Complex predicate-argument relations in Bella Coola[1]

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Abstract: Bella Coola, a head-marking and polysynthetic PSO language, has a few predicate-internal suffixes that are linked with two syntactic arguments; vice versa, such arguments can relate to two or three predicate components. Although these suffixes are paralleled by similar suffixes in other Salish, they (with the exception of CAUS *-(s)tu-*) differ from those in function and/or origin.

Keywords: Salish, Bella Coola, morpho-syntax, divalency, redirection

1 Introduction

In this brief report on valency-related phenomena in Bella Coola, I consider the morpho-semantics of the predicate base, different types of divalent suffix, relations between the predicate and syntactic arguments, and areal-etymological aspects of the divalent suffixes.

As concerns predicate base properties, note that morpho-semantic traits of Bella Coola verbo-nominals warrant a four-way partition of this class: TR stative / ITR stative / TR active / ITR active (cf. Nater 1984, p. 34). Of these, ITR stative verbs are generally unaccusative, while most ITR active verbs are unergative. (But certain ITR verbs – e.g. those that convey perception or a bodily function, where the degree of subjective control/purpose may vary – can be ambiguous.) This division also holds – but on a distributional, rather than morpho-semantic, basis – where verbo-nominals accept a divalent suffix. For instance, benefactive *-tu-* is compatible only with ITR active (antipassive) bases, CAUS *-tu-* with ITR active/stative and detransitive bases, NC CAUS *-nix* with ITR stative (including adjectival) bases. (In addition, there are ambitransitive verbs and transitivizible nouns and adjectives, for which see Nater 1984, pp. 59–60.)

On the other hand, and regardless of TR-ITR and active-stative distinctions, divalent *-alst* DEPR combines specifically with bases associated with removal or displacement, and applicative suffixes are often found with bases conveying a ritual, artistic expression, mood, or need.

Divalent suffix types and valency structures are outlined in Section 2 below, and BASE–ARGUMENT and SUFFIX–ARGUMENT linking details as such are described in Sections 2.1–2.3. The status of Bella Coola divalent suffixes within Salish is examined in Section 3.

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[1] Abbreviations used in this paper are: ADJ adjunct, ART article, CAUS causative, DEM demonstrative, DEPR deprivative, DIM diminutive, DIR direct, GEN genitive, IMP imperative, INC inclusive, ITR intransitive, NC non-control, OBJ object, OBL oblique, PART participial, PASS passive, PL plural, POSS possessive, PREP preposition, PROG progressive, RDR redirective, REFL reflexive, SG singular, SUB(J) subject, TR transitive. Bella Coola examples are copied from my field notes, and Dutch analogues are provided by myself.
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A Bella Coola verbo-nominal (noun, verb, adjective) can be combined with one or more suffixes to form a clausal predicate:

(a) staltmx-c
chief-1SG.SUBJ
'I am a chief'

(b) sta:taltmx-uuɬla-liwa-naw-tχ^{w}
chief.PL-appearance-…like-3PL.SUBJ-optative
'let them look like chiefs!'

Within the predicate, which has a (((([BASE] suffix) suffix) suffix) …) structure (prefixes being disregarded), suffixes occupy the positions shown below:

		BASE	
1		***-alst(n)*** deprivative ← lexical	
2	aspect	transition – development stative – completive	
3	RDR	TR ***-m, -amk*** applicative ***-nix*** NC causative	causative ITR causative – communal
4	voice	transitive, medium, antipassive reflexive, reciprocal	
5		desiderative	
6		inchoative, modifying	
7		-ɬ past	
8		***-(s)tu-*** causative	
9		object	
10		subject	
11		-tχ^{w} optative	

Figure 1 Predicative suffixation

A verb base can itself consist of a root or stem followed by one or more suffixes (subscript numbers are the position indicators used in Figure 1):

(c) cak'^{w}-liwa-nix-i-c
((([(cak'^{w})liwa$_{6}$]nix$_{3}$)i$_{9}$)c$_{10}$)
straight-…like-consider-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ
'I understand him correctly'

Of the suffixes listed above, the divalent ones (printed in boldface in slots 1, 3, 8) have been selected here for further examination.

Note that *-(s)tu-* 'causative, benefactive' (slot 8) originally belonged (along with *-(s)tx^{w}* and shorter *-(s)t-*) in slot 3, but has moved forward and merged with pronominal suffixes (Nater 2014, p. 85). The optative suffix *-tχ^{w}* is originally causative *-tχ^{w}* 'make/let it be …!' ← *-*tx^{w}-χ* (Nater 1984, pp. 39–40).

2 Divalent and trivalent linking: types and structures

Below, I categorize, and briefly examine, several types of divalent suffix: Section 2.1 benefactive and deprivative suffixes, Section 2.3 applicative and causative suffixes. In Section 2.2, I mention two lexical suffixes, which are, however, monovalent.

