THE CONTROL SYSTEM OF BELLA COOLA

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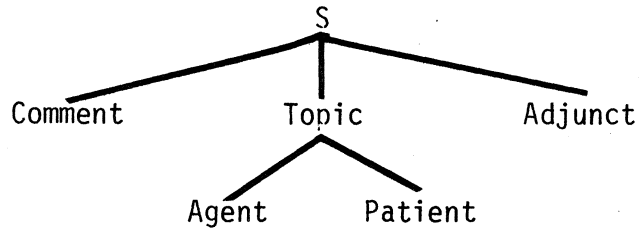
0. Our concern in this paper[1] is CONTROL and its associated phenomena in Bella Coola. In other discussions of CONTROL in Salishan languages, it has been considered to be a major category intersecting only with the transitive paradigm.[2] Bella Coola appears to be different in that CONTROL extends to the intransitive paradigm.[3] The interpenetration of CONTROL with the subsystems of aspect and focus present the linguist with a formidable array of problems as well as the opportunity to gain insights into the cognitive structures lying behind linguistic expression.

We begin by asserting that CONTROL is basically not a visual component of the NARRATED EVENT for which it is asserted, delimited, or denied.[4] speaker may pick up visual clues from an EXECUTOR's performance of an ACT to infer a specific degree of CONTROL, but his specification of the degree of CONTROL exercised during the performance of an ACT is largely an exercise in personal judgement based on knowledge not necessarily derived from the ACT itself. In many cases, knowledge of an EXECUTOR's intentions seems to be a key factor in coming to such judgements. However, others have pointed out and we ourselves have rediscovered that while intention and CONTROL are related, one cannot describe CONTROL in terms of intentions.

What appears to be true for Bella Coola (although Thompson (1976) finds the opposite for ~~Thompson~~ Clallam) is that for certain predicates, namely

action predicates both transitive and intransitive, the EXECUTOR of the ACT is viewed as being endowed with both the intention of the ACT and the normal or FULL CONTROL necessary for its customