Deixis and Deducibility in a Wasco-Wishram Passive of Evidence
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Proceedings of the 4th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (1978), pp. 239-253

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In memory of Jerzy Kuryłowicz

If the regular active voice of the Wasco transitive verbal paradigm is represented as 'NP_1 Ved NP_2', as shown in (1), then the voice form I discuss here[1] should be represented as 'NP_2 seems to have been Ved' (there is no expression of Agency possible in the clause), or as 'NP_2 must have been Ved'. It is

(1) Schema of the passive of evidence

Active transitive:

(Tns-) Erg_2 - Abs_3 - (Dat_4 - Postp-) STEM = 'NP_1 Ved NP_2'

Passive of evidence:

$\left\{ \begin{matrix} Abs_3 - & & STEM - ix \\ & Dat_4 - Postp - & STEM - ix \end{matrix} \right\}$ = 'NP_2 must have been Ved'

thus a formation that expresses the speaker's estimation that the person or thing referred to with NP_2 has been the undergoer or Patient of some transitive action, described by the verb stem. The use of this formation thus "indexes" this referent as having been Ved, based on some evidence available in the context of speaking. In other words, from some available evidence the speaker deduces the fact that "Somebody Ved NP_2."

There are three aspects of this formation I want to highlight here. First, by its nature this is a "pragmatic" or indexical category, the meaning of each occurrence of which is bound up with the specification of factors in the context of the speech event. It is impossible to assimilate this pragmatic category to the treatment of voice in standard transformational or other similar kinds of grammar-as-usual. Second, since the Wasco-Wishram dialect of Chinookan is unique in the family in possessing such a category, I want to show the historical process involved in its rise. It is possible to see the filling out of a formal morphosyntactic paradigm by an interesting analogical change. Third, such a pragmatic category is illustrative of the

vast majority of linguistic structure, similarly pragmatic in character, that requires methodological strategies distinct from those of grammar-as-usual. It requires for its investigation a "metapragmatic" dialogue with the speakers of the language, and attention to the inherent limits on metapragmatic awareness of speakers (and of linguists), which I will illustrate from my own field records.

If we look at the basic set of inflectional possibilities for a regular transitive verb in Wasco, as shown in (2), we find

(2) Conjugational forms of the verbal paradigm

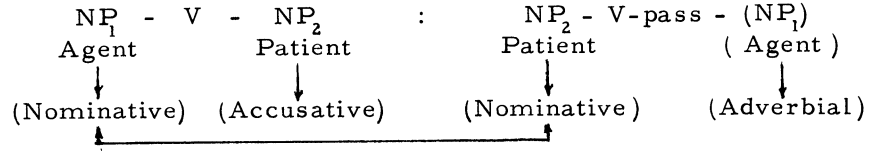
a. Active:	ni - $č_2$-d_3-	u-√čxm	'he$_2$ boiled them$_3$'
b. Antipassive:	nig-	i_3-k'i-√čxm-al	'he$_2$ was doing b'in
c. Indefinite Agent:	ni - q_2-d_3-	u-√čxm	'sbdy$_2$ b'ed them$_3$'
d. Collective Agent:	ni -łk_2-d_3-	u-√čxm	'they$_2$ b'ed them$_3$'
e. Transitional Passive:	ni -	d_3- u-√čxm-xit	'they$_3$ became b'ed'
f. Evidential Passive:		d_3- u-√čxm-ix	'they$_3$ must have been boiled'

that they range over three 'voice' categories, which can be termed active, antipassive, and passive. The regular active, as shown in (2a), is inflected for both Agent and Patient, as we would expect, coded by the Ergative$_2$ and Absolutive$_3$ pronominal elements respectively. The initial prefix ni(g)- indicates the 'far past' tense (Silverstein 1974; Hymes 1975) in all these examples. Related to each such active voice transitive is an antipassive form, as exemplified in (2b), with a morpheme -k'i- that replaces the stem-initial 'directional' element, and a pronominal element for the Agent of the action only.[2]

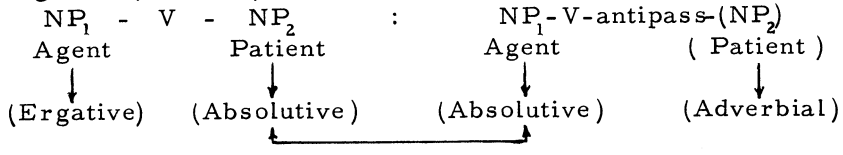
In ergative languages like Chinookan, this active-antipassive relationship has a systemic status corresponding to the active-passive relationship in our normal ("Standard Average European") accusative languages, as has become much clearer over the last several years. The syntactic perspective of clause-level abstract propositionality, which has informed all our grammatical theory in recent memory (see Silverstein 1977a), would note the parallelism in both these kinds of linguistic systems, as shown in (3). In the English type, (3A), the regular active voice shows a special inflectional status for the Patient of a transitive action (the accusative marking), and the passive voice expresses this Patient case-relation with the same marking as the Agent gets in the active. Some languages permit expression of the Agent in the same clause (with a peripheral case-marking), and

(3) Types of clause-based 'voice' alternations

A. Accusative (English) type:



B. Ergative (Chinook) type:



some do not. Likewise, in the ergative languages, while the Agent in the active voice has the special status for case-marking, as shown in (3B), in the antipassive voice the Agent shows the same overt case-marking as the Patient of the regular active. Some languages permit the expression of the Patient in the same clause and some do not. Chinookan does not.

Among the active voice inflections of the Chinookan verb, there are two forms, given in (2c) and (2d), that deserve special mention. The first is the Indefinite Agent form, where a pronominal element q- appears in the Ergative$_2$ position, the effect being to indicate a definite, but unspecified Agent. This avoids committing oneself to referring to some specific Agent(s), and is extensively used, for example, in polite directives. Contemporary speakers of Wasco use especially the second of these forms, active voice with 'neuter-collective' Agent marking by pronominal łk- in Ergative$_2$ position, as a kind of equivalent to the first. It would appear that this is a calque from the English usage of <u>they</u> for unspecified or indefinite Agent. This collective inflection occurs in the examples of elicitation cited below with the value of an Indefinite Agent form.

Turning now to the last two forms in the voice paradigm (2), we have two kinds of passive voice formations. A transitional passive (2e), inflected just for Patient and featuring a suffix -xit, presents the referent as moving into a state describable as "Ved" for some verb stem V. No Agent is expressed, but note that for transitive verbs the transitional has the propositional characteristics that our current grammatical theories would ascribe to so-called "<u>get</u>-passives." By contrast, the passive of evidence (2f), inflected just for Patient and featuring a suffix -ix,

presents the referent as having probably undergone some action based on evidence available for the deduction. Within the bounds of a strictly clause-propositional theory of language structure, both of these formations must be seen as at least "shallow" passives, though it is clear that only the transitional passive (2e), 'become Ved', is semantically akin to the usual 'passive'.

The passive of evidence cannot really be encompassed by such a theory because, as was indicated at the outset, it is like any deictic or tense or honorific category in languages, the meaning of which must be stated in terms of its occurrence in certain kinds of speech situations, within a more encompassing theory of speech-event-bound reference (Jakobson 1957; Kuryłowicz 1964, 1972). In particular, we must first describe the passive of evidence as presupposing and indexing the evidence available to the senses in the very context of utterance, or in the context described for a quoted instance. This means that there is no strictly morphosyntactic control on the "acceptability" of such an instance of the passive of evidence, and hence no way (save for arbitrary notational artifice) that language-internal "grammaticality" can be described for the category. Second, we must describe the category as creating or performing a speech event different from descriptive reference (or neutral predication). It indexes the speaker's evaluation of the available evidence as leading to a probabilistic conclusion, that the referent indicated shows the presupposed evidence by virtue of having undergone some action. The modality of such a speech event is not descriptive reference, the meaning system that lies at the basis of the usual clause-propositional kind of analysis.

The rise of this unique form in Wasco-Wishram is of interest precisely because it demonstrates the opportunism of surface form in pragmatic usage. The suffix -ix in the various Chinookan dialects is, in general, connected with deixis, and matches the English element there in its ubiquity. This is a reasonable comparison, actually, because the suffix -ix occurs in all dialects[3] as a word-final element both deriving noun phrases of adverbial value, and locating actions with respect to place. Let us take these functions in order.

The adverbial-forming use of -ix is seen in many different kinds of derivations, illustrated in (4). From adverbial particles

(4) Adverbial formations in -ix (Wasco-Wishram as exemplar)

ɬaχn 'out'	ɬaχnix 'outside'
gigʷal 'down, under'	gigʷalix 'below, underneath'

t'uẋʷačk 'brush, bushes'	t'uẋʷačgix 'brushy place'
i- -ƛqt 'to be long'	iaƛqdix 'far away, long time'
i- -t'ukdi 'to be good'	t'ukdix 'well'
	čagʷaix 'summertime'
	(< *ča-gʷa-ix 'time of its day')
	čukdidix 'dawn'
	(< *[č$_2$-(a$_3$-)u-√kdi-t]-ix 'time where it makes morning-star')

such as ƛaẋn 'out' and gigʷal 'down', we get place adverbials such as ƛaẋnix 'outside' and gigʷalix 'below'. From entity nouns such as t'uẋʷačk 'brush, bushes', we get adverbials such as t'uẋʷačgix 'brushy place'. From inalienably possessed quality nominals like i- -ƛqt 'to be long' and i- -t'ukdi 'to be good' we get the adverbial formations i-ia-ƛqdix 'far away, long time' by use of the dummy or non referring third person singular masculine possessor, and t'ukdix 'well' by use of the bare stem. Similarly, a number of pan-Chinookan adverbials of time have etymologies in older constructions that include suffix -ix. Such are čagʷaix 'summertime' from the possessive construction *(i-)-ča-gʷa 'its day' or 'its daylight', and čukdidix 'dawn' from the fully inflected verb of weather *č$_2$-(a$_3$-)u-√kdi-t 'it is dawning' or 'it is making morning-star'. These specifically Wasco-Wishram examples are paralleled in the other dialects.

The second function of the suffix -ix, in verbs that locate actions with respect to place (or, by extension, time), is also pan-dialectal. A particularly salient formation is that containing the prefix combination of a dummy (non-referring or invariant) Dative$_4$ pronominal -i$_4$- with some postpositional morpheme, as well as the final suffix -ix. This places the action described in the verb in a precise and culturally-understood appropriate place. Some Wasco-Wishram examples are shown in (5). The

(5) Locational verbs in -i$_4$-Postp-...-ix (Wasco-Wishram)

a. ga-šd$_3$- u-√ču 'the-two$_3$ went down, fell'
ga-šd$_3$-i$_4$-l- √ču-ix 'the-two$_3$ went down into [hole$_4$]'
ga-šd$_3$-i$_4$-k- √ču-ix 'the-two$_3$ went down upon [hill$_4$]'

b. ga-łk$_2$-d$_3$-a$_4$-gl-√či+m
'they$_2$ struck her$_4$ with the-many$_3$'
ga- n$_2$- ł$_3$- i$_4$-gl-√či+m- ix iłp'aisgʷa$_3$
'I$_2$ struck the-blanket$_3$ against [place$_4$]'
ạgagilag$_3^+$ a-łg$_2$-a$_3$- i$_4$-gl-√či+m-a·ẋd-ix
'they$_2$ will-knock the-woman$_3$ against [place$_4$]'

verb root in (5a) is -√ču, an intransitive that is obligatorily inflected only for intransitive subject in the Absolutive$_3$ position. But this construction can have in addition the dummy indirect object -i$_4$- in Dative$_4$ position plus some specific postpositional element such as -l- 'into' or -k- 'upon, over', together with the word-final -ix. The resulting constructions indicate 'going down into' the culturally or contextually understood place, i.e., a hole, or 'going downwards upon' the culturally or contextually understood place, i.e., a hillside. No reference to 'hole' or 'hill' by a noun stem, nor allusion with a grammatically "correct" pronominal in Dative$_4$ position, is necessary here. Similarly, as shown in (5b), the transitive verb -√či+m 'strike, hit' is regularly inflected with the "instrument" of hitting expressed by the Absolutive$_3$ pronominal and the person or thing struck expressed by the Dative$_4$ pronominal. It is really a morphological idiom that is literally 'someone$_2$ uses something$_3$ repeatedly on someone$_4$'. But when inflected with dummy -i$_4$- pronominal prefix and final -ix suffix,[4] the construction means 'to strike something$_3$ or knock someone$_3$ on or against [place$_4$]', again understood culturally or contextually.

If we look at other Chinookan dialects, attested in text collections (Boas 1901 for Cathlamet; Boas 1894 for Lower Chinook), we find that they too have the same kind of construction. There are numerous examples in the narratives of two kinds of dummy -i-...-ix constructions, as shown in (6). One type, illustrated

(6) Locational verbs in -i-...-ix (Cathlamet and Lower Chinook)

a. Cathlamet (Boas 1901)

113.15 i-šṯ$_3$-i$_4$-g-u-√s-ix, i-šṯ$_3$-i$_4$-g-u-√s-am-ix 'the-two$_3$ went across [river$_4$], the-two$_3$ got across [river$_4$]'

93.10 ig-i$_3$-i$_4$-g-u-√pčk-am-ix, i-č$_2$-i$_4$-x̣-√la+qλq-ix 'he$_3$ came up to [house$_4$], he$_2$ opened [door$_4$]'

120.13 aqa wi λəkλək i-č$_2$-i$_3$-u-√x̣^{w}-ix 'now again he$_2$ dug [ground$_3$]'

241.5 maniẋ λlu n-i$_3$-x̣-u-√x̣^{w}a-x̣-ix 'whenever [water-surface$_3$] got calm'

175.3 čamaλix$_3$ n-i$_3$-x̣-u-√x̣^{w}a-x̣-ix 'when it$_3$ becomes fall$_3$'

b. Lower Chinook (Boas 1894)

51.6 $m\check{s}_3$-i_4-g-u-√čt-am-a-i 'you-all$_3$ will get across [river$_4$]' [cf. Cathl. 113.15.]

166.8 n-i_3-i_4-g-u-√pčg-am-i 'he$_3$ came up to [house$_4$]' [cf. Cathl. 93.10.]

by Cathlamet examples 113.15 and 93.10 (and paralleled exactly by Lower Chinook examples 51.6 and 166.8)[5] in (6a), has the dummy -i- in Dative$_4$ position, followed by a specific postpositional element such as -k- 'upon, on surface' (phonetic -g-) or -x̣- 'with respect to, from...'s'. This is the same as the examples cited in (5) from Wasco-Wishram. The other type, illustrated by Cathlamet examples 120.13, 241.5 and 175.3 in (6a), has the dummy -i- in Absolutive$_3$ position, coding either locational Patient, as in 120.13 where 'ground' is understood from the inflection of the transitive auxiliary root -√x̣(a),[6] or locational Subject, as in 241.5, where 'river- or ocean-surface' is understood from the inflection of the intransitive (reflexive) auxiliary -x̣-...-√x̣(a), or even temporal Subject,[7] as in 175.3, where the term for 'fall month' is cross-referenced in the inflection of the auxiliary. In all these cases, the combination of dummy -i- with final -ix signals just the same thing as in Wasco-Wishram, namely, that the activity or state is predicated for or with respect to some particular understood place, or some explicit time.

What is common to all these uses in verbs so far are the following: (a) the dummy element -i-, the unmarked third singular masculine pronominal, occurs in the rightmost possible morphological slot in the verb, according to the way pronominal elements code surface syntactic transitive subject (Ergative$_2$), transitive object/intransitive subject (Absolutive$_3$), indirect object (Dative$_4$); and (b) the inflection of the verb stem is "full," that is, all possible inflectional slots for a given stem are filled, depending on transitivity, so that transitives have both Agent and Patient inflection, intransitives (including mediopassives in -x̣- 'reflexive' such as (6a) 241.5 and 175.3) have Subject inflection. Passives of evidence, such as that illustrated in (2f) above, contrast on both of these dimensions.

Obviously, then, from an historical point of view the innovation in Wasco-Wishram must start from the structure common to all the dialects. From this perspective, the passive of evidence is a locational construction in -ix with an actually referring

pronominal element in the rightmost morphological slot, in contrast to the dummy element -i-. Further, in contrast to the "full" inflection of the forms cited in (5) and (6), the passive forms are not inflected with any actually-referring pronominal in the expected leftmost position.[8] And finally, this passive is "tenseless," formally a present without tense prefix.

So, one dimension of historical change has been generalization of the older 'locational' construction, with its unmarked third person singular masculine dummy pronominal -i-, to the entire pronominal paradigm, as shown in (7). This may be seen as

(7) Paradigmatic generalization of locational verbs in -ix

$$\left\{\begin{matrix}\ldots\text{-}i_3\text{-} \\ \ldots\ \text{-}i_4\text{-Postp-}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{STEM-ix} > \left\{\begin{matrix}\ldots\text{Pron}_3\text{-} \\ \text{-Pron}_4\text{-Postp-}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{STEM-i}$$

merely a referential extension of an already-existing pattern of morphosyntax. This already-existing pattern must have arisen from the centrally syntactic historical change shown in (8).

(8) "Analogical" change creating passive-like forms

$$*\text{Tns-(Erg}_2\text{-)}\left\{\begin{matrix}i_3\text{-} \\ \text{Abs}_3\text{-}i_4\text{-Postp-}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{STEM-ix} > \left\{\begin{matrix}i_3\text{-} \\ \text{Abs}_3\text{-}i_4\text{-Postp-}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{STEM-ix}$$

Such a schema shows the change from the pan-Chinookan usage of dummy -i- in fully inflected locational constructions, to the specifically Wasco-Wishram usage of tenseless and "passive"-like forms. I believe that this change must have come about by the "analogical" (Kuryłowicz 1945/49) pressure of three factors, which are schematized in (9). The first factor, as shown

(9) Determinants of the "analogical" creation of passive

1. The -xit 'transitional passive' provides a model of secondary intransitive from primary transitive:

$$\text{Tns-Erg}_2\text{-Abs}_3\text{-(Dat}_4\text{-Postp-)STEM} : \text{Tns-Abs}_3\text{-(Dat}_4\text{-Postp-)STEM-x}$$
$$:: \text{Tns-Erg}_2\left\{\begin{matrix}-i_3\text{-} \\ \text{-Abs}_3\text{-}i_4\text{-Postp-}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{STEM} : *\underline{x}$$

2. Transitive ('causative') and intransitive ('noncausative') inflections are possible for the same stem:

$$\text{Tns-Erg}_2\text{-Abs}_3\text{-(Dat}_4\text{-Postp-) STEM} : \text{Tns-Abs}_3\text{-(Dat}_4\text{-Postp-) STEM}$$

$$:: \text{Tns-Erg}_2\text{-}\left\{\begin{matrix} i_3\text{-} \\ \text{Abs}_3\text{-}i_4\text{-Postp-}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{STEM-ix} : *\underline{x}$$

3. Adverbial noun phrases of location and time provide a tenseless model of secondary derivatives:

$$[\text{STEM}]_{\text{NP/Part}} : \text{STEM-ix} :: \left\{\begin{matrix} i_3\text{-} \\ \text{Abs}_3\text{-}i_4\text{-Postp-}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{STEM} : *\underline{x}$$

in (9.1), is that the transitional passive, an old and pan-Chinookan formation in suffix -xit, provides a model of a secondarily intransitive verb with deletion of the leftmost inflectional pronoun of the "full" form. The second factor, as shown in (9.2), is that in such an ergative language, the only kind of stems ambiguous for inflection (or in two inflectional classes with "full" inflection) are precisely those that are 'causative' or 'noncausative'. The same stem either takes, or does not take, Ergative$_2$ pronominal inflection, this being the only indication of the semantic distinction.[9] The third factor, as shown in (9.3), is that the adverbial noun phrases in -ix, pointing out 'the place where...' or 'the time when...', provide a model of a tenseless secondary formation that has been generalized from noun and particle stems to verb themes. I think that the passives of evidence originally entered Wasco-Wishram idiomatic speech as forms pointing out where such-and-such an action took place, as a conversational equivalent to referring to the evidence for that action. Such evidence is, in fact, now presupposed in correct usage of the passive forms.

Looking at the evidential passives in this comparative light, we can see that they still do have a basically pointing-out character, though the pointing is rather submerged in their function as passive-like constructions. Having arisen through the morphosyntactic change (8) and the semantic generalization (7), the 'pointing' function has become 'deixis'---presupposing and referring to the evidence in the context of discourse---as the predicating function has been absorbed into the paradigm of 'voice' as a 'passive'---the 'topic' of which manifesting the presupposed evidence for the named action. And, it would seem, the specifically 'passive' function depends upon certain native-speaker intuitions about propositional relations of these forms in actual situations of use, relationships of "deducibility," as we might term them.

Now inasmuch as passives of evidence are pragmatic forms, speech-event-bound constructions, their meaning in terms of contextual presuppositions plus illocutionary effects is never subject to definition in terms appropriate to context-independent categories of reference. How then can we analyze such linguis-

tic categories? The point is not unimportant, given our desire to perfect field techniques for the empirical investigation of languages. If we cannot merely give translation equivalents for such categories in terms of English (or other) categories of reference; if we cannot merely manipulate these forms in terms of some abstract, context-independent grammatical investigation; if we cannot be claiming that we are tapping native intuitions of "grammaticality" (which are, by definition, context-independent propositional relations); how do we get at these pragmatic operators in speech? I think we must depend on analyzing what I call the "metapragmatic" properties of the language in question, the way in which native speakers can talk about, or describe, the speech usage of their own language, as well as on observation of language use itself. In the case of the evidential forms, the metapragmatic relations of deducibility given by native speakers provide the key to seeing how the apparently 'locational' suffix -ix with attenuated pronominal inflection of the verb has entered the pragmatic system of 'voice'. For the native speakers tell us that from a valid occurrence of such a form, the proposition 'Somebody has Ved' (V being the relevant verb stem) is deducible as true.

Some excerpts from my field elicitation sessions are shown in (10) by way of exemplification. I have translated all but the examples of forms under discussion into English in the verbatim transcripts, and have given the morphological analysis of the relevant verb forms separately, for comparison with the schemata given above in (1). At the time of elicitation, it should be understood, I had no understanding that these were pragmatic forms. Hence, guided by accumulated prior knowledge of Wasco-Wishram grammar that saw these merely as 'passives', I asked questions that now seem, with hindsight, ignorant and misguided.

In the first excerpt (10a), we start by trying to check a form gathered earlier in a text, 'I made them cry recently'. The informant volunteers naniug^{w}ičax̣mida 'I made him cry recently', a fully-inflected transitive form. Then she offers the form with collective-neuter object -ɬ$_{3}$-, nanɬug^{w}ičax̣mida 'I made them cry recently'. And, having gotten the pattern, we have several more such fully transitive active inflections, including the first person singular object -n$_{3}$- form, načnug^{w}ičax̣mida 'he made me cry recently'. Now, when I ask for the first person singular "passive", ʔnug^{w}ičax̣midix "somebody made me cry", the informant understands the feminine singular form ug^{w}ičax̣midix 'she must have been made to cry', obviously a silent correction of my pragmatic blunder of using a first person topic with this verb stem in the passive of evidence. Note that the

(10a) 'cause to cry' -u-gʷičaχmit

Inf: Wonder how'd you say that now, nanugʷačaχəm—I made them cry. I'm real sure but it's kinda hard. ə··m, you could say ǒne—for one—you can say nanu—naniugʷičaχmida.

MS: naniu·—...

Inf: gʷičáχmida, I made him cry.

MS: naniugʷi·—...

Inf: čáχmida, I made him cry. Else nanu—nanugʷi—I guess you could say same way nanługič—čáχmida, see? nanługičáχmida. Nǒw I got it. I made 'em cry nanługičáχmida. naniugičaχmida. nanugičaχmida.

MS: əhə́ⁿ. And how 'bout like if he made me cry, you say načnu·—...

Inf: naču—načnugʷičáχmida, he made me cry.

MS: I see. Interesting. əhə́ⁿ. Could you say like, ə·, somebody made me cry; could I say, ə··, nugʷičaχmidix?

Inf: nugʷičáχmidix? O·h, person—the way you can tell a person, she looks like she was crying, igičáχmit—

MS: —How?

Inf: ugʷičáχmidix.

MS: əhə́ⁿ,—

Inf: —Like if you see somebody, she been cryin', like it looks somebody she—she musta been crying, see?

MS: Yeah—

Inf: —ugičáχmidix, her eyes shows it. ugičáχmidix, iłgugičáχmid or somethin', they made her cry I guess.

na-n-i-u-gʷičáχmid-a 'I recently caused him to cry'

na-n-ł-u-gʷičáχmid-a 'I...them...'

na-n-[a-]u-gʷičáχmid-a 'I...her...'

na-č-n-u-gʷičáχmid-a 'he...me...'

? n-u-gʷičáχmid-ix "somebody caused me to cry"

[a-]u-gʷičáχmid-ix 'she must have been caused to cry'

i-łg-[a-]u-gʷičáχmit 'they just caused her to cry'

(10b) 'pinch' -s_3- -n-xap'iyatk

Inf: —ənsanxap'iyantk, that means 2 or 3 times I guess.
MS: Oh, I see—
Inf: —But incáx̣—incánxap'iyatk that's just ónce.
MS: Can you also say like, ə·—ə·—could you say, I'm pinched? Could you say, snxap'iyatgix?
Inf: Yeah—
MS: —How?—
Inf: I'm pinched. šnxa?—šnxap'—
MS: —snx—
Inf: —snxap'ɬyatKix. xsnxap'ɬyatk—iłksnxap'ɬyatk.
MS: əhə́.
Inf: Somebody pinched me like.
MS: You could say snxap'ɬyatgix though?
Inf: əhə́! If you show where you was pinched.

i-n-s-a-n-xap'ɬya-n-tk 'I was just pinching her'
i-n-s-a-n-xap'ɬyatk 'I just pinched her'
? s-n-[n-]xap'ɬyatg-ix "I'm pinched"
i-łk-s-n-[n-]xap'ɬyatk 'they just pinched me'

(10c) 'bump into' -l-ɬta+q^w

Inf: inɬlt'əq too you can say you búmped into something, inɬ·lt'əq.
MS: əhə́ⁿ. How 'bout I'm going to?—might—
Inf: dala?áx̣ anildag̣ʷa. ...
MS: əhə́. əhə́. Could you also say ildaqux? ildaqux.
Inf: ildáqux. O···h, like if he'll leave a mark or something somebody run into it. That's what it means, somebody niłi·—ƛi·t'ə́q łg̣ə, —łilt'əq—niłi·t'ə́q'.
MS: əhə́ⁿ. ...
Inf: ildə́qux it means it shówws where it's been bumped.
MS: əhə́.

i-n_3-i_4-l-ɬta+q 'I$_3$ just bumped into it$_4$'
dala?ax̣ a-n-i-l-ɬda+g̣ʷ-a 'perhaps I will bump into it'
i-l-ɬda+q^w+x 'it must have been bumped into'
ni-ł-i·-[l-t-]ɬta+q łg̣a 'they bumped into it not long ago, probably'

informant has carefully explained the context presupposed for the appropriate occurrence of the form---"a person, she looks like she was crying...her eyes shows it"---and has given as equivalent the deduced proposition, the truth of which is guaranteed by an appropriate occurrence of the evidential passive form---"iłgugičaxmid...they made her cry I guess"---with a transitive active form inflected with -łk$_2$- for unspecified Agent, as described earlier.

A second case of this sort, shown in (10b), involves the verb for 'pinching'. Having established the regular active form, both iterative (or continuative) 'I was just pinching her' insanxap'iyantk, and noniterative 'I just pinched her' insanxap'iyatk, the investigator asks for the "passive" form with first person singular -n$_4$- (the morpheme -s$_3$- is a constant element in the morphological idiom for 'pinch'), "I'm pinched... ? snxap'iyatgix". Note that the informant responds with the form, and gives in the same breath (stumbling once over the initial cluster) the deducible proposition iłksnxap'iyatk 'they just pinched me', again with -łk$_2$- neuter-collective unspecified Agent, explaining that the meaning is "like" this. Pressing for the correctness or incorrectness of the form, I repeat it, and the informant says this form could be said if the speaker "shows" (sc. 'manifests' in the local usage) the presupposed evidence.

A final example is an excerpt on the verb 'bump into', shown in (10c). Here, in the course of elicitation of some related item, the informant volunteers iniltaq 'I just bumped into it'. To check on whether the stem ends in back -q^w or front -k^w, I ask for the future form. And then I check on the labialization once more, seeking the "passive" ? ildaqux. Sure enough, the informant characterizes this construction by the presupposed evidence---"like if he'll leave a mark or something"---plus the deducible proposition in English---"somebody run into it"---and, most interestingly, the modalized proposition in Wasco---"niłi·t'əq łgə" 'they bumped into it not long ago, probably'. And, finally, the informant stresses once again the presupposed evidence, "it shows where it's been bumped."

I think it is obvious that the "evidential" component of the meaning of these pragmatic forms is precisely a deictic function, specialized from the locational value of the whole set of constructions in -ix. These "evidential" forms point to the evidence presupposed in the context of speaking and manifested by the referent of the pronominal prefix, much as do the English constructions with <u>there is/are</u>....[10] Further, the "passive" component of the meaning comes from the metapragmatic linkage of the use of the construction to a deduced unspecified or col-

lective Agent proposition (with "full" leftmost pronominal inflection) as the understood "meaning" of the speech event. The speakers' consciousness of such an entailment, evident in the metapragmatic discourse, establishes the construction in question as a "passive" propositionally equivalent to the active voice.

I want finally to suggest that such examples from categorially rigid and morphologically complex ergative languages have a tremendous importance for linguistic theory in general, since they demonstrate clearly the pragmatic origin and function of such voice alternations as active vs. passive. Such examples show why it is fruitless to build a grammatical dogma in terms of abstract, context-independent synonymy relations of active and passive sentence types. This is the specious result of limiting ourselves to scientific discourse based on Standard Average European and its typological equivalents, and to Standard Average European metapragmatic theories about linguistic function, couched in terms of abstract clause-propositional meaning relations. In the latter languages, active vs. passive has a double functional value, at the levels of both abstract propositionality ("semantics" in the narrow sense) and effective speech use ("pragmatics"). At the opposite extreme, substantially ergative languages like Chinookan have an active—antipassive voice opposition for many of the proposition-bound functions, while pragmatic functions are separable in the active—passive voice opposition, as for this passive of evidence. When American Indian linguistics, and the linguistics of "exotic" languages generally, frees itself from the dogma of abstract propositionality, currently rampant in our formal grammatical theories, and looks instead at how linguistic categories structure speech events, the study of structure will be united with the study of ethnography of speaking. And both will profit.

