umbia Press, 1978). Frantz' model appears to be so powerful that it is difficult for me to imagine data which would constitute counterevidence to his hypothesis, given this model. However, in an extended standard theory framework, the material he alludes to in his Footnote 10 definitely represents counterevidence, for those speakers who can use such constructions (similar to my examples (38) and (43)).

22. I have argued elsewhere that in order to maintain a transformationalist interpretation of relatives and passives, we must suppose that deixis is copied into Verbs and particles from the NPs with which they are associated, but that there is good evidence that such a copying rule cannot in fact be maintained. This discussion is provided in R. Levine, 'Syntactic consequences of Kwakwala deixis', ms. written for the Conference on the Syntax of Native American Languages, University of Calgary, March 1981.

23. M. Gross, 'On the failure of generative grammar', *Language* 55.4: 859-885, 1979, p. 860.

CONTROL and DEVELOPMENT in Bella Coola — II

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There is in Bella Coola a set of derivational suffixes that occur attached to the element within the sentence that conveys information of some event.[1] Rather than further specifying the event itself, in the manner, say, of aspectual marking, these suffixes encode information concerning the participants. The members of this affixal set are displayed in Table 1. Visual inspection immediately yields the hypothesis that

-m	-nm	-tnm
-am	-anm	-atnm

Table 1

they themselves are morphologically complex, and the discussion will proceed along those lines, i.e. of determining the degree to which this initial guess is valid. In doing this, we shall include some elaboration on the syntax and semantics of the recurrent partials by way of justifying that segmentation.

Let us begin by considering the following forms:

(1) (a) nuyamɬ-tnm-c
sing- -I

(b) *nuyamɬ-atnm-c

(2) (a) Xs-tnm-c
fat- -I

(b) *Xs-atnm-c

(3) (a) *nix-tnm-c

(b) nix-atnm-c
saw- -I

(4) (a) kɬ-tnm-c
fall- -I

(b) kɬ-atnm-c

Each of the correct, unasterisked forms has an English gloss that appears

to be causative. Sentence (1), for example, may be expressed as 'I'm making/letting someone sing'; (2) as 'I'm keeping someone/thing fat'; and (3) as 'I'm making/letting someone saw'. Sentences (1) and (3), but not (2), have benefactive glosses as well; specifically, they indicate the performance of an act in someone's place: 'I'm going to sing for someone' and 'I'm going to saw for someone', respectively. Sentence (4a), like (2a), has only the enabling gloss, i.e. 'I'm going to make someone fall', while (4b), like (1a) and (3b), has both the enabling and the benefactive glosses, i.e. 'I'm going to drop something for someone' and 'I'm going to make someone drop something'. All of the utterances of (1)-(4) are paired with Causatively inflected forms:[2]

(5)	(a)	nuyamɬ-tuc -CI/him	'I'm going to make/let him sing' 'I'm going to sing for him'
	(b)	*nuyamɬ-a-tuc	
(6)	(a)	Xs-tuc	'I'm going to make him fat'
	(b)	*Xs-a-tuc	
(7)	(a)	*nix-tuc	
	(b)	nix-a-tuc	'I'm going to make/let him saw' 'I'm going to saw for him'
(8)	(a)	kɬ-tuc	'I'm going to make him fall'
	(b)	kɬ-a-tuc	'I'm going to make/let him drop it' 'I'm going to drop it for him'

The pairs, e.g. (1) and (5), (2) and (6) and so forth, differ in several ways. First, the sentences of (5)-(8) may be augmented by the overt expression of some Patient, e.g. for (5) we have (9):

(9)	nuyamɬ-tuc Snac	'I'm going to make/let Snac sing' 'I'm going to sing in Snac's place'

Sentences (1)-(4) do not permit this. Second, consider the following brief conversation between Speaker A and Speaker B:

(10)	A.	nuyamɬ-tuc Snac
(11)	(a) B.	supt-tnm-Ø ʔičik Numucta -she but
	(b) B.	supt-tus ʔicik Numucta -Cshe/him

Speaker A begins by declaring that he will make/let Snac sing; Speaker B

responds in (11b) by saying 'But Numucta will make him whistle'. Here the 'him' is co-referential with 'Snac'; both Speaker A's and Numucta's acts affect the same individual. In (11a), Speaker B's utterance may also be glossed as 'But Numucta will make him whistle'; but by contrast with (11b) the 'him' is not, and cannot be, co-referential with 'Snac' of (10). At the time utterance (11a) — or (1) through (4) — is produced, the listener must not know the affected participant, i.e. be able to identify him; and the speaker who utters one of these sentences need never identify the participant affected. If the speaker's interlocutor questions the participant's identity, the query must use the Causatively inflected form and not a form from (1)-(4). For example,

(12)	(a)	waks ti-sup-tus Numucta 'Whom did Numucta make whistle?'
	(b)	*waks ti-supt-tnm-Ø Numucta

Sentence (12b) is semantically ill-formed. By contrast with the Causative inflection, the -atnm suffix involves a participant-Patient that is known to the speaker, but who is not identified for the listener. Lastly, the unidentified Patient need not be of the same class as some preceding, expressed Patient. Consider the short exchange of (13) and (14):

(13)	A	nuyamɬ-tutic wa-mamnc-c-c sing-CI/them Prox-child Redp-my-Prox 'I'm going to let my children sing'
(14)	B	nuyamɬ-tnm-c tū too

Here, Speaker B responds with (14), and his answer may be glossed as 'I'm going to let mine sing, too', where the benefactee of this act is of the same class, i.e. children, as the benefactees in the utterance of Speaker A. But the benefactee need not be a child for (14) to be appropriate; nor need the benefactee be plural. The -atnm complex is equally singular or plural.

The forms with -atnm are paralleled by those with an -a- derivational suffix plus Causative inflection; and the -tnm forms, by the simple Causative inflection. The -a- in (1)-(4) and in (5)-(8) appears to be the same.[3] The semantic differences described above then reflect -tnm versus Causative

inflection.

Comparison of -(a)-tnm with -nm reveals that it is the -t- that is the formal signal of the 'make/let' and/or the benefactive 'in place of' glosses. Forms with -nm lack that complex of meanings associated with -t- (and more generally with Causative inflection):

(15) nix-nm-c
saw- -I

(16) ʔp̄iX-nm-c
steam- -I

This suffix is compatible with those roots and stems that accept Transitive inflection (cf. fn. 2), and (15) and (16) are thus paired with (17) and (18), respectively:

(17) nix-ic 'I sawed/will saw it'
saw-I/it

(18) ʔp̄iX-ic 'I steamed/will steam it'
steam-I/it

Sentence (15) can be glossed as 'I went/am going to saw something for someone', where, as in (1)-(4), the 'someone' cannot be overtly expressed, known to the listener, nor directly questioned using the form nix-nm. The "thing sawed", however, may be expressed using one of the four prepositions in Bella Coola:

(19) nix-nm-c x-a-stn-c
Prep-Prox-log-Prox
'I'm going to saw the logs for someone'

The gloss 'for' associated with (15) — and (16) — is not the same 'for' that occurs in the glosses of (1)-(4) and (5)-(8); and the difference is a function of the presence or absence of -t-. We first note that -tnm and -nm differ in that the latter consistently lacks the enabling 'make/let' glosses of -(a)-tnm. This is an indication that we are dealing with two kinds of "benefactive". The 'for' of -nm indicates that the 'someone' is "better off" in some way when the act is performed. This is shown by a form like (20):

(20) ʔūlX-nm-tuc Snac x-a-nup-c
steal- -CI/him Prep-Prox-shirt-Prox
'I'm going to have Snac steal someone the shirts'

with the sense of the speaker having Snac steal the shirts not in someone's stead, but to give to that someone.

The Intransitive stems with -nm, formed from Transitive bases, appear semantically to parallel roots like nap 'give'; nap-ic is glossed as 'I gave him it', the 'it' being expressed, if at all, by a prepositional phrase. Thus,

(21) (a) nap-ic x-a-stn-c
give-I/him
'I gave him the logs'

(b) nix-nm-c x-a-stn-c
'I sawed someone the logs'

The difference lies, again, in the discourse status of the recipient in the two. In the latter, the recipient is not identifiable by the listener; while in the former, the recipient is identifiable by both speaker and listener.

Having thus examined -a-t-n-m and -n-m, we are left finally with -m. This suffix appears, without the other derivational material, attached to Transitive and Intransitive stems. There is, however, one striking difference in its occurrence with these two stem types; grammatically, -m renders the Intransitive ones Transitive and the Transitive ones Intransitive:

(22) (a) talaws-c
married-I

(b) talaws-m-ic
married- -I/her

(23) (a) nix-ic
saw-I/it

(b) nix-m-c
saw- -I

Sentence (22a) is glossed as 'I am married'; (22b) as 'I'm going to go get married to her'. Sentence (23a) has the gloss 'I'll saw it', and (23b), the gloss 'I'm going someplace to saw'. The (b)-forms have in common some "acting" independent from the performance of the state of "being married" and of "sawing", and this is usually a translocative meaning. This extra increment of activity is present in -a-t-n-m and -n-m, but it is frequently omitted by speakers in glossing utterances (perhaps because of the cumbersome-

ness of cramming the meanings of -t- and -n- as well into an English sentence). A simple Bella Coola utterance like tuin-t-n-m-Ø becomes in translation 'He's gone to show something to someone for someone'.

In detaching and explaining -t-, -n- and -m-, we have discussed four of the six derivational complexes present in Table 1. The remaining two—-am and -anm—are the more problematic and hence the more interesting. Before we take up discussion of these last two, it may be helpful to comment on what appears to be a semantic property of all roots in Bella Coola, viz. homogeneity. There do not exist in Bella Coola roots semnatically comparable to the English verbs melt, freeze, age, etc. that describe mutations from one state to another. Bella Coola roots are semantically homogeneous in this respect. The appearance of non-homogeneity may be given by forms such as (24a):

(24) (a) sixsiq̓ʷ-ic 'I'm peeling it again and again'
(b) siq̓ʷ-ic 'I peeled/am peeling it'

But the semblance of heterogeneity in (24a) is in fact a result of aspectual marking; and morphologically, the form of (24a) is clearly a derived stem, rather than a root. It is a reduplicated form of (24b). The semantic category of DEVELOPMENT, evinced in English by melt, age and so forth, is, however, not absent from Bella Coola; and it is the derivational suffixes -am and -anm that, in part, express it.

A third DEVELOPMENTAL morpheme is -lx, that is outside the formal system of Table 1 and related to other morpheme complexes (-layx and -aylayx); -lx occurs with semantically STATIVE and NON-STATIVE (the latter being grammatically either Transitive or Intransitive) roots and stems:

(25) (a) Xs-lx-c
(b) ʔaq̓ʷlɨ̄kʷ-lx-c
policeman- -I
(26) (a) kaw-lx-ic
carry- -I/it
(b) kaw-ic
(27) (a) ʔiɬcay-lx-c
pick berries- -I
(b) ʔiɬcay-c

In (25), -lx is glossed as 'get' or 'become': either 'I'm getting fat(ter)' or 'I'm becoming a policeman'. In (26) and (27), the gloss is 'to decide to' or 'to make up one's mind to'. Sentence (26a) is appropriate, for example, to a context in which the speaker had taken a child along on a trip; the child begins to cry, and the speaker decides to return him.

The -anm/-am suffixes both appear on semantically STATIVE stems; and the former suffix further occurs with semantically ACTIVE (grammatically Intransitive) ones. Neither occurs directly suffixed to grammatically Transitive roots:

(28) (a) ʔaq̓ʷlɨ̄kʷ-anm-c
(b) ʔaq̓ʷlɨ̄kʷ-am-c
(29) (a) *kaw-anm-c
(b) *kaw-am-c
(30) ʔiɬcay-anm-c

Like (25b), the forms of (28) may both be glossed in terms of 'becoming a policeman'. The difference here, and in all environments where -anm/-am are opposed to -lx, is that in (28) the speaker—or who- or whatever is experiencing mutation—must have been something else first, say, a mechanic; and what is happening is that the speaker is moving from one previous state to a second, different one. In (25), this is absent; the speaker is simply moving from not-that-state to it or to that state without regard to what he may have been previously. For this reason, we find that (31a) sounds odd but that (31b) is acceptable:

(31) (a) ¿ʔaq̓ʷlɨ̄kʷ-lx-Ø ti-takʷta-tx
(b) ʔaq̓ʷlɨ̄kʷ-anm-Ø ti-takʷta-tx
'The doctor is becoming a policeman [i.e. shifting jobs]'

ACTIVE roots, as in (30), are glossed as 'time to', e.g. in terms of season of the year, established routine, etc.; so the equivalent of (30) in English is 'It's time for me to pick berries'.

The forms of (28) are said to be semantically not quite the same, but it is difficult to associate a fixed, constant difference with the English glosses of the two. The -anm suffix can often be associated with 'seems [to the speaker]', 'guess [by the speaker]', 'instead' or 'after many tries':

(32) ʔiɬm-anm-Ø 'It [e.g. the hill] seems to be getting steeper [as it's climbed for the n^{th} time]'

(33) qyuw-anm-Ø 'He's getting stupid, I guess'

(34) ʔaq̓ʷlīkʷ-anm-Ø 'He's becoming a policeman instead [of something else]'

(35) ʔapsuɬ-anm-Ø 'He's finally settling down [after many trips to the spot]'

These properties seem to be absent from the occurrences of -am.

The neatness of Table 1 seems almost convincing; and it might appear that -anm and -am do indeed belong in it and serve to fill out that formal matrix. Yet a first consideration of these two augmentations has shown that a distinct semantic category of DEVELOPMENT is present, while it is absent from the other complexes of Table 1. We shall now show that on formal and semantic grounds -anm and -am are not best described as members of Table 1, but along with -lx they constitute a distinct system.

Our first argument is that -anm and -am — in contrast with the other forms listed in Table 1 — constitute atomic grammatical units. All except -anm and -am are clearly and easily segmentable with the resulting units having a reasonable semantic constant; but if -anm and -am are taken as morphologically complex, anomalies of various sorts arise. It is this diverse collection of problems that prompts us to conclude that -anm and -am are morphologically simple. An indication of their formal unity is provided by such forms as

(36) nix-a-yanm-Ø 'It's time for him to saw'
saw- - -he

(37) mus-a-yanm-Ø 'He's got to [or] It's time for him to touch'
touch- - -he

Semantically, these forms (-yanm is an automatic variant of -anm following i or a.) parallel those that are built upon semantically ACTIVE roots involving one participant:

(38) ʔaɬps-anm-Ø 'He's eating right on schedule'
eat- -he

Sentence (38) — like (30) — involves an ACTION performed by some EXECUTOR; and (36) and (37) are identical to (30) and (38) in this respect. Sentences (36) and (37) differ from (30) and (38) in that the latter have -anm affixed

directly to the root, while the former require derivation via -a- that produces stems (e.g. nix-a-) semantically the same as the roots (e.g. ʔaɬps-) This class of roots and the stems by -a- derivation belong grammatically to the class that accepts either Intransitive or Causative inflection (cf. fn. 2). We have argued above that -a- in -atnm is the same -a- as in (7b) and (8b), and that latter -a- is clearly the same derivational -a- that appears in nix-a- and mus-a- in (36) and (37). The conclusion of this must be that forms such as (36) and (37) contain two occurrences of the same derivational affix — assuming of course that -anm is to be segmented. Such dual occurrence might be attributed to reduplication, but the semantics generally associated with reduplication is absent here. Finally, in this vein, if reduplication were involved in (36), there would be difficulty in explaining why such is required with roots like nix (cp. *mus-anm-Ø) but impossible with roots like ʔaɬps (cp. *ʔaɬps-a-yanm-Ø). It seems clear that the function of -a- in nix-a-yanm and the like is to produce semantically ACTIVE, single participant stems analogous to roots like ʔaɬps, ʔiɬcay etc. and hence render them semantically compatible with -anm. If this is so, then reduplication is not the explanation. Assuming -anm to be formally complex produces a contradiction of another pattern noted above, viz. that elsewhere within Table 1, -nm is added only to Transitive bases; yet with -anm segmented we would find -nm affixed to an Intransitive one.