The structure of a Bella Coola clause consisting of a predicate and several arguments is such that the order in which the arguments appear mirrors that of the corresponding morphemes contained in the predicate, except where the base is connected with the SUBJ and/or DIR OBJ, or where a causative or applicative suffix is linked with the TR SUBJ. Thus, in benefactive/deprivative constructions, divalency-marking links connecting the ITR SUBJ/DIR OBJ and OBL OBJ with the predicate form a distinct oscillatory pattern. The figures in Sections 2.1–3 reflect these properties (with "lopsided" links appearing above the constituent level), and show that some predicate components and arguments are connected on more than one level due to the doubly or triply referential role of a suffix, base, or argument. A link conveys one of a number of functions: act or state; gain or loss; include, cause, observe; close, connected, asset; included, caused, observed; being …ed, having …ed; affected, experiencing; actant, includer, causer, observer.

2.1 Benefactive and deprivative suffixes

In Bella Coola clauses with a benefactive/deprivative-marked TR predicate, predicate constituents and arguments are interlinked as follows:

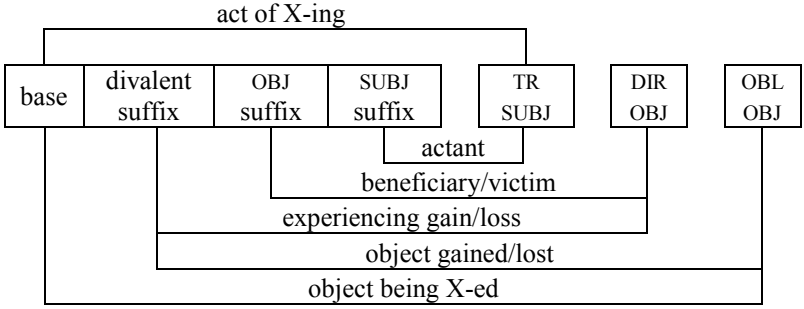

Figure 2 Morpho-syntactic relations in re benefit and TR loss

2.1.1 The benefactive suffix

X-*(s)tu*-B-A 'A causes B to X', where X is an ITR active (antipassive) base describing a result-oriented/creative act, can translate into English as benefactive (cf. Nater 1984, pp. 40, 67). The core meaning is here 'A enables B to get something X-ed', from which one can derive (i) 'A gets B to X something' and (ii) 'A X-s something for/to B, A benefits B with one's X-ing'. For the structure of (i) see Figure 9 in Section 2.3.2.1 below, while that of (ii) is presented in Figure 3. Examples are provided in (1)–(3).

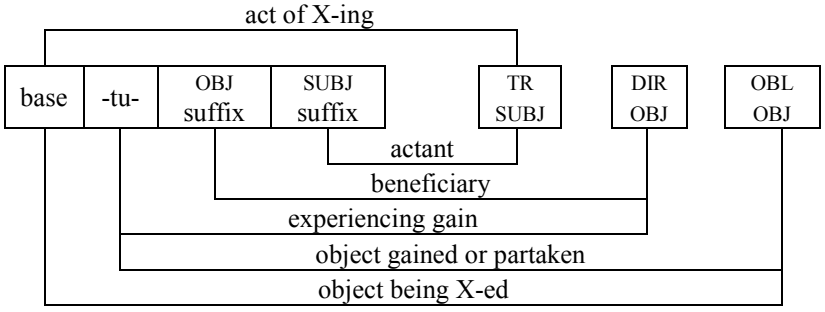

Figure 3 Morpho-syntactic relations in re benefit

(1) tamsuɬ-tu-Ø-t ʔac John
PREDICATE SUBJ DIR OBJ
construct.house-CAUS-3SG.OBJ-3PL.SUBJ DEM John
(i) 'these people get John to build a house'
(ii) 'these people build a house for John'

(2) kstx^{w}-a-ɬ-tu-Ø-c ta‿mna-c‿tχ
PREDICATE DIR OBJ
make-antipassive-past-CAUS-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ ART‿son-1SG.POSS‿ART
x‿tu‿t'ksnimta‿t'aχ^{w}
OBL OBJ
PREP‿ART‿arrow‿DEM
(i) 'I got my son to make those arrows'
(ii) 'I made those arrows for my son'

(3) ʔalac'i-tu-ti-c wa‿qiqipii‿c ʔala‿c'kta‿ck
PREDICATE DIR OBJ OBL OBJ
narrate-caus-3pl.obj-1sg.subj art‿kids‿art prep.art‿doings‿supposedly
(i) 'I get the kids to tell about the things that supposedly happened'
(ii) 'I tell the kids about the things that supposedly happened'

But where the base does not imply a desired result or creation, benefactive interpretations are not acceptable:

(4) ʔustx^{w}-tu-ti-c‿ma wa‿ɬlk'^{w}lx‿c
PREDICATE DIR OBJ
enter-CAUS-3PL.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ‿maybe ART‿elders‿ART
'I may let the elders in' (NOT *'I may go in for the elders')

(5) ʔałps-ɬ-tu-Ø-x^{w}‿a łа‿stan-s‿ʔiɬ
PREDICATE DIR OBJ
eat-past-CAUS-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ‿ʔ ART‿mother-3SG.POSS‿ART
'did you give his mother something to eat?' (NOT *'did you eat something on behalf of his mother?')

2.1.2 The deprivative suffix

The suffix *-alst(n)* 'deprivative' (Nater 1984, p. 71) is associated with a sense of loss implicated by the base (denoting removal or displacement) it combines with. When *-alst(n)* is deleted from such constructions, the OBL OBJ becomes the ITR SUBJ or TR DIR OBJ, and the possessor appears as a GEN ADJ, as shown in examples (7) and (9) below. Such redirection also characterizes constructions involving a classifying suffix (see Section 2.2), and is similar to applicative-related redirection considered in Section 2.3 below. The allomorph *-alstn* occurs in TR forms (Figure 4), while *-alst* goes with ITR ones (Figure 5).

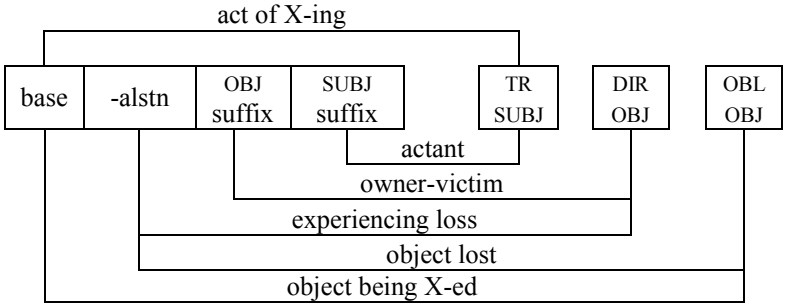

Figure 4 Morpho-syntactic relations in re TR loss

Compare (6) with (7):

(6) knix-alstn-i-x^{w}ˬmas ti ˬman-cˬtx
PREDICATE DIR OBJ
eat-DEPR-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ ˬforever! ART ˬfather-1SG.POSS ˬART
x ˬa ˬsqaluc-s ˬc
OBL OBJ
PREP ˬART ˬberries-3SG.POSS ˬART
'you are forever eating my father$_1$ out of [his$_1$] berries!'

(7) knix-i-x^{w}ˬmas wa ˬsqaluc-s ˬc
PREDICATE DIR OBJ
eat-3SG.OBJ-2SG.SUBJ ˬforever! ART ˬberries-3SG.POSS ˬART
ti ˬman-cˬtx
GEN ADJ
ART ˬfather-1SG.POSS ˬART
'you are forever eating my father's berries!'

As indicated above, argument role switching also pertains where the base is ITR stative (unaccusative), as in (8) versus (9):

(8) ʔatm̓n-alst-s ta ˬstaltmxˬtχ xˬta ˬmna-s ˬtχ
PREDICATE SUBJ OBL OBJ
die-DEPR-3SG.SUBJ ART ˬchief ˬART PREP ˬART ˬson-3SG.POSS ˬART
'the chief$_1$ had his$_1$ son die on him'

(9) ʔatma-s ˬc' ta ˬmna-s ˬtχ ta ˬstaltmxˬtχ
PREDICATE SUBJ GEN ADJ
die-3SG.SUBJ ˬnow ART ˬson-3SG.POSS ˬART ART ˬchief ˬART
'now the chief's son died'

In example (8), divalency patterns are as shown below:

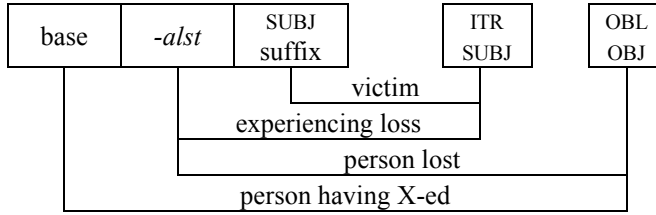

Figure 5 Morpho-syntactic relations in re ITR loss

-alst continues proto-Salish **-als(t)* 'rock, round object' (Kuipers 2002, p. 205, where Squamish *-uyʔs* 'large object, piece, chunk' is also mentioned) → 'bulk, importance'. Hence, *knixalstn* 'to eat someone else's food' derives from 'to eat from A what is important for A to have', *ʔatm̓nalst* 'to have someone die on oneself' from 'to lose someone important to death'. (Compare Dutch *be-storven* 'having become orphaned or widowed' ← **be-sterven* 'to become orphaned or widowed' ← *sterven* 'to die'.)

