Sliammon subordinate clauses with the proclitic //s// and a possible syntactic change

John H. Davis

This paper contains a description of a syntactic rule which in relational grammar would be called an ascension copy. The suggestion is made that this rule may be being lost from the language because of linguistic acculturation to English. A request is made for comparative data from other Salish languages.

0. In Sliammon, as in many other languages of the world, there are subordinate clauses in which the subject is expressed by the possessive. One such type of clause is presented in this paper, the type that is introduced by the proclitic //s//.

1. In sentences 1 through 5 it can be seen that the proclitic //s// is assimilated to the proclitics /ç/ 'my', /θ/ 'your(sg.)', and /ʔəms/ 'our', but remains in the presence of the suffixes /-ap/ 'your(pl.)' and /-s/ 'his/her/its/their'.

1a)	q^{w}áq^{w}ay č	I'm talking.
1b)	x̌áx̌əyə ç q^{w}áq^{w}ay	It's strange that I'm talking.
2a)	q^{w}áq^{w}ay čx^{w}	You're talking.
2b)	x̌áx̌əyə θ q^{w}áq^{w}ay	It's strange that you're talking.
3a)	q^{w}áq^{w}ay šṯ	We're talking.
3b)	x̌áx̌əyə ʔəms q^{w}áq^{w}ay	It's strange that we're talking.
4a)	q^{w}áq^{w}ay.čəp	You're talking.
4b)	x̌áx̌əyə s q^{w}áq^{w}ay-ap	It's strange that you're talking.
5a)	q^{w}áq^{w}ay	He(etc.) is/are talking.
5b)	x̌áx̌əyə s q^{w}áq^{w}ay-s	It's strange that he(etc.) is/are talking.

2. In Sliammon, as in many other languages of the world, there are transitive predicates which can occur with or without a subordinate clause. Sentences 6 through 11 are examples of transitive predicates without subordinate clauses; sentences 12 through 17 will be examples of these same transitive predicates with subordinate clauses. Sentences 6 and 7 contain the transitive suffix //-stW//, sentences 8 and 9 contain the transitive suffix //-nW//, and sentences 10 and 11 contain the transitive suffix //-t//.

6a)	ǰáǰəyə-stu-mi č	I find you(sg.) strange.
6b)	ǰáǰəyə-st-anapi č	I find you(pl.) strange.
7a)	ʔiʔaytin-stu-mi č	I find you(sg.) amusing.
7b)	ʔiʔaytin-st-anapi č	I find you(pl.) amusing.
8a)	k̓ʷó-nu-mi č	I see you(sg.).
8b)	k̓ʷó-n-anapi č	I see you(pl.).
9a)	pák̓ʷ-nu-mi č	I notice you(sg.)
9b)	pák̓ʷ-n-anapi č	I notice you(pl.).
10a)	k̓ʷó-t-Si č	I look at you(sg.).
10b)	k̓ʷó-t-anapi č	I look at you(pl.).
11a)	pápk̓ʷa-t-Si č	I am watching you(sg.).
11b)	pápk̓ʷa-t-anapi č	I am watching you(pl.).

3. In Sliammon, as in many other languages of the world, there are sentences in which the subject of the subordinate clause is the direct object of the transitive predicate in the main clause. In relational grammar this would be called an ascension copy. What is of interest in Sliammon is that the subject of the subordinate clause occurs simultaneously as possessive in the subordinate clause and as direct object in the main clause, as illustrated by the second member of each pair of sentences 12 through 17.

12a)	ǰáǰəyə θ qʷáqʷay	It's strange that you(sg.) are talking.
12b)	ǰáǰəyəy-stu-mi č θ qʷáqʷay	I find it strange that you(sg.) are talking.
13a)	ʔiʔaytin s qʷáqʷay-ap	It's amusing that you(pl.) are talking.
13b)	ʔiʔaytin-st-anapi č s qʷáqʷay-ap	I find it amusing that you(pl.) are talking.
14a)	x̓ə́čtaɯ čxʷ	You(sg.) are sleepy.
14b)	k̓ʷó-nu-mi č θ x̓ə́čtam	I see that you(sg.) are sleepy.
15a)	x̓ə́čtam čəp	You(pl.) are sleepy.
15b)	pákʷ-n-anapi č s x̓ə́čtam-ap	I notice that you(pl.) are sleepy.
16a)	ʔiʔiɬtən čxʷ	You(sg.) are eating.
16b)	k̓ʷó-t-Si č θ ʔiʔiɬtən	I look at you(sg.) eating.
17a)	kʷókʷtəm čəp	You(pl.) are sick.
17b)	pákʷa-t-anapi č s kʷókʷtəm-ap	I see that you(pl.) are sick.

4. With the predicate 'know (a fact)' the subject of the subordinate clause can occur or not occur as the direct object of the main clause.

18a)	ʔáčtam čx^{w}	You(sg.) are sleepy.
18b)	tčx^{w}ə-nu-mi č ə ʔáčtam	I know that you(sg.) are sleepy.
18b')	tex^{w}ə-nix^{w} č ə ʔáčtam	I know that you(sg.) are sleepy.

I have been told that sentence 18b) is the older phrasing and that sentence 18b') is the newer phrasing. If this is so, then this may be an instance of simplification of the grammar in the direction of English. I would like to hear of comparative data from other Salish languages.

Bella Coola Syntax: Negation and Particles

Philip W. Davis
Rice University

Ross Saunders
Simon Fraser University

0.0 We are concerned in this paper with the syntax and semantics of Negation and the class of morphemes that we shall call Particles.[1] The two are treated together because they interact formally, and this interaction illuminates the grammar of each.

0.1 The interplay of Negation and Particles can be seen in the following five sentences:[2]

(1) λap ti-ʔimlk-tx
go man
'The man is going'

(2) λap lū ti-ʔimlk-tx
'The man is still going'

(3) ʔaX^{w} λap-s ti-ʔimlk-tx
Neg go-he man
'The man isn't going'

(4) ʔaX^{w} λap-s lū ti-ʔimlk-tx
'The man isn't going yet'

(5) ʔaX^{w} lū λap-s ti-ʔimlk-tx
'The man isn't going yet'

Syntactically, Particles can be recognized by their variable positioning in positive and negative sentences. In the absence of Negation, they occur after the Comment; in negative sentences, Particles may (sometimes, must. Cf. section 2 below) occur after the negative morpheme ʔaX^{w}.[3] This criterion identifies the following set of elements, given here with a label and some typical glosses.[4]

Particle	Label	Gloss(es)
kʷ	Quotative	'he said'
ma	Dubitative	'maybe'
ʔalu	Attemptive	'try'
ck	Inferential Dubitative	'I figure'
čakʷ	Optative	'I wish/hope'
su	Expectable	'again'
tu	Confirmative	'really'
ku	Surprisative	'so'
lu	Expective	'expected'
a	Interrogative	[yes/no questions]
č	Perfective	'now'
čn	Imperfective	'now'
ǩʷ	Usitative	'usually'
mas	Absolutive	'always'
ks	Individuative	'the one'
ɬū	Persistive	'still, yet'
tū	Non-Contrastive Conjunctive Particle	'and'
ʔi...k	Contrastive Conjunctive Particle	'but'

Table 1

Where semantically compatible, Particles may co-occur; and when they do, the sequencing given in 6 is usually observed.[5]

(6)

kʷ a ma ʔalu su lu tu ku č / ǩʷ / čn ks čakʷ tū / ʔi...k ɬū ck

The criterion of variable positioning according to the presence or absence of Negation also identifies the Imperative morphemes as Particles.

(7) ƛap-X
'Go!'

(8) ʔaXʷ tXʷ ƛap-nu
Neg go-you
'Don't go!'

(9) sp̓-tX
'Hit it!'

(10) ʔaXʷ tXʷ sp̓-ixʷ
Neg hit-you/it
'Don't hit it!'

(11) ks-tXʷ
'Fix it!'

(12) ʔaXʷ tXʷ ks-tuxʷ
Neg fix-you/it
'Don't fix it!'

Bella Coola distinguishes an Intransitive, a Transitive and a Causative paradigm. In the latter two, each combination of Agent and Patient---for two numbers (singular and plural) and three persons---is marked by an appropriate suffix on the Comment. For Intransitive Comments, the person and number of the Agent is marked. Each of these paradigms has an Imperative marker corresponding to each of the second person Agent suffixes in the Indicative mood. The Imperative suffixes for each of the three paradigms are given in Tables II-IV.

Intransitive(e.g. ƛap 'go')

-X 'you(sg.)'	-(n)aXʷ 'you(pl.)'

Table II

Transitive(e.g. sp̓ 'hit')

Patient / Agent	Sg. 1	Sg. 2	Sg. 3	Pl. 1	Pl. 2	Pl. 3
Sg.	c-X	---	t-X	tuɬ-X		t-X
Pl.	c-aXʷ		t-aXʷ	tuɬ-aXʷ	---	t-aXʷ

Table III

Causative(e.g. ks 'fix')

Patient / Agent	Sg. 1	Sg. 2	Sg. 3	Pl. 1	Pl. 2	Pl. 3
Sg.	tum-X	---	t-Xʷ	tumuɬ-X		tutan-X
Pl.	tuman-X		t-aXʷ	tumuɬ-aXʷ	---	tutan-X

Table IV

In Table II the /n/ of the plural appears when the stem ends with a vowel , /y/ or /w/. In Table III the spaces indicated by a dash are filled by the simple reflexive morpheme cut plus the Imperative suffixes of the Intransitive paradigm, i.e. cut-X and cut-aXʷ. The two spaces that are blank represent semantically anomalous combinations and have no manifestation. The spaces marked by a dash in Table IV are filled by the Causative Reflexive timut plus the Intransitive Imperative Suffixes. The empty spaces are again semantically anomalous.

When the Imperative co-occurs with Negation, it takes the shape tX 'you(sg.)'---cf. 8, 10 and 12---or tXʷ 'you(pl.)' and immediately follows ʔaXʷ. The Comment then takes the normal Indicative mood

sg tXʷ

pl tayʷ

suffix, i.e. -nu in 8, -ixʷ in 10 and -tuxʷ in 12.

Where Particles of the Imperative and Non-Imperative class co-occur, the sequence is Imperative plus Non-Imperative.[6]

1.0 In this section we examine the syntactic behavior of ʔaXʷ in more detail. The English distinction of no vs. not is not maintained in Bella Coola; ʔaXʷ expresses both glosses. Thus, ʔaXʷ occurs by itself as an acceptable utterance, and in this respect it is like any contentive in the language. They may all occur in isolation. In what follows we attempt to provide additional evidence of the contentive nature of ʔaXʷ.

1.1 Bella Coola appears to provide a convenient way of identifying embedded sentences, viz., when an Intransitive Comment, e.g. ƛap, appears in an embedded sentence with a third person singular Agent, there is an obligatory -s agreement suffix that occurs on the Comment. This suffix is absent in non-embedded sentences. Compare

(13) ʔaɬnap-iɬ s-ƛap-s
know-we/it go-he
'We know he's going'

(14) ƛap
'He's going'

That the negative morpheme occurs similarly, as in 15 and 16,

(15) ʔaɬnap-iɬ s-ʔaXʷ-s
'We know it's not/he didn't etc.'

(16) ʔaXʷ
'It's not so/He didn't etc.'

further suggests that the negative element is a contentive morpheme as ƛap 'go' is.

Constructions of restrictive modification occur with overt and with covert or deleted heads:

(17) ti-ʔimlk ti-ya-tx
man good
'the man who is good'

(18) ti-ya-tx
'the good one'

In these examples we assume there to be a head that is constrained or restricted to a particular one (or ones) by identifying it as occurring in a constraining proposition. Simply, the head is modified by a sentence in which the head also occurs.[7] Whatever the ultimately correct formal expression of this may be, the constructions of 17 and 18 are paralleled by those in 19 and 20:

(19) ti-ʔimlk ti-ʔaXʷ-tx
'the man who's not'

(20) ti-ʔaXʷ-tx
'the one who's/that's not'

In those instances where the modifying proposition is intransitive, the Agent of the modifying $[\ [\ ]_{Com}\ [\ [\ ]_{Ag}\ ]_{Top}\ ]_S$ is deleted, so that the contentive occurring on the surface is the Comment alone. In 17 and 18, it is the Comment ya of the proposition $[\ [good]_{Com}$ + $[\ [man]_{Ag}\ ]_{Top}\ ]_S$ that modifies the head, 'man'. In 19 and 20, the material that remains is the negative morpheme, implying that ʔaXʷ is (part of) the Comment of a modifying proposition.

Like other contentives, ʔaXʷ may occur alone with the Imperative morpheme:

(21) ʔaXʷ tXʷ
'Don't!'

(22) puɬ-tXʷ
'Bring it!'

The Particles occur with ʔaXʷ as well as with other contentives:

(23) ʔaXʷ lū
'Not yet/It's not yet so done etc.'

(24) ya ɬū
'He's still good'

There is a morpheme ka- 'Unrealized' that precedes Comments.

(25)(i) ʔaɬnap-iɬ s-ka-ɬap-s
'We know he will go'

(ii) ʔaɬnap-iɬ s-ɬap-s
'We know he went'

(26)(i) ta-s-ka-ʔaɬi-naw-tXʷ
-be-they-
'the time they were going to be here, but weren't'

(ii) ta-s-ʔaɬi-naw-tXʷ
'the time they were here'

This morpheme may also occur before ʔaXʷ:

(27) ʔaɬnap-iɬ s-ka-ʔaXʷ ka-ɬap-s
'We know he won't go'

(28) ʔaɬnap-iɬ s-ʔaXʷ ka-ɬap-s
'We know he won't go'

Although the English glosses may be identical for 27 and 28, the Bella Coola utterances are distinct. The ka- preceding ʔaXʷ is not a redundant re-occurrence of the ka- preceding ɬap-s. This can be inferred from the unacceptability of 29:

(29) *ʔaɬnap-iɬ s-ka-ʔaXʷ ɬap-s

Sentence 29 is semantically anomalous. If we gloss ʔaXʷ as 'be not the case that S' and provide more literal glosses for the three sentences above,

(30) (i) =(27) 'We know it is not the case he will go'
(ii) =(28) 'We know it will not be the case he will go'
(iii)=(29) 'We know it will not be the case he went'

then the anomaly of 29 is more apparent. What that sentence claims is that given a realized or actualized state of affairs (that the man has gone), there will be an unrealized negation of it. The

utterance is then semantically contradictory. Sentence 31 shows that this non-occurrence indeed results from a semantic contradiction rather than from some syntactic malfunction:

(31) ʔaɬnap-iɬ s-ka-ʔaXʷ ƛap-s ʔalu

The Attemptive Particle ʔalu entails that the action described by ƛap is not effected; hence, the Unrealized negation of it, ka-ʔaXʷ, now becomes compatible with the proposition that follows it, and it does this independently of a second occurrence of ka-.

1.2 We have tried to show that there is reason to believe that ʔaXʷ Negation is a contentive morpheme on the order of ƛap, ya, ʔimlk, etc. and not simply a grammatical morpheme affixed (or more loosely bound) to a following Comment. The arguments have been both formal and semantic. By these same criteria, other elements that precede recognized Comments, e.g. ʔaɬ- Resultative, nu- with many diverse glosses, tm- 'only/just', sm- 'from the very beginning', etc., must be ajudged to be non-contentives.

2.0 In this section we turn to a more detailed examination of Particles. Above in sentences 4 and 5, we found that two possible locations of a Particle in a sentence were correct. Examples that are analogous to those are 32-46:

(32)(i) ʔaXʷ kʷ ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s kʷ
(33)(i) ʔaXʷ ma ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s ma
(34)(i) ʔaXʷ ʔalu ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s ʔalu
(35)(i) ʔaXʷ ck ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s ck
(36)(i) ʔaXʷ su ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s su

(37)(i) ʔaXʷ tu ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s tu
(38)(i) ʔaXʷ č ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s č
(39)(i) ʔaxʷ čn ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s čn
(40)(i) ʔaXʷ čʷ ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s čʷ
(41)(i) ʔaXʷ mas ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s mas
(42)(i) ʔaXʷ lū ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s lū
(43)(i) ʔaXʷ tū ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s tū
(44)(i) ʔaXʷ tu č ya-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ya-s tu č
(45)(i) ʔaXʷ su ks ƛap-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ƛap-s su ks
(46)(i) ʔaXʷ su č ƛap-s
(ii) ʔaXʷ ƛap-s su č

While there appears to be comparative freedom in the positioning of Particles in negative sentences, not all of them permit this dual placement. Compare 47-54.

(47)(i) ʔaXʷ čakʷ sx-s
(ii)*ʔaXʷ sx-s čakʷ
(48)(i) ʔaXʷ a ya-s
(ii)*ʔaXʷ ya-s a
(49)(i) ʔaXʷ ʔičik ya-s
(ii)*ʔaXʷ ya-s ʔičik
(50)(i) ʔaXʷ lu č ya-s
(ii)*ʔaXʷ ya-s lu č

(51)(i) ʔaXʷ ku ks ya-s
(ii)*ʔaXʷ ya-s ku ks
(52)(i) ʔaXʷ tu ks ya-s
(ii)*ʔaXʷ ya-s tu ks
(53)(i) ʔaXʷ ʔiluk ya-s
(ii)*ʔaXʷ ya-s ʔiluk
(54)(i) ʔaXʷ ʔituk ya-s
(ii)*ʔaXʷ ya-s ʔituk

This second set of Non-Imperative Particles, 47-54, are not acceptable to some speakers. Others will accept all these (ii)-expressions with the exception of 48ii, that seems to be universally incorrect.

We noted in section 0.1 that some of the Non-Imperative Particles may occur in sequence, i.e. co-occur; for example,

(55) λap ʔalu tū ti-ʔimlk-tx
'The man didn't make it to go either'

In this instance reversing the sequence of Particles yields an incorrect utterance as 6 suggests. Since both ʔalu and tū, occurring without the other may directly follow the negative morpheme or contentives such as λap, we might expect to find four possible permutations of 55 when negated. But only three are correct:

(56)(i) ʔaXʷ λap-s ʔalu tū ti-ʔimlk-tx
(ii) ʔaXʷ ʔalu tū λap-s ti-ʔimlk-tx
(iii)ʔaXʷ ʔalu λap-s tū ti-ʔimlk-tx
(iv)*ʔaXʷ tū λap-s ʔalu ti-ʔimlk-tx

It is difficult to establish a principle that will predict the correct/acceptable placements. One that immediately suggests itself is this: the order of Particles as given in 6 must be maintained. That is, if ʔalu precedes tū in positive sentences, in negative ones we may find 56i-iii because all maintain that sequence; and 56iv is incorrect because it violates it. This will work for some combinations; for example, it correctly predicts that, with

respect to ma and č, the incorrect sentence is *ʔaXʷ č λap-s ma. But the principle fails in at least two other ways. First, it is simply violated. The Particles ʔalu and ck must occur in that sequence in positive sentences. The above principle would predict a sentence analogous to 56iv to be incorrect; but ʔaXʷ ck λap-s ʔalu is accepted as well as the three other possibilities. Secondly, the principle simply fails to say anything at all about certain sentences. Above in 33 and 35, ma and ck are shown to be among the freely occurring Particles, i.e. either directly after ʔaXʷ or after the Comment; and by 6 they occur in the sequence ma ck. Yet when they both occur in the same negative sentence, we find the following:

(57)(i) ʔaXʷ λap-s ma ck
(ii)*ʔaXʷ ma ck λap-s
(iii)ʔaXʷ ma λap-s ck
(iv)*ʔaXʷ ck λap-s ma

The incorrectness of iv is correctly predicted; ii should be acceptable, but it is not. Apparently co-occurrence of certain Particles affects the possible positioning in negative sentences. Comparison of the combination of ma ck with ma č (above in this paragraph) indicates this to be idiosyncratic to each combination. There is, then, no general statement that will predict the acceptable positions when Particles occur in combinations in negative sentences.

2.1 We have as yet said nothing of the semantics of Particle placement, viz. whether the alternative positions yield semantically distinct utterances. The answer to this depends in part on the scope of Particles. In 58-61 we schematically represent four possible interpretations:

(58) Neg ⟶ (Comment ⟵ Part)
(59) (Neg ⟶ Comment) ⟵ Part)

(60) (Neg ⟵ Part) ⟶ Comment

(61) (Neg ⟶ Part) ⟶ Comment

The arrows indicate the direction of semantic constraint; that is, in 60 the Particle constrains Negation, and in 61 Negation constrains the Particle. The first two, 58 and 59, are possible interpretations of a sentence such as ʔaXʷ ya-s mas; 60 and 61 are possible interpretations of ʔaXʷ mas ya-s. Thus, paralleling 58-61 we might have 62-65:

(62)(=58) ʔaXʷ ya-s mas
'It's not the case he is always good'
(i.e. once he was not good)

(63)(=59) ʔaXʷ ya-s mas
'It's always the case he's not good'
(i.e. he was not once good)

(64)(=60) ʔaXʷ mas ya-s
'It's always not the case he's good'
(i.e. he was not once good)

(65)(=61) ʔaXʷ mas ya-s
'It's not always the case he's good'
(i.e. once he was not good)

We can determine the scope of Particles by integrating our test sentences into a conversation and noting whether a retort produces an agreement or a disagreement. That is, if speaker A says ʔaXʷ ya-s mas and then speaker B replies with the equivalent of 'He was bad once,' we should find the two in agreement if A's utterance has the meaning of 58. If the exchange produces a disagreement, then A's utterance cannot have meant 58.

(66) A ʔaXʷ ya-s mas
B ma-λap s-ya-s
one-time good-he
'Once he was good'

(67) A ʔaXʷ ya-s mas
B ma-λap s-ʔaXʷ ya-s
'Once he was not good'

(68) A ʔaXʷ mas ya-s
B ma-λap s-ya-s

(69) A ʔaXʷ mas ya-s
B ma-λap s-ʔaXʷ ya-s

The possible conversations given in 66-69 yield a disagreement in each instance. In 66, A must therefore have claimed 'He's always not good', i.e. 59, so that B's answer, 'Once he was good', produces the disagreement. Had the meaning of A's utterance been 58, i.e. 'It's not the case he's always good', then B's reply would have been in accord with A's sentence and would have simply expanded upon it. This implies that Particles following a Comment include a preceding Negation within their scope (and conversely, that Particles are outside the scope of Negation). Conversation 67 yields a disagreement because A has claimed 'He's always good' (and not 'He's not always good'); and B counters 'He was good once'.

That 59 represents the meaning of Neg + Comment + Particle sequences can be seen as well in 70:

(70) ʔaXʷ λap-s tū ti-ʔimlk-tx

Were the meaning of 70 that of 58, it could be glossed as 'It's not the case the man went, too', entailing that someone else did. But 70 has the meaning that neither the man nor the one(s) with whom he is compared went; no one went. Thus 70 is to be glossed 'It's also the case the man didn't go' which reflects 59, not 58.

In 68, A must not have claimed 'It's not always the case he was good', i.e. 61; otherwise B's answer would have been in agreement. If A's utterance has the meaning 'It's always not the case he is good', i.e. 60, then B's reply disagrees with A's, as is the case. In the last conversation, B's reply says 'He was not

good once'; but A has said that he is always not good, and another disagreement is produced.

It appears then that Particles have the material to their left within their semantic scope---a Comment in positive sentences and a Negation and/or Comment in negative sentences depending upon the placement if the Particle. There is a left boundary to this scope. This limitation follows from the non-equivalency of sentences such as 71 and 72:

(71) ʔaɬnap-iɬ s-ʔaXʷ ƛap-s tū
'We know he's not going either'

(72) ʔaɬnap-iɬ tū s-aXʷ ƛap-s
'We, too, know he's not going'

These show that, in the surface representations, the Particles' scope extends leftward to the first sentence boundary, but not beyond.

We have determined that ʔaXʷ ya-s mas has the meaning of 59 and that ʔaXʷ mas ya-s, the meaning of 60, but we have not yet considered whether these meanings themselves are distinct and hence whether 63 and 64 represent differing underlying structures. Both entail that it is true of whatever Topic-Agent they are predicated of, that that Agent never once went. The inference may then be that all negative sentences with a Particle directly following Negation are paraphrases of negative sentences that differ only in having the Particle not directly following Negation, but moved one place to the right. Discussion of the following sentences will show that this is not so and that in the case of mas it is an "accident" the entailments of the two placements are compatible.

(73)(i) ʔaXʷ ƛap-s tū ti-ʔimlk-tx
(ii) ʔaXʷ tū ƛap-s ti-ʔimlk-tx

Above in 70(=73i), we saw that ʔaXʷ ƛap-s tū ti-ʔimlk-tx implied that no one succeeded in going, neither the man nor some other

individual with whom he is compared with respect to the act of going. When that sentence is considered along with 73ii, ʔaXʷ tū ƛap-s ti-ʔimlk-tx, we find that that implication is not required. That is, the speaker in describing the actions of a single person (A) may have said that he (A) is doing this and that, but not the other, and then added 'It's also not the case that he's going', i.e. 60, without necessarily implying that there does not exist some second person who is. But the speaker, alternatively, may have been describing the actions of two people (A and B) and noted that B is not going and then added of A that 'It's also not the case that A is going'. Here, the implication is that neither A nor B will go, as it is in 73i. Sentence 73ii, then can be ambiguous when examined out of context, while 73i is not; 73i always seems to imply a comparison of the Topic-Agent with some distinct individual, while 73ii does not. Saying it another way, 73ii can mean more than 73i. This difference is also reflected in native speakers' explanations of when it is appropriate to use one or the other expression. Sentence 73i (and others on the model of it) is appropriately used to answer a question; or, in the presence of an indecisive conversation between two people, a third person---who is better acquainted with the facts---may butt in with 73i to resolve the confusion. Sentence 73i is more bound to a context than 73ii. As implied by the semantic schema of 59, Negation and the Comment that is negated constitute a formal unit that the Particle constrains when it occurs last in the sequence as in 73i. To compare 'not-going' with some other occurrence of it, there has to have occurred somewhere in the conversation a previous mention of the 'not-going' that is the basis of comparison. This explains, then, why 73i and sentences like it are more contextually bound. They require the participants be conscious of a specific Negation + Comment to facilitate a Negation + Comment + Particle sequence,

whereas a Negation + Particle + Comment sequence as in 73ii requires only consciousness of a series of possible activities, states, etc. To employ 73i of A alone, the speaker would have to compare the 'not-going' of A with the 'not-going' of A, a semantic anomaly at the very least.

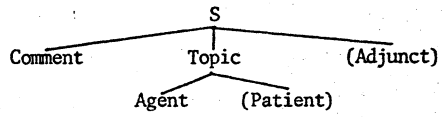
2.2 As noted above in passing, there is some variation among speakers of Bella Coola concerning the placement of Particles. We first note areas of agreement: (i) in negative sentences all Particles may precede the Comment and follow ʔaXʷ; (ii) in positive sentences Particles always follow the Comment; (iii)some Particles---those listed in the (ii)-sentences of 32-46---may alternatively may alternatively follow the Comment in negative sentences. Disagreement exists with respect to the particular Particles that may occur as described in iii. One speaker (MS) allows all but Question to so occur. This same speaker also allows dual occurrence of all Particles both after Negation and after the Comment, with the exception of ʔi...k Contrastive Conjunctive Particle, a Question and ƛ̓akʷ Optative; for example,

(74) ʔaXʷ mas ƛap-s mas ti-ʔimlk-tx

There is an odd correspondence in that the ones MS may not use twice in the same negative sentence are the same three a more conservative speaker (CS) will not permit to occur after the Comment in negative sentences.

3.0 In this final section we attempt to incorporate the above observations on Negation and Particles into the syntactic structures of the language as we have developed them to this point. In 75 we give the structure attributed to simple, positive sentences (cf. also fn. 3):

(75)



In treating Negation generally, there are two major, opposing views: that Negation is a higher predicate of an embedded S (Lakoff 1970 and 1971) and that Negation is an underlying constituent of the S in which it appears on the surface (Jackendoff 1972). Following Klima 1964, many (e.g. Culicover 1976) distinguish sentence from constituent negation. We will first present a possible description of Negation and then incorporate Particles into it.

3.1 English permits sentences that appear to show two negations, one a sentence negation and one a (VP-)constituent negation:

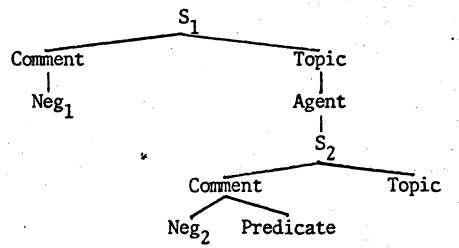
(76) He's nòt, nót working (he's just fooling around some)

Bella Coola has no correlates to this type:

(77) *ʔaXʷ ʔaXʷ ksnmak-s

Yet there does appear to exist an opposition between sentences in which Negation is more closely bound to the Comment and those in which it is not, viz. 73i and ii. If we equate the first with constituent Negation and the second with sentence Negation, we may tentatively describe Negation by modifying 75 in this way:

(78)



(Notice that what we have to this point called Comment is now termed the Predicate.) Such a structure immediately poses

difficulties that it predicts sentences such as 77 to be possible, yet they are not. Rivero (1970), in dealing with a similar problem in Spanish, suggests a solution (p. 665) in terms of a surface structure constraint: "each S-node can dominate only one particle no." The argument for using surface structure constraints rests to a large degree upon sentences in Spanish in which two no's may appear; it is only in derived structures in which the two end up dominated by all the same S's that the constraint applies. Bella Coola differs from Spanish in that it never allows both Neg_1 and Neg_2 to appear overtly in the same sentence. The constraint can then be stated in terms of 78 and not some intermediate or surface structure.

