in (237a); the use of *sahali* as an adjective is demonstrated in (b):

(237) (a) *ikta mamuk <u>sahali</u> (∅?) ukuk ilihi* [51]
what? to.do above PREP DEM land
'what goes on <u>above</u> this world'

(b) *pi naika k'olan ankati tilikom iaka= tiki pus mamuk* [38]
CONJ 1SG to.hear PAST people 3AGR= to.want IRR to.make
'And I've heard that the people long ago wanted to build

oihat kopa Sahali Ilihi
road PREP above land
a road to Heaven'[209]

The discussion of *kikuli* in the following subsection is similar to this analysis of *sahali* as a potential preposition.

Kikuli, otherwise an adverb 'downstream from; below' in KCW, is attested once in a possible prepositional use 'downstream from'. This too could be a recent KCW grammaticalization (from the morph's original lexical meaning into a grammatical function)—at least if it is not an adverb followed by the null allomorph of the preposition *kopa*. This possible prepositional use is exemplified in (238a), contrasting with the more widespread and clearly adverbial use of *kikuli* in (b):

(238) (a) *nsaika mitlait tanas kikuli (∅?) Wisminstir* [33]
1PL COPspa little.bit downstream PREP New.Westminster
'we're a bit downstream from [New] Westminster'
(b) *pus maika komtaks naika mitlait kopa kikuli* [67]
IRR 2SG to.know 1SG COPspa PREP downstream
'by the way, I'm (over here) downriver'

I suggest that *sahali* and *kikuli* are possibly prepositions, albeit recently grammaticalized ones in KCW, since Occam's Razor favours the simpler analysis—in this case single-lexeme prepositions rather than two-lexeme sequences of adverb plus null generic preposition. But this issue is left unresolved in the absence of firmer evidence.

5.1.2 Dependents ('objects') of prepositions

All types of noun phrases are attested as dependents of prepositions, i.e. as what are traditionally called objects thereof. Pronouns are attested only with the generic *kopa* 'preposition' and *kanamokst* 'with'. Personal pronouns are attested with both of these, as in (239):

(239) (a) *aiak nsaika klatwa mamuk= komtaks kopa msaika* [127]
quickly 1PL to.go CAUS= to.know PREP 2PL
'we're going to go ahead and inform you folks right away'
(~ '…make known to you folks…')
(b) *alta iaka ilo kanamokst naika* [111]
PRES 3 NEG with 1SG
'he's not with me now'

[209] *Sahali Ilihi* is the conventional term for the Christian concept 'heaven', cf. Johnson's compendium of previously published CW vocabulary (1978:308-309 [s.v. *EARTH*]).

But non-personal pronouns are attested only with generic *kopa*, as in (240):

(240) (a) *kopit naika wawa kopa ukuk* [17]
CMPT 1SG to.talk PREP DEM
'I'm done talking about this.'

(b) *kopa iht || naika tiki wawa kopa maika* [13]
PREP one.thing 1SG to.want to.talk PREP 2SG
'there's one thing I want to talk to you about'
('about one thing || I want to talk to you')

Aside from the pronouns just discussed, both bare nouns as in (241 a,b) and nouns that are modified by any combination of dependents as in (c,d) are robustly attested as objects of prepositions:

(241) (a) *kopa Winsdi pulakli naika mamuk= pipa…* [28]
PREP Wednesday evening 1SG CAUS= letter
'on Wednesday in the evening I'm writing…'

(b) *naika kanamokst ʃarli Frai kopa <16>* [67]
1SG with Charlie Frye PREP Camp.16
'I'm with Charlie Frye at [Camp] 16'

(c) *Pir ʃirus kanamokst ukuk tilikom tʃako klahani* [61]
Père Chirouse with DEM people to.come outside
'Père Chirouse, along with those people, got out

kopa skukum haws
PREP strong building
of jail'

(d) *ikta mamuk sahali ukuk ilihi*
what? to.do above DEM land
'what goes on above this world' [51]

As has already been pointed out, nominalized verb phrases are also found as dependents of prepositions in some usages (§5.1.1.1.2.2,3).

5.1.3 Quasi-prepositional distributives

Semantically if not syntactically related to prepositional usages, distributional senses ('one X per Y') are expressed by simple juxtaposition as in (242):

(242) *mokst tala iht ton* [63]
two dollar one tonne
'$2 per tonne'

(This is exactly paralleled in Le Jeune's literary variety: *ilip kopa mokst tala iht pitʃ* 'more than $2 per page' [*Kamloops Wawa* 1895b].) It does not seem profitable to posit a null preposition in this function, however, since no overt prepositional structure on the order of **mokst tala kopa iht ton* is attested as alternating with the structure just described.

5.1.4 Summary of prepositional phrases

The Kamloops Chinúk Wawa adpositional inventory is limited to prepositions. There is one primarily-prepositional item *kopa* (allomorph ∅) 'PREP' having a broad range of meanings. This generic preposition's meaning can be attenuated by combination with a preceding adverb. *Kopa* itself can modify the sense of a following adverb. There are three prepositions homophonous with adverbs or adjectives and having less-general meanings; two of these forms are quite marginal. A distributive construction semantically related to prepositions involves neither null nor overt prepositions but juxtaposition of arguments.

5.2 Conjunctions (coordination)

Phrasal and clausal conjunction (coordination), "an item or process whose primary function is to connect words or other constructions" (Crystal 1985:65), is achieved by either of two means, a general 'and/but' type or an alternative 'either-or' type. (Cf. Dixon 2010a:134-137.) This is summarized in Table 43:

Type	***Form***
General ('and/but') §5.2.1	Overt: *pi* 'CONJ' including defocusing / *an* 'and'
Alternative ('either-or') §5.2.2	Implicit: juxtaposed irrealis clauses

Table 43: Conjunctions[210]

The following subsections discuss both of these types in turn.

[210] A conjunction-like construction is *wiht ilo* 'neither; not…either' (literally 'also not'), which provides a negative contrast of one clause with a preceding one, as in *pus ilo maika kwaʃ kopa iaka wiht ilo naika kwaʃ kopa iaka* [058] 'If you're not worried about him, I won't be worried about him either.'

5.2.1 General

There are two coordinating conjunctions. Both conjoin either phrases or clauses, in either case maintaining the conjuncts in roughly equal focus, as §5.2.1.1 discusses. §5.2.1.2 will however examine an apparent defocusing use of one conjunction.

Like the preposition *kopa* (§6.1), the conjunction *pi* is of very general function and distribution. Its range of meanings includes both coordination 'and; but' as in (243 a, b) respectively, and subordination as in (c, d) (cf. §6.2.1):

(243) (a) *kopa Kamlups pi wiht kopa ʃuswap* [19]
PREP Kamloops CONJ also PREP Shuswap
'at Kamloops and also at Shuswap'

(b) *kopit naika wawa kopa maika Pir Lʃak pi iht naika* [6]
CMPT 1SG to.talk PREP 2SG Père Le.Jacq CONJ one 1SG
'I'm done talking to you, Father Le Jacq, but there's one other thing I'll

siisim maika kopa ukuk ilip
to.tell 2SG PREP DEM before
tell you in this [letter] first'

(c) *klunas kakwa iaka aʃnu pi iaka mimlus* [31]
EVID thus 3 to.kneel CONJ 3 to.die
'I guess he was kneeling like that when he died'

(d) *naika tiki komtaks pus klaksta lost buk | pi [ukuk*
1SG to.want to.know IRR who? to.lose book CONJ DEM
'I want to know who lost some books | because [these

buk kanamokst tanas iktas mitlait kopa stik wik- saia
book with little.bit things COPspa PREP woods NEG- far
books were with a few belongings sitting in the woods near

kopa oihat]
PREP road
to the road]'

The second and rarer conjunction, *an*, like other obviously recent borrowings (e.g. the interjections *halo*, *gudbai* in §6.4.2.1, differs from *pi* in that it approximates the source form's distributional restrictions in English (thus its gloss here as 'and'), as in (244):

(244) (a) *tanas tʃikmin iaka= mitlait kopa naika kopa ukuk* [110]
little.bit money 3AGR= COPex PREP 1SG PREP DEM
'I've got a little money left for the

buk -s an pinstil -ts͡
book -PL and pencil –PL
books and pencils'
(* '…for books or pencils')

(b) *an kata naika mamuk pi naika iskom man* [4]
CONJ ADMIR 1SG to.work CONJ 1SG to.get husband
'and how [hard] I worked when I got married!'
(* …*an naika iskom*…)

A further development of *pi*—not attested for *an*—is a use seemingly defocusing a main clause that stands rightward of its subordinate clause. The subordinate is apparently correspondingly emphasized (indicated by bold type), as in (245):

(245) (a) ***kopit pus maika hilp naika*** *pi naika tʃ͡ako= komtaks* [10]
only IRR 2SG to.help 1SG CONJ 1SG INGR= to.know
'**only if you help me**[, then] will I learn

kopa tlus wa͡wa͡
PREP good words
about the good word'

(b) ***pus iaka= tʃ͡ako maika iahsut aias lon*** *pi maika* [53]
IRR 3AGR= to.become 2SG hair very long CONJ 2SG
'**when your hair gets nice and long**, [then]

aiak tʃ͡ako kopa naika ilihi
immediately to.come PREP 1SG village
hurry to my village'

The corresponding usage without *pi* seems to maintain the focus on the main predicate, as in (246):

(246) (a) *pus maika nanitʃ͡ ukuk klutʃ͡min [Ø]* ***ilo maika*** [21]
IRR 2SG to.see DEM woman Ø NEG 2SG
'when you see this woman, **don't you**

patlatʃ͡ NULL ⊕
to.give 3 communion
give her communion'

(b) *pus maika nanitʃ ukuk pipa* ***Ø klunas maika ajʊ=*** ***ihi*** [53]
IRR 2SG to.see DEM letter Ø EVID 2SG IMPFV= to.laugh
'when you read this letter, **I reckon you'll be laughing**

kopa ukuk wawa
PREP DEM words
at this (kind of) talk'

However, at this writing definitive proof of such a difference in focus has yet to be provided. Regardless, such apparent focusing contrasts have not previously been discussed in the Chinúk Wawa literature; only Vrzić (1999:134) has discussed—in passing—the existence of focus constructions in CW, and she mentions only fronting.

5.2.2 Alternative ('either-or')

Unique in structure are alternative questions in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa (cf. §4.1.3.2.2.1.2). These are 'either-or' choices among "propositions that differ in some way other than logical polarity" (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:179; cf. Schachter 1985:33). Such propositions are usually expressed as irrealis clauses (§5.1.3.1), and conjunction is left implicit as in (247):

(247) (a) *pus patlatʃ tikat… pus tilikom klatwa* [23]
IRR to.send ticket IRR people to.go
'whether to send a ticket…or for the people to go'

(b) *pus kata | pus tlus pus klahawiam…* [32]
IRR how? IRR good IRR miserable
'how they [his relatives] are: [either] well or miserable'

(c) *ikta ukuk wawa | pus tʃinuk | pus* [38][211]
what? DEM language IRR Chinúk.Wawa | IRR
'what was the [original] language [of man]? | [either] Chinúk Wawa, | or

hwait man + wawa | ʃana man + wawa |
white man language China man language
white men's language, | Chinese |

pus Sawaʃ wawa
IRR Indian language
or Indian?'

[211] Though *ʃana man + wawa* is not preceded by *pus*, it seems clear that it is one of four alternatives presented by the writer.

Example (c) demonstrates that more than two alternatives can be presented using this structure. It also contains the one instance where an alternative proposition is not marked as irrealis. Whether this was due to *pus* being accidentally omitted before *fana man+wa͡wa͡* by the writer, or being understood from the context, or some other reason is unknown. Like the defocusing construction using the conjunction *pi*, this alternative-question construction is previously unattested in the Chinúk Wawa literature (as already noted at §4.1.3.2.2.1.2.) This is perhaps unsurprising since that literature has consisted largely of lists of isolated words.

5.2.3 Summary of conjunction

Phrasal and clausal conjunction is accomplished by three formal means. There are two overt lexemes *pi* and *an*. *An* behaves like a recent loan in retaining the distribution of English 'and'. The conjunction *pi* has a specialized additional function in creating a seemingly defocusing construction that contrasts syntactically and apparently semantically with a parallel construction lacking *pi*. A non-overt third mechanism, having a specialized alternative-question function, is simple juxtaposition of irrealis clauses. The defocusing and alternative-question functions are previously undescribed in the Chinúk Wawa literature.

5.3 Complementization

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa makes use of a variety of forms for complementization, both in subordinate and main clauses. Thus unlike say English, KCW has ways of clearly marking what generative grammarians call the head of CP (the complementizer phrase) or syntactic head of every clause. In other words, it is not only subordinate clauses that are introduced by (overt) complementizers in this language. The Realis-Irrealis distinction is ubiquitous in all complementizer choices. Table 44 shows the options for such marking:

Type	***Form***	***Function***
Realis	*Ø* *§§5.3.1,* *5.3.2.1.1*	*Main*: Assumed condition; everywhere but content questions *Subordinate*: Condition likely to be or come true
”	*kata (‘how’)* *§5.3.2.1.2*	*Subordinate*: Narrated complement of a main-clause mental- or speech-event predicate
”	*kakwa͡ (‘as, like’)* *§5.3.2.1.3*	*Subordinate*: Actual result of / simultaneity with the main-clause condition
”	*pi (‘and’)* *§5.3.2.1.4*	*Subordinate*: Any causal relation to the main-clause condition
”	*kopa (PREP)* *§5.3.2.1.5*	”
Irrealis	*pus (IRR)* *§§5.3.1,* *5.3.2.2*	*Main*: content questions *Subordinate*: General irrealis; verbal purpose of main-clause condition; alternative questions

Table 44: Complementizers

It is useful to examine the expression of complementizer in main clauses first (§5.3.1), in order to make clear the parallels and contrasts with embedded complements (§5.3.2).

5.3.1 Main clauses

A main clause, one that can appear in discourse on its own (Crystal 1985:186, Payne 1997:306) and that can be the matrix or “superordinate sentence [sic] within which another sentence is embedded” (Crystal 1985:190), generally has no overt complementizer. It is normally marked for realis modality by *Ø* (§4.1.4.1), as in (248):

(248) (a) *Ø alki naika mamuk= tsi͡m kopa iaka* [17]
Ø FUT 1SG CAUS= written PREP 3
‘Ø I’ll write to him’

(b) *Ø wi͡ht iawa͡ msaika tlus stju͡il* [31]
Ø also then 2PL well to.pray
‘Ø and then you folks will pray well too’

However, the complementizer *pus* ‘irrealis’ (§4.1.4.1) can appear in some main clauses, specifically in content questions, as in (249):

(249) (a) *pus ikta maika tomtom kopa ukuk [naika* [15]
IRR what? 2SG to.think PREP DEM 1SG
'Ø what do you think about what [I've

wawa 0 kopa maika]
to.tell 0 PREP 2SG
told you 0]?'

(b) *pus ikta maika tiki [Ø mamuk 0]* [44]
IRR what? 2SG to.want $Ø_{2SG}$ to.do 0
'Ø what do you want [Ø to do 0]?'

Other types of main clause than this derive any irrealis sense not from a complementizer, but from the addition of the inferential evidential particle *klunas* (§5.4.2.3.1).

5.3.2 Subordinate clauses

Subordination is understood here as "the process of linking linguistic units so that they have different syntactic status, one being dependent upon the other, and usually a constituent of the other" (Crystal 1985:294). With exceptions that will be detailed below, subordinate (dependent) clauses most often stand rightward of the main clause as is the tendency among other VO languages (cf. Payne 1997:314). Complementizers stand immediately to the left of subordinate clauses. As has been seen in the above table, complementizer choice bears out the realis-irrealis distinction; the following subsections examine these two complementizer modalities respectively.

5.3.2.1 Realis

Five realis complementizers are used in subordination. In §§5.3.2.1.1-5, the complementizers *Ø*, *kopa* (signaling causes), *kata*, *kakwa*, and *pi* are respectively discussed. (For an irrealis use of *kopa*, signaling purposes, see §5.3.2.2.2.)

5.3.2.1.1 Ø

Subordination of clauses to a main predicate is at its simplest achieved by the use of null realis complementizer *Ø*. In most such cases, the main and embedded clauses are both formally identical to usual freestanding clauses. Normally the selection of null complementizer appears to indicate a speaker's attitude presupposing the veracity of the information, or the likelihood of achievement of the state or action in an embedded clause. The subordinate clause [hereinafter enclosed in brackets] then normally stands to the right of the main clause as the examples in (250) show:

(250) (a) (i) *iaka wawa Ø [aju tilikom mimlus kopa Lilwat]* [20]
3 to.say $Ø_{REAL}$ [many people to.die PREP Lillooet]
'he says Ø [a lot of people have died at Lillooet]'

(ii) **Ø [aju tilikom mimlus kopa Lilwat] | iaka wawa*
*Ø [a lot of people have died at Lillooet], he says'

(b) (i) *wik klaska komtaks Ø [ikta klaska mamuk]* [15]
NEG 3PL to.know $Ø_{REAL}$ what? 3PL to.do
'they don't know Ø [what they're doing]'

(ii) **Ø [ikta klaska mamuk] | wik klaska komtaks*
*Ø [what they're doing], they don't know'

The item *ikta mamuk* 'why?', though semantically functioning as a single interrogative unit, syntactically is exceptional among content-question forms (cf. §5.3.1) in usually (nearly always) cooccurring with this complementizer *Ø* rather than irrealis *pus*, as in (251):

(251) *∅ ikta mamuk Ø [ilo aiak maika mamuk= pipa kopa naika]* [46]
REAL what? to.make $Ø_{REAL}$ NEG quickly 2SG CAUS= letter PREP 1SG
'Why don't you write to me quickly?'
(~'Why is it that [you don't write to me quickly]?')

As is crosslinguistically common (cf. Payne 1997:315), when the subject / agent of the main and subordinate clause are identical, some subordinate clauses omit that argument, i.e. use a gap [here signaled by *0*]. Such gaps are particularly common in subordinates of main-clause verbs of wanting and going as in (252):

(252) (a) *naika tiki Ø [0 wawa kopa maika]* [13]
1SG to.want Ø 0 to.talk PREP 2SG
'I want to [0 talk to you]'

(b) *…naika klatwa Ø [0 nanitʃ msaika lisivik]* [21]
1SG to.go Ø 0 to.see 2PL bishop
'…I go Ø [0 visit you bishops]'

Embedded content-question clauses with null complementizer are interpretable as relatives having definite reference, as in (253):

(253) (a) *naika komtaks Ø [kah maika mitlait]* [23]
1SG to.know Ø where? 2SG COPspa
'I know Ø [(exactly) where you are]'

(b) *tlus maika wawa Ø [kansih tʃikmin] pi naika patlatʃ* [42]
IMPRT 2SG to.tell Ø how.much? money CONJ 1SG to.send
'tell (me) Ø [(precisely) how much money it is] and I'll send

kakwa ʃikmin
same money
that much money'

By contrast, content-question subordinates with overt complementizer *pus* are interpreted as questions. For more information on these, see §5.3.2.2.1.

5.3.2.1.2 *Kata*

Kata 'how' functions as a realis reportive complementizer. The subordinate clause is then formally identical with a freestanding declarative clause, i.e. it has an overt subject / agent as in (254):

(254) (a) *naika tlap kopa naika tomtom kata [ʃK iaka= mimlus* [17]
1SG to.get PREP 1SG mind how? Jesus 3AGR= to.die
'I've got it in my mind how (it must have been when) [Jesus died

kopa laklwa]
PREP cross
on the cross]'

(b) *…siisim kata [ukuk ol man iaka last wawa* [31]
to.tell how? DEM old man 3 last words
'…tell how [this old man's last words (reportedly were)

[pus iaka mimlus]]
IRR 3 to.die
(when he was dying)]'

(c) *wiht naika patlatʃ kopa liplit kata* [39]
also 1SG to.send PREP priest how?
'I'll also send (a letter) to the priest (telling) how

[maika wawa]
2SG to.talk
[you're talking]'

(d) *drit tʃ͡ako aias sik nsaika tomtom pus [nsaika tlap=* [61]
really to.become very upset 1PL heart IRR 1PL O.C=
'We really got angry to [happen to hear (news of) how

komtaks kata [masatʃ͡i tilikom mamuk= skukum
to.know how? bad people CAUS= strong
[some evil people had

haw͡s Pir ʃirus]]
building Père Chirouse
jailed Father Chirouse]]'

As the above examples show, *kata* introduces events viewed as narratives that are complements of a mental-event or speech main predicate.

5.3.2.1.3 *Kakwa͡*

Kakwa͡ 'thus' resembles purposive *pus* in establishing a causal connection between embedded and main propositions, and in standing rightward of main clauses. However, *kakwa͡* clauses are realis, conveying the actual rather than projected result of a situation, and resemble main clauses in having overt subjects / agents as in (255):

(255) (a) *naika hilp naika broðir… kakwa͡ [naika tʃ͡ako kopa iakwa͡]* [10]
1SG to.help 1SG brother so 1SG to.come PREP here
'I'm going to help my brother…so [I came over here]'

(b) *ilo naika tlap ʃikmin kakwa͡* [*ilo naika* [19]
NEG 1SG to.get money so NEG 1SG
'I haven't got money, which is why [I'm not

klatwa͡ kopa Kamlups]
to.go PREP Kamloops
going to Kamloops]'

It should be noted that while purposive *pus* clauses are logical arguments of the main verb, *kakwa͡* clauses are not. This less-close connection with main verbs is evident from the very frequent overt treatment of *kakwa͡* clauses as conjoined (e.g. with *pi*) as in (256) rather than subordinate/embedded as above:

(256) (a) *alta naika lama iaka= ilo tlus pi kakwa͡ [tanas naika* [16]
PRES 1SG hand 3AGR= NEG good CONJ so little.bit 1SG
'lately my hand is not good and so [I've been a bit

kwa͡s] pi kakwa͡ [naika ilo mamuk= pipa kopa msaika]
to.fear CONJ so 1SG NEG CAUS= letter PREP 2PL
shy] and so [I haven't written to you folks]'

(b) *aiak klaska kuli kah mitlait hwi͡ski… pi kakwa͡* [43]
immediately 3PL to.run where? COPex alcohol CONJ so
'they run right off to where there's alcohol…and so

[drit naika sik tomtom kopa klaska]
really 1SG upset heart PREP 3PL]
[I'm very upset with them]

In another non-argument (coordinative) use, *kakwa͡* also infrequently signals simultaneity with the main-clause event, as in (257):

(257) (a) *naika mamuk= stju͡il kopa ʃK + buk kakwa͡* [53]
1SG CAUS= prayer PREP Jesus book as
'I was praying with the Jesus book as

[iaka= paia || naika ha͡ws]
[3AGR= to.burn 1SG house]
[my house burned]'

(b) *iaka kuli pus lahanʃut kopa Sugarkin… | ukuk kakwa͡* [43]
3 to.travel IRR to.confess PREP Sugarcane DEM as
'he traveled to make confession at Sugarcane… | this was while

[maika liplit kanawi͡ klatwa͡ kopa Sugarkin]
2SG priest all to.go PREP Sugarcane
[your priests were all going to Sugarcane]'

The relation between the 'result' and 'simultaneity' uses of *kakwa͡* is unclear at this writing.

5.3.2.1.4 *Pi*

Similar to the use of *kakwa͡* as a complementizer is *pi* with an evident cause-and-effect sense 'therefore' or 'because' (cf. §5.2.1). The subordinate-clause subject / agent is overt in this usage, which is not robustly attested. Examples are provided in (258):

(258) (a) *naika kwa͡ʃ kopa maika pi [naika ilo klatwa͡ kopa* [12]
1SG to.worry PREP 2SG CONJ 1SG NEG to.go PREP
'I'm worried about (what) you (will think) because [I haven't gone to

Kamlups kopa maika stʃu͡il]
Kamloops PREP 2SG prayer
Kamloops for your prayers]'

(b) *ilo naika tlap tʃi͡kmin pi [ilo drit naika komtaks pus* [22]
NEG 1SG to.get money CONJ NEG really 1SG to.know IRR
'I haven't got any money, so [I don't really know whether

[naika klatwa͡ kopa Kamlups alta]]
1SG to.go PREP Kamloops PRES
[I'll be going to Kamloops now]]'

(c) *kakwa͡ tlus maika mamuk= klahawi͡am nsaika pi [nsaika* [72]
so IMPRT 2SG CAUS= pitiful 1PL CONJ 1PL
'so please have pity on us, [because we're

aias klahawi͡am tilikom]
very pitiful people
very pitiful people]'

The meaning of complementizer *pi* is broad, allowing expression of any causal relation to the main-clause condition. This distribution parallels the use of *pi* as the generic conjunction and possibly also as a defocuser (§5.2.1).

5.3.2.1.5 *Kopa*

Subordinate clauses introduced by *kopa* (otherwise a preposition as in pan-CW) appear to be nominalizations (§4.1.1.1.2.2). That is, they are headed by items otherwise known in the corpus as verbs but not as nouns, which nonetheless behave like nouns: these clauses are usually possessed, with the logical possessor coreferential with the subject/agent of the main clause. They seem to express a realis cause of the main-predicate situation, as in (259):

(259) (a) *drit aju͡= sik naika tomtom kopa [naika piltan]* [10][212]
really IMPFV= upset 1SG heart PREP 1SG.POSS sinful
'I'm really feeling sorry because [I'm sinful]'

(b) *drit sik iaka tomtom kopa [iaka mimlus]* [1]
really upset 3 heart PREP 3POSS to.die
'he's really upset about [her dying]'

(c) *iaka aias tiki pus nsaika aʃnu kopa* [33]
3 very.much to.want IRR 1PL to.kneel PREP
'he loves to have us kneel (sc. in punishment) for

[kanawi͡ kuli ilip]
all to.travel forth
[any leaving (sc. the village)]

A less clearly realis usage is to express purpose, a function identical with that of *pus* except that the embedded clause here is syntactically again a nominal rather than verbal phrase. (Contrast also with relative clauses, which are inflected for person and are introduced by null complementizer [cf. §4.1.3.1.1.1].) Examples are shown in (260):

(260) (a) *klaska mamuk kwa͡nisim tlus tomtom kopa [0 mamuk= stju͡il]* [40][213]
3PL to.make always good heart PREP 0 CAUS= prayer
'they always have their minds made up for [0 praying]'

(b) *tanas tʃi͡kmin kopa [0 klatwa͡ kopa Kamlups]* [58]
little.bit money PREP 0 to.go PREP Kamloops
'a bit of money to [0 go to Kamloops]'

(c) *iht tʃi͡kmin… kopa biʃop || naika patlatʃ kopa [iaka wa͡wa͡]* [17]
one money PREP bishop 1SG to.send PREP 3 speech
'I'm sending a dollar [sic] for the bishop, for [his (upcoming) address]'

At this writing it is not clear whether examples like the last three are actually realis in intent. Certainly each refers to an as yet unrealized condition, which is one of the characteristic functions of Irrealis *pus* (§5.3.1, §5.3.2.2). Perhaps nominalization actually neutralizes the ±realis value of an embedded clause. In that case, *kopa* would be the one complementizer that is neutral with respect to this omnipresent modality distinction.

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[212] In the other known CW varieties, homonyms of *piltan* are famously associated with the sense 'insane', reputedly after an Archibald (or Joshua) Pelton (or Felton) who suffered mental difficulties in the early Oregon Country; cf. Archibald Pelton in the Pacific Northwest 1809-1812 (2007), Johnson (1978). Based on the word's typical usage in *Kamloops Wawa* in locutions like *pilton mamuk* 'sinful deeds', and its presence in a letter addressed to a priest, I have assigned its one occurrence in the corpus the more specialized religious sense here, which is previously unattested in the CW literature.

[213] Here *mamuk* is a main verb and *tlus tomtom* a noun phrase. An alternative reading with a clitic, *mamuk= […] tlus tomtom*, is unlikely due to the intervening adverb *kwa͡nisim*. Note: the use of *kopa* rather than complementizer *pus* leaves open the logical possibility that this is an example of the preposition *kopa* with *mamuk= stju͡il* being an otherwise unattested noun.

5.3.2.2 Irrealis *pus*

Embedded clauses also can be overtly marked by an irrealis complementizer at the left periphery. The general irrealis complementizer *pus* instantiates various functions, depending on factors including the ordering of the subordinate clause with relation to the main clause. When standing to the right of a main clause with a predicate denoting a mental event, *pus* indicates that the subordinate clause is irrealis, broadly construed (see §4.1.4 on modality). This complementizer imparts an apparent sense of doubt verging on the evidential (about which category see §5.4.2.3) in that it specifies the lack of commitment on the speaker's part to the reality or veracity of the subordinate proposition. Examples are given in (261):

(261) (a) *nsaika kwa͡ʃ pus [mimlus nsaika iktas]* [10]
1PL to.fear IRR to.die 1SG cattle
'We're worried that [our cattle might die]'

(b) *ʃarli Frai wa͡wa͡ pus [naika kaltaʃ man]* [68]
Charlie Frye to.say IRR 1SG idle man
'Charlie Frye said Ø/that [I'm some sort of no-good man]'

(c) *naika tiki pus [maika patla͡ʃ komtaks…]* [23]
1SG to.want IRR 2SG PERM to.know
'I want for [you to let (me) know…]'

(d) *ilo naika tiki pus [maika maʃ…]* [12]
NEG 1SG to.want IRR 2SG to.throw
'I don't want for [you to throw away…]

The subject / agent of a main clause can be coreferential with that of a subordinate clause. In that case the subordinate-clause subject is usually non-overt, and some other complementizer is used, such as *Ø* (§5.3.2.1) or *kopa* (§5.3.2.2). But subordinate-clause subjects are sometimes overt when *pus* is used, as in (262):

(262) (a) *naika tiki pus [kwa͡nisim naika tlap* [101]
1SG to.want IRR always 1SG to.receive
'I want to [always get

kopa naika pipa]
PREP 1SG paper
my newspaper]'

(b) *Ogju͡st iaka tʃi͡kmin… Ø kopa [pipa || pus [iaka piii]]* [34] [214]
August 3 money COPeq PREP paper IRR 3 to.pay
'August's money is for [him to pay for the newspaper]'

[214] This example involves a clefted subject, but for clarity of exposition the embedded clause is bracketed as though it began with the complementizer.

In the case of subordinate content-question clauses, *pus* seems to indicate a desire for more detailed knowledge of the quantity, quality etc. in question (as in (263):

(263) (a) *naika tiki komtaks pus [kansih naika ʃabon]* [15]
1SG to.want to.know IRR how.much? 1SG credit]
'I want to know Ø [how much I owe]'

(b) *…patlatʃ komtaks pus [kah son maika tʃako kopa ʃuswap]* [23]
PERM to.know IRR where? day 2SG to.come PREP Shuswap
'…let (me) know Ø [which day you're coming to Shuswap]'

Interestingly, clefting (the focus operation) can place subordinate-clause material leftward of this complementizer such as *iaka tilikom kopa iakwa* in (264):

(264) *iaka tiki komtaks [iaka tilikom kopa iakwa || pus kata Ø]* [32]
3 to.want to.know 3 people PREP here IRR how? COPeq
'he wants 0 to know [(about) his relatives over here, || how (they are)]

With main-clause verbs other than psych predicates, rightward *pus* tends to indicate purpose, without implying the fulfillment thereof, as (265) shows:

(265) (a) *liplit iaka= wawa pus [naika mamuk= komtaks* [69]
priest 3AGR= to.say IRR 1SG CAUS= to.know
'the priest asked/said for [me to teach

kopa tanas= man ukuk tʃinuk pipa]
PREP DIM= man DEM Chinúk.Wawa writing
the young people shorthand]'

(b) *tlus maika hilp naika pus* [10]
IMPRT 2SG to.help 1SG IRR
'please help me so that

[iaka= tʃako= skukum || naika tomtom]
3AGR= INGR= strong 1SG heart
[my heart becomes strong]'

In clauses to the left of the main clause, *pus* normally means 'if / when(ever)' or 'whether' as in (266 a, b); only the conventionalized discourse marker *pus maika komtaks* 'by the way' allows something like the purposive sense of *pus* leftward of main clauses as in (c):

(266) (a) *<u>pus</u> [maika tlap ukuk t͡ʃikmin] | tlus maika mamuk=* [17]
IRR [2SG to.get DEM money IMPRT 2SG CAUS=
'<u>when</u> [you get this money] | please

t͡sim kopa naika
written PREP 1SG
write to me'

(b) *<u>pus</u> [maika nanit͡ʃ ukuk klut͡ʃmin] | ilo maika patlat͡ʃ Ø <⊕>*
IRR 2SG to.see DEM woman NEG 2SG to.give 3 communion
'<u>if</u> [you see this woman] | don't give her communion

kopa Kamlups [21]
PREP Kamloops
at Kamloops'

(c) *<u>pus [maika komtaks]</u> naika klut͡ʃmin iaka= sik kopa Liton* [67]
IRR 2SG to.know 1SG woman 3AGR= ill PREP Lytton
'[<u>by the way</u>], my wife is ill at Lytton'

No clear example is attested of a *pus* clause standing to the right of the main clause and having the sense 'if / when(ever)', 'whether'. Following in (267) are the only two examples that seem open to such a reading, due to their containing an overt pronoun coindexed with a main-clause argument, but the more plausible is the ubiquitous purposive usage (because *pus*-clauses having the sense 'if/when' tend to stand leftward of the main clause; these examples stand rightward):

(267) (a) *ilo klaksta hilp kopa naika kopa ikta <u>pus</u> [naika piii* [64]
NEG who? to.help PREP 1SG PREP what? IRR 1SG to.pay
'nobody helped me in any way <u>for</u> [me to pay

ukuk hwa͡it man]
DEM white man
that white man]'

(b) *iht tala pi sitkom ʃikmin iaka patlat͡ʃ kopa* [64]
one dollar CONJ half money 3 to.give PREP
'he gave $1.50 to

naika <u>pus</u> [naika piii ukuk sama]
1SG IRR 1SG to.pay DEM white.person]
me <u>for</u> [me to pay that white person]'

Consecutive—i.e. juxtaposed—*pus* subordinates are interpreted as an alternative question (§5.1.3.2.2.1.2).

5.3.3 Summary of complementization

Complementization in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is associated with the realis-irrealis modality distinction, and is fairly elaborated. Phonologically overt complementization is highly restricted in main clauses, but is quite and varied in subordinates. Many KCW complementizers express causal relationships between main- and subordinate-clause propositions. Subordinates introduced by the irrealis complementizer *pus* often appear to have distinct functions, roughly temporal versus modal, associated respectively with syntactic position leftward or rightward of main clauses.

5.4 Sentential-level structures

A number of minor closed classes, which stand outside the kinds of phrases and clauses described in previous sections, operate at the sentential level and above. That is, these interact with clauses to construct utterances of greater complexity. A few of these classes have been introduced in the course of discussing the major categories:

- The discussion of personal pronouns (§4.2.1.1.1) has referred to the respectively clausal- and sentential-level scope of third-person *iaka* versus *Ø*.
- And numerous Kamloops Chinúk Wawa examples have been presented with the symbol ‖, denoting focusing / ‘cleft’- (focus-)type operations, which restructure sentential surface syntax.
- In the treatment of realis / irrealis modality distinctions (§4.1.3.1), evidentiality has been invoked.

Focus and evidentiality will be discussed at greater length below, and two additional categories will be introduced. Dividing these four into syntactically versus lexically marked phenomena, the resulting arrangement of the present section is schematized in Table 45:

Structure	***Subtype***
Syntactic: Focus §5.4.1	--
Lexical: Particles §5.4.2	Interjections §5.4.2.1
”	Discourse markers §5.4.2.2
”	Evidentials §5.4.2.3

Table 45: Sentential-level structures

5.4.1 Syntactic marking: Focus

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa appears to use certain kinds of constituent-movement (clefting) or -marking to modify the focality of a sentence element. (By contrast neither 'WH-movement' (§4.1.3.2.2.2) nor agreement-marking (§4.1.1) noticeably affect focus.) Given the lack of information on KCW prosody, it is entirely likely that the present section misses certain nuances present in speech, where "[p]robably the most common way of adjusting the pragmatic status of particular pieces of information is intonation" (Payne 1997:271).

In the present study 'focus' will be understood as the part of a sentence that is presented as new information (Payne 1997:267), "which is at the centre…of [the speaker's] communicative interest" (Crystal 1985:123).[215] Focusing operations presented here are analyzed as varying mainly in heightening versus reducing an argument's salience, via syntactic movement of the argument and by leaving or not leaving a phonologically overt trace referring to it. Table 46 summarizes the relevant divisions:

Type	***Subtype***	***Form***	***Subsection***
Focus-increasing ('focusing') §5.4.1.1	Left-dislocation	Left-periphery movement, overt trace, optional preposition *kopa* 'about'	§5.4.1.1.1
"	Fronting	Left-periphery movement, *Ø* trace	§5.4.1.1.2
Focus-reducing ('defocusing') §5.4.1.2	Prepositional (phrasal)	*kopa*	§5.4.1.2.1
"	Conjunctional (clausal)	*pi*	§5.4.1.2.2

Table 46: Focus types

Focused material is <u>underlined</u> in the following subsections, and the boundary between it and the remainder of a clause is indicated by the symbol ||. Focus can be applied to material in main clauses as in (268 a, b), or in subordinates as in (c,d) [a trace symbol *0* is used in (c) for clarity]:

(268) (a) *<u>kopit iht</u>* || *naika ilo komtaks* [40]
only one 1SG NEG to.understand
'<u>(there's just) one thing</u> I don't understand'

[215] The opposite of focus is 'topic', understood here as old information (Payne 1997:271) that is presupposed or assumed by the speaker (cf. Crystal 1985:123).