2.2 Lexical suffixes

Like *-alst(n)*, lexical suffixes (specifically metaphoric suffixes and classifiers) can bring about argument redirection after TR bases (Nater 1984, pp. 85–87). But unlike *-alst(n)*, they define the type (use, texture) of property (and are mono-valent rather than divalent), whereas the "loss" or "benefit" connotation is here conveyed by the base alone (which is di- or trivalent). Compare (10) with (11):

(10) ʔulχ-iiχʷ-ɬ-im‿ma ta‿man-c‿tχ
PREDICATE SUBJ
steal-hat-past-3SG.PASS‿maybe ART‿father-1SG.POSS‿ART
x‿ta‿qayt-ɬ-s‿tχ
OBL OBJ
PREP‿ART‿hat-past-3SG.POSS‿ART
'somebody may have stolen my father$_1$'s hat from him$_1$'

(11) ʔulχ-ɬ-im‿ma ta‿qayt-ɬ-s‿tχ
PREDICATE SUBJ
steal-past-3SG.PASS‿maybe ART‿hat-past-3SG.POSS‿ART
ta‿man-c‿tχ
GEN ADJ
ART‿father-1SG.POSS‿ART
'my father's hat may have been stolen'

The structure of example (10) is:

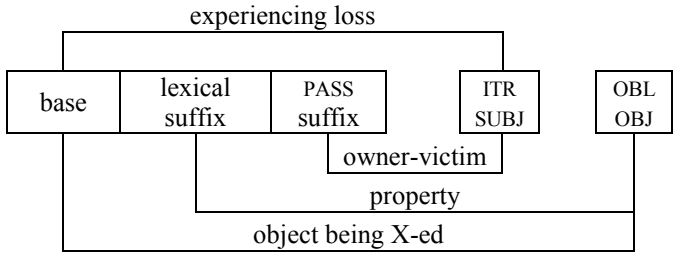

Figure 6 Morpho-syntactic relations in re lexical suffix PASS

Next, compare (12) with (13):

(12) kic'-anɬ-i-s ɬa‿kikya-c‿ʔiɬ
PREDICATE SUBJ
wash-cloth-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART‿grandmother-1SG.POSS‿ART
ɬa‿stan-c‿ʔiɬ x‿tu‿nup-s‿tχ^{w}
DIR OBJ OBL OBJ
ART‿mother-1SG.POSS‿ART PREP‿ART‿shirts-3SG.POSS‿ART
'my grandmother washed my mother$_1$'s shirts for her$_1$'

(13) kic'-i-s ɬa‿kikya-c‿ʔiɬ
PREDICATE SUBJ
wash-3SG.OBJ-3SG. SUBJ art‿grandmother-1SG.POSS‿ART
tu‿nup-s‿tχ^{w} ɬa‿stan-c‿ʔiɬ
DIR OBJ GEN ADJ
ART‿shirts-3SG.POSS‿ART ART‿mother-1SG.POSS‿ART
'my grandmother washed my mother's shirts'

The structure of example (12) is presented in Figure 7:

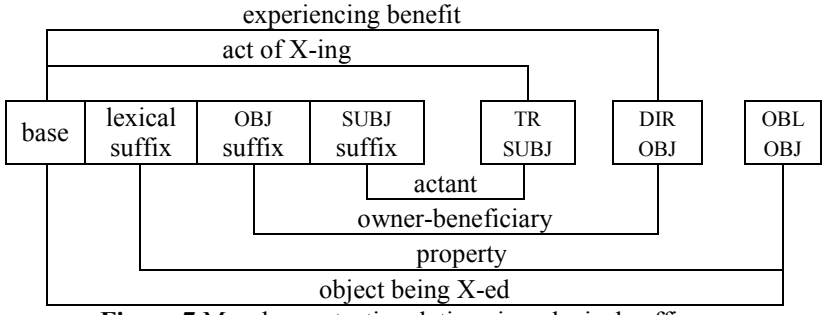

Figure 7 Morpho-syntactic relations in re lexical suffix TR

2.3 Applicative and causative suffixes

Like benefactive *-tu-*, but unlike *-alst(n)* and the classifiers considered in Section 2.2, applicative and causative suffixes are strictly transitivizing.

2.3.1 Applicative suffixes

The two Bella Coola applicative suffixes occur in the following environment:

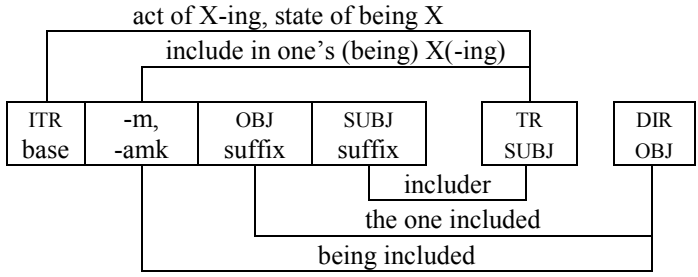

Figure 8 Morpho-syntactic relations in re applicative

2.3.1.1 Applicative *-m*

The most versatile among all valency-affecting suffixes is *-m* 'medium' (Nater 1984, pp. 61–63). Broadly, ITR verbs with *-m* are denominal active (unergative), detransitive active (unergative, valency reducing), detransitive stative (unaccusative (mainly anticausative), valency reducing), or detransitive reflexive (valency reducing). Here, we consider transitivizing *-m* 'make or find … the object or goal of one's …ing', which increases valency (and is not related to ITR *-m*, see Section 3.1). This is a truly applicative suffix insofar as the OBL OBJ following a predicate without this suffix becomes the DIR OBJ after addition of transitivizing *-m* to the base, as in (14)–(16).

	with *-m*		without *-m*	
(14)	talaws-m-i-c	c'ayx	talaws-c	ʔaɬ̬c'ayx
	PREDICATE	DIR OBJ	PREDICATE	OBL OBJ
	marry-INC-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ	DEM	marry-1SG.SUBJ	PREP̬DEM
	'I'm marrying her'		'id.'	

(15) ʔanayk-m-i-c t'ayx
PREDICATE DIR OBJ
want-INC-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ DEM
'I want this'

ʔanayk-c x‿t'ayx
PREDICATE OBL OBJ
want-1SG.SUBJ PREP‿DEM
'id.'

(16) qaaχla-m-i-c wa‿qla
PREDICATE DIR OBJ
drink-INC-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ ART‿water
'I'm drinking water'

qaaχla-c x‿a‿qla
PREDICATE OBL OBJ
drink-1SG.SUBJ PREP‿ART‿water
'id.'

2.3.1.2 Applicative *-amk*

Transitivizing *-amk* 'be caused/urged/inspired to (be) … about/with …' (Nater 1984, pp. 63–64) is, like transitivizing *-m*, an applicative suffix. (Both suffixes are like Dutch *be-* 'to X regarding Y in particular/detail', as in: *ze bespreken de zaak* 'they discuss the matter' vs. *ze spreken over de zaak* 'they talk about the matter', *hij bekeek het huis* 'he viewed the house' vs. *hij keek naar het huis* 'he looked at the house'.) Examples are presented in (17)–(19):

	with *-amk*	without *-amk*
(17)	yayaatw-amk-ii-ti-c t'ayx PREDICATE DIR OBJ happy-INC-DIM-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ DEM 'I am happy about this'	yayaatw-ii-c ʔaɬ‿t'ayx PREDICATE OBL OBJ happy-DIM-1SG.SUBJ PREP‿DEM 'id.'
(18)	nuyamɬ-amk-i-c tx PREDICATE DIR OB sing-INC-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ DEM 'I am singing a song about him'	nuyamɬ-c ʔaɬ‿tx PREDICATE OBL OBJ Sing-1SG.SUBJ PREP‿DEM 'id.'
(19)	ʔalac'-amk-ii-ti-c ti‿qʷaχʷ‿tx PREDICATE DIR OBJ tell story-INC-DIM-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ ART‿Raven‿ART 'I am telling a story about Raven'	ʔalac'-ii-c ʔaɬ‿ti‿qʷaχʷ‿tx PREDICATE OBL OBJ tell story-DIM-1SG.SUBJ PREP‿ART‿Raven‿ART 'id.'

2.3.2 Causative suffixes

Bella Coola has two causative suffixes: *-(s)tu-* and *-nix*. These differ from one another in degree of control/purpose and affiliated pronominal suffix paradigm.

2.3.2.1 Causative *-(s)tu-*

I mentioned *-(s)tu-* 'CAUS TR' in Section 2.1.1 above. This suffix is compatible with ITR bases, and the associated CAUS template differs from the non-CAUS TR one (Nater 1984, pp. 37–40). It increases valency by adding an argument (causer) to the act described by the base, and ITR SUBJ → DIR OBJ, as in Figure 9. Two examples are given in (20) and (21).

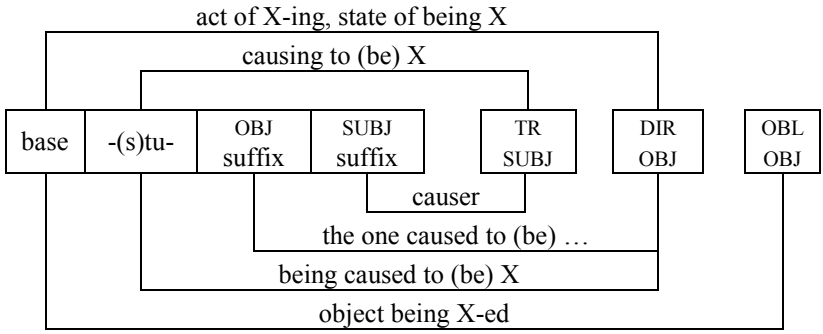

Figure 9 Morpho-syntactic relations in re *-(s)tu-*

(20) ʔałps-tu-Ø-s ła˽stan˽ʔił
PREDICATE SUBJ
eat-CAUS-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ ART˽mother˽ART
ta˽mna-s x˽tu˽sputx˽tχ^{w}
DIR OBJ OBL OBJ
ART˽son-3SG.POSS PREP˽ART˽eulachon˽ART
'the mother$_1$ gave her$_1$ son the eulachons to eat'

(21) ka˽paxpaaq^{w}uu-stu-ti-c˽ma wa˽wac'-uks-nu˽c
PREDICATE DIR OBJ
future˽afraid-CAUS-3PL.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ˽maybe ART˽dog- PL-2SG.POSS˽ART
x˽ti˽ʔac'ta˽t'ayx
OBL OBJ
PREP˽ART˽paddle˽DEM
'maybe I will scare your dogs with this paddle'

2.3.2.2 Causative *–nix*

-nix (and *-nx^{w}*, *-nux^{w}*) 'NC CAUS' (Nater 1984, pp. 68–69) combines with ITR stative (unaccusative-adjectival) bases, and accepts the non-CAUS TR paradigm. It differs from *-(s)tu-* in that it implies lack of control or purpose: 'accidentally or unwittingly cause X to …', 'find that X has …ed', 'find (that) X (is) …'. Like *-(s)tu-, -nix* is valency-increasing (and ITR SUBJ → DIR OBJ), as in Figure 10. Examples are presented in (22)–(24).

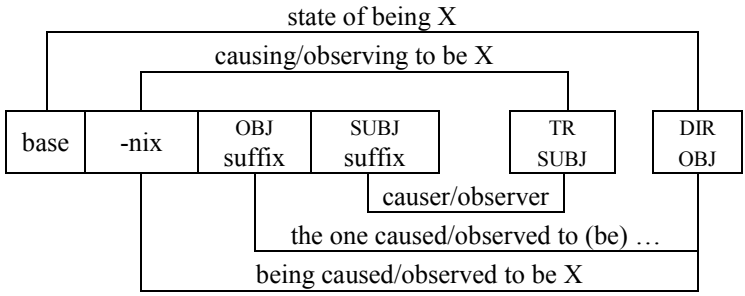

Figure 10 Morpho-syntactic relations in re *–nix*

(22) t'k^{w}-lχs-nix-i-c tχ
PREDICATE DIR OBJ
bleeding-nose-CAUS.NC-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ DEM
'I accidentally gave him a nosebleed'

(23) ʔax^{w}s-nix-i-s‿k^{w} t'aχ ta‿q'^{w}χ^{w}mtimut
PREDICATE SUBJ DIR OBJ
audible-CAUS.NC-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ‿quote DEM ART‿car
'I was told he heard a car'

(24) ya-nix-i-s ʔiɬaʔiɬ ta‿mna-s‿tχ
PREDICATE SUBJ DIR OBJ
good-CAUS.NC-3SG.OBJ-3SG.SUBJ DEM ART‿son-3SG.POSS‿ART
ta‿staltmx‿t'aχ
GEN ADJ
ART‿chief‿DEM
'she liked that chief's son'

3 Diachrony and areal typology

Here, I treat both archaic and innovative aspects of Bella Coola divalent suffixes.

3.1 Etymologies

The Salish origin of the divalent suffixes discussed in this report is as tabulated in Figure 11 below:

Bella Coola	**Other Salish**
-nix, -n(u)x^{w} 'NC CAUS'	-nəx^{w} 'TR (CAUS) NC'
-(s)tu-, -(s)tx^{w} 'control CAUS (benefactive)'	-(s)t(-əw-/-əx^{w}) 'CAUS'
-alst 'deprivative'	-als(t) 'rock'
-m(i-), -amk 'applicative'	-mi(n) 'relational applicative' -(a)min 'OBL OBJ, means'

Figure 11 Salish cognates of Bella Coola divalent suffixes

For CAUS *-*nəx*^{w}, see Section 4. Note that *-mi-* replaces applicative *-m* before the reflexive suffix *-cut* (Nater 1984, p. 65). Unlike myself, Kiyosawa & Gerdts (p. 46) do not equate Bella Coola *-m(i-)* with other Salish *-mi(n)* (but in fn. 19, they do connect *-mi(n)* with *-(a)min*, for which see *-amk* further below). However, the primary meaning ('use, contact, involvement') of TR *-m* is evinced by TR active verb + somatic suffix + TR *-m* 'to … something with one's …':

(25) cp-ak-m-i-c
wipe-hand-contact-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ
'I wipe it with my hand'

(26) ʔaɬ-tmp-aaχalic-m-i-c
PROG-insert-teeth-contact-3SG.OBJ-1SG.SUBJ
'I'm holding it between my teeth'

(27) ʔiƛ'-aaɬ-m-t-χ
move-foot-contact-3SG.OBJ.PART-IMP.SG
'move it with your foot!'

-amk is originally complex. I gather that *-amk* continues *-*amə(n)-k* 'means-back, middle' in view of the following points:

- its formal, semantic, and functional resemblance to TR *-m* (which suggests that …*k* is suffixal in origin);
- the flexible use/meaning of Salish *-(a)min* ('implement, means, oblique-applicative', see Kuipers, pp. 79 & 132; Van Eijk, p. 417; Speck, pp. 70–71);
- the lack of clear cognates (*-*amək*, *-*amik*, or the like) in other Salish.

As regards *-*amən-k* → *-*amə-k*, elision of a morpheme-left-adjacent consonant is not uncommon in Bella Coola: *qluq's* 'eye' ← *-*qlum-aq'-us*, *sqma* 'chest' ← *-*s-qəp-mən* 'breast', *su:q'*^{w}*uuχin* 'tadpole' ← *-*s-q'*^{w}*um-qin* 'large-headed', *q'*^{w}*waaχ* 'old mountain goat' ← *-*q'*^{w}*uy-aʔq* 'wilted-crotch', *-amx*^{w} 'by oneself, autonomously' ← *-*al-məx*^{w} 'individual', *-ams* 'jaw' ← *-*ap-məs* ← *-*ap-nəs*

(‘base-teeth’) (Nater 2013 and 2014). *-*amən* also underlies Bella Coola -*(a)ma*, -*(a)mn*- ‘tool, implement’.

3.2 Innovations and retentions

Bella Coola applicatives are functionally unlike those in other Salish: they are not used as benefactives or deprivatives (malefactives). On the other hand, where Bella Coola benefactive formations involve a causative suffix with a range of glosses including ‘… something for somebody’, and where deprivative verbs contain a suffix whose function is derived from another morphological category, other Salish as a rule uses applicatives. Although in Halkomelem, the causative suffix can also be used benefactively, -*stəxʷ* is here added to a TR base, which is not necessarily creation-oriented:

(28) Halkomelem (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, sample 103b)

nem̓	č	ceʔ	qən̓-stəxʷ	tθən̓	səl̓sil̓ə
go	2SG.SUB	FUT	steal-CS	DET:2POSS	grandparent(PL)

ʔə	kʷθə	sciy̓ə.
OBL	DET	strawberry

‘You’re going to steal some strawberries for your grandparents.’

(29) Halkomelem (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, sample 104b)

niʔ	ʔə	č	calaʔɬ-stəxʷ	kʷθə	John	ʔə	k̓ʷ	teləʔ
AUX	Q	2SG.SUB	borrow/lend-CS	DET	John	OBL	DET	money

‘Did you borrow some money for John?’

The morpho-semantic and distributional mechanisms underlying Bella Coola divalent constructions, too, deviate from other Salish, where:

> “Redirective applicatives are formed on transitive bases, and their precise interpretation—as benefactive, delegative, or malefactive—depends upon the context of the situation and the semantics of the verb. Most transitive verbs form redirectives with benefactive meanings, but redirectives formed on transfer verbs often express malefactive meanings, especially when a source or possessor is the applied object. Relational applicatives are formed on intransitive bases. They frequently have malefactive or adversative meanings, especially with natural or psychological events, and only rarely express benefactive meanings.” (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, p. 27)

The Bella Coola morpho-syntactic details discussed in this paper may also differ from those in other Salish. Nevertheless, the PREDICATE (+ SUBJ) + DIR OBJ + OBL OBJ clause type associated with benefactive/malefactive is found across Salish (note: in Interior Salish, the subject often precedes the predicate, and the OBL OBJ may precede the DIR OBJ), which is shown in (30)–(34).

(30) Halkomelem (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, sample 1)

niʔ	q̓ʷól-əɬc-t-əs	ɬə	sɬéniʔ	ʔə	kʷθə	səplíl.
AUX	bake-RDR-TR-3ERG	DET	woman	OBL	DET	bread

'He baked the bread for the woman.'

(31) Shuswap (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, sample 4)

m-k̓úl-x-t-s	ɣ	núx̌ʷnx̌ʷ	tə	miṁx.	
PERF-make-RDR-TR-3SUB	DET	woman	OBL	basket	

'She made a basket for the woman.'

(32) Comox (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, sample 28)

qʷuqʷu-ʔəm-θ-as	ʔə	tə	tθ		tiy.
drink-RDR-TR:1SG.OBJ-3SUB	OBL	DET	1SG.POSS		tea

'He drank my tea for me [when I could not finish it].'

'He drank up my tea [on me].'

(33) Thompson (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, sample 25)

máʕ̓xtimes	tə	s-zélt-ep.
//máʕ̓-xi-t-uym-es//		
break-RDR-TR-2PL.OBJ-3SUB	OBL	NM-dish-2PL.POSS

'He broke you people's dish.'

(34) Okanagan (Kiyosawa & Gerdts, sample 52)

Mary	ʕac-xí-t-s	iʔ	t	snkɬc̓aʔsqáx̌aʔ	iʔ	ttẇit.
Mary	tie-RDR-TR-3SUB	ART	OBL	horse	ART	boy

'Mary tied the horse for the boy.'

4 Conclusions

As concerns the status of Bella Coola divalent suffixes within Salish, it is clear that the only all-Salish applicative suffix that has survived in Bella Coola (as the transitivizing applicative *-m(i-)*) is **-mi(n)* 'relational applicative'. **-mi(n)* itself is derived from **-(a)min* 'OBL OBJ, means, tool', which also underlies the other applicative suffix (*-amk*).

