

# *ǰaqa*: A Generalized Exclamation Operator in ʔayʔajuθəm\*

D. K. E. Reisinger  
University of British Columbia

Marianne Huijsmans  
University of British Columbia

**Abstract:** This paper provides the first analysis of the elusive particle *ǰaqa* in ʔayʔajuθəm (also known as Comox-Sliammon; ISO 639-3: *coo*), an endangered Central Salish language traditionally spoken along the Northern Strait of Georgia in British Columbia. Reisinger (2018) calls attention to the puzzling banquet of meanings associated with *ǰaqa*, but leaves a detailed analysis of this element — which he suspects is a modal — for another time. Inspired by Grosz (2011; 2014), we propose that *ǰaqa* serves as an exclamation (*EX*) operator expressing the speaker’s emotion towards the status of a proposition on a contextually salient scale. In doing so, we provide evidence that Grosz’s *EX* operator, which is covert in German and English, may be realized overtly in other languages.

**Keywords:** Comox-Sliammon, exclamation, optative, adversative, polar exclamative

## 1 Introduction

This paper provides a first analysis of the elusive auxiliary *ǰaqa* in ʔayʔajuθəm (ISO 639-3: *coo*), a severely endangered Coast Salish language traditionally spoken by four communities — the Tla’amin, Klahoose, Homalco, and K’ómoks — along the Northern Strait of Georgia in British Columbia. According to the most recent survey by the First Peoples’ Cultural Council, approximately 47 L1 speakers remain (FPCC 2018).

In this paper, we report on original fieldwork targeting the auxiliary *ǰaqa*. This auxiliary gives rise to an interesting puzzle for analysis due to the plethora of meanings associated with it (Reisinger 2018). For instance, *ǰaqa* can express a speaker’s surprise at an event (1), counterfactual wishes (2), signal potential consequences perceived as undesirable (often translated with ‘might’) (3), and repetitions of an event that are deemed to be ‘over the top’ or undesirable (4).<sup>1</sup>

---

\* We are deeply grateful to all the speakers who so patiently and generously have shared their language with us: Elsie Paul, Marion Harry, Freddie Louie, Phyllis Dominick, Margaret Vivier, Randy Timothy, and Joanne Francis. čačahatanapišt! We would also like to thank Lisa Matthewson as well as the members of the ʔayʔajuθəm Lab and the TAP Lab for their helpful feedback and ideas. Research for this project was supported through a SSHRC Insight grant (435-2016-1694) awarded to Henry Davis, a Jacobs Research Funds individual grant held by Marianne Huijsmans, and a Jacobs Research Funds group grant held by members of the UBC ʔayʔajuθəm Lab.

□ Contact info: daniel.reisinger@ubc.ca | marianne.huijsmans@ubc.ca

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations used in this paper are: 1 ‘first person’, 2 ‘second person’, 3 ‘third person’, CAUS ‘causative’, CHAR ‘characteristic’, CL.DEM ‘clausal demonstrative’, CLT ‘clitic’, CNJ ‘conjunctive’, COM ‘comitative conjunction’, COMP ‘complementizer’, CONJ ‘conjunction’, CONTIN ‘continuative’, CTR ‘control transitivizer’, DEM ‘demonstrative’, DET ‘determiner’, DIM ‘diminutive’, EMPH ‘emphatic’, EPEN ‘epenthesis’, ERG ‘ergative’, EVD ‘evidential’, EXCL ‘exclusive’, FUT ‘future’, IMP ‘imperative’, INFER ‘inferential’, INFOR ‘informative’, INT ‘intensifier’, IPFV ‘imperfective’, IRR ‘irrealis’, MD ‘middle’, LNK ‘linker’, MOD ‘modal’, NCTR ‘non-control transitive’, NEG ‘negation’, NMLZ ‘nominalizer’, OBJ ‘object’, OBL ‘oblique’, OPT ‘optative’, PASS ‘passive’, PL ‘plural’, POSS ‘possessive’, PRO ‘pronoun’, PRT ‘particle’, PST ‘past’, Q ‘question marker’, QUOT ‘quotative’, RED ‘reduplication’, REQ ‘request for information’, RFLX ‘reflexive’, SBJ ‘subject’, SG ‘singular’, and STV ‘stative’. Affixes are marked by a hyphen ‘-’, clitics by an equal sign ‘=’, and reduplicated sequences by a bullet ‘•’.

- (1) **ǰaqa** ʔiy ʔa•ʔax<sup>w</sup> s=k<sup>w</sup>əj-uł.  
 ǰAQA ʔIY IPFV•snow NMLZ=morning-PST  
 ‘Oh, it’s snowing this morning!’  
 Consultant’s Comment: “It’s like ... something you didn’t expect.”
- (2) *Context: We had been out on the boat, but it had been raining.*  
**ǰaqa**=č̣a ti•tiχ-im s=jasuł.  
 ǰAQA=Č̣A IPFV•sunshine-MD NMLZ=yesterday  
 ‘I wish it had been sunshining yesterday.’
- (3) *Context: Talking about perishable food.*  
 hu=ga qəms-at. **ǰaqa** łaχaw.  
 go=IMP put.away-CTR ǰAQA spoil/break.down  
 ‘Go put it away! It might spoil.’
- (4) **ǰaqa**=gut ma•mati k<sup>w</sup>=tala.  
 ǰAQA=GUT IPFV•borrow DET =money  
 ‘He always comes to borrow money.’

Reisinger (2018) suggests that *ǰaqa* may be a circumstantial modal, but leaves a full analysis for future work. Based on more recent fieldwork, we argue that *ǰaqa* is not a circumstantial modal, but rather an exclamation operator in the spirit of Grosz (2011; 2014).

The data presented in this paper come from four speakers of the Tla’amin community, one speaker from Homalco, and two Vancouver-based speakers. In gathering data for this paper, we employed a variety of semantic fieldwork methodologies, including direct translation with contextual support and judgment tasks (Matthewson 2004). We also provide examples volunteered spontaneously during elicitation, and examples available in previous documentation.

Section 2 examines the different interpretations associated with *ǰaqa* more closely, while Section 3 reviews the cross-Salish literature and identifies potential cognates of this auxiliary in a handful of closely related languages. In Section 4, we briefly introduce Grosz (2011; 2014)’s *EX* operator and illustrate how his analysis can be used to account for the data presented in this paper. Lastly, Section 5 summarizes the results and concludes this paper with an outlook on future research.

## 2 The Readings

The following subsections will illustrate the different readings evoked by the presence of *ǰaqa*. Section 2.1 will explore the association of *ǰaqa* with wishes, hopes, and desires, while Section 2.2 is dedicated to cases that express surprise. Section 2.3 focuses on the use of *ǰaqa* in contexts which involve undesirable consequences. Lastly, Section 2.4 describes cases that involve the repetition of unpleasant events.

### 2.1 Wishes

The ‘wish’ cases are usually counterfactual, either expressing: (i) a wish for something that is currently counter to fact and unlikely to be fulfilled, or (ii) a wish that has already been frustrated (e.g., wishing that something would have been different in the past). In contexts like these, *ǰaqa* is usually accompanied by the clitic *č̣a*, whose contribution will be examined more closely in Section 4.3.2. The sentences in (5) to (8) illustrate the use of *ǰaqa* in the ‘wish’ cases.

- (5) *Context: We had been out on the boat, but it had been raining.*  
**ǰaqa**=č̣a ti•tiχ-im s=ǰasuł.  
 ǰAQA=Č̣A IPFV•sunshine-MD NMLZ=yesterday  
 ‘I wish it had been sunshining yesterday.’
- (6) **ǰaqa**=št=č̣a θu na yawup-am-uł.  
 ǰAQA=1PL.SBJ=Č̣A go FILLER.PRT sail-MD-PST  
 ‘We wish we had gone sailing yesterday.’
- (7) *Context: I want to go sailing.*  
**ǰaqa**=č̣a=ʔut puh-<i>m.  
 ǰAQA=Č̣A=EXCL blow-MD<STV>  
 ‘I wish it were windy.’
- (8) *Context: It is summer and there are a lot of forest fires in the Interior.*  
**ǰaqa**=č̣a č̣əł. hihiw qəχ-mut q̣a•q̣<a>t<i>x<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ut=ʔuk<sup>w</sup> č̣an=as.  
 ǰAQA=Č̣A rain. really lots-INT IPFV•burn<PL> CLT=all place=3CNJ  
 ‘I wish it would rain. There are a lot of fires all over.’

However, wishes can also be expressed with conjunctive subject markers and the enclitic  $\chi^wəʔt$ , as shown in examples (9) and (10).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The use of this enclitic with wishes and hopes has been documented by Kroeber (1999:160) and Watanabe (2003:529; 2016:312–323), without the presence of the auxiliary *ǰaqa*, as illustrated in (i–vi).

- (i) x<sup>w</sup>aʔ-an=**χ<sup>w</sup>əʔt** k<sup>w</sup>ət-əm-an.  
 NEG-1SG.CNJ=CLT sick-MD-1SG.CNJ  
 ‘I hope I don’t get sick.’ [Kroeber 1999:160; Watanabe 2003:529]
- (ii) q<sup>w</sup>əl-as=**χ<sup>w</sup>əʔt** təs (ʔə=tiʔi).  
 come-3SG.CNJ=CLT reach OBL=DEM  
 ‘I hope he gets here.’ [Kroeber 1999:160; Watanabe 2003:529]
- (iii) k<sup>w</sup>ən-i-θ-ax<sup>w</sup>=**χ<sup>w</sup>uʔt** š<iʔ>i<š>a-t=č̣an ša=hayšin.  
 see-STV-CTR.1SG.OBJ-2SG.CNJ=CLT high<PL><DIM>-CTR=1SG.SUB DET=ladder  
 ‘You should have seen me climbing up and down the ladder.’ [Watanabe 2003:529]
- (iv) χ<sup>w</sup>upχ<sup>w</sup>up-añ-uł=**χ<sup>w</sup>uʔt**, huθut=k<sup>w</sup>a.  
 hummingbird-1SG.CNJ.SBJ-PST=CLT say=QUOT  
 ‘‘I wish I were a hummingbird,’’ she said.’ [Watanabe 2016:322]
- (v) hiy-as=**χ<sup>w</sup>uʔt**.  
 it’s-3CNJ=CLT  
 ‘I wish!’ (lit. ‘Hopefully, it would be!’) [Watanabe 2016:323]
- (vi) hiy-as=**χ<sup>w</sup>uʔt** k<sup>w</sup>=χaʔa.  
 it’s-3CNJ=CLT DET=clam  
 ‘I’m wishing for clams!’ (lit. ‘If only there were clams!’) [Watanabe 2016:323]

(9) **ǰaqa**=as=χ<sup>w</sup>əʔt ɭaxaw.  
 ǰAQA=3CNJ=CLT spoil/break.down  
 ‘I wish it would spoil.’

(10) **ǰaqa**=as=χ<sup>w</sup>əʔt q<sup>w</sup>ə•q<sup>w</sup>əɭ.  
 ǰAQA=3CNJ=CLT IPFV•come  
 ‘I hope he’s coming.’

Based on our data, the ‘wish’ readings are not restricted with regard to their temporal orientation, as exemplified by the paradigm in (11).

- (11) a. **ǰaqa**=č̣a x<sup>w</sup>aʔ č̣əl=as k<sup>w</sup>iy.  
 ǰAQA=č̣A NEG rain=3CNJ tomorrow  
 ‘I hope it doesn’t rain tomorrow.’
- b. **ǰaqa**=č̣a x<sup>w</sup>aʔ č̣ə•č̣l=as s=č̣aʔat.  
 ǰAQA=č̣A NEG IPFV •rain=3CNJ NMLZ=now  
 ‘I hope it is not raining right now.’
- c. **ǰaqa**=č̣a x<sup>w</sup>aʔ č̣əl=as s=ǰas-uɭ.  
 ǰAQA=č̣A NEG rain=3CNJ NMLZ=yesterday-PST  
 ‘I hope it didn’t rain yesterday.’

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the holder of the wish does not necessarily have to be the subject of the clause. In example (12), for instance, it is the speaker — and not the second person subject — that holds the wish, thus giving rise to an externally bouletic interpretation. The deontic reading that seems to emerge on the surface is probably derived via a bouletic-to-deontic inference (cf. Matthewson & Truckenbrodt 2018).

(12) **ǰaqa**=č̣x<sup>w</sup>=č̣a=qəɭ q<sup>w</sup>əɭ qamin-uɭ.  
 ǰAQA=2SG.SBJ=č̣A=IRR come accompany-PST  
 ‘You should have come along.’

## 2.2 Surprises

In addition to the ‘wish’ readings outlined in Section 2.1, speakers can also use *ǰaqa* to mark propositions that they consider surprising, unexpected, or sudden, as illustrated by the examples in (13) to (15). Often, but not always, the particle *ʔiy* directly follows *ǰaqa* in these cases. Section 4.3.1 will take a closer look at the contribution of this particle.

---

Kroeber (1999:160), who transcribes this clitic as χ<sup>w</sup>əʔt, concedes that he does not fully understand the meaning of this element, but proposes ‘would that...’ as a potential translation for it. Watanabe (2003:529), who transcribes this element as χ<sup>w</sup>uʔt, glosses it as a hypothetical marker that can be translated as ‘it seems that/like’, unless it appears in combination with conjunctive inflection. In this case, it adopts a bouletic meaning to express the speaker’s desires and wishes, which are inherently hypothetical as well. Watanabe (2016:321–323) refines this analysis by suggesting that the ‘wishful thinking’ cases involve insubordination, i.e., the speaker elides the matrix clause and only utters the conditional clause with the conjunctive marking (e.g., ‘[It would have been good/great/wonderful] if you had seen me!’ or ‘[I wish/I hope] that you could have seen me!’).

- (13) **jaqa** ʔiy q<sup>w</sup>əl təs Hoss.  
 JAQA ʔIY come arrive Hoss  
 ‘Oh, Hoss arrived!’
- (14) **jaqa** ʔiy ʔa•ʔax<sup>w</sup> s=k<sup>w</sup>əj-ʉl.  
 JAQA ʔIY IPFV•snow NMLZ=morning-PST  
 ‘Oh, it’s snowing this morning!’  
 Consultant’s comment: “It’s like ... something you didn’t expect.”
- (15) **jaqa=k<sup>w</sup>a** niʔ šə=nəx<sup>w</sup>il.  
 JAQA=QUOT be.there DET=canoe  
 ‘All of a sudden, he saw the canoe.’ [First Voices: “The Canoe and Menathey”]

### 2.3 Undesirable Consequences

Often, *jaqa* occurs in the consequent of overt or covert conditionals, where it tends to be translated as ‘might’. In these cases, the auxiliary *jaqa* encodes a future temporal orientation and the consequent expresses an undesirable outcome, as exemplified by the sentences in (16) to (20). The undesirability is judged by the speaker, not the subject of the sentence. For instance, it is the speaker, not the bear, who disapproves of the bear eating the fish in (20).

- (16) hu=ga qəms-at. **jaqa** ʎaxaw.  
 go=IMP put.away-CTR JAQA spoil/break.down  
 ‘Go put it away! It might spoil.’
- (17) **jaqa** ʎaxaw hu=h-as niʔ k<sup>w</sup>as.  
 JAQA spoil/break.down go=EPEN-CNJ be.there hot  
 ‘It might spoil if it gets hot there.’
- (18) **jaqa=čx<sup>w</sup>** mamaq<sup>w</sup>l.  
 JAQA=2SG.SBJ get.hurt  
 ‘You might get hurt.’
- (19) **jaqa** ʎaw-nu-may-əm.  
 JAQA left-NCTR-1SG.OBJ-PASS  
 ‘I might get left behind.’
- (20) *Context: A bear is coming and you think that it might go into your smokehouse and eat your fish.*  
 q<sup>w</sup>ə•q<sup>w</sup>əl tə=miʎaʎ. k<sup>w</sup>ən-at=čx<sup>w</sup>! **jaqa** q<sup>w</sup>əl mək<sup>w</sup>-t-as tə=ms=janx<sup>w</sup>.  
 IPFV•come DET=bear see-CTR=2SG.SBJ JAQA come eat-CTR-3ERG DET=1PL.POSS=fish  
 ‘A bear is coming. Look! It might eat our fish.’

### 2.4 Excessive and Undesirable Repetitions

Lastly, *jaqa* may appear with the clitic *gut*, in which case it gets a repeated event reading, where the repetitions are undesirable or unpleasant for the speaker, as shown in (21) to (25). This reading is also sometimes signalled by *jaqa* in combination with the clitic *ʔut*, as highlighted in (26) and (27).

(21) *Context: Someone you don't want to see keeps dropping by.*

ǰaqa=gut q<sup>w</sup>əl təs.  
ǰAQA=GUT come arrive  
'Here they are again!'

(22) ǰaqa=gut ləχ•ləχaw šə=ʔatnupil-s.  
ǰAQA=GUT PL•spoil/break.down DET=car-3POSS  
'Her car is always breaking down.'

(23) ǰaqa=gut ma•mati k<sup>w</sup>=tala.  
ǰAQA=GUT IPFV•borrow DET=money  
'He always comes to borrow money.'

(24) ǰaqa=gut ʔuk<sup>w</sup>amił.  
ǰAQA=GUT finish.food  
'They're always running out of food.'

(25) ǰaqa=gut ču•čuwuł.  
ǰAQA=GUT IPFV•steal  
'He keeps stealing.'

(26) ǰaqa=ʔut θu ʔi•ʔimaš.  
ǰAQA=EXCL go IPFV•walk  
'There he goes walking again.'

(27) ǰaqa=ʔut ʔi•ʔiltin.  
ǰAQA=EXCL IPFV•eat  
'He's always eating.'

As highlighted by (28), *ǰaqa=gut* cannot be used for repetitions which are planned or desired.

(28) \*ǰaqa=gut q<sup>w</sup>əl ʝu ʔə=k<sup>w</sup>=kismas.  
ǰAQA=GUT come home OBL=DET=Christmas  
'He always comes home for Christmas.'  
Consultant's comment: "*ǰaqa=gut* ... it's not planned, it's almost like invasive."

## 2.5 Summary

The preceding sections have shown that the auxiliary *ǰaqa* is an astonishingly versatile marker. Table 1 provides a concise summary of the different forms and functions associated with this element.

**Table 1:** The auxiliary *jaqa* and its readings

	Wishes	Surprises	Undesirable Consequences	Undesirable Repetitions
<b>Form</b>	<i>jaqa=č̣a</i> <i>jaqa=as=χʷəʔt</i>	<i>jaqa (ʔiy)</i>	<i>jaqa</i>	<i>jaqa=gut</i> <i>jaqa=ʔut</i>
<b>Function</b>	counterfactual wishes	surprises, unexpected events, accidents	undesirable consequences in conditionals	undesired and unpleasant repetitions

### 3 Data from other Central Salish languages

A look at the Central Salish literature reveals that many other languages spoken along the Strait of Georgia — e.g., Klallam, SENĆOŦEN, and Sechelt — contain potential cognates of *jaqa* that share some of the readings presented above.

#### 3.1 Klallam

In his *Klallam Dictionary*, Montler (2012:165) describes the lexeme *yəq* (also: *iq*) as a “cupitive speech act enclitic” that can roughly be translated as ‘I wish’.<sup>3</sup> In the complementary *Klallam Grammar*, he adds that this clitic *iq* (pronounced *yəq* in older recordings) “is used when the speaker believes the event is not true and wants the addressee to know that he or she wishes the event to be true” (Montler 2015:217). Examples for this usage can be found in (29) and (30).

(29) nił **iq** nəswáŷga?  
‘I wish he was my husband.’ [Montler 2012:165]

(30) hiyá? **yəq** cn.  
‘I wish I could go.’ [Montler 2012:165]

#### 3.2 SENĆOŦEN

SENĆOŦEN, a dialect of Northern Straits, has a second-position clitic that also has the form *yəq*. Montler (1984) reports that *yəq* forms a sentence ‘that expresses the speaker’s hope or wish for some remote but distinct possibility’. He writes that it can be translated as “‘I wish’, ‘I hope’, and, rarely, ‘I ought’” (Montler 1984:206), as illustrated in (31) to (33).

(31) ləw=**yəq**.  
get.better=OPT  
‘I hope he gets better.’ [Montler 1984:206]

<sup>3</sup> The term *cupitive* refers to optative constructions that express wishes. In Classical Greek, cupitive optatives stand in contrast to potential optatives, which express that the realization of the denoted proposition is likely. In this paper, we use the term *optative* exclusively to refer to the ‘wish’ readings.

(32)  $yéʔ=yəq=ləʔ=sən$ .  
 go=OPT=PST=1SG.SBJ  
 ‘I ought to go/I wish I’d gone.’<sup>4</sup> [Montler 1984:207]

(33)  $yéʔ=yəq=k^wəwyək^w$ .  
 go=OPT=go.fishing  
 ‘I wish he’d go out fishing.’ [Montler 2018:845]

In a more recent description, Montler (2018:844–845) labels  $yəq$  as “optative speech situation enclitic” and highlights that (i)  $yəq$  cannot combine with the future enclitic, as shown in (34), and (ii) that the deontic reading ( $\approx$  ‘ought to’) is specifically linked to the form  $yəq=ləʔ$ , a combination of the optative enclitic and the past clitic, which might mean something like ‘I wish I had’, as shown in (35) and (36).

(34) \*  $ʔilən=yəq=sən=səʔ$ .  
 eat=OPT=1SG.SBJ=FUT  
 ‘I hope I will eat.’ [Montler 2018:845]

(35)  $yéʔ=yəq=ləʔ=sən=k^wəʔ$ .  
 go=OPT=PST=1SG.SBJ=INFOR  
 ‘I ought to go.’ [Montler 2018:845]

(36)  $ʔəwə=yəq=ləʔ=sən$  s  $yéʔ$ .  
 NEG=OPT=PST=1SG.SBJ IRR go  
 ‘I shouldn’t have gone. / I wish I hadn’t gone.’ [Montler 2018:845]

### 3.3 Sechelt

While the list of potential cognate forms of  $jaqa$  is fairly short for Klallam and SENĆOFEN, the picture gets significantly more complex when we look at Sechelt, the closest neighbor of  $ʔayʔajuθəm$ . Instead of only one cognate form, Sechelt appears to have three distinct forms that resemble  $jaqa$ .

The first of these elements is the suffix *-ka*, which is used to convey optative concepts, such as hopes and wishes. Beaumont (2012:222) notes that this suffix often — but not always — follows negation. Example (37) presents the dictionary entry for this marker, while (38) to (40) illustrate its use.

(37) Dictionary entry:  
**-ka** hope (I, etc.), if only, wish (I, etc.) (if only; it is to be hoped). [Beaumont 2012:624]

(38)  $xwé-(ʔ)áxw-ka kél-álh-íl-em-axw$ .  
 ‘I hope you don’t get sick.’ [Beaumont 2012:221]

(39)  $ne ʔálish-axw-ka$ .  
 ‘I wish you were my brother.’ [Beaumont 2012:531]

<sup>4</sup> Montler (p.c., 2019) notes that ‘I ought to have gone’ might be a better translation than ‘I ought to go’.



- (40) ní-(?)án-ka...  
 ‘If only I were there ...’ [Beaumont 2012:229]

In addition, Beaumont (2012) also describes two forms, *yáka* and *yéka*, that look like as if they may involve the *-ka* suffix. In any case, these two forms appear to be closely related to the auxiliary *jaqa* in ʔayʔajuθəm.

*Yáka* seems to appear in utterances in which the speaker calls attention to undesired consequences, thus mirroring the meaning of the *jaqa* sentences presented in Section 2.3. Beaumont’s (2012) dictionary entry for this form is given in (41), while the sentences in (42) and (43) illustrate in what contexts this form might be used.

- (41) Dictionary entry:  
*yáka* might (could), or (if not, otherwise). [Beaumont 2012:947]
- (42) kw’én-ít-tsut-chxw-la! **yáka**-chxw nána.  
 ‘Watch out! You might get hurt!’ [Beaumont 2012:282]
- (43) hákw-nu-mál-em **yáka** ʔe she tákta.  
 ‘The doctor might smell me (if I don’t take a bath).’ [Beaumont 2012:282]

In contrast, *yéka* seems to act as an expression of annoyance, disapproval, and impatience, as shown by the dictionary entry in (44). The example sentences in (45) to (47) indicate that this form matches the use of the *jaqa=gut* string in the undesirable repetition cases, as outlined in Section 2.4.

- (44) Dictionary entry:  
*yéka* again (expression of annoyance, disapproval, impatience, etc.), always doing s.th. (critical comment), “exclamation” (expression of disapproval, displeasure, impatience.) [Beaumont 2012:951]
- (45) **yéka** kéyi-la!  
 ‘It (engine) stopped again!’ [Beaumont 2012:144]
- (46) **yéka** xét-át-tsut-chxw-la!  
 ‘You’re always doing that (the same thing)!’ [Beaumont 2012:144]
- (47) **yéka** nílh-la! níneʔ-it-tsut téʔáxa.  
 ‘There he goes again! He’s butting in (interrupting).’ [Beaumont 2012:14]

In any case, it is striking that neither *yáka* nor *yéka* appear to have the optative meaning that *jaqa* has in combination with *ča*, even though the suffix *-ka* on its own does appear to encode optativity.

### 3.4 Summary

To sum up, all three of the examined Central Salish languages contain elements which resemble certain uses of *jaqa* in ʔayʔajuθəm. Both Klallam and SENĆOŦEN use the enclitic *yəq* to mark optative constructions. Whether this form can also be used to express the other interpretations associated with *jaqa* (i.e., surprise, undesirable consequences, undesirable repetitions) remains an

open question. Without negative data, it is difficult to tell whether *yəq* is incompatible with these readings, or whether these uses simply have not been documented yet.

In contrast to Klallam and SENĆOŦEN, the data from Sechelt is particularly puzzling. After all, the different readings that have been associated to one and the same form in ʔayʔajuθəm, namely *jaqa*, seem to be expressed by at least three elements listed in the dictionary, namely *-ka*, *yáka*, and *yéká* in Sechelt. The fact that there is no one-to-one mapping between the elements in these two languages poses the question whether several different forms merged to one form in ʔayʔajuθəm, or whether one form disintegrated into several different forms in Sechelt. Currently, we do not have any answers to this question.

**Table 2:** The auxiliary *jaqa* and its potential cognates in some selected Central Salish languages

	Undesirable Consequences	Wishes	Surprises	Disapproval / Unwanted Repetition
<b>ʔayʔajuθəm</b>	<i>jaqa</i>	<i>jaqa=čá</i> <i>jaqa=as=χʷət</i>	<i>jaqa (ʔiy)</i>	<i>jaqa=gut</i> <i>jaqa=ʔut</i>
<b>Sechelt</b>	<i>yáka</i>	<i>-ka</i>	?	<i>yéká</i>
<b>SENĆOŦEN</b>	?	<i>yəq</i>	?	?
<b>Klallam</b>	?	<i>yəq / iq</i>	?	?

## 4 Towards an Analysis

In the spirit of Grosz (2011; 2014), we propose that the different and seemingly un-unifiable readings associated with *jaqa* can in fact be unified if this auxiliary is treated as an overt exclamation operator that expresses the speaker’s emotion towards the status of a proposition on a contextually salient scale. In Section 4.1, we briefly outline how Grosz (2011)’s *EX* operator works in English and German, while Section 4.2 sketches how Grosz (2011)’s analysis can be applied to ʔayʔajuθəm to account for the patterns we have observed for *jaqa*. Section 4.3 will take a closer look at the clitics and particles that tend to accompany *jaqa*, trying to shed some light on their semantic contribution. Lastly, Section 4.4 will present some supporting evidence for our analysis, including syntactic restrictions and the role of speaker-orientedness.

### 4.1 Grosz (2011) as a Blueprint

#### 4.1.1 Optatives, Polar Exclamatives, and Adversatives

In his thesis, Grosz (2011) focuses on three types of constructions — optatives, polar exclamatives, and adversatives — which resemble each other in that they all express how the speaker feels towards the denoted proposition.

Optatives express the speaker’s wishes, hopes, or desires, without making use of an overt lexical item that means ‘wish’, ‘hope’, or ‘desire’, as illustrated by the examples from English and German in (48) below.

- (48) a. If only I had brought an umbrella!  
Paraphrase: ‘I wish I had brought an umbrella.’
- b. Oh, that I had never left you!  
Paraphrase: ‘I wish that I had never left you.’  
[T. S. Arthur. (1868). *After the Storm*. Philadelphia.]
- c. Wenn ich nur die Zeit zurückdrehen könnte!  
if I only the time turn.back could  
Literally: ‘If only I could turn back time!’  
Paraphrase: ‘I wish I could turn back time.’

Polar exclamatives, on the other hand, convey the speaker’s surprise, shock, or amazement at a fact. Just like the optative constructions, these utterances do so without containing lexical items that mean ‘surprise’, ‘shock’, or ‘amazement’, as highlighted by the examples in (49).

- (49) a. That he should have left without asking me!  
Paraphrase: ‘I’m surprised that he should have left without asking me.’  
[Quirk et al. 1985:841; Grosz 2011:39]
- b. That you could ever marry such a man!  
Paraphrase: ‘I did not expect that you could ever marry such a man.’  
[Quirk et al. 1985:841; Grosz 2011:39]
- c. Dass die dort gewohnt haben!  
that they there lived have  
Literally: ‘That they lived there!’  
Paraphrase: ‘It amazes me that they lived there.’  
[Rosengren 1992:278; Grosz 2011:40]

Last, adversatives (or anti-optatives) express the speaker’s disapproval, disgust, or dislike — once again, without the presence of any overt lexical items that carry this meaning. While English seems to lack independent adversatives (Grosz 2011:117), such constructions can be found in German, as exemplified by the sentences in (50).

- (50) a. Mein Gott! Der Olaf! Wenn ich den schon sehe!  
my God the Olaf if I him already see  
Literally: ‘Oh my god! Olaf! If I already see him!’  
Paraphrase: ‘It makes me sick if I see Olaf.’ [Scholz 1991:48; Grosz 2011:62]
- b. Dass die aber auch immer Vanilleeis mitbringt!  
that she but also always vanilla.ice.cream brings  
Literally: ‘That she always brings vanilla ice cream!’  
Paraphrase: ‘I find it disappointing that she always brings vanilla ice cream.’  
[Grosz 2011:236]

### 4.1.2 The *EX* Operator

Grosz (2011) claims that all three of these constructions contain a covert exclamation operator, which he labels *EX*. This operator serves to express the speaker’s emotion or evaluative attitude  $\varepsilon$  towards the fact that the denoted proposition  $\varphi$  exceeds a salient threshold on a contextually provided scale  $S$ . As illustrated by the overview in (51), every construction relies on a different scale. For instance, in the case of optatives, the denoted proposition is measured against a scale of speaker-preference.

(51) *Constructions and their respective scales:*

	CONSTRUCTION	EMOTION	SALIENT SCALE
a.	optatives	wishes, hopes, desires	speaker-preference
b.	adversatives	disapproval, dislike, disgust	speaker-dispreference
c.	polar exclamatives	surprise, shock, amazement	speaker-unlikelihood

In addition to its scalar properties, the *EX* operator is also expressive (Grosz 2011:87). By this, Grosz means that *EX* combines with a proposition of the type  $\langle s, t \rangle$  and maps it onto the felicity conditions which capture how the speaker feels towards the denoted proposition. Thus, the denotation of *EX* ( $S$ ) ( $\varphi$ ) yields a semantics that is not truth-conditional, but rather felicity-conditional.<sup>5</sup>

With these points in mind, Grosz (2011:91) proposes the lexical entry in (52) for the *EX* operator:

(52) For any scale  $S$  and proposition  $p$ , interpreted in relation to a context  $c$  and assignment function  $g$ ,

an utterance  $EX(S)(p)$  is felicitous iff  $\forall q[\text{THRESHOLD}(c) >_S q \rightarrow p >_S q]$

“EX expresses an emotion that captures the fact that  $p$  is higher on a (speaker-related) scale  $S$  than all contextually relevant alternatives  $q$  below a contextual threshold.”

where  $\text{THRESHOLD}(c)$  is a function from a context into a set of worlds / a proposition that counts as high with respect to a relevant scale  $S$ .

To sum up, an utterance of the form  $EX(S)(\varphi)$  has the following properties: (i) the speaker has an emotion or evaluative attitude  $\varepsilon$  towards the proposition  $\varphi$  at UT, (ii) the speaker wants not just to *describe*, but rather to *express*  $\varepsilon$ , and (iii)  $\varepsilon$  is based on a scale (e.g., a scale of speaker-preference in the case of optatives).<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Following this argument, Grosz would consider the sentence in (i), which does not involve the *EX* operator, as truth-conditional. The optative construction in (ii), on the other hand, would be regarded as felicity-conditional within Grosz’s analysis due to the presence of the *EX* operator.

(i) [I wish I had gone to Galway.]  $\Rightarrow$  **describes** my desire  
(ii) [EX [If only I had gone to Galway.]  $\Rightarrow$  **expresses** my desire

<sup>6</sup> Grosz (2011:93) also highlights that the *EX* operator may combine with interjections, such as *oh! man! wow!* etc., to further refine the expression of  $\varepsilon$ . However, according to Grosz, such interjections do not themselves express  $\varepsilon$ .

### 4.1.3 The Role of Particles

In addition to this *EX* operator, we also need something to help us identify the appropriate scale against which the denoted proposition will be measured. For instance, the German utterance in (53) below can be interpreted as a polar exclamative, an optative, or an adversative — depending on the context.

- (53) Dass die Saoirse gegangen ist!  
that the Saoirse left is  
Literally: ‘That Saoirse left!’  
Most plausible paraphrase: ‘I am surprised [that Saoirse left].’  
Conceivable paraphrase: ‘I hope [that Saoirse left].’  
Conceivable paraphrase: ‘I am disappointed [that Saoirse left].’

Grosz (2011:146) highlights that these three readings can be disambiguated by adding certain particles. For instance, adding the particle *nur* (‘only’) to the sentence above will make the optative reading salient, as shown in (54). Adding the particle *auch* (‘also’), on the other hand, will foreground the adversative interpretation, as shown in (55).

- (54) Oh, dass die Saoirse **nur** gegangen ist!  
oh that the Saoirse only left is  
‘I hope that Saoirse left.’

- (55) Dass die Saoirse **auch** gegangen ist!  
that the Saoirse also left is  
‘I am disappointed that Saoirse left.’

Such particles, whose main purpose it is to disambiguate the different readings by eliminating competing interpretations, cannot only be found in German (e.g., *nur*, *doch*, *aber*, *schon*, *auch*, *wenigstens*...), but also in English, as illustrated by the optative constructions in (56) below.<sup>7</sup>

- (56) a. If I’d **only** listened to my parents!  
b. If I could **just** make them understand my point of view!  
c. If I could **but** explain! [Quirk et al. 1985:842; Grosz 2011:13]

According to Grosz (2014:93), the use of such particles is governed by a constraint he calls *Utilize Cues*, as given in (57).

- (57) *Utilize Cues*:  
a. If a marked use of an ambiguous utterance can be made more salient by adding certain elements (e.g., particles, interjections, intonational tunes) to this utterance, the addition of one (or more than one) such element is obligatory. Such elements qualify as cues for the respective utterance use.  
b. The requirement in (55a) can be obviated if the intended utterance use is independently prominent in the utterance context.

---

<sup>7</sup> Grosz (2011; 2014) classifies these particles — which are often, but not always scalar — as truth-conditionally vacuous presupposition triggers.

Essentially, this constraint posits that speakers have to make use of available cues (e.g., particles, interjections) whenever the intended reading of a given utterance is marked and not sufficiently supported by the context.

## 4.2 *jaqa* as an overt *EX* operator

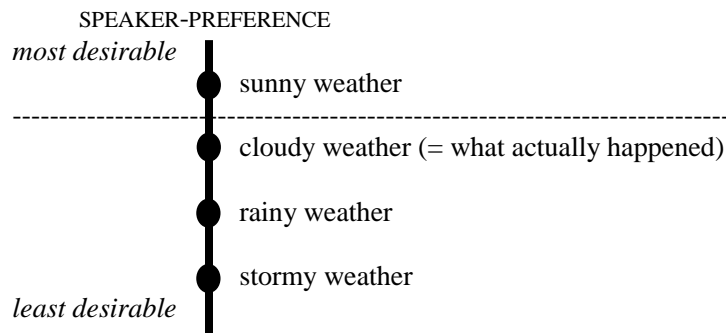
The alert reader will have noticed that the utterances that Grosz (2011; 2014) discusses strongly resemble the *jaqa* sentences we presented in Section 2 — both in terms of their available readings (e.g., ‘wishes’, ‘surprise’, ‘disapproval’) and their structural properties (e.g., the use of particles/clitics to disambiguate these different interpretations).

With this in mind, we propose that Grosz (2011; 2014)’s analysis can also be adapted to account for the *jaqa* data which we have encountered in ʔayʔajuθəm. Essentially, we argue — in the spirit of Grosz — that *jaqa* is an overt *EX* operator which expresses that  $\varphi$  is higher on a speaker-related scale  $S$  than all contextually relevant alternatives  $\psi$  below a contextually determined threshold.<sup>8</sup> In this way, *jaqa* ( $S$ ) ( $\varphi$ ) maps the descriptive content  $\varphi$  to expressive content, communicating an emotion or evaluative attitude toward  $\varphi$ .

- (58)  $\llbracket jaqa(S)(\varphi) \rrbracket^{c,g}$  is felicitous iff  $\varphi \geq_s \text{THRESHOLD}(c)$   
 where  $\varphi \geq_s \text{THRESHOLD}(c)$  abbreviates  $\forall \psi [\text{THRESHOLD}(c) >_s \psi \rightarrow \varphi \geq_{sc} \psi]$   
 and  $\text{THRESHOLD}$  is a function from a context into a set of worlds/a proposition that counts as high with respect to a relevant scale  $S$ . [adapted from Grosz 2011:91]

Adopting Grosz (2011)’s model, the ‘wish’ readings presented in Section 2.1 can be classified as optative constructions. Example (59), for instance, will only be felicitous if the denoted proposition (i.e., ‘the sun was shining yesterday’) lies above a salient threshold on the scale of speaker-preference.

- (59) **jaqa**=ča      ti•tiχ-im      s=jasuł.  
 JAQA=ČA    IPFV•sunshine-MD    NMLZ=yesterday  
 ‘[It would have been good] if (only) the sun had been shining yesterday!’



<sup>8</sup> According to Grosz (2011), English optative constructions consist of a covert *EX* operator which scopes over an overt complementizer, such as *if* or *that*. Deviating from this analysis, we propose that *jaqa* acts as an overt *EX* operator which does not require the presence of a complementizer. While it is theoretically also possible that optatives in ʔayʔajuθəm are structurally identical to their English equivalents — i.e., they consist of a covert *EX* operator and *jaqa* simply acts as a complementizer — we deem such an analysis improbable. This is mostly due to the fact that we have not encountered any instances where *jaqa* serves as a complementizer outside of exclamative constructions.

The ‘surprise’ readings that we introduced in Section 2.2 can be classified as polar exclamatives. Consequently, the utterance in (60) will only meet the felicity conditions if the proposition (i.e., ‘Hoss arrived’) exceeds the salient threshold on the scale of speaker-unlikelihood.

- (60) **ǰaqa** ʔiy q<sup>w</sup>əl təs Hoss.  
 ǰAQA ʔIY come arrive Hoss  
 ‘[I’m surprised that] Hoss arrived!’

Last, we argue the utterances presented in Section 2.3 (≈ ‘undesirable consequences’) and Section 2.4 (≈ ‘undesirable repetitions’) can be grouped together under the label of “adversatives” as they both convey the speaker’s disapproval toward the denoted proposition. In other words, we assume that the propositions in both (61) and (62) are only felicitous if they surpass the salient threshold on an inverse scale of speaker-preference.

- (61) hu=ga qəms-at. **ǰaqa** ɭaxaw.  
 go=IMP put.away-CTR ǰAQA spoil/break.down  
 ‘Go put it away! [I don’t want that] it spoils!’
- (62) **ǰaqa**=gut ma•mati k<sup>w</sup>=tala.  
 ǰAQA=GUT IPFV•borrow DET=money  
 ‘[It angers me that] he always borrows money!’

### 4.3 The Particles and Clitics

As in German (cf. Grosz 2011; 2014), additional cues may be necessary to select the appropriate scale for these utterances. In ʔayʔajuθəm, these cues seem to come in the form of enclitics (*ǰa*, *gut*) or the particle *ʔiy*. For example, the second sentence in (63) is an unmarked adversative in the given context and, consequently, does not require an additional cue. However, a polar exclamative reading can be forced for the same proposition by adding the particle *ʔiy*, as shown in (64). The sentence in (65), on the other hand, shows that — under the right circumstances — polar exclamatives can also be derived without the presence of this particle. This suggests that speakers of ʔayʔajuθəm make use of these particles when the reading they want to convey is marked or not salient enough.

- (63) *Context: Talking about perishable food.*  
 hu=ga qəms-at. **ǰaqa** ɭaxaw.  
 go=IMP put.away-CTR ǰAQA spoil/break.down  
 ‘(Go put it away!) It might spoil!’  
 Most plausible paraphrase: ‘[I don’t want that] it spoils!’
- (64) **ǰaqa ʔiy** ɭaxaw.  
 ǰAQA ʔIY spoil/break.down  
 ‘Oh, it spoiled!’  
 Most plausible paraphrase: ‘[I’m surprised that] it spoiled!’
- (65) *Context: A story about Menathey who is walking on the beach, looking for rocks.*  
**ǰaqa**=k<sup>w</sup>a niʔ šə=nəx<sup>w</sup>iɭ.  
 ǰAQA=QUOT be.there DET=canoe  
 ‘All of a sudden, he saw the canoe.’  
 Most plausible paraphrase: ‘[It was surprising that] he saw a canoe!’

In the following subsections, we will take a closer look at the different clitics and particles that seem to serve as cues in ʔayʔajuθəm.

### 4.3.1 Polar Exclamatives: ʔiy

The particle ʔiy, which often acts as a cue for polar exclamatives, appears to be the coordinating conjunction that occurs frequently and conjoins both clauses and nominals, as shown in (66a) and (66b), respectively.<sup>9</sup>

(66) a. *Context: We're weaving baskets with Betty, and Betty is much more skilled than the rest of us.*

k<sup>wi</sup> huy-nu-m Betty šə=na-s ʔiy čaʔat=št=ʔut  
 CL.DEM finish-NCTR-PASS Betty DET=own-3POSS CONJ now=1PL.SBJ=EXCL  
 λi•λayin.  
 DIM•start

‘Betty has finished hers and we’re just starting.’

b. *Context: The beginning of a storyboard about a cat and a dog.*

k<sup>wən-ə-x<sup>w</sup></sup>-ul=č šə=čanu ʔiy šə=mimaw.  
 see-NCTR-3OBJ-PST=1SG.SBJ DET=dog CONJ DET=cat

‘I saw a dog and a cat.’

Of course, it is possible that the ʔiy particle that shows up in polar exclamatives is a homophonous particle that is otherwise not well attested. However, though neither its contribution to meaning nor its syntactic function are well understood, there are reasons to believe that the ʔiy particle in polar exclamatives is in fact the conjunction ʔiy. In particular, there are similar constructions elsewhere in ʔayʔajuθəm and in other Coast Salish languages that involve a conjunction like ʔiy coordinating two elements that do not seem to be of the same type, or where the relationship between the two conjuncts is not straightforwardly that of two independent clauses. For instance, ʔiy occasionally occurs conjoining the modal clause *x<sup>w</sup>aʔ čam=as* (‘will not’ or ‘not able to’) with another clause that is in the scope of the modal (Kroeber 2002, cited in Watanabe 2003:555, fn. 467).<sup>10</sup> As indicated by the parentheses in (67), this element is frequently elided.

<sup>9</sup> At present, it is not clear if it may also conjoin non-nominal elements smaller than a clause. While it appears to be possible to conjoin two predicates below T, allowing the tense clitic in the first conjunct to scope over both clauses, it is not possible to similarly allow the same subject clitic to scope over both conjuncts.

- (i) a. ɬat<sup>0</sup>-aθut=štəm ʔiy wuw-əm=št  
 gather-RFLX=1PL.SBJ.FUT CONJ sing-MD=1PL.SBJ  
 b. \* ɬat<sup>0</sup>-aθut=štəm ʔiy wuw-əm  
 gather-RFLX=1PL.SBJ.FUT CONJ sing-MD  
 ‘We will gather together to sing.’

<sup>10</sup> Some English optative constructions, as shown in (i) below, as well as some German degree exclamatives, as shown in (ii) below, also use conjunction-like elements as cues. In both of these cases, the conjunction does not seem to conjoin two syntactic elements, but rather serves to make the intended interpretation more salient.



- (67) x<sup>w</sup>aʔ čam=as (ʔiy) ʔiltən-sx<sup>w</sup>-as ga x<sup>w</sup>aʔ=as čam=as (ʔiy) ʔapim qayχ.  
 NEG MOD=3CNJ (CONJ) eat-CAUS-3ERG if NEG=3CNJ MOD=3CNJ (CONJ) work mink  
 ‘She refused to feed him if Mink wasn’t willing to work.’ [Watanabe 2003:555]

Similar behavior is also found with the comitative conjunction ʔiʔ in Northern Straits. This element is able to conjoin elements like the modal auxiliary x<sup>w</sup>əŋ (‘be able to’) or the question word čəntəŋ (‘when’) with the main predicate, as shown in (68) and (69), respectively.

- (68) x<sup>w</sup>əŋ=sən ʔiʔ xti-t=Ø.  
 able=1SG.SBJ CONJ do-CTR=3OBJ  
 ‘I can do it.’ [Montler 1984:194]

- (69) ČENTÁN LE, OČE I TÁCEL SW.  
 čəntəŋ=Ø=ləʔ=ʔačə ʔiʔ téčəl=sx<sup>w</sup>  
 when=3SBJ=PST=REQ CONJ arrive=2SG-SBJ  
 ‘When did you arrive?’ [Leonard & Huijsmans 2018:224]

Montler (2003) also reports a particle ʔiʔ linking adverbial auxiliaries with main predicates in Klallam and Northern Straits. He suggests that this particle is historically related to the comitative conjunction ʔiʔ, which also exists in both languages. The examples in (70) and (71), as well as in (72) and (73) highlight the different uses of ʔiʔ in Klallam and Northern Straits.

- (70) *Klallam (Linker)*:

čəyáy=cn ʔiʔ=təŋən.  
 almost=1SBJ LNK=miss  
 ‘I almost missed the target.’ [Montler 2003:122]

- (71) *Klallam (Conjunction)*:

xal=cn ʔiʔ=ʔiʔ-šətəŋ=cn.  
 sick=1SBJ CONJ=CONTIN-walking=1SBJ  
 ‘I’m sick and I’m walking.’ [Montler 2003:123]

- (72) *Northern Straits (Linker)*:

ČELÁL I, ČIL, TFE SKEKEL.  
 čəlél ʔiʔ k<sup>w</sup>il tθə sq<sup>w</sup>əq<sup>w</sup>əl  
 almost LNK appear DET sun  
 ‘Soon the sun will come out.’ [Montler 2018:192]

- 
- (i) Oh, if I could **but** explain! [Quirk et al. 1985:842]  
 (ii) Mann, bist du **aber** blöd!  
 man are you but stupid  
 Literally: ‘Man, are you stupid!’  
 Paraphrase: ‘[I can’t believe] how stupid you are!’

(73) *Northern Straits (Conjunction ‘and’, ‘but’, ‘or’, ‘with’):*

EN,Á SEN I, YÁ, SEN.  
 ʔənʔé=sən      ʔiʔ      yéʔ=sən  
 come=1SG.SBJ    CONJ    go=1SG.SBJ  
 ‘I come and go.’

[Montler 2018:191]

In these adverbial constructions, *ʔiʔ* is linking an auxiliary with the main predicate; this is a parallel construction to the cases where the *ʔayʔajuθəm* particle *ʔiy* occurs between the auxiliary *jaqa* and the main predicate. This lends plausibility to an analysis of the particle *ʔiy* that occurs with *jaqa* in the ‘surprise’ cases (= polar exclamatives) as the conjunction *ʔiy*, though an analysis of the syntactic construction and semantic composition that this involves is still needed.

#### 4.3.2 Optatives: *čá*

The form *čá*, which is a cue for optative readings, has been described as ‘conjunctural’ by Watanabe (2003:517) and is analyzed as an epistemic modal by Reisinger (2018). While it predominantly occurs as a second-position clitic, as in (74), it occasionally occurs preceding the main predicate, as shown in (75).

(74) oh, čá-t-ul=čá      s=k<sup>w</sup>əʔul.      hihiw      ʔəm•ʔəm      tə=ʔasq̄.  
 oh rain-PST=INFER    NMLZ=this.morning    really    wet•CHAR    DET=outside  
 ‘It must have rained this morning. It’s really wet outside.’

(75) *Context: We come in and see a completed basket on the table. We know Koosen was working on a basket like that.*  
 čá=huʔ-ə-x<sup>w</sup>-as      pəču-s.  
 INFER=finish-NCTR-3OBJ-3ERG    basket-3POSS  
 ‘She must have finished her basket.’

It is typically used when the speaker is inferring the proposition based on indirect evidence (74–75), but also when the speaker is inferring the proposition through reasoning (76).

(76) *Context: We’re playing battleship. Elsie and I are against Freddie. I’m getting sure of myself and think I know where Freddie’s ship is.*  
 hił=čá      tan      ʔə-x<sup>w</sup>      niʔ-s.  
 be=INFER    DEM    OBL-COMP    be.there-3POSS  
 ‘It must be there.’

How *čá*, an epistemic modal, combines with *jaqa* to disambiguate the relevant scale to a scale of speaker-preference is currently unclear, however. It is particularly puzzling since the optative readings are typically counterfactual, and it is not clear where this counterfactuality is stemming from since neither *jaqa* nor *čá* contribute counterfactuality.<sup>11</sup> There are a few sentences in our database where *čá* does not seem to express epistemic modality, as in (79), but these are few and

<sup>11</sup> However, Grosz (2014) argues that unstressed *doch* in German is a marker of epistemicity and serves as optativity cue, disambiguating in favor of (counterfactual) optativity due to its quasi-incompatibility with competing readings. A similar argument can potentially be made for the use of *ʔayʔajuθəm čá*.

involve other modal elements, so that the interaction between modals may be giving rise to unexpected readings.

(79) *Context: A man has a cat that stinks and he wants to wash it. (Tom and Mittens storyboard, Rolka & Cable 2014)*

θap-aθi=č=č̣a=səm.

bathe-CTR.2SG.OBJ=1SG.SBJ=INFER=FUT

‘I’m going to bathe you.’

This requires further investigation. It is possible that č̣a similarly interacts with jaqa or some covert modality in the optative exclamatives to give rise to a reading involving speaker preference. Of course, it is also possible that there is some other homophonous particle that combines with jaqa to produce the ‘wish’ readings and perhaps appears in examples like (79); if so, this particle is not well attested and we have no independent evidence for its existence.

### 4.3.3 Adversatives: gut

The clitic *gut*, which tends to foreground the adversative reading, is potentially an amalgamation of the clitics *ga* and *ʔut*.<sup>12</sup> While the meaning of the former is not well understood, the latter is a scalar exclusive marker (Huijsmans 2019).

The particles *ga* and *ʔut* both occur in (80). The question is felicitous with just *ʔut* (80a), just *ga* (80b), with *gut* (80c), or *ga=ʔut* (80d). When asked if it would mean something different with the particles pronounced separately, as in (80d), our consultant said that it would mean the same as (80c).

(80) a. λum-it=a=ʔut?  
enough-STV=Q=EXCL

b. λumit=a=ga?  
enough-STV=Q=GA

c. λumit=a=gut?  
enough-STV=Q=GUT

d. λumit=a=ga=ʔut?  
enough-STV=Q=GA=EXCL  
‘Is it enough?’

MH: “Does [λumit=a=gut] mean something different than λumit=a=ga=ʔut?”

Consultant: “It’s the same thing.”

While we are not aware of any regular phonological process that could account for the deletion of the vowel in *ga* when proceeding *ʔut*, this is probably a contraction specific to the clitic string which typically does not bear stress.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Watanabe (2003:519) also notes this possibility.

In the following two subsections, we examine the contribution of *ga* and *Ɂut* separately in order to better understand their roles in combination with *jaqa*.

#### 4.3.3.1 *ga*

There are likely two different second-position clitics with the form *ga* in ʔayʔajuθəm (Watanabe 2003:517–518; cf. J. Davis 2012).<sup>14</sup> There is a politeness marker that occurs frequently in imperatives and alternates with *gi*, as illustrated in (81).

- (81) a. θu=**ga** taʔa.  
           go=IMP DEM  
       b. θu=**gi** taʔa.  
           go=IMP DEM  
           ‘Go over there.’

In addition, there is also a *ga* that occurs as a second-position clitic in declaratives and does not alternate with *gi*, as shown in (82).

- (82) a. hił=**ga** ʔət<sup>0</sup>=čag-at.  
           it’s=GA 1SG.POSS=help-CTR  
           ‘That’s why I helped him.’  
       b. \* hił=**gi** ʔət<sup>0</sup>=čag-at.

The contribution of this *ga* is not well understood. It may have a meaning like ‘so’ or ‘and so’, linking the proposition with the preceding conversation. It is often found in ‘that’s why’ cleft constructions like (82) above, but also occurs in other constructions (83).<sup>15</sup>

- (83) a. hu=šta=**ga** s=t<sup>0</sup>uk<sup>w</sup>.  
           go=1PL.SBJ.FUT=GA NMLZ=day  
           ‘We’ll leave today.’

---

<sup>13</sup> A similar contraction of clitics is found with the reportative *k<sup>w</sup>a* in combination with *Ɂut*, resulting in *k<sup>w</sup>ut* (Watanabe 2003:523 also suggests that it is possible that *k<sup>w</sup>ut* may be a combination of *k<sup>w</sup>a* and *Ɂut*, but does not claim that this is the case). Here it is easier to distinguish the contribution of the individual clitics, since the meaning of *k<sup>w</sup>a* is better understood than *ga*. For instance, exclusive clefts use *huy* (‘finish’) as the clefting particle in combination with the exclusive clitic *Ɂut*. Because (i) is based on what others said, the reportative *k<sup>w</sup>a* appears between them and the combination is pronounced *k<sup>w</sup>ut*.

- (i) huy=**k<sup>w</sup>ut** (k<sup>w</sup>a=Ɂut) nəgi na šəʔt qaymix<sup>w</sup> ni-t-əm k<sup>w</sup>ən.  
       finish=(QUOT=EXCL) 2SG.PRO FILLER.PRT high person say-CTR-PASS DEM  
       ‘Only you are a respected/elevated person, they say.’

<sup>14</sup> There is also a complementizer *ga* that is translated ‘if’ and occurs in conditionals:

- (i) q<sup>w</sup>əl̄=səm=t qamin **ga** Ɂaλ̄-s=as.  
       come=FUT=EMPH accompany if desire-3POSS=3CNJ  
       ‘She can come along if she wants.’

<sup>15</sup> See also Watanabe (2003:518).

- b. *Context: There's a food you haven't tasted before...*  
 taʔat=t<sup>h</sup>a=ga.  
 taste/try=1SG.SBJ.FUT=GA  
 'I'm going to try it.'
- c. *Context: Freddie is cooking and I'm hoping he'll feed me.*  
 niš=č=ga                      ɭaɻ-əm-ɭawum.  
 be.here=1SG.SBJ=GA wait-MD-food  
 'I'm waiting for food.'

#### 4.3.3.2 ʔut

The second-position clitic *ʔut* has the semantic contribution of a scalar exclusive and is frequently translated with the English scalar exclusive *just* (Huijsmans 2019). It excludes alternative propositions that are higher on some scale (e.g., having more than two chairs (84a), eating more types of things than flies (84b), or being sick (84c)).

- (84) a. *Context: In response to čelas θuk<sup>w</sup>načtən k<sup>w</sup>ik<sup>w</sup>a θoʔna. ho=ga mat. 'There are three chairs in the other room. Go get them.'*  
 x<sup>w</sup>aʔ    čalas=as.    sa<s>ya=ʔut.  
 NEG    three=CNJ    two<DIM>=EXCL  
 'There's not three. There's just two.'
- b. *Context: In a storyboard, a squirrel is trying to figure out who took his food and rules out Frog due to his diet.*  
 huy=ʔut    k<sup>w</sup>=ɻ<sup>w</sup>aɻ<sup>w</sup>ayəm mə•mk<sup>w</sup>-t-əm    walθ.  
 finish=EXCL    DET=flies    IPFV•eat-CTR-PASS    frog  
 'Frog just eats flies.'
- c. *Context: Tony's sitting with a blanket around him. Art comes home and you tell him: He's just cold, he's not sick.*  
 huy=ʔut    s=čə•čəm=s                      x<sup>w</sup>aʔ    k<sup>w</sup>ə•k<sup>w</sup>t-əm=as.  
 finish=EXCL    NMLZ=IPFV•cold=3POSS    NEG    IPFV•sick-MD=3CNJ  
 'He's just cold. He's not sick.'

The enclitic *ʔut* is also common in constructions where it does not exclude alternatives, but seems to contribute emphasis to the endpoint of a scale. In (85a) and (85b), this endpoint is contributed by the universal quantifiers *ʔuwk<sup>w</sup>* ('all') and *paya* ('always'), respectively (cf. Huijsmans 2019).

- (85) a. *Context: You went to the store with a shopping list. The last couple times you've gone, you've forgotten eggs. When you get home, you say:*  
 ʔuwk<sup>w</sup>=ʔut tam yaɻ-at-an                      s=t<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>w</sup>.  
 all=EXCL    thing remember-TR-1SG.ERG.SBJ    NMLZ=day  
 'I remembered everything today.'  
 Consultant's comment: "You're really emphasizing that you got everything."

- b. *Context: This sentence is from a storyboard where the main character is being described as very industrious.*

paya=k<sup>w</sup>a=**ʔut** x<sup>w</sup>i•x<sup>w</sup>ipumix<sup>w</sup>.  
 always=QUOT=EXCL IPFV•sweep  
 ‘He was always sweeping.’

Note that the scalar exclusive *just* in English can be used similarly, with focus on the lexical item expressing universal quantification: *He was just always<sub>F</sub> sweeping*. Huijsmans (2019) proposes that *ʔut* highlights the presence of scalar alternatives in these environments, resulting in domain widening and a more emphatic statement.

As noted in Section 2.4, the ‘undesirable repetition’ readings in ʔayʔajuθəm are sometimes volunteered with just *jaqa* and *ʔut*, rather than *gut* (86). It seems likely that the interpretation of *ʔut* is similar in these cases to the emphatic interpretations in (85) above.

- (86) a. *jaqa=ʔut* θu ʔi•ʔimaš.  
 ʔAQA=EXCL go IPFV•walk  
 ‘There he goes walking again.’
- b. *jaqa=ʔut* ʔi•ʔiħtin.  
 ʔAQA=EXCL IPFV•eat  
 ‘He’s always eating.’

It is not clear how the repetition is being signalled, but it is possible that it is an implicature that arises as the hearer makes sense of why the proposition is considered high on a scale of speaker-dispreference. If so, it should be possible to cancel the implicature with the right context, in order to get a reading where it is dispreferred that *φ* occurs once. While it is possible to get non-repetitive readings with *jaqa=ʔut*, these may involve ‘surprise’ readings rather than adversative interpretations (87).<sup>16</sup>

- (87) a. *jaqa=ʔut* niʔ tə=q<sup>w</sup>it.  
 ʔAQA=EXCL be.there DET=beach  
 ‘Oh, someone’s there on the beach.’  
 Consultant’s comment: “It’s almost like a surprise, you see someone down on the beach.”
- b. *jaqa=ʔut* q<sup>w</sup>əl χəpǰ-it.  
 ʔAQA=EXCL come return-STV  
 ‘They’ve got back!’

#### 4.3.4 Summary

To sum up, even though their exact *modus operandi* in *EX* utterances is currently not well understood, our data suggest that the elements *ʔiy*, *ča*, and *gut* act as cues that can help promote the appropriate reading in a given situation. Table 3 compares the standard use of these elements with their use in *EX* constructions.

<sup>16</sup> These forms were volunteered and not elicited with controlled contexts, so further investigation is required.

**Table 3:** Clitics, particles, and their roles as cues

Form	Standard use	Use as a cue in <i>EX</i> constructions
<i>ʔiy</i>	conjunction / linker	promotes scale of speaker-unlikelihood (≈ polar exclamatives)
<i>č̣a</i>	epistemic modal	promotes scale of speaker-preference (≈ optatives)
<i>gut</i> ( <i>ʔut</i> )	GA + scalar exclusive	promotes scale of speaker-dispreference (≈ adversatives)

#### 4.4 Supporting Evidence

In addition to the surprisingly familiar set of readings associated with *jaqa* and the use of particles as cues, our *EX* analysis is further supported by a handful of other striking phenomena, which will be presented in the following subsections. While Section 4.4.1 focuses on some syntactic restrictions, Section 4.4.2 is dedicated to the phenomenon of speaker-orientedness.

##### 4.4.1 Syntactic Restrictions

The fact that *jaqa* is generally found in exclamative utterances suggests that this form could also simply be an interjection (e.g., English *Wow!* or *Oh!*) instead of an exclamation operator. However, certain syntactic restrictions suggest that this is not the case. For one, unlike interjections, *jaqa* cannot form a complete utterance on its own but needs to be accompanied by a clause, as illustrated by the ungrammatical utterance in (88).

- (88) \* *jaqa!*  
 JAQA  
 Intended: ‘Oh!’

The fact that *jaqa* marks expressive content, even though it is not an interjection, is supported by the observation that this auxiliary does not seem to be embeddable, as highlighted by the examples in (89) and (90). Such a syntactic restriction is expected for expressive content (Grosz 2011:152).

- (89) \* *hutigan=č jaqa laχaw.*  
 think=1SG.SBJ JAQA spoil/break.down  
 Intended: ‘I thought it might spoil.’
- (90) \* *x<sup>w</sup>aʔ jaqa=as laχaw.*  
 NEG JAQA=CNJ spoil/break.down  
 Intended: ‘It’s not the case that it might spoil.’

#### 4.4.2 Speaker-Orientedness

Given the present analysis, we would also expect *jaqa* to be speaker-oriented. That is, *jaqa* should convey how the speaker — not the agent of the clause — feels about the denoted proposition. As highlighted by examples (91) to (93), this seems to be the case.

(91) **jaqa**=čx<sup>w</sup>=ča=qəł      q<sup>w</sup>əl̩      qamin-ul̩.  
JAQA=2SG.SBJ=CLT=IRR      come      accompany-PST  
'You should have come along.'

(92) **jaqa**=čx<sup>w</sup>      λačəx<sup>w</sup>.  
JAQA=2SG.SBJ      push  
'You might accidentally push her.'

(93) **jaqa** ʔiy q<sup>w</sup>əl̩      təs      Hoss.  
JAQA ʔIY come arrive Hoss  
'Oh, Hoss arrived!'

Example (91), for instance, expresses a wish held by the speaker, not the agent, thus giving rise to an externally bouletic reading (cf. Matthewson & Truckenbrodt 2018). Likewise, the sentence in (92) expresses the speaker's, not the agent's, concern towards the undesirable consequences that might result if the agent is not careful. In example (93), Hoss is the agent; yet, it is obviously not he who is surprised by his own arrival. Instead, this utterance conveys the speaker's surprise towards the proposition.

### 5 Conclusion and Future Research

In this paper, we argue that the remarkably varied banquet of interpretations associated with *jaqa* can be accounted for by treating this auxiliary as an exclamation operator in the spirit of Grosz (2011). More precisely, we propose that *jaqa* serves to express the speaker's emotion towards the fact that the denoted proposition exceeds a salient threshold on a contextually provided scale. While optatives rely on a scale of speaker-preference, adversatives require a scale of speaker-dispreference and polar exclamatives are built upon a scale of speaker-unlikelihood. To disambiguate these available readings, speakers can make use of additional cues that come in the form of the clitics *ča* and *gut* and the conjunction-like particle *ʔiy*.

Although this paper presents first evidence for the existence of an overt exclamation operator in a Salish language, several questions still remain unanswered and await a more thorough examination. Most importantly, it is currently not clear how exactly the cues that help disambiguate the different available readings work on a semantic level. Likewise, more research is needed to get a better understanding of how the *EX* operator interacts with modality.

### References

- Beaumont, R. 2011. *Sechelt dictionary*. Sechelt: Sechelt Indian Band.
- Davis, J. 2012. Two particles “ga” in Mainland Comox. In J. Dunham, J. Lyon, N. Weber (eds.), *ICSNL* 48, 34–48.



- FirstVoices. 2019. 'The Canoe and Menathey'. Sliammon stories. Retrieved July 15, 2019 from <https://www.firstvoices.com/explore/FV/sections/Data/Salish/Northern%20Salishan/Sliammon/learn/stories/e95d6a66-1d30-462f-bf1f-5327018056c5>
- FPCC. 2018. *Report on the Status of B.C. First Nations Languages*. Retrieved from <http://www.fpcc.ca/files/PDF/FPCC-LanguageReport-180716-WEB.pdf> on Jun 14, 2019.
- Grosz, P. G. 2011. *On the Grammar of Optative Constructions*. Ph.D. thesis. Cambridge, MA: MIT.
- Grosz, P. G. 2014. Optative markers as communicative cues. *Natural Language Semantics* 22:89–115.
- Huijsmans, M. 2019. The scalar exclusive *ʔut* in *ʔayʔajuθəm*: 'No more than' and no exceptions! *UBC Qualifying Papers 4*. Vancouver: UBCWPL.
- Kroeber, P. 1999. *The Salish language family: Reconstructing syntax*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Kroeber, P. 2002. Morphological Interactions of 'Clitics' in Two Salish Languages. *ICSNL* 37. Bellingham.
- Leonard, J., & M. Huijsmans. 2018. Wh-questions in SENĆOŦEN. In L. Matthewson, E. Guntly, & M. Rochemont (eds.), *Wa7 xweysás i nqwal'utteniha i ucwalmícwa: He loves the people's languages. Essays in honour of Henry Davis*. Vancouver, BC: UBCOPL 6.
- Matthew, R. & S. Cable. 2014. Tom and Mittens. *Totem Field Storyboards*. Retrieved from <http://www.totemfieldstoryboards.org> on Jun 14, 2019.
- Matthewson, L. 2004. On the methodology of semantic fieldwork. *IJAL* 70(4), 369–415.
- Matthewson, L., H. Davis, H., & H. Rullmann. 2007. Evidentials as epistemic modals: Evidence from St'át'imcets. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 7:201–254.
- Matthewson, L. & H. Truckenbrodt. 2018. "Modal Flavour/Modal Force Interactions in German: *soll, sollte, muss* and *müsste*." *Linguistische Berichte* 255:259–312.
- Montler, T. 1986. *An Outline of the morphology and phonology of Saanich, North Straits Salish* (University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics 4). Missoula, MT: University of Montana.
- Montler, T. 2003. Auxiliaries and other categories in Straits Salishan. *IJAL* 69(2), 103–134.
- Montler, T. 2012. *Klallam dictionary*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Montler, T. 2015. *Klallam grammar*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, & J. Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.
- Reisinger, D. K. E. 2018. "Modality in Comox-Sliammon." *ICSNL* 53:197–227.
- Rosengren, I. 1992. Zur Grammatik und Pragmatik der Exklamation. In I. Rosengren (ed.), *Satz und Illokution, Vol. 1*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 263–306.
- Scholz, U. 1991. *Wunschsätze im Deutschen: formale und funktionale Beschreibung. Satztypen mit Verberst- und Verbletzstellung*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

- Watanabe, H. 2003. *A Morphological Description of Sliammon, Mainland Comox Salish, with a Sketch of Syntax*. ELPR Publications Series AZ-040, Osaka Gakuin University, Osaka.
- Watanabe, H. 2016. Insubordination in Sliammon Salish. In N. Evans and H. Watanabe (eds.), *Insubordination*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 309–340.