Notes

[1]Early versions of this paper were presented to the Yale Linguistics Club (20 September, 1976) and the Penn Linguistics Club (23 November, 1976). The penultimate draft was read to the XVIth Conference on American Indian Languages at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Houston, November, 1977. Field research on Kiksht (Wasco-Wishram, Cascades, Clackamas) has been supported variously by the National Science Foundation (Graduate Fellowship Program), American Philosophical Society (Phillips Fund), Society of Fellows (Harvard University), University of Chicago (Lichtstern Research Fund, Department of Anthropology), to all of which I am most grateful.

[2]Observe that this example shows the Agent pronominal coded in the Absolutive$_3$ morphological form-order class of the verb. Further analysis, beyond the scope of this paper, would reveal that syntactically it behaves like a Dative$_4$ pronominal (Silverstein 1977b, §§ 2.4, 4.2). The simplified treatment does not affect the argument, however.

[3]The Chinookan family of languages, centered around the lower Columbia River, is reasonably divided into two classificatory units, Lower Chinookan and Upper Chinookan. Lower Chinookan is represented by a single attested dialect, called here Lower Chinook. Upper Chinookan is represented by the Cathlamet language, and, further upriver, by a language known as Kiksht to the speakers of its many mutually-intelligible dialects, such as Multnomah, Clackamas, Cascades, Hood River, and Wasco-Wishram.

[4]In the last form of (5b) the 'future' is coded by the combination of a-...-a·x̣d-, the second element of which precedes final -ix.

[5]I cite these examples in a modernized orthography by page and line of the published text collections. Lower Chinook final suffix -i is the expected cognate form, final *-x being regularly lost. Boas, who documented the resulting dialect correspondence (Boas 1911:569), nevertheless expresses uncertainty in his grammatical sketch as to the identity and significance of the Lower Chinook final -i. He attributes to it an incorrect meaning, "successful completion; across" (1911:597), on the basis of examples which code these senses with other morphemes.

[6]The labialization to -x̣^{w}- here is an automatic consequence of the position following -u-. Such labialization of gutturals k, q, x, x̣ after u is canonical in all the dialects, but may be seen as a "variable" phonological process, partly bound up with affective diminutivization. This variability is evident in forms in (10a).

[7]For the general projection of spatial locations onto temporal ones, a pervasive feature of Chinookan "cognitive style," see Hymes 1975 and refs. there. Note that the temporal point is explicit in this example, rather than implicit. čamaƛix, referring to a month of the Cathlamet calendar, is itself a form in -ix, *[(i-)ča-maƛ]-ix 'time of its river', i.e., "rivertime"; cf. (4).

[8]As will be seen in further examples in (10), the expected Ergative$_2$ for transitive verbs does not appear, nor does the expected Absolutive$_3$ for intransitives. But there are idioms with fixed (non-referring) pronominal elements, such as 'pinch' in (10b), where such morphemes are, of course, preserved in the passive of evidence. Observe that the effect in these constructions is in accord with a hierarchy of case-marking, and with a hierarchy of "promotions" and "demotions" of case-relations in apparent (surface) form.

[9]Anthony Woodbury (p.c. 21-I-78) points out that there is a parallelism between the lexicalized relationships 'causative' : 'non-causative' or 'factitive' : 'stative (adjectival)', and the grammatically-expressed relationship '(past)-active' : '(present)-passive'. This explanation, of course, makes semantically explicit the direction of analogical determination in (9.2). Further, as Woodbury notes, even in English verb stems (lexicalized forms) have different degrees of implication of a prior event (expressible as NP_1 Ved NP_2, given NP_2 is Ven), stems like boil (It is boiled) being strongly suggestive, stems like freeze (It is frozen) being weakly suggestive.

[10]Anthony Woodbury (p.c. 21-I-78) points out the interaction of tense and locative deixis in these English constructions as well, by contrasting the double value of There is a Santa Claus (both deictic and existential) vs. the single function of There was a Santa Claus (existential, except when place is or has been concomitantly established in discourse). This parallelism deserves further investigation.

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