Of the three remaining divalent suffixes, the one malefactive (deprivative) suffix *-alst(n)* is originally lexical, and as such causes ITR SUBJ / TR DIR OBJ → OBL OBJ and GEN ADJ → DIR OBJ redirection. The latter of these is very similar to the OBL OBJ → DIR OBJ shift triggered by applicative suffixes: the role of the GEN ADJ ("victim", see examples 7 and 9, and cf. example 11) is like that of the OBL OBJ in examples (14)–(19) (right column). Syntactically, however, the GEN ADJ is an **adjunct** rather than an **argument**: it is linked – via a POSS pronominal suffix – with the ITR SUBJ or DIR OBJ, not – via an OBL marker – with the predicate.

Both causative suffixes are valency-increasing insofar as an argument (causer/considerer) is added (and ITR SUBJ → DIR OBJ). Unlike *-m(i-)* and (to some extent) *-alst*, neither *-tu-* nor *-nix* have applicative properties. *-tu-*, though patently Salish, differs from Salish counterparts in that it has changed its position within the predicate and merged with pronominal suffixes (which now differ from non-CAUS TR suffixes).

The suffix *-nix/-nxʷ/-nuxʷ* 'NC CAUS' continues **-nəxʷ* 'NC TR'. But *-nəxʷ* (and *-n…* in general) also has a causative connotation in some other Salish: Squamish *-nəxʷ* 'have …ed (non-volitional (CAUS))' (Kuipers 1967, p. 77), Lillooet *-Vn/-Vn'* 'causativizer' (et alia), *-nun/-nun'* 'to nourish a certain thought on …' (i.e. 'consider …') (Van Eijk, pp. 425–426). It would thus appear that there was already a tendency in proto-Salish for **-n-* (and **-nəxʷ*) to have, or acquire, the feature CAUS. In Bella Coola, then, *-nix/-nxʷ/-nuxʷ* became the standard NC CAUS suffix under the influence of *-tu-* and the (innovative?) *-t-* CONTROL vs. *-n-* NON-CONTROL distinction (for which see Nater 1984, p. 60).

Within Salish, **benefactive use of causative *-tu-***, strict **PSO$_{dir}$O$_{obl}$ syntax**, and **OBL-marking prepositions** are attributes that Bella Coola has in common only with Coastal Salish. These traits lend further support to my thesis that Bella Coola evolved after, rather than – as is too often assumed – before, the Coastal Salish ↔ Interior Salish divide, i.e. it has descended from early Coastal ("pre-Coastal") Salish (see Nater 2013 and 2014 for phonemic, lexical and morphological similarities). The model that reflects this view (Figure 12) differs therefore from e.g. Kiyosawa 2006 (p. 9, after Hinkson, p. 44), who places Bella Coola as having branched off from proto-Salish (and is not led to posit a pre-Coastal node). Note: Nater "Coastal" = Kiyosawa "Proto-Central-Tsamosan", Nater "Central" = Kiyosawa "Proto-Central", Nater "Tsamosan" = Kiyosawa "Proto-Tsamosan", Nater "Interior" = Kiyosawa "Proto-Interior".

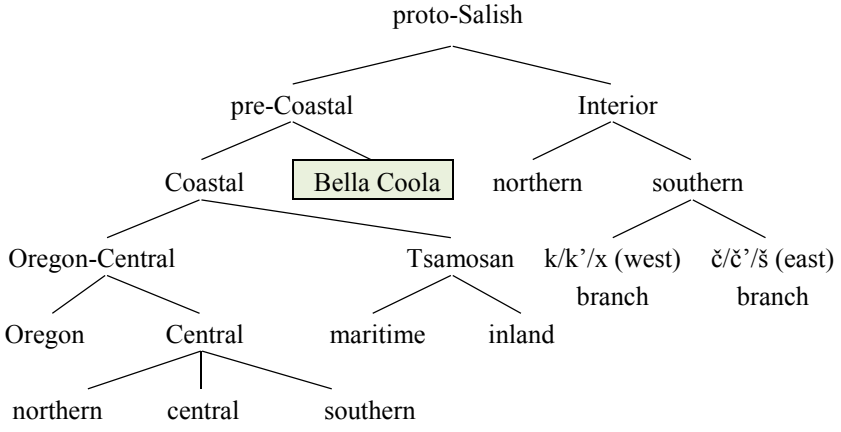

Figure 12 Bella Coola within Salish

In re PREDICATE–ARGUMENT interaction, it remains to be determined to what extent the morpho-syntax, semantic roles of the links, and combinatorial traits described in Sections 2 and 2.1–3 are matched in other Salish. In the meantime, I suspect, in view of the similarities shown in examples (28)–(29) and (30)–(34) (and conclusions drawn in Nater 2013 and 2014), that further research will reveal more morpho-syntactic resemblances between Bella Coola and Coastal Salish than we have seen to date.

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