(b) *<9> taw͡sin fut || naika tlap alta* [62]
nine thousand foot 1SG to.get PRES
'9,000 feet [of lumber is what] || I've got so far'

(c) *iaka tiki komtaks [iaka tilikom kopa iakwa͡ || pus* [32]
3 to.want to.know 3 people PREP here IRR
'he wants to know [(about) his relatives over here, ||

[kata 0 ∅]]
how? 0 COPeq
[how 0 (sc. they are)]]

(d) *Ogj͡ust iaka tʃ͡ikmin… Ø kopa [pipa || pus iaka piii]* [34]
August 3 money COPeq PREP paper IRR 3 to.pay
'August's money is for [the newspaper, for him to pay]'

As the above examples illustrate, only headed entities—in these instances noun phrases—appear to be focusable. Dependents, for example clitics and particles, were not identified in focus constructions. The specific syntactic classes that are focusable and/or defocusable have not been identified at this writing.

5.4.1.1 Focus-increasing ('focusing')

Two types of leftward-movement operation seem to be employed with the effect of increasing the focus of the moved argument. No difference in meaning is clear between the two at this writing. Left-dislocation is discussed in §5.4.1.1.1, and fronting in §5.4.1.1.2.

5.4.1.1.1 Left-dislocation

Focusing that leaves what can be interpreted as an overt trace is here termed left-dislocation after Payne (1997:273-275). The affected constituent is not removed from a clause, but instead is restated and functions as a clarifying comment on the clause. The dislocated item (herein underlined) is moved leftward of the remainder of the clause, is optionally preceded by the preposition *kopa* 'about', and leaves a pronoun as a trace as in (269):

(269) (a) *ilip tilikom || kopit iht klaska mitlait wa͡wa͡* [38]
first people only one 3PL COPposs language
'(As for) the first people || (, they) had just one language.'

(b) *wiht kopa watʃman || naika tlus tomtom klaska* [39]
also PREP watchman 1SG good heart 3PL
'Also, about the watchmen, || I'm happy they

skukum hilp naika
strongly to.help 1SG
back me up firmly.'

5.4.1.1.2 Fronting (clefting)

Apparent focusing by extraposition of an argument from a phrase, leaving no overt phonological trace, is here termed fronting, following Payne (1997:275; also Crystal 1985:129), or called by the synonym 'clefting'. The lack of phonological exponence is here signified by *0*. The fronted item is moved leftward, as (270) shows:

(270) (a) *iaka tiki komtaks [iaka tilikom kopa iakwa || pus kata 0]* [32]
3 to.want to.know 3 people PREP here IRR how? *0*
'He wants to know [, his relatives around here, || how (they) are],

pus tlus pus klahawiam]
IRR good IRR miserable
well or miserable].'

(b) *iht || naika siisim maika 0* [6]
one 1SG to.tell 2SG *0*
'I'll tell you (just) one thing.'

(c) *kopa iht || naika tiki wawa 0* [13]
PREP one 1SG to.want to.talk *0*
'There's one (other) thing I want to talk about.'

As these examples show, any argument can be fronted: subjects or agents, objects/patients, and obliques.

5.4.1.2 Focus-reducing ('defocusing')

As for the reduction of focus on a constituent, allowing another constituent to rise in semantic prominence, again two options appear to be available. Both types of 'defocusing' are however implemented by overt marking rather than by movement. These two strategies are differentiated both by the respective form of marking used and by their scope or syntactic level of operation (cf. Crystal 1985:271, Payne 1997:69). Prepositional defocusing is discussed in §5.4.2.2.1, and brief reference to conjunctional defocusing is made in §5.4.2.2.2.

5.4.1.2.1 Prepositional (phrasal)

One interesting if not frequent construction using preposition *kopa* (cf. §6.1.1.1) appears to demote and consequently defocus an argument of a verb phrase, especially a semantic patient (object) as seen below. This is done by rendering that argument as a syntactic oblique (§4.1.2.2). This operation is shown in (271a), with (b) illustrating the corresponding non-defocused usage [here SYN means 'syntactic' and SEM 'semantic']:

(271) (a) *[iaka]$_{agt}$ mamuk [maika]$_{objSYN/obqSEM}$ [kopa ukuk laplaʃ]$_{obqSYN/objSEM}$* [62]
3 to.make 2SG PREP DEM board
'[They (sic)] made [you] [the boards]'
(i.e. '…made the boards for you')

(b) *[naika]$_{agt}$ mamuk [ukuk pipa]$_{objSYN/objSEM}$ [kopa maika]$_{obqSYN/obqSEM}$* [15]
1SG to.make DEM letter PREP 2SG
'[I] am writing [this letter] [to you]'

As can be seen in (a), any semantic oblique that may be present is concomitantly promoted to syntactic objecthood in this defocusing construction, which is to say it appears without a preposition. For such structures, defocusing effectively switches the roles of the semantic object and oblique.

An example with only a semantic agent and patient (with no oblique) is shown in (272a), with a non-defocused similar clause for comparison in (b):

(272) (a) *kopit [naika]$_{agt}$ tiki [kopa ʃK]$_{obqSYN/objSEM}$* [70]
only 1SG]$_{agt}$ to.like PREP Jesus
'[I]$_{agt}$ (have) only love (for) [Jesus]'

(b) *[naika]$_{agt}$ drit aias tiki [maika]$_{objSYN/objSEM}$* [21]
1SG]$_{agt}$ really greatly to.like [2SG]
'[I]$_{agt}$ really love [you]'

The 'defocusing' operation shown here resembles an antipassive, what Payne terms "a valence-decreasing operation…[that] downplays the centrality of one participant by downgrading the syntactic status of the verbal argument that refers to that participant…antipassives downplay the centrality of a patient". Antipassives, which are widespread in Salish languages (Kroeber 1999:31-32, 42-43) such as KCW speakers used natively, typically do the following:

- omit or put the patient (object) into an oblique case
- inflect like intransitives
- treat the agent like the subject of an intransitive

(Payne 1997:219). However, the above examples, especially (268a), do not clearly do all of these. The presence there of a syntactic object, and of an agent in the usual position for that argument, and of preverbal subject/agent in (269a) as opposed to say a postverbal position, which is a possibility for subjects of intransitives (§4.1.2.1), reduce my

confidence in an antipassive analysis. For these reasons and because focus-manipulating operations are common in KCW, I have adopted the 'defocusing' view of this use of *kopa*.

Defocusing by *kopa* can be compared with the defocusing use of the conjunction *pi* (already mentioned at §5.2.1).

5.4.1.2.2 Conjunctional (clausal)

The use of the generic conjunction *pi* with apparent defocusing effect has been discussed in §5.2.1, to which the reader is referred. Here it suffices to observe that this use of *pi* seems to indicate that the major focus in a sentence is on the first clause, i.e. the one not preceded by the conjunction. In applying at the clausal level, *pi*-defocusing is in complementary distribution with phrasal-level prepositional defocusing (§5.4.1.2.1).

5.4.1.3 Summary of focus

Focusing in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is accomplished by two mechanisms: leftward extraposition of an argument, or overt marking with a function word. One subtype of the former, left-dislocation, can optionally use both of these simultaneously. Function words that can indicate focusing are the preposition *kopa* (having verb-phrase scope) and the conjunction *pi* (with interclausal/sentential scope). The present description of focusing operations in KCW is assumed to be incomplete due to the lack of information on prosody in this variety, yet this is the first treatment of focus in the CW literature.

5.4.2 Overt marking: Sentence-level markers

Several sentential-level (discourse-level) operations are marked overtly. The following subsections examine three types of sentence-level items identified in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa: interjections in §5.4.2.1, discourse markers in §5.4.2.2, and evidential markers in §5.4.2.3.

5.4.2.1 Interjections

A number of interjections are used in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. These prototypically "can be described as a conventionalized cry, typically indicating the speaker's emotional response to something that has happened to them, or something that they have observed or become aware of" (Dixon 2010b:27). An interjection "can make up a complete utterance…or…be in apposition to a following sentence, which describes the reason for the emotional response" (p. 28). Crystal says such items are "unproductive, do not enter into syntactic relationships with other classes, and [their] function is purely emotive" (Crystal 1985:160-161). Table 47 summarizes the items identified as interjections in the corpus:[216]

[216] No negative- or positive-polarity interjections (i.e. 'words' for 'no' or 'yes', capable of standing as utterances by themselves) were found in the corpus. (In the written-letter format, question- and answer-sequences would be unusual). A substantial number of the world's languages lack such specialized

Function	***Form***
Vocative	*o* (+ term of address)
expressive intensification	*o*
Salutation	*klahaw͡iam, gudbai, putah, putixw͡ia; halo*
Thanking	*mirsi*
Approval	*tlus*

Table 47: Interjections

These items are discussed in turn in the following paragraphs.

O is a very frequent interjection. When accompanied by a term of address, it usually exhibits a purely vocative function as in (273a), but ranges to an intensification that is only implicitly vocative, as in (b):

(273) (a) *o naika tlus aw͡ Pir Lʃ͡jun* [10]
oh 1SG good brother Père Le.Jeune
'oh my dear brother, Father Le Jeune'

(b) *o naika w͡awa͡ kopa maika…* [16]
oh 1SG to.say PREP 2SG
'oh, I say to you…'

The usage in (b) verges on the 'expressive intensification' sense of *o* that is discussed in the following subsection.

An alternate way of accomplishing vocative function is the employment of a bare NP, that is to dispense with the use of *o* as in the underlined items in (274):

---

interjections (Dixon 2010a:137, 2010b:29). Structures found that are functionally very similar are the optional positive discourse marker *nawiitka* ('truly', §5.4.2.2.4) and obligatory negative grammatical particle *ilo / wik* (cf. §3.2.2.3.2.4), as in the following examples:

nawiitka ankati naika maʃ iht tala kopa maika [130]
truly PAST 1SG to.send one dollar PREP 2SG
'I did send you a dollar'

ilo naika silim ukuk tʃinuk buk [140]
NEG 1SG to.sell DEM Chinook book
'I didn't sell those Chinúk Wawa books'

(274) (a) *naika tlus papa Pir L͡ʃʃun alta naika mamuk=* [100]
1SG good father Père Le.Jeune PRES 1SG CAUS=
'my good father, Père Le Jeune, now I'm

t͡sim kopa maika
written PREP 2SG
writing to you'

(b) *putah Fiialis putah Flaswa͡* [47]
goodbye Pierriche goodbye François
'goodbye, Pierriche; goodbye, François'

At this writing it is not clear whether any difference in meaning turns on the presence versus absence of *o* in vocatives.

Seemingly related to the above is an expressive intensifying function of *o* when it is not accompanied by a term of address, as in (275):

(275) (a) *o wi͡k- saia naika lost…* [23]
oh NEG- far 1SG be.lost
'oh, I almost forgot to mention…'

(b) *o an kata aias klahaw͡iam naika tomtom* [4]
oh CONJ ADMR very pitiful 1SG heart
'oh, and how very humble is my heart'

To what extent this use of *o* is distinct from the 'vocative' *o* is unclear at this writing.

Most other interjections found are salutations. *Putah* and *putuxwi͡a* (addressed to singular and plural respectively) are Shuswap-language salutations that were used by KCW writers of various ethnicities, while *klahaw͡iam* is common to all CW varieties (cf. Johnson 1978:388,389). All three express leave-taking, as in (276):

(276) (a) *klahaw͡iam kanawi͡ lisivik pi kanawi͡ liplit* [25]
greetings all bishop CONJ all priest
'goodbye, all [you] bishops and priests'

(b) *naika tanas wa͡wa͡ klahaw͡iam Pir L͡ʃʃun* [36]
1SG child to.say greetings Père Le.Jeune
'my child says, "Goodbye, Father Le Jeune"'

(c) *kanawi͡ Hai Bar tilikom wa͡wa͡ maika putah* [18]
all High Bar people to.say 2SG greetings
'all the High Bar Indians say to you, "Goodbye"'

(d) *putah kanawi͡ tilikom kopa Krapaʃiʃin* [53]
greetings all people PREP North.Bend
'goodbye, everyone at North Bend'

(e) *putuxwi͡a hohwa͡it kopa lisivik pi kopa kanawi͡ liplit* [25][217]
greetings all PREP bishop CONJ PREP all priest
'goodbye all, to the bishops and to all the priests'

Since other CW varieties are known to have used homonyms of *klahawi͡am* for both greeting and leave-taking (cf. Johnson 1978:388,389, Thomas 1970 [1935]:73), it bears noting that the only potential instances of greeting with this word are found in the corpus at the close of a given text. In the course of making parting salutations to an addressee, writers sometimes added a first mention of some third party as in (b, c) above. That third party can always be understood as a fellow-wisher of a closing salutation, or else the sole wisher of a greeting. The present study opts for simplicity, analyzing all usages of *klahawi͡am* as being equivalent to 'goodbye'.

As in the case of the conjunction *an* (§6.2.1), loans from English maintain lexical distinctions from the source language, in this case keeping greetings separate from parting salutations. Examples in (277) demonstrate this:

(277) (a) *Spisom <Oct 26 1,95 [sic]> halo naika papa* [35]
Spuzzum October 26 1895 hello 1SG father
'Spuzzum, Oct. 26, 1895. Hello, my father'

(b) *gudbai Pir Lʃi͡un* [78]
goodbye Père Le.Jeune
'goodbye, Father Le Jeune'

That is, (a) occurs as an opening and (b) as a closing salutation.

The word, possibly an interjection, which expresses gratitude is *mirsi*. Very notably, it is always preceded by the overt verb *wa͡wa͡* 'to say' as in (278):

(278) (a) *naika wa͡wa͡ mirsi kopa iaka pi naika kaltaʃ* [107]
1SG to.say thanks PREP 3 CONJ 1SG idly
'I told her thanks and I gave (her) a gift

patlati͡ʃ iht buk pi iht pinsil
to.give one book CONJ one pencil
of a book and a pencil'

(b) *o naika papa maika Pir Lʃi͡un naika wa͡wa͡* [78]
oh 1SG father 2SG Père Le.Jeune 1SG to.say
'oh, my father, you, Père Le Jeune, I say

mirsi kopa maika
thanks PREP 2SG
thanks to you'

[217] *hohwait* represents *χʷəχʷéjt* 'all' in Shuswap Salish (Secwepemctsín; cf. Kuipers 1974:257).

An alternative analysis might be that *mirsi* is a noun, but no other examples were identified of nouns following *wa͡wa͡* 'to say'. Therefore the present study opts for simplicity in grouping *mirsi* with other, clearly interjectional, words.

Seeming approbation or general good will is expressed by the interjection *tlus* 'good', as in (279):

(279) *kopit naika wa͡wa͡ | tlus tlus tlus kanawi tilikom |* [70]
CMPT 1SG to.say good good good all people
'I'm done talking; | very well, very well, very well, everyone |

klaha͡wiam klaha͡wiam klaha͡wiam kanawi͡ tilikom
goodbye goodbye goodbye all people
goodbye, goodbye, goodbye, everyone'

The above is the only instance of this interjection identified in the corpus.[218]

In summary, Kamloops Chinúk Wawa makes frequent use of vocative and leave-taking interjections; when accompanied by a term of address, the former can in fact be thought of as an equivalent to a greeting. Interjections also frequently intensify the force of statements. Rarer usages function to thank or express good will.

5.4.2.2 Discourse markers

Discourse markers are those words or evidently-conventionalized phrases of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa that are found at the left edge of a sentence, lacking all or most of any original lexical meaning they may once have had, and instead pragmatically marking "linguistic dependencies between sentences" (Crystal 1985:96). They are analyzed as being optional in KCW, in the sense that their absence does not render an utterance ungrammatical. Discourse markers are primarily associated with spoken language, so their high frequency in the KCW texts is one piece of evidence suggesting a primarily oral model for this first literacy of the Salish (cf. Montgomery 1999, Schneider 2002). Table 48 presents a preliminary classification of the discourse markers identified in the KCW corpus:

[218] It can be noted that an alternative parse of this example might have *kopit* as the adverb 'only', and *wa͡wa͡* as a quotative, with a resulting interpretation 'I'll just say "very well, very well, very well"…' Nothing in the present section is changed by the particular gloss used.

Type	Subtype	Form
Linker (§5.4.2.2.1)	Consecutive-paragraph marker	*wal* ‘well’
”	Consecutive-sentence marker	*pi* ‘CONJ’, *an* ‘and’
”	Other linkers	*wal iawa, wal naw* ‘well then, well now’
Unexpected comment (§5.4.2.2.2)	--	*pi* ‘CONJ’
Reassertion (§5.4.2.2.3)	--	*nanitʃ* ‘look…’
Validation (§5.4.2.2.4)	--	*nawitka* ‘indeed, you bet’
End of turn (§5.4.2.2.5)	--	*kopit* ‘that’s all’
Afterthought (§5.4.2.2.6)	--	*pus maika komtaks* ‘by the way’
Attitude marker (§5.4.2.2.7)	--	Motion verbs: *klatwa* ‘go ahead and…’, *tʃako* ‘come on and…’
Admirative (§5.4.2.2.8)		*kata*

Table 48: Discourse markers

5.4.2.2.1 Linkers

Certain lexemes appear to link multiple sentences into sustained discourse. Each occurs at the leftmost periphery of a sentence. Any of these ‘linkers’ can and sometimes frequently does recur within single texts, apparently demarcating the units within a larger narrative structure (as discussed and exemplified by Dell Hymes in his ethnopoetic verse analyses, cf. especially Hymes 1981). [In the following examples, ellipsis indicates the un-cited remainder of a given unit.]

Wal ‘well’ appears to demarcate the beginnings of what might be called paragraphs as in the sequence in (280):

(280) (a) *wal faðir naika mamuk= komtaks kopa maika…* [8]
DSCM father 1SG CAUS= to.know PREP 2SG
‘well, father, I’m letting you know…’

(b) *wal pus maika tlap ukuk…* [8]
DSCM IRR 2SG to.get DEM
‘well, if you get this…’

(c) *wal̂* *klahaŵiam* *faðir* [8]
DSCM greetings father
'well, goodbye, father'

Wal is unattested with any other function in the corpus, but cf. *wal iawâ* and *wal naŵ* (§6.4.2.2.1).

Pi and *an* 'and, but' can both have a function of discourse marking. These appear to set off consecutive sentences within a unit that possibly corresponds to the 'paragraph' just mentioned. An example is in (281) (which also illustrates the possibility of preceding the discourse marker with an interjection, cf. §6.4.4):

(281) (a) *o* *an* *kata* *aias* *klahaŵiam* *naika* *tomtom* [4]
oh DSCM ADMR very pitiful 1SG heart
'oh and how very humble is my heart'

(b) *pi* *tlus* *ilip* *naika* *aias* *tiki…* [4]
DSCM IMPRT first 1SG very.much to.want
'and most of all I ought to desire…'

(c) *o* *pi* *kata* *naika* *tiki* *tʃâko=* *tlus…* [4]
oh DSCM ADMR 1SG to.want INGR= good
'oh and how I want to improve…'

(d) *an* *kata* *naika* *mamuk…* [4]
DSCM ADMR 1SG to.work
'and how I work…'

(e) *pi* *naika* *Ilisabit* *Wâii* [4]
DSCM 1SG Elizabeth Wayi
'and I'm Elizabeth Wayi'

Pi and *an* seem to be interchangeable here; contrast their distinct conjunctive uses at §6.2.1).

The less frequent structurally complex markers *wal̂ iawâ* 'well then' and *wal̂ naŵ* 'well now' (which contains a rarer synonym of *alta* 'now') seem to have functions similar to the above. Their use is shown in (282):

(282) (a) *wal̂* *iawâ* *naika* *tʃâko=* *komtaks* *pus* *ukuk* *pipa* [83]
well then 1SG INGR= to.know IRR DEM paper
'well then, I've learned what kind of hard work this writing is'

iaka= *til* *mamuk*
3AGR= hard work

(b) *wal̂* *naŵ* *alta* *naika* *piii* *maika* *alta* *kanawî* *maika* *tʃîkmin* [87]
well now now 1SG to.pay 2SG PRES all 2SG money
'well now, now I've paid [back] all of your money'

The cooccurrence of *naw͡* with the usual word for 'now' (*alta*), and the lack of attestation of *naw͡* outside of this collocation, support the analysis of *wal naw͡* as a unitary discourse marker.

To summarize, discourse markers whose function is analyzed as linking smaller discourse units together to form larger ones vary according to the size of unit associated with them. One set of these markers appears to demarcate what can be termed paragraphs, and another consecutive sentences. Two markers having complex internal structure are too poorly attested to permit exact classification along these lines, but appear to share this linking function.

5.4.2.2.2 Unexpected comment

Pi appears to have a separate discourse use in introducing unexpected comments on, or shifts of topic away from, just-established information as in (283):

(283) (a) *…pus klaksta makmak hwi͡ski pus ilo palam* [68]
IRR who? to.drink alcohol IRR NEG drunk
'…when someone drinks alcohol, if [they're] not drunk it [the fine]

iht tala… |
one dollar
is $1… |

maika wa͡wa͡ kakwa͡ |
2SG to.say same
that's what you said |

pi klaska mamuk= aʃnu Hari Makki… |
DSCM 3PL CAUS= to.kneel Harry MacKay
well, they were making Harry MacKay kneel [as punishment]… |

pi Hari Makki iaka= wa͡wa͡ nawi͡tka naika makmak
CONJ Harry MacKay 3AGR= to.say indeed 1SG to.drink
and Harry Mackay said, "Sure I drank

wi͡ski pi ilo aju͡ kopit iht naika makmak |
alcohol CONJ NEG much only one 1SG drink
whiskey, but not much; I just had one drink." |

pi ʃak wa͡wa͡ tlus maika patlatʃ͡ mokst tala
CONJ Jack to.say IMPRT 2SG to.give two dollar
But Jack said, "Give $2

kopa Sandi + haʊ̯s
PREP Sunday building
to the church"

(b) *pi <Johnny> iaka klutʃmin iaka= waʊ̯waʊ̯ pus drit iaka* [35]
CONJ Johnny 3 woman 3AGR= to.say IRR really 3
'And Johnny's wife$_j$ says she$_k$ is really

sahali tomtom | pi alta naika kopit tomtom kopa iaka
high heart DSCM PRES 1SG CMPT to.think PREP 3
arrogant. | Well, now I'm done with thinking about her$_k$.'

But at the present writing, it is not clear whether examples such as these are in fact occurrences of the 'linker' use noted in §5.4.2.2.1.

5.4.2.2.3 Reassertion

Nanitʃ (literally 'see'/'look') seems, like its English counterpart, to reassert the validity of a proposition that the reader / 'listener' may have discounted, as in (284):

(284) (a) *nanitʃ naika mamuk kanamokst kopa naika kjʊ̯tan pi naika* [43]
DSCM 1SG to.work together PREP 1SG horse CONJ 1SG
'look, I worked together with my horse and yet I

mamuk= mimlus iaka
CAUS= to.die 3
killed him'

(b) *nanitʃ aias lili naika tiki ukuk* [13]
DSCM very long.time 1SG to.want DEM
'look, I've wanted this for a long time'

(c) *nanitʃ naika papa aias klahaʊ̯iam* [63]
DSCM 1SG father very poor
'look, my dad is very poor'

As has been noted in the discussion of the imperative mood (§4.1.3.3), this *nanitʃ* cannot easily be termed a grammaticalization from a KCW command, since it would be the only putative imperative in the corpus to lack an overt subject. Perhaps in an earlier form of CW bare stems formed commands. Its precise origin remains indeterminate at this writing.

5.4.2.2.4 Validation

The discourse marker *nawi͡tka* emphasizes the validity of a proposition that is logically connected with the preceding discourse. That discourse can be a previous communication, which seems to be the case in (285a), or prior sentences in the same text as shown in (b,c):

(285) (a) *nawi͡tka Pir Lʃʃu͡n naika tlus tomtom pus naika klatwa͡* [15]
DSCM Père Le.Jeune 1SG good heart IRR 1SG to.go
'indeed, Father Le Jeune, I'm glad to be going

kanamokst maika
with 2SG
with you'

(b) *naika tlap maika tsi͡m… | nawi͡tka naika sik tomtom kopa* [43]
1SG to.get 2SG letter DSCM 1SG upset heart PREP
'I got your letter; | indeed I'm sorry about

ukuk tanas= man…
DEM DIM= man
those young men…'

(c) *naika tiki wa͡wa͡ kopa maika | nawi͡tka aias lili* [64]
1SG to.want to.talk PREP 2SG DSCM very long.time
'I want to talk to you; | indeed for a long time

naika lisi kopa mamuk= pipa kopa maika | nawi͡tka
1SG lazy PREP CAUS= letter PREP 2SG DSCM
I've been lazy about writing to you; | indeed

naika kwa͡ʃ maika
1SG to.fear 2SG
I'm afraid of you'

This *nawi͡tka* occurs rather frequently in the corpus. It is not taken as an interjection, as this form seemingly never forms an utterance (sentence) by itself, and the fact that no negative interjection ('no') attested reinforces this view.

5.4.2.2.5 End of turn

Kopit, literally 'finished', appears to indicate the close of a topic or written 'turn' at speaking. That is, this particle may signal that one person has said all she wishes, and

that another participant in the speech act is now expected to talk or rather write (cf. Crystal 1985:318-319). Examples are provided in (286):

(286) (a) *tlus aiak maika mamuk= pipa kopa iakwa͡ | kopit* [30]
IMPRT immediately 2SG CAUS= letter PREP here DSCM
'please write [to me] over here soon | that's all'

(b) *naika ilo sik | kopit | halo* [sic] *Pir Lʃʃun* [19]
1SG NEG ill DSCM hello Père Le.Jeune
'I'm not ill | that's all for now | goodbye, Father Le Jeune'

This form may be a version of the ubiquitous paragraph- or letter-closing clause *kopit naika wa͡wa͡ / siisim* (etc.) 'I'm finished talking / telling', illustrated in (287):

(287) *kopit naika wa͡wa͡ kopa maika* [116]
CMPT 1SG to.talk PREP 2SG
'I'm done talking to you'

This discourse marker *kopit* is less common than the phrase *kopit naika wa͡wa͡* (etc.).

5.4.2.2.6 Afterthought

Pus maika komtaks 'by the way' is a rare, sentence-initial, possible discourse marker apparently introducing an afterthought. An example of its use is presented in (288a), contrasting with the non-grammaticalized, non-discourse marking use of the same three-word sequence in (b):

(288) (a) *pus maika komtaks naika klutʃmin iaka= sik kopa Liton* [67]
IRR 2SG to.know 1SG woman 3AGR= ill PREP Lytton
'by the way, my wife is ill at Lytton'

(b) *pi pus maika komtaks pus naika kaltaʃ man...* [68]
CONJ IRR 2SG to.know IRR 1SG worthless man
'and if you know that I'm some sort of worthless man…'

This item's grammaticalization and 'bleaching' away from its literal sense are suggested by its different behaviour from other irrealis clauses leftward of a main clause (which have the sense 'if / when') §5.3.2.2).

5.4.2.2.7 Attitude marking

One writer rarely uses motion verbs in an apparent nonliteral way, seemingly marking affect (speaker's attitude; cf. Crystal 1985:26). *Klatwa͡* seems to mean something like the vernacular English 'go ahead and…' as in (289a), and *tʃa͡ko* something like 'come on and…' in (b):

(289) (a) *nsaika klatwa͡ maʃ…* [8]
1PL to.go to.send
'we're going to go ahead and send…'

(b) *tlus maika aiak tʃa͡ko mamuk= komtaks kopa nsaika* [8]
IMPRT 2SG immediately to.send CAUS= to.know PREP 1PL
'come on and let us know soon'

An obvious alternative analysis would be that *klatwa͡* and *tʃa͡ko* here are being used straightforwardly with their literal senses. This usage is so rare, and disambiguating context within this writer's letters so scarce, that at present it can only be noted that analysis as a discourse marker is somewhat arbitrary and tentative.

5.4.2.2.8 Admirative

Another item, *kata* (literally 'how?'), was identified as a discourse marker. It appears to have imparted an exclamatory interpretation to the clause. The functionally similar Albanian category is my source for the label 'admirative' (Camaj 1984:162-164). A difference from the positive- and negative-polarity pair *tlus* and *wi͡k-tlus* is that this morph's negated form *wi͡k-kata* expresses an entirely distinct sense (see §3.2.2.3.2.2.4, on the [negative] potential modality). Examples appear in (290):

(290) (a) *kata naika skukom mamuk kopa naika tilikom kopa Hla͡wt* [38]
ADMIR 1SG strongly to.work PREP 1SG people PREP Hallout
'How hard I've worked on my people at Hallout!'

(b) *o an kata aias klaha͡wiam naika tomtom* [4]
oh CONJ ADMIR very pitiful 1SG heart
'Oh, and how pitiful I feel!'

(c) *naika nani͡tʃ ʃarli Frai iaka pipa pi naika nani͡tʃ* [68][219]
1SG to.see Charlie Frye 3 letter CONJ 1SG to.see
'I've read Charlie Frye's letter and I've read

kanawi͡ ikta iaka wa͡wa͡ kopa buk |
all thing 3 to.say PREP book
everything it says in the book.

kata iaka wa͡wa͡ kopa maika
ADMR 3 to.talk PREP 2SG
He talks to you?! / Who is he to be talking to you?!'

[219] The letter writer is conveying to Le Jeune his own side of a heated dispute with Frye over the proper interpretation of temperance regulations Le Jeune had published in *Kamloops Wawa* ('the book').

(d) *o an* <u>*kata*</u> *aias klahaw͡iam naika tomtom* [4]
oh CONJ ADMR very pitiful 1SG heart
'Oh, and <u>how</u> miserable is my heart<u>!</u>'

The KCW admirative is of somewhat frequent occurrence, with perhaps two dozen attestations in the corpus. No corresponding usage of *kata* or any other morph has been identified in the previous CW literature, cf. Thomas (1970 [1935]: 70 [s.v. *kah'ta*], Vrzić 1999:89-90).

5.4.2.2.9 Summary of discourse markers

A well-developed set of discourse markers appears to exist in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. These function in various ways to construct sustained narrative, for example by joining smaller elements into larger ones or by indicating the relation of a proposition to previous ones. The non-leftmost syntactic position of the discourse markers is suggested by the fact that interjections (§5.4.2.1) can precede them.

5.4.2.3 Evidential markers

Evidential markers indicate the evidence available to the speaker for the information in a given proposition (cf. Payne 1997:251ff)—they highlight the source of information. Kamloops Chinúk Wawa seems to have grammaticalized two such overt markers. Each is optional, and stands to the left of the main clause. Table 49 summarizes these markers:

Marker	Form	Subsection
Inferential	*klunas* (literally 'maybe')	§5.4.2.3.1
Hearsay	*klaska w͡aw͡a* (literally 'they say')	§5.4.2.3.2

Table 49: Evidential markers

5.4.2.3.1 Inferential

The word *klunas*, etymologically 'maybe' (cf. Johnson 1978:384,385), has added the apparent function of marking the inference of information neither directly witnessed nor obtained from another party (cf. Payne 1997:253; cf. §4.1.3.1.3.2). This evidential function shows most clearly when *klunas* is applied to first-person verbs as in (291 a, b), where direct witness would be the expected default condition, but is also evident in (c), a direct reply to a letter that had requested the stated information:

(291) (a) *pus naika kapʃw͡ala trin* <u>*klunas*</u> *naika skukum haw͡s* [25]
IRR 1SG to.steal train INFER 1SG strong building
'if I stowed away on a train, <u>I reckon</u> I'd be in jail'

(b) *klunas naika ilo tlap= mamuk= kat ukuk ra͡wn* [45]
INFER 1SG NEG O.C= CAUS= to.cut DEM round
'It seems I haven't managed to get the round ones cut'

(c) *klunas maika tiki komtaks kopa kah son iaka=* [53]
INFER 2SG to.want to.know PREP where? day 3AGR=
'apparently you were curious which day

paia naika ha͡ws
to.burn 1SG house
my house burned down'

The relative syntactic position of the evidentials is suggested by forms such as in (292), where a discourse marker *pi* (§5.4.2.2.1) precedes *klunas*:

(292) (a) *pi klunas iaka wa͡wa͡ pus wi͡k- saia naika* [112]
DSCM INFER 3 to.say IRR NEG- far 1SG
'and he might say I supposedly almost

mamuk= mimlus iaka
CAUS= to.die 3
killed him'

(b) *pi klunas maika tlap Ø klunas ilo* [88]
DSCM INFER 2SG to.get 3 EVID NEG
'and I reckon maybe you got it, maybe not'

That is, the inferential marker is not the absolutely leftmost item in a sentence. *Klunas* is robustly attested in this function, and is more frequent than the 'hearsay' marker discussed in the following subsection.

5.4.2.3.2 Hearsay

A possible second evidential, seemingly marking secondhand evidence, is of the form of the phrase *klaska wa͡wa͡* (literally 'they say'). Though Payne (1997:252) terms hearsay markers the most common evidentials crosslinguistically, this one is less frequent than *klunas*. As with that marker, a grammaticalized function for this phrase may be most plausible with first-person verbs as in (293 a,b), but can be discerned also in other persons as in (c):

(293) (a) *ilo naika komtaks pus ikta naika mamuk kopa iaka* | [35]
NEG 1SG to.know IRR what? 1SG to.do PREP 3
'I don't remember whether I did anything to her,

pi klaska wawa pus wik- saia naika
CONJ 3PL to.say IRR NEG- far 1SG
but apparently I nearly

mamuk= mimlus iaka
CAUS= to.die 3
killed her'

(b) *kanawi nsaika ridi tiki klatwa* | *pi klaska wawa nsaika* [61]
all 1PL ready to.want to.go CONJ 3PL to.say 1PL
'all of us were ready, about to go, but we heard we

ilo klatwa
NEG to.go
weren't to leave'

(c) *klaska wawa pus maika tʃako iakwa kopa Samin Arm* [17]
3PL to.say IRR 2SG to.come here PREP Salmon Arm
'supposedly you might be coming here to Salmon Arm'

Klaska wawa is a rather common KCW locution, and moreover is arguably related to the common 'quasi-passive' with *klaska* (§4.1.2.6), but at this writing it is not indisputable that this is grammaticalized into an evidential marker.

5.4.2.3.3 Summary of evidentials

Evidential marking appears to have grammaticalized in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa, at least incipiently, and is thus another new contribution made by the present study. That is, both markers in question are optional, and are still often analyzable with literal meanings. Both nonetheless exhibit newer functions overtly qualifying the nature of a speaker's evidence for a given proposition. Despite Payne's (1997:252) generalization that hearsay markers are crosslinguistically most common, it is the inferential marker that appears more frequently in KCW.

5.4.2.4 Summary of sentence-level markers

Sentential-level markers in Kamloops Chinúk Wawa fall into three large groups: interjections, discourse markers and evidentials. Some items ascribed to these classes are of scant attestation, leaving their analysis uncertain at this writing, yet there seems to be robust overall evidence for each group. An overall observation about these items is that

they seem to occupy distinct syntactic slots relative to one another. Interjections are attested preceding discourse markers, which in turn are attested before evidentials, facts roughly summarized in Table 50:

Interjections	Discourse markers	Evidential markers

Table 50: Ordering of sentence-level markers

5.4.3 Summary of sentence-level structures

Both syntactic and overt phonological marking are used for operations above the clausal level, i.e. at what is here called the sentence level. Syntactic means, primarily various types of leftward movement, are used to effect focus-changing operations. Overt operators are used to add interjectional material, logical relations between sentences, and speakers' evidence for a proposition's veracity.

5.5 Summary of syntax

Kamloops Chinúk Wawa syntax has been analyzed in this and the preceding chapter with reference to three broad categories: predicate heads (§4.1; with discussion of their various agreement, transitivity, mood, etc. marking), their nominal arguments (§4.2; both nouns and various classes of pronouns, again with a range of dependents such as determiners, quantifiers, phrasal adverbs, et al.), and prepositional phrases (§5.1). Higher-level structures include the coordination (§5.2) and embedding (§5.3) of clauses, as well as sentential-level operations (§5.4) at the left periphery of clauses, including focus-changing, interjections, discourse marking and evidentials. Much of what has been presented in this chapter are observations of phenomena not previously identified in the Chinúk Wawa literature, a gap that may relate to the lack hitherto of almost any known sustained texts in pidgin CW varieties.

6 Summary and conclusions

> *wa͡l iawa͡ naika t͡ʃako= komtaks pus ukuk pipa iaka= til mamuk* 'well then, I've learned what kind of hard work this writing is' (Peter Cole, Barkerville / Lillooet ,Text 83)

The preceding four chapters have documented for the first time a pidgin Chinúk Wawa variety as actually used, based on data from newly discovered documents. Those four chapters have demonstrated a large number of newly observed traits of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa. Section 6.1 summarizes the findings of the present study, and §6.2 briefly discusses the implications of these results for pidgin and CW studies, as well as describing desired future research.

6.1 Summary

It will be useful to survey the results of the preceding chapters. In the following sections I briefly recapitulate the major findings of the several chapters, in §6.1.1 regarding the *Chinuk pipa* writing system, §6.1.2 on morphology and §6.1.3 on syntax.

6.1.1 Observations on the *Chinuk pipa* writing system

The *Chinuk pipa* writing system that was characteristic of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa saw among the Salish a success that was quite unusual for a pidgin literacy. Its eventual total loss of ground to written English was odd in a different sense, in having been intentionally planned by Father Le Jeune. *Chinuk pipa* was designed for maximal ease of acquisition and use. Its efficiency emerges in various dimensions: the minimality and invariancy of letter shapes, their cursive joining in order to speed writing (with vowel symbols' spatial orientation governed by the ergonomics of consonant writing), their broadly phonemic nature, and the convention of graphically syllabifying the written word. Sociolinguistic factors that additionally determined how *Chinuk pipa* was written included a preference for learning to write in units of entire words (rather than letter by letter), and the tendency toward informal teaching of this first community literacy.

6.1.2 Morphological observations

This study argues, against previous literature, that Kamloops Chinúk Wawa does not have only root morphemes, i.e. is not purely isolating as previous consensus has supposed of pidgins—though I have shown that KCW does combine roots. One way KCW does so is by compounding, here analyzed for the first time in the CW literature and shown to be synchronically semi-productive. Another way is conversion, which I have argued is morphological rather than syntactic in nature in KCW.

I have shown that KCW in fact also makes consistent use of overt purely grammatical material of various levels of productivity and 'boundness'. All of it precedes root heads, at various distances. Three classes of such grammatical morphemes—prefixes, proclitics, and preposed particles—have been identified here, all

except particles for the first time in the CW literature. Some of these non-root items are unproductive: borrowings and codeswitches as well as suffixoidal localisms and suppletions. Virtually all of KCW's grammatical morphology is homonymous with (is identical in form and apparently etymologically derived from) demonstrably free morphs. Kamloops Chinúk Wawa has thus developed through grammaticalization a morphological system of greater complexity than the near-absence thereof that the previous consensus in pidgin studies has assumed.

6.1.3 Syntactic observations

Much of what has been presented in my study of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa syntax are observations of phenomena not previously identified in the Chinúk Wawa literature. That lacuna surely relates to the lack hitherto of almost any known sustained texts in pidgin CW varieties.

Third-person agreement expressed by clitics grammaticalized from pan-CW pronouns is one new observation in this study; previous work has consistently represented these items as so-called 'pleonastic' or 'resumptive pronouns' in CW.

Another new contribution is the identification of 'permissive' and 'out-of-control' transitivity marking in KCW, which are however infrequent and optional by contrast with the ubiquitous causative. My study contradicts previous ones in specifying that no true passive voice exists in KCW (nor probably in pan-CW), but a previously unknown passivization strategy is brought to light.

With regard to grammatical mood and modality, this dissertation presents the CW literature's first examination of a pervasive irrealis-realis distinction throughout the scopal levels of phrase, clause and sentence. Details of that distinction that are here newly identified include the observation of difference in function between irrealis clauses preposed to realis ones, versus those in post-realis position; and a strong tendency to homomorphy between irrealis and interrogative clauses. A category not previously identified in the literature on CW is the fairly common KCW 'admirative', expressed by a discourse marker.

Polar questions are restricted to subordinate clauses, while alternative questions are formed by simple juxtaposition of multiple irrealis clauses—both also previously unattested patterns. Main-clause interrogatives, which are limited to content-question forms, optionally take a newly attested irrealis marking. Another new observation is that KCW's positive imperative mood is normally signaled by the particle *tlus* (grammaticalized from 'good') on a realis clause, and on negative-polarity clauses by a negative particle (and optionally *tlus* as well).

This dissertation's identification of a robust three-part ingressive-imperfective-completive aspect-marking system in KCW, plus a marginal fourth 'conative', is new as well in the CW literature.

In the domain of polarity, the present study observes a previously unattested functional split, with one negative operator essentially confined to the clausal and another negator to the phrasal level. Among the copulas of KCW, one (*stop*) has not been attested elsewhere in CW. The observation that degree marking is largely confined to predicative adjectives, i.e. is seldom or never found on attributives or adverbs, is likewise novel although perhaps a mere byproduct of the available data sample.

A consistent animacy distinction in third persons, including both personal and non-personal pronouns, is reported here for the first time in the literature on pidgin CW, though a paradigm similarly using a null inanimate pronoun is reported for the Grand Ronde creole in Robertson (2008). The phenomena of double pronominal-subject exponence and of the non-specification for number of the etymologically third-person singular pronoun (such that the 3PL pronoun is of rare occurrence), both reported in this dissertation, are completely absent in previous CW studies. Both are very possibly direct reflections of Secwepemctsín (Shuswap) Salish L1 grammatical habits, as is the free variation between *klaksta* (etymologically 'who?' in pan-CW) and *klaska* (etymologically 'they') as allomorphs of an animate, individuated, nonspecific non-personal pronoun. The use of certain etymologically content-question forms as determiners is another newly reported phenomenon in the CW literature.

KCW's numeral system overall appears unusually regular (simple) compared to those of other pidgin languages. An onomastic use of numerals, as ordinals in a distinctly Chinúk Wawa type of personal name, has not previously been discussed in the published CW literature. The allomorph ∅ of the generic preposition *kopa* is previously unattested as well. A functional distinction in subordination, between *kopa* with nominalized predicates and *pus* (the irrealis marker) with verbal ones, is also new to the literature. Two additional possible prepositions are likewise previously undescribed. An apparent defocusing function of the generic conjunction *pi*, and an alternative-question formation using juxtaposed irrealis clauses, are further new observations. What appears to be a robust syntactic focus-increasing and –reducing system is described for the first time as well. The analysis of a number of items as discourse markers and, especially, evidentials is a significant addition to the pidgin literature as well as to that on CW. While Payne observes that hearsay markers are crosslinguistically the most common evidentials, KCW's 'inferential' particle appears more frequently than the 'hearsay' marker.

6.2 Conclusions and future research

The previous section enumerated numerous findings of this first study of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa and *Chinuk pipa* that are unique in the literature on Chinúk Wawa and on pidgins. The present study has for example argued for a four-way distinction in KCW along a continuum of morphological 'boundness', with roots behaving in a manner distinct not only from clitics and particles but also from affixes. A system of syntactic function-marking comparable to the array of resources in a nonpidgin language—albeit less obligatorily employed than there—has been identified in this study as well. In both domains the level of complexity reported by this dissertation greatly exceeds what has hitherto been assumed probable, or in Siegel's more strongly stated view (2004) possible, in pidgins. Taken in sum, the observed traits suggest both the distinctness of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa as a dialect among CW varieties, and its high level of grammatical elaboration relative to those varieties.

This set of traits also bolsters the view, propounded most forcefully by Bakker (2002, 2003a, forthcoming), that pidgins in general are in fact characterized by a previously unrecognized complexity. In this view, pidgins can in fact be more structurally complex than creoles, which have customarily been seen in the literature on contact languages as more-ramified developments of pidgin precursors. It appears that

KCW is formally more complex than its creolized Grand Ronde relation. Several KCW structures here described lack counterparts in Grand Ronde, while few from the creole are unattested in KCW.

It can be inferred from these observations that pidgins are linguistically more robustly expressive and highly functional than the consensus hitherto has supposed. By implication a continued reassessment of pidgins' place in any typology of contact idioms or of languages in general is in order. Broad agreement exists among specialists that pidgins are definable as a class primarily by reference to the limited nature of the social contacts in which they arise. But some of the most recent work has discovered that pidgins are indeed definable as a broad structural-typological class, at least in contrast with creoles, which display less overall morphological complexity than most pidgins do.

Perhaps this unexpected mismatch in complexity is due to the types of languages that have tended to form the (lexical) base of creoles, a historical accident that ends up weighting modern Indo-European and typologically similar Arabic input most heavily. Lexifiers of pidgins, by contrast, are a more heterogeneous group than this. The pidgins of frontier-era northwestern North America alone included these:

- Spoken pidgins:
  - Pidgin Eskimo (Stefánsson 1909)
  - Chinúk Wawa, i.e. a pidgin based largely on Nuuchahnulth [Wakashan] and Chinookan
  - a possible pidgin Nez Perce [Sahaptian] (Splawn 1944 [1917])
  - pidgin 'French of the Mountains' (Robertson 2007b)
  - pidgin Haida [isolate] (Grant n.d.)
  - pidgin Nuuchahnulth / Nootka [Wakashan] (Clark 2001)
  - pidgin Ktunaxa / Kutenai [isolate] (Chamberlain 1974, cf. 1901:95)
  - Chinese Pidgin English (cf. Bugbee 1895)
  - apparent Indigenous Pidgin English (as noted in previous sections)
- Pidgin sign languages such as:
  - that of Stó:lō country, i.e. the lower Fraser River (Keith Carlson, p.c.)
  - those of various sawmills (Meissner and Philpott 1975a,b)
  - that associated with Chinúk Wawa, for example at Quilchena and Douglas Lake, British Columbia (Guy Rose, p.c.)

It is certain that non-European lexifiers are more frequent for pidgins than for creoles, as Bakker (2003b) has found. In historical times, it is speakers of Indo-European languages who happen to have carried out virtually all of the forcible relocation of populations that leads to the conditions for creolization of a newly imposed language. However, there are many other possible explanations. For example there might be something about pidgin contact situations themselves that calls for a high degree of morphological flexibility in the emerging language. No resolution of such questions has yet been reached, and future research will surely focus intently on them.

The vigor of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa as a pidgin is demonstrated in the present study, even in domains not addressed by scholars such as Bakker—for example those of written language and sociolinguistics. *Chinuk pipa* was genuinely popular. This is evident in its incorporation of community preferences such as whole-word learning

(contrary to its inventor's desires), as well as in the hundreds of known texts written by Indigenous people. The high regard in which the Salish held written KCW stands counter to generalizations arrived at in the literature on written pidgins, notably by Mühlhäusler (1995) and Charpentier (1997). The emergence of new insights about such issues has much to do with the fact, noted in previous chapters, that this writing system and its uses have never been described in the literature on CW, let alone that on pidgins.

Written 'speech' is obviously peripheral to a given language's structure, in the sense that the language must have existed first in spoken form. But in all domains examined in the written corpus, KCW clearly exhibits a level of elaboration (one might claim 'expressiveness') and colloquial vitality that most of the previous literature assumes or claims to be absent from pidgins.

The broad value contributed by the present study resides first in its descriptive nature. The linguistic literature has hitherto lacked detailed corpus-based descriptions of most pidgins, including all pidgin varieties of Chinúk Wawa. A result has been, in the fields of CW studies and contact linguistics, the perpetuation essentially verbatim of numerous erroneous or incomplete understandings of the language. The large gap in research has encompassed the *Chinuk pipa* writing system and its function as a vehicle of pidgin (and first community-wide) literacy, despite many decades of sustained interest in and publications about CW. The significance of these gaps in knowledge is great, because the linguistic data preserved in the form of *Chinuk pipa* easily amount to the majority of CW available for investigation. This study's examination of both the language and the writing system, as both were actually used, makes possible a better-informed assessment of Chinúk Wawa and of pidgins in general.

This leads to the second contribution made by the present study: the confirmation of groundbreaking suggestions especially by Bakker that pidgins actually employ a significant degree of morphosyntactic structure. That confirmation emerges to a perhaps surprising degree from the preceding chapters, with the identification of numerous formal transitivity choices, moods, and aspects, expressed by an array of affixes, clitics and particles. Kamloops Chinúk Wawa is not the maximally simple entity that most previous literature has expected pidgins to be, yet being no community's mother tongue, it is indeed a pidgin.

A third contribution of the present study is that it is the first in the CW literature to explicitly analyze the grammar in terms of generally accepted linguistic categories such as scope, person, polarity, transitivity, aspect, mood and diminutivity. I have also attempted to evaluate the relative productivity of forms discussed. It is hoped that this analysis may facilitate comparison and contrast, not only with other pidgins and contact varieties, but across the Pacific Northwest Sprachbund and crosslinguistically. It is to be hoped as well that many long and dearly held Pacific Northwest folk-linguistic myths about Chinúk Wawa, whether that it is a grammarless lingo, that it is a language in which one can only lie (a folk-linguistic trope reported to me by some Indigenous people), or that there was no standard of correct pronunciation, may begin to be carefully evaluated in light of the analysis conveyed here.

I conclude with brief suggestions for further research on the KCW corpus. One open question is whether KCW and other pidgins can be shown to exploit an inflectional-derivational distinction (see §3). A small project will be to more fully evaluate the productivity of conversion in this dialect (see §3.2.1.1.3), and the possibilities of

conversion of larger units such as compounds (cf. §3.2.1.2) and phrases and clauses (cf. §4). It is possible that both adjectives and nouns in KCW are actually 'stative verbs', that is predicates in and of themselves (see §3.2.2.2.1.2), and an examination of this idea might result in an analysis using fewer nulls (§4.1.7.1). Another useful project will be to examine whether there are differences in the behaviour of full-noun and pronoun bare obliques (see §4.1.2.2). It will be interesting to research the reasons why yes/no questions (§4.1.3.2.1.1) in KCW are indeterminate between an interrogative and an irrealis 'whether' reading. The two possible parses for objects of main-clause verbs of information transfer (§4.2.2.8) might be teased apart with further work.

A broader area very likely to result in useful insights is the domain of the lexicon. This would have been a worthy chapter in the present study. However, so much of the two-century Chinúk Wawa literature has focused on lexicography (Demers et al. 1871 [1838], Gibbs 1863, Gill 1881, Good 1880, Hale 1890 etc. etc.) that I felt other, hitherto neglected domains to be more urgently in need of investigation. Future study of the KCW vocabulary's unique debt to regional Salish and English, I suggest, will strengthen the case that this is a quite distinct dialect of 'Chinook'.

Such study, enhanced by my ongoing compilation of a KCW dictionary, will have the side effect of illuminating this dialect's anthropological-linguistic history. For example, the occurrence of English loans such as *haiton* 'high tone' i.e. 'excellent' and *ʃabon* 'jawbone' i.e. '[monetary] credit' highlights the timeframe and social conditions of Indigenous-newcomer contact, and Salish items like *siisim* 'to report, to tell; story' [from Coast Salish] and *lahanʃut* 'to confess' [from Secwepemctsín / Shuswap] provide geographic and cultural reference points for the formation of KCW and for its speakers' mindset. Concomitant with my collection of KCW linguistic data, I have amassed a considerable amount of information on its speakers' and writers' identities, locations, daily experiences, ethnicities, and so forth. It will be rewarding in future research to collate this data, from sources such as the *Kamloops Wawa* newspaper, Indigenous and priests' correspondence and personal papers, and local histories, with census information and the like. What should emerge is an unusually detailed demographic and historical assessment of a pidgin language variety's lifespan.

A final project to mention, referring back to the Basic Linguistic Theory desiderata noted in chapter 1, is to follow this dissertation's grammatical sketch with the publication of a dictionary and a collection of Kamloops Chinúk Wawa texts. Both will be unique contributions to pidginistics and to Chinúk Wawa studies.

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Key to abbreviations:
n.d. = no date given
n.l. = " location "
n.p. = " publisher "

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Kamloops Wawa. 1895f. Number 131 (August).
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Appendix: Kamloops Chinúk Wawa texts in the corpus

Key to each entry:
Text number. Date, from author, place of composition[220] (inferred ethnicity of author [L = Lillooet, O = Okanagan, S = Shuswap, T = Thompson])

1. Undated, from William Andrew, Head Lake (O)
2. Undated, from chief Narcisse, Salmon Arm? (S)
3. July 2, ????, from August, Enderby? (S)
4. Undated, from Elizabeth Waii(?), ? (S)
5. Undated, from William, ? (S)
6. Undated, from August, Enderby (S)
7. Undated (before September 1896), from William Celestin, Salmon Arm (S)
8. Undated, from Charlie Wells?, Port Douglas (L)
9. Undated, from August, Salmon Arm (S)
10. Undated, from Etienne, Shuswap (S)
11. Undated, from Baptiste, ? (S)
12. Undated, from William, Salmon Arm (S)
13. Undated, from chief Narcisse, Sahhaltkum (S)
14. Undated, from Joseph Waii, (Salmon Arm)? (S)
15. Undated, from August, Enderby (S)
16. Undated, from William Andre(w), Head Lake (O)
17. Undated, from August, Salmon Arm? (S)
18. Undated, from Chief ???, High Bar (S)
19. Undated (possibly ca. July 1894), from William, Salmon Arm? (S)
20. Undated (possibly ca. July 1894), from William Celestin, Salmon Arm (S)
21. Undated, from Jean-Baptiste, Sahhaltkum (S)
22. Undated, from Baptiste, Salmon Arm? (S)
23. Undated, from Joseph Wayi, Salmon Arm (S)
24. Undated, from Anastasie Taminik (?), Hallout (S)
25. Undated, from Etienne Shilhawtkin, Shuswap (S)
26. Undated, from Damien, Kamloops (S)
27. Undated, Elie Larue, Kamloops (?) (S)
28. Undated, from Baptiste, Sahhaltkum (S)
29. Undated, from Moose Dixon, Lac La Hache (S)
30. Undated, from André(w) Jules, Sahhaltkum (S)
31. Undated (spring of 1902?), from William Waspulawh, Canoe Creek (S)
32. Undated (before September 1897), from William Celestin, Salmon Arm? (S)
33. July 15, 189? (1892?), from Charlie Frye, North Bend (?) (T)
34. Ju(ne? July?) 22(?), 1??? (1892?), from William Celestin, Salmon Arm (S)
35. October 26, 1???, from Louis James, Spuzzum (T)
36. May 9 (?), ????, from William Celestin, Salmon Arm (S)
37. May 9 (?), ????, from Anonymous (August?), Salmon Arm (?) (S)

[220] Place names are normalized to present-day spellings when those are known.

38. Undated (1892?), from Hyacinthe (?), Hallout (S)
39. Undated (1892?), Chief Leo, Hallout (S)
40. Undated (circa July 16, 1894?), from [William?], Salmon Arm (S)
41. Undated (circa July 16, 1894?), from Antoine Yarpskint, Coldwater (T)
42. Undated (spring-summer 1894?), from Michel, Soda Creek (S)
43. September 27, 1??? [probably 1895], from William Waspulawh, Canoe Creek (S)
44. Undated (near summer 1895?), from William Celestin, Salmon Arm (S)
45. March ??, 1??? (1895?), from William Celestin, Salmon Arm (S)
46. ??, 1892, from Damien Maxime, Quilchena (O)
47. ??, 1892, from Jamie/Jimmy Michel(l), Quilchena (O)
48. ?, 1892, from Charlie Frye, North Bend? (T)
49. ?, 1892, from Charlie Frye, North Bend? (T)
50. ? 15, 1892, from Charlie Frye?, North Bend? (T)
51. February 1, 1892, from Etienne, Shuswap (S)
52. February 1, 1892, from Baptiste, Shuswap? (S)
53. February 5, 1892 from Jean-Baptiste, Sahhaltkum (S)
54. February 17, 1892, from Jimmy Michell, Nicola? (O)
55. February 17, 1892, from Mayus, Nicola? (T)
56. March 12, 1892, from William Celestin, Salmon Arm (S)
57. March 20, 1892, from Frank McKay, Spuzzum (T)
58. March 22, 1892, from Etienne, Shuswap (S)
59. March 22, 1892, from Joseph Wayi, Shuswap? (S)
60. March 22, 1892, from Pierre, Shuswap? (S)
61. May 4 (?), 1892, from Johnny Wilson, Williams Lake (S)
62. December? 3?, 1892, from William Celestin, Salmon Arm (S)
63. February 22, 1893, from Charlie Frye, North Bend? (T)
64. March 12, 1893(?or 1903?), from anonymous writer, Salmon Arm (S)
65. May 2 (?), 1893, from Basile (?) Paho, Camp 16 (?)
66. March (?) 8, 1893, from Joseph Thompson, Spuzzum (T)
67. May 9, 1893, from Johnny Skuzzy, Camp 16 [North Bend] (T)
68. March 21, 1894, from Frank Mackay, North Bend (T)
69. March (?) 22, 1894, from John Jackson, Lillooet Flat(s) (L)
70. April 22, 1894, from Charlie Chapman, Spuzzum (T)
71. May 19, 1894, from Chief Narcisse, Shuswap (S)
72. May 24, 1894, from John Policeman (& Alec Sampson), Lillooet (L)
73. July 16, 1894, from Chief Emile Timaskrit, Canim Lake (S)
74. July? 17, 1894, from Isaac Peter, North Bend (T)
75. July 18, 1894, from William Waspulawh, Canoe Creek (S)
76. July 20, 1894, from Joe, Canim Lake (S)
77. July 21, 1894, from Moose Dixon, Lac La Hache (S)
78. July 21, 1894, from Emile Timaskrit, Canim Lake (S)
79. July 22, 1894, from Charles Korkwi (?), North Thompson (T)
80. July 22, 1894, from Johnny Harris, Canim Lake? (S)
81. July 22, 1894, from Leo Nalos(?), Shuswap (S)
82. July 22, 1894 from Johnny Wilson/Tuamali, Williams Lake? (S)
83. July 27, 1894, from Peter Cole, Barkerville? [Lillooet] (L)

84. July 27, 1894, from John Jackson, Barkerville [Lillooet] (L)
85. August 6, 1894 from ?, ? (?)
86. August 23, 1894, from Pete Nhinaskrit, Alkali Lake (S)
87. August 24, 1894, from Peter Cole, Barkerville (L)
88. August 25, 1894, from Michel, Soda Creek (S)
89. August 26, 1894, from Chief (Francois) Shilpahan, Quaaout (S)
90. August 29, 1894, from Moose Dixon, Lac La Hache (S)
91. August 29, 1894(?) from Louis(?) Lkaan(?), Soda Creek (S)
92. September? 4, 1894 from Harry Skuzzy, North Bend (T)
93. September 7, 1894, from William Pillin(?), Bonaparte (S)
94. September 7, 1894, from William Waspulawh, Canoe Creek (S)
95. September 9, 1894, from [Pierre &] Marianne Leo, ? (?)
96. September 11, 1894, from Moose Dixon, Lac La Hache (S)
97. September 15, 1894, from Joe (?), Canim Lake (S)
98. September 20, 1894, from William Waspulawh, Canoe Creek (S)
99. September 24, 1894, from John Policeman, Lillooet (L)
100. November? 25, 1894, from August(e) Andre(w), Spuzzum (T)
101. December 20, 1894, from James, Canim Lake (S)
102: December 20, 1894, from Moose Dixon, Lake La Hache (S)
103. December 27, 1894, from Johnny Nawili(?) Adam, Canoe Creek (S)
104. first half (?) of 1895, from Pierre Placity, Enderby (S)
105. 10 January 1895, from Alec Sampson, Lillooet (L)
106. January? 1895, from John Jackson(?), Lillooet (L)
107. September 12, 1895, from Pete Nhinaskrit, Alkali Lake (S)
108. September 30, 1895, from Philip Placity (?), Enderby (S)
109. October 1, 1895, from Pete Nhinaskrit, Alkali Lake (S)
110. October 6, 1895, from Patrick Felix(?), Hallout (S)
111. October 15, 1895, from William Waspulawh, Canoe Creek (S)
112. October 26, 1895?, from Louis (Lewis) James, Spuzzum (T)
113. November 29, 1895, from Sam Sargent(?), Dog Creek Mountain (S)
114. December 7, 1895, from Peter Cole, Lillooet (L)
115. December 8, 1895, from Michel, Soda Creek (S)
116. December 20, 1895, from Felix Bob, North Bend (T)
117. January 5, 1899 from William Waspulawh, Canoe Creek (S)
118. January 10, 1899? from Thomas Paul?, ? (?)
119. January 21, 1899 from Charlie Wells?, Port Douglas (L)
120. January 21, 1899 from Mary Pete, Deep Creek (?)
121. January 22, 1899, from Charlie Frye, North Bend (T)
122. January 22, 1899 from Patrick Jimmy?, Clinton (S)
123. January 23, 1899 from Francois Shilpahan, Tappen Siding

124. February 14(?), 1899(?), from Polian (Polly-Anne?), Spuzzum (T)
125. February 19, 1899, from Peter Cole, Fountain (L)
126. February 20, 1899, from (Polian?), Spuzzum? (T)
127. February 27, 1899, from Baptist Simon, Tenas Lake (L)
128. February 28, 1899, from chief Andrew, North Thompson (S)
129. March 26, 1899, from Louis James, Spuzzum (T)
130. April 1(?), 1899, from Patrick Felix(?), Cayoosh Creek(?) (L)
131. April 5, 1899 from Joseph Moise, High Bar (S)
132. April 5, 1899 from Johnny Peter, Clinton (S)
133. April 10, 1899, from Johnny Louis(?), ? (?)
134. April 20, 1899, from George Sargent(?), Clinton (S)
135. April 23, 1899, from Alexis Mitchell(?), Skookumchuck (L)
136. July 9, 1899 from Saint(?) Pierre, Enderby (S)
137. August 8, 1899, from Annie Edward?, Enderby? (S)
138. August 16, 1899 from Billy Clark [Tawtah], Spuzzum (T)
139. January 8, 1900 from Andrew Thomas, Sahhaltkum? (S)
140. December 14, 1901 from Charli(e) Melmorice, Sugarcane (S)
141. January 21, 1906, from Francois Shilpahan, Tappen Siding (S)
142. August 6, 1906, from Celestin (Chilihitsa), Nicola Lake (O)
143. September 24(?), 1906, from William Pierriche(?), Wilmer (S)
144. December 30, 1909, from François Shilpahan, Tappen Siding (S)
145. August 4, 1910, from Andrew Thomas, Chase (S)
146. August 28, 1910, from Francois Shilpahan, Tappen (S)
147. September 25, 1910, from Johnny(?) Wilson, Lytton (T)
148. February 5, 1912, from Johnny Peter, Clinton (S)