In section 1 we noted that ?aX^{w} occurs with a person-number marker -s (cf. 3-5, 13 and 15). Negation never occurs with any other of the possible person-number markers:

(79)(i) *?aɬnap-iɬ s-?aX^{w}-c
-I

(ii) *?aɬnap-iɬ s-?aX^{w}-nu
-you

(iii) *?aɬnap-iɬ s-?aX^{w}-aw
-they

Further, the incorrectness of 80i and 80ii compared with the acceptable 80iii and 80iv,

(80)(i) *?aX^{w} ti-?imlk-tx

(ii) *?aɬnap-iɬ s-?aX^{w}-s ti-?imlk-tx

(iii) ya ti-?imlk-tx
'The man is good'

(iv) ?aɬnap-iɬ s-?aX^{w}-s
'We know that it's/he's not'

indicates that Negation cannot be predicated of nominal-like elements, e.g. ti-?imlk-tx. Other terms that elicit third person singular agreement suffixes in Bella Coola are sentences themselves:

(81) ?aɬnap-iɬ s-ya-s tu s-λap-aw
'We know that it's indeed good they went'

Sentences such as 15, 16, 21 and 23 and phrases such as 19 and 20 are all heavily context bound, as one would expect, and in all cases there is a "missing" positive proposition immediately recoverable from the (non-)linguistic context. They are, probably, examples of ellipsis. If the structure of Negation is as given in 78, four aspects of Negation are relatively easily accounted for. First, elision has a separate constituent to operate upon; in 78 it simply selects the Topic of S_1 for deletion. In this connection we observe that that same Topic-Agent-S_2 may be replaced by a pronoun (cf. Davis and Saunders 1977):

(82) ?aɬnap-iɬ s-?aX^{w}-s tX^{w}
'We know that wasn't the time'

Second, the constraint that -s is the only person-number marker to occur with Negation is predicted since S_2 is the only possible Topic-Agent of Negation, and sentence agreement is always third person singular. Third, since ka- Unrealized is prefixed to Comments and independently to ?aX^{w}, the structure of 78 allows us to state that both generally and correctly. And fourth, 78 explains the "contentive" behavior of Negation observed in section 1.

However, negative sentences in Bella Coola present an additional anomaly. Consider 83:

(83)(i) ?aX^{w} λap-s ti-?imlk-tx

(ii) *?aX^{w} λap-Ø ti-?imlk-tx

We have already remarked that an obligatory -s on third person singular Predicates has served as a reliable index of embeddedness. Its absence in clauses of restrictive modification, as in 17 and 18, in our framework results from the deletion of the Topic-Agent before agreement suffixes are added (cf. Davis and Saunders 1973). In this respect, negative clauses of restrictive modification

are regular. Compare the phrases of 84:

(84)(i) ti-ʔimlk ti-ʔaXʷ ya-tx

(ii) *ti-ʔimlk ti-ʔaXʷ ya-s-tx

The problem is then why 83i, but not 83ii. The answer may be simply that negative sentences are indeed embedded. Such embedding would not be unique in Bella Coola, but its obligatoriness would be. Consider sentences 85 and 86:

(85) ka-ʔaɬi-Ø snac

'(when) Snac will be here'

(86) ka-ʔaɬi-s snac

'(when) Snac will be here'

and this short conversation consisting of a question and possible answers:

(87)(i) paxʷiks s-ka-ʔaɬ-ixʷ wa-suɬ-nu-c
when -paint-you/it -house-your-

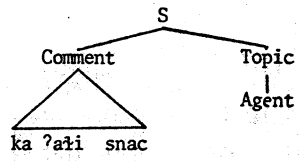
'When are you going to paint your house?'

(ii) *ka-ʔaɬi-Ø snac

(iii) ka-ʔaɬi-s snac

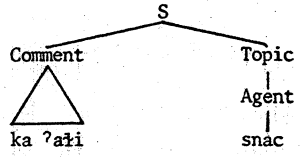
Sentences 85 and 86 show that -s may or may not occur, but it is a mistake to conclude that the two are paraphrases (The English glosses do not help.) and that in some sentences -s is optional. It is 87 that shows this conclusion to be incorrect. The question requires information that answers 'when?', and in Bella Coola this new, unknown information must lie in the Comment of the answer (cf. Davis and Saunders 1973). Thus, if the answer is 'When Snac will be here', that material must all function as a Comment, i.e. as a sentence embedded under Comment. This explains why 87ii is wrong in this context (It doesn't answer the question.) and also why 87iii is ka-ʔaɬi-s with the -s. It is embedded, and the -s obligatorily appears. The structure of 87iii is

(88)



while the structure of 87ii is 89:

(89)



The Agent of 88 is not overtly expressed, but it is understood that 'when Snac will be here' is predicated of 'that I will paint my house'; and it can be explicitly stated.

(90) ka-ʔaɬi-s snac s-ka-ʔaɬ-ic wa-suɬ-c-c
-I/it -house-my-

'I'll paint my house when Snac is here'

(Lit. 'It's when Snac will be here that I'll paint my house')

Returning to Negation, we see now that is not unique in occurring with -s; but it is unique in that that is the only way it can occur. It is as if Bella Coola does not permit the expression 'The man is not going', but only 'It's not the case that the man is going'. A similar phenomenon occurs in Kawaiisu (Southern-Numic sub-family of Uto-Aztecan) and is discussed in Munro ms.

The proposed description of Negation given in 78 may also provide an explanation for this, since S_2 would always be embedded in negative expressions and would then always occur with the overt marker of agreement -s rather than the alternative -Ø marker. Notice, however, that this would not account for constituent negation which, as well, always evokes an -s. These constituently negated sentences may be the set that are more comparable to 86.

Both, for example, occur in constrained conversational contexts as answers to questions and so forth.

There is one final problem involving the form of negative sentences. Embedded sentences in Bella Coola implicate an s- prefix. Cf. s-ya-s and s-λap-aw in 81, s-ka-aɬ-ic in 90, and others above, but Ø-ka-ʔaɬi-s snac in 86. That prefix is absent in negative expressions:

(91) *ʔaXʷ s-λap-s ti-ʔimlk-tx

In a previous paper (Davis and Saunders 1974), we argued that this s- was an automatic (and, hence, meaningless) accretion of sentences in certain syntactic positions, e.g. embedded as Topic-Agents and Topic-Patients. If that were true, then 91 should be correct as 92 is:

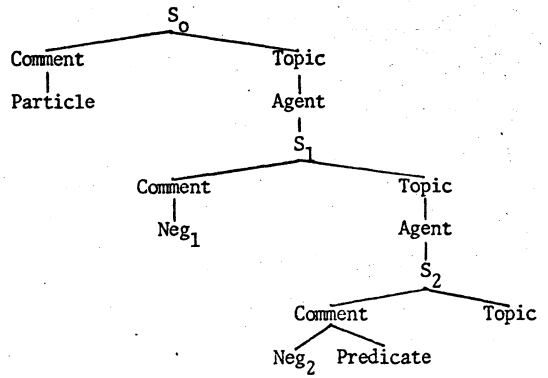
(92) ya s-λap-s ti-ʔimlk-tx
'It's good the man is going'

Such a prediction may be avoided by assuming that there is a rule of Negation Lowering in Bella Coola that appends Neg_1 to S_2 to the left of the Comment and that this rule precedes the addition of the prefix s-. This would have the effect of removing (pruning) S_1 and thus removing the embedded status of S_2 and thus avoiding s-. (Our inclination now is that s- is not "meaningless" and that in Bella Coola, at least, s- in all its occurrences is closely associated with prepositions. All such s-S's are headless clauses of restrictive modification. Cf. Davis and Saunders In prep. b.)

3.2 Particles, as well as Negation, have been treated as higher predicates. Steele (1975), for example, treats them as such in a study of "modals", a class of items that includes what we have here called Particles. These higher predicates are then lowered, as Negation may be, into the sentence of which they are predicated. Although there is no formal indication in Bella Coola that Particles are contentives in the way Negation seems to be a contentive, we

may expand 78 to include them as follows:

(93)



According to one of the typological constraints on the positioning of Particles in sentences that Steele proposes, Bella Coola places them after the first constituent of the sentence in which they occur.[8] If Neg_1 is absent, that positive is always after the Comment of S_2. This happens when S_2 is position and also when the Comment of S_2 is constituently negated. When S_2 is sentence-negated, Neg_1 is first lowered (if we assume that rule), thereby replacing the Comment of S_2 as the first sentence constituent; and Particles by the same rule of placement, then follow Neg_1.

This structure allows for the placement of Particles in a relatively neat fashion and explains, as well, why Particles are never within the semantic domain of Neg, viz., Particles, by 93, can be predicated of S's containing Neg, but not the reverse. All this works nicely even when Imperative is incorporated; following this model, it, too, would seem to be a higher predicate intermediate between Particle and Neg_1. Notice that Imperative never occurs with constituent negation, Neg_2. But this seem reasonable; given what constituent negation means and its boundedness

to context, to predicate Imperative of such negation would be as semantically odd as the predication of Imperative of indirect discourse would be.

It is the incorporation of sentences such as 57iii and 74 that are troublesome. Their existence seems to imply the dual occurrence of Particle somewhere within 93. We have determined that the placement of Particles can be meaningful. That difference is in part formally accounted for by 93 and the differential application of the rule of Particle Lowering---placing Particle after the Comment of S_2 when Neg_2 is present, but after Neg_1 when it is present. This says nothing about the sentences 57iii and 74; assuming they are not paraphrases, requires still further modification. This might be solved as follows. In the same way Imperative was incorporated into the structure of 93 between Particle and Neg_1, we distinguish between $Particle_1$ and $Particle_2$ allowing $Part_2$ to occur as a Comment between Neg_1 and Neg_2 + Predicate.

There is some slight evidence that this is correct. In introducing the sequences of Particles in 6, we qualified that statement of order with "usually". The following two sentences are correct:

(94)(i) ƛap kʷ ma
(ii) ƛap ma kʷ

and a difference in meaning is claimed to exist between them. One explanation given of this difference is this: 94i is the "real way of talking"; A tells B that he, A, may (ma) go, and then B reports that information using ƛap kʷ ma. 94ii is "like as if it's a question, just like I'm asking if he'll be going." Additional evidence comes from the dual appearance of Particles as in 74. In texts (Davis and Saunders In prep. a) we find tu Confirmative occurring twice:

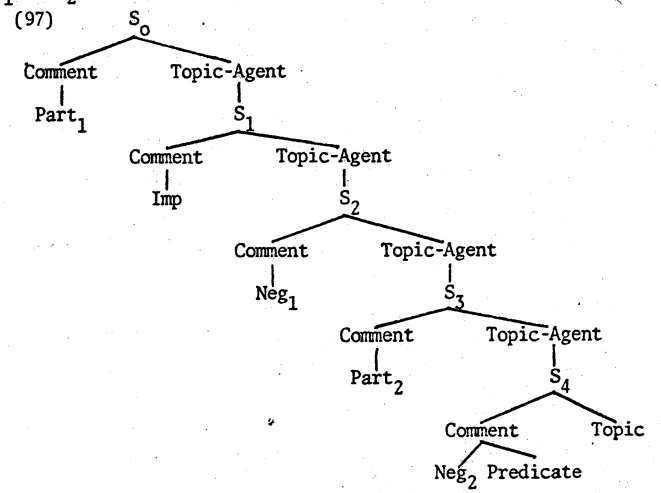
(95) ʔaɬ-ʔay-s kʷ tu tu ku
Resultative-do-he Quotative Confirmative Confirmative Surprisative
'Sure enough, he did exactly as he planned'

And in

(96) tix kʷ ʔi lu c̓i k tu c̓ ta-syut-tX
be him Quotative Contrastive Expective Perfective Contrastive Confirmative Perfective spirit
'It was the spirit'

the discontinuous ʔi...k appears to adopt the position of the infixed material lu c̓i, but c̓ ~ c̓i Perfective occurs twice, both before and after tu. Alternative orders of Particles and the double occurrence of Particles, esp. that in 96, may find an explanation in the $Part_1$-$Part_2$ distinction and the hierarchialization it implies.

(97)

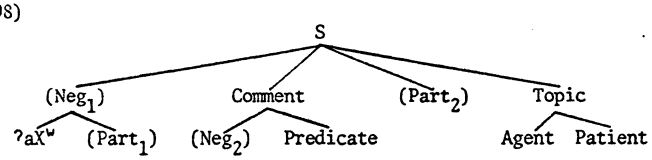


This raises a problem that the structure of 93 avoided; namely,

$Part_2$ now seems to fall within the domain of Neg_1, a result that is not confirmed elsewhere. This structure also contains a curious redundancy, i.e. $Part_1$-Neg_1 and $Part_2$-Neg_2. This may follow from a distinction between sentence and constituent negation. If both exist, one might expect them to be similar in form.

3.3 Langacker (1974) distinguishes the "objective content" of a proposition from whatever remains. This is similar to what we have called the Narrated Event (Saunders and Davis 1977b).[9] By Narrated Event we intend the historical event, state etc. independent of the telling of that information in the Speech Situation. In the telling, the Narrated Event is part of the Narration (Langacker's objective content) which now includes information that relates the Narrated Event to the Speech Situation. A simple example of the latter is deixis. The Particles of Bella Coola and Negation seem to fall into a category of information that may be called relational. As Langacker points out, this second information type may be accounted for by simply extending the structures that account for objective content to incorporate relational content. This is what yields the "higher predicate" analysis of 93 and 97. There is, of course, no guarantee such an approach is the correct one; it raises problems as well as solving them. A simpler, less abstract solution would be to assume a structure something like 98:

(98)

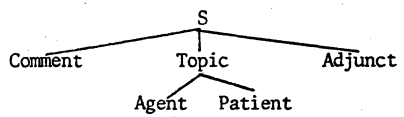


Notes

[1]Bella Coola is a Salishan language spoken on the north central coast of British Columbia, Canada. We wish to express our gratitude to those who have helped us to an understanding of their language, especially Charles Snow and Margaret Siwallace. We want also to acknowledge financial support by the National Science Foundation (SOC 73-05713 A01 and BNS 73-05713 A02) and the Canada Council (S73-1973 and S75-0225) that has made this work possible.

[2]The shape ɬū occurs after vowels and resonants (m n l w y); otherwise, lū occurs. The prefix ti- and the suffix -tx are deictics that we gloss here as 'the'. Cf. Davis and Saunders 1975 for detail.

[3]Bella Coola is a VSO language. In Davis and Saunders 1973, we presented an underlying structure as follows:



The Patient and Adjunct constituents are optional. Adjunct may be further expanded as S or as Preposition plus Object. Non-demonstrative pronouns as Agents and Patients are generally deleted (cf. Davis and Saunders 1976). Because of this we find sentences with a surface representation that consists solely of a Comment.

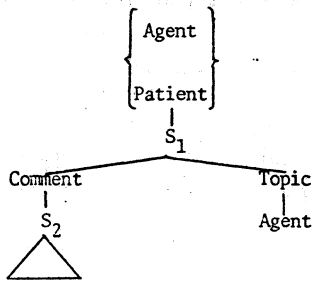
[4]The semantics of Particles is treated in Saunders and Davis 1976a, 1976b, 1977a and 1977b. Some of these have ablauted variants: ck ~ cki, č ~ či and k̓ʷ ~ k̓ʷu. The Particle ʔi...k is

discontinuous and occurs with tu, lu, su, c̓i, k̓ʷu filling the middle position. Some of these labels, e.g. Dubitative and Inferential Dubitative, are taken from Newman ms.

[5]Two of these, ku and lu, never occur in isolation without some other Particle, e.g. ku ks 'so X was/were the one(s) who' and lu c̓ 'already'.

[6]Several of the Particles have a grammatically determined variant shape when they follow the Imperative or the Exhortative -it: c̓ ~ ac̓, c̓n ~ ac̓n, k̓ʷ ~ ak̓ʷ, tū ~ atū, tu ~ atu, lu c̓ ~ alu c̓, ɬū ~ iɬū.

[7]The structure of restrictive modification is assumed to be



The Topic of S_1 is the 'head' and S_2, as Comment, is predicated of that Topic, thus constraining it. S_2 also contains a recurrence or the S_1 Topic lexical item, and the occurrence in S_2 is deleted. The deletion of that identical lexical item in S_2 accounts for the absence of the -s suffix, third person singular, that would otherwise be expected on Intransitive Comments in embedded sentences. Pronominal heads, e.g. 'he who...', yield forms like 18. The pronoun head is deleted. Modified heads that are not deleted are moved to the left of S_2 or remain in their underlying positions to the right of S_2. Cf. Davis and Saunders 1973 and 1974

for details.

[8]There is one exception to this: ?ik̓aXʷ 'no', where the Contrastive Conjunctive Particle ?i...k occurs without infixed material and appears initially before ?aXʷ. This is a frozen form and is not productive. Notice as well that k? ⟶ k̓.

[9]These distinctions are not new. Cf. also Jakobson ms.

References

Culicover, Peter W. 1976. Syntax. New York: Academic Press.

Davis, Philip W. and Ross Saunders. 1973. Bella Coola syntax. To appear in Linguistic Structures of Native Canada, edited by Eung-Do Cook and Jonathan Kaye. Lisse, Belgium: Peter de Ridder Press.

———. 1974. Bella Coola s-. Paper presented to the XIII Conference on American Indian Languages.

———. 1975. Bella Coola nominal deixis. Lg. 51.845-58.

———. 1976. Pronominal coreference in Bella Coola. Paper presented to the XV Conference on American Indian Languages.

———. In prep. a. Bella Coola Texts.

———. In prep. b. The s-/si- prefixes in Bella Coola.

Jackendoff, Ray S. 1972. Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Jakobson, Roman. ms. Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb.

Klima, Edward S. 1964. Negation in English. In The Structure of Language, edited by Jerry A. Fodor and Jerrold J. Katz. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Lakoff, George. 1970. Pronominalization, negation, and the analysis of adverbs. In Readings in English Transformational Grammar, edited by Roderick A. Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and Co.

———. 1971. On generative semantics. In Semantics, edited by Danny D. Steinberg and Leon A. Jakobovits. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1974. Movement rules in functional perspective. Lg. 50.630-64.

Munro, Pamela. ms. On the form of negative sentences in Kawaiisu.

Newman, Stanley S. ms. Bella Coola grammar.

Rivero, María-Luisa. 1970. A surface structure constraint on negation in Spanish. Lg. 46.640-66.

Saunders, Ross and Philip W. Davis. 1976a. Bella Coola conjunctive particle usage. To appear in Linguistics.

———. 1976b. The expression of the cooperative principle in Bella Coola. To appear in Heritage Record.

———. 1977a. Bella Coola contrastive conjunctive particles. Paper presented to the XVI Conference on American Indian Languages.

———. 1977b. Bella Coola su. IJAL 43.211-17.

Steele, Susan. 1975. On some factors that affect and effect word order. In Word Order and Word Order Change, edited by Charles N. Li. Austin: University of Texas Press.