The reasonable solution appears to be that the -(y)a- of -(y)anm is not to be segmented from the remainder; and since segmentability (or its absence) is a reciprocal relationship, -nm cannot be separated from -(y)a-. The whole, -(y)anm, must function as a unit. (Attempting to segment -m- from -anm produces even worse formal and grammatical difficulties, and we ignore that possibility.)

A similar negative conclusion can be reached with respect to the possible segmentation of -am. We have observed that -a forms grammatically Intransitive/Causative stems, yet in utterances like (28b), -a appears suffixed to a root with which it is incompatible (ʔaq̓ʷlīkʷ is not a grammatically Transitive root as nix and mus are.). That formal anomaly is compounded by the supposed suffixation of -m directly to -a; -m — as we have observed

above — derives grammatically Transitive stems from Intransitive ones and grammatically Transitive ones from Intransitives; but here in Intransitive forms like ʔaq̓ʷlīkʷ-am-Ø that pattern is contradicted (cp. *ʔaq̓ʷlīkʷ-a-m-is). These anomalies exist only because of the assumption that -am is synchronically, morphologically complex.

In addition to the formal reasons cited above, there exist semantic ones for asserting the unity of -anm and -am. If these two affixes were segmentable, one would expect that the semantics of their components to be analogous to their other purported occurrences within Table 1. We have already shown that this is not so, and we shall confine ourselves to pointing out only two instances of semantic anomaly arising from the assumption that -anm and -am are segmentable. Forms like (30) are clearly Intransitive, and the root from which the the stem ʔiɬcay-anm is derived (ʔiɬcay) is equally Intransitive. Additionally, both ʔiɬcay-anm-c and ʔiɬcay-c do not implicate a semantic EXPERIENCER. (As with ʔap 'go', only an ACTION performed by some EXECUTOR is involved. Cp. ʔap-anm-c 'It's time for me to go'.) Yet if -anm is to be segmented with the resultant partials being identical to their occurrence elsewhere in the matrix of Table 1, then we should be forced to see in ʔiɬcay-a-n-m- a semantic redundancy, namely, -a marking what is already a semantic property of the root — a redundancy that is otherwise absent from the language. Secondly, the -n- of a segmented -a-n-m is semantically anomalous within Table 1 in that utterances like (30) do not implicate a second participant (not identical to the Agent) that is the semantic EXPERIENCER. And the second participant (as just described) ought to be present semantically if the -n- of -anm is to be segmented and equated with -n- elsewhere in Table 1. Cp., for example, (21b).

Our conclusion then is that what appears to be a neat matrix of "obviously" segmentable suffixes in Table 1 is not as symmetrical as it seems. The first impression is mistaken, and not all the forms therein are morphologically complex. Yet a pattern still exists, and it appears when the anomalous -anm and -am are considered in the context of the semantic parameter of CONTROL.

The importance of the semantic category of CONTROL within the Salishan languages was first pointed out by Thompson (1979); and we have elsewhere sketched its functioning within Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1978). Briefly, we have suggested that CONTROL has three values: (i) its lack or absence, (ii) its incomplete or limited presence, and (iii) its full implementation. The three manifestations of DEVELOPMENT that we have introduced above appear to match the three CONTROL distinctions in both form and meaning. The -lx DEVELOPMENT suffix is formally associated with the NO CONTROL forms -layx and -aylayx; and all three add to the thus modified event a semantic characterization of its actualization as proceeding without CONTROL on the part of the EXECUTOR or EXPERIENCER. That is, it "just happens" or is the result of a random juxtaposition of events. The -anm morpheme has a formal similarity with -nix and -aynix — two LIMITED CONTROL forms, viz. the -n-; furthermore, -anm exhibits typical glosses of the LIMITED CONTROL category, i.e. 'think/hold the opinion that' or 'to do with difficulty'. Cp. (32)-(35). FULL CONTROL is marked in various ways outside its co-occurrence with DEVELOPMENT, and -am does not add to its formal coherency here. Semantically, -am is opposed to -lx and -anm in that it does not mark NO or LIMITED CONTROL and is then by implication a FULL CONTROL form. We may now arrange the DEVELOPMENT affixes as in Table 2.

NO CONTROL	LIMITED CONTROL	FULL CONTROL
lx	anm	am

Table 2

There exists an interesting circumstance in that Table 1, which has nothing to do with either DEVELOPMENT or CONTROL, contributes forms to Table 2, which conversely has nothing to do with the semantic content of Table 1. Historically, the answer may lie in the extension of forms from Table 1 to function in Table 2 with accompanying semantic change. If we recognize in -m- the possibility that the "additional, concomitant acting" or "translocative" meaning that it signals might be reinterpreted as "becoming" (where that original meaning would be incongruous), then it can be understood how -anm and -am may have come to mark DEVELOPMENT. Similarly, -n- marks the

participant in the proposition that is the passive, affected one; and it is not implausible then that in some appropriate context, e.g. where there is no such participant, the property of "limited control", implicit in the participant category that it marks in Table 1, might be taken as the essential content of -n- and that -n- may come to mark LIMITED CONTROL when used outside Table 1. This transition is outlined in Table 3.

	Before in Table 1	After in Table 2
-n-	Experiencing participant ⟨EXPERIENCER lacks control of his experience⟩ Participant unknown to listener	LIMITED CONTROL
-m-	Translocative	DEVELOPMENT

Table 3

The argument that an extension of the CONTROL system to combine with DEVELOPMENT did in fact occur will be furthered if it can be shown that the innovation supplements and is congruent with the pattern CONTROL exhibits independently of DEVELOPMENT. It is the pattern within the LIMITED CONTROL value that will concern us here. CONTROL in its various degrees can be described by identifying one of the participants of the proposition as the CONTROLLER (FULL, LIMITED or NO). Semantic propositions otherwise contain an EVENT and either an EXECUTOR (as in the case of ?aɬps-∅ 'He eats') or EXPERIENCER (as in the case of q̓s-∅ 'It's tight'); and where the EVENT permits it, the EXECUTOR and EXPERIENCER may co-occur (as in tx-is 'He cuts it'). When these three proposition-types intersect with LIMITED CONTROL, we find the array of Table 4. For the root tx 'cut', the form tx-ay-nix-ic 'I accidentally [or] managed to cut it' vests both the semantic property of LIMITED CONTROL and EXECUTOR in one and the same participant, i.e. the Agent of the sentence (cf. fn. 2). The contrasting form tx-a-nix-is 'I think he cut it' separates the two, with LIMITED CONTROL continuing to reside in the Agent; but the EXECUTOR is now encoded with a second participant in the sentence

	Coincidence of CONTROL with EXECUTOR/EXPERIENCER in one participant of the EVENT	CONTROL and EXECUTOR/ EXPERIENCER encoded in distinct participants of the EVENT
tx 'cut'	tx-ay-nix-ic	tx-a-nix-ic
q̓s 'tight'		q̓s-nix-ic
?aɬps 'eat'		?aɬps-nix-ic

Table 4

(i.e. the Patient), and the person who cut it (the EXECUTOR) is no longer identical with the Agent. The Agent continues, however, to be the participant that is vested with LIMITED CONTROL. Cp. also kɬ-a-nix-ic 'I happened to make him drop it' (kɬ-ic 'I dropped it'), where the Agent 'I' is not the one doing the dropping. The remaining two root types of Table 4 show only usage wherein the participant vested with LIMITED CONTROL and the EXECUTOR/ EXPERIENCER participant are distinct. Thus, q̓s-nix-ic means 'I think it's tight' and not 'I accidentally tightened it'; and ?aɬps-nix-ic means 'I think he's eating' and not 'I accidentally ate it'. Cp. also člsmaɬ-nix-ic 'I accidentally gave him wrong directions' (člsmaɬ-∅ 'He went the wrong way' and čls-∅ 'He's mistaken'). It's not the Agent 'I' who goes the wrong way but the Patient that is the EXECUTOR of the ACTION.

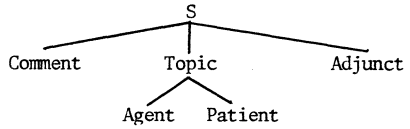
There exists in Table 4 a semantic blank for the single participant (EXPERIENCER) STATE roots (e.g. q̓s) and the single participant (EXECUTOR) ACTION roots (e g. ?aɬps) in that the LIMITED CONTROLLER cannot be coincident with either the EXPERIENCER of the STATE nor the EXECUTOR of the ACTION. The two participant (EXECUTOR-EXPERIENCER) ACTION roots (e.g. tx) do not show this asymmetry. There is then a systematically defined semantic configuration that is absent from the language, and it is into this position that the -anm form fits. But not simply. More is involved in filling the semantic lacunae than just extending the occurrence of the semantic property of LIMITED CONTROL and EXECUTOR/EXPERIENCER so that they may be manifest in the same participant. And the "more" is the concomitant presence of the semantic notion of DEVELOPMENT.

The historical interaction of the CONTROL system with something outside it (the semantics of participants of propositions) raises a question about possible sources for LIMITED CONTROL and more generally about how any complex set of semantic oppositions may arise in language. The supposed link between the EXPERIENCER participant and LIMITED CONTROL that we have relied upon in explicating the transition between Table 1 and Table 2 might also serve to explain LIMITED CONTROL itself. The CONTROL system must have evolved from something else in the language; it cannot always have existed, nor can it have been spontaneously created. Semantic/formal categories like CONTROL must have been created from morphological debris from earlier (or still extant) categories reinterpreted according to some new pattern. Such systems will never be completely stable nor completely regular, and we have found such ebbs and flows with -anm and -am. The task is to distinguish the older from the newer and to identify the diachronic paths that connect them. At present, however, it is probably not possible to do more than identify the source of the DEVELOPMENT system. One cannot determine whether the participant semantics/expression engendered LIMITED CONTROL or whether LIMITED CONTROL has (an)other origin(s). We have shown only that the semantic similarity of the two is sufficient to justify the hypothesis.

Notes

[1]The present paper is a slightly expanded version of one presented to the XVIII[th] Conference on American Indian Languages (November, 1979), hence the II of the title. Bella Coola is a Salishan language spoken on the central coast of British Columbia, Canada. We wish to thank here those who have helped us to an understanding of their language, especially Charles Snow and Margaret Siwallace. We also acknowledge the financial support of this work provided by the Canada Council (Grant 410-770025), the Linguistics Division of the British Columbia Provincial Museum, and the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund of the Whatcom Museum Foundation, Bellingham, Washington.

[2]In other work (Davis and Saunders 1978), we have attributed the following structure to utterances in Bella Coola:



where Patient and Adjunct are optional. All contentives may manifest the Comment constituent and when they do, they are inflected according to one of three paradigms: the Intransitive (that marks person/number of the Agent); the Transitive (that marks person/number of both the Agent and Patient); or the Causative (that marks person/number of the Agent and Patient).

Newman (1969) has classified contentives (and stems) in Bella Coola according to the paradigms with which they are compatible: (i) those that accept Causative only, (ii) those that accept Intransitive and Causative inflection, (iii) those that accept Transitive inflection, and (iv) those that accept Intransitive, Transitive and Causative inflection. The suffixes in Table 1 yield stems that grammatically belong to Class (ii). Cf., however, below concerning -m-.

[3]The -a- suffix appears by itself attached to Transitive roots and stems to derive forms that belong to Class (ii).

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Bella Coola Phonotactics

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0. This report is a follow-up on the author's "Bella Coola Phonology" (Lingua 49:169-187); we now take a more in-depth look at the structure of Bella Coola morphemes. Emphasis is put on (a) the number of phonemes in given morphemic units, and (b) the environmental conditions governing the sequential arrangement of phonemes.

1. Since (a) diphthongs like ia, ua, ui are, within the limits of Bella Coola morphemes, extremely rare, and (b) the doubled "vowels" aa, ii, uu, mm, nn, ll (the latter three vocalic) often alternate with single ones, we can assume for this occasion, and also for the sake of pure simplicity, that VV sequences are not permissible in Bella Coola: the above sequences are treated as being monophonemic.

2. In the tables that follow in 3 are listed all possible structures, from the shortest morphemes (consisting of one phoneme) on to longer ones. "C" stands for any obstruent or consonantal sonant; "V" represents any vocalic sonant, either single or doubled, or the true vowel a (or aa). Bella Coola elements having a "V" as initial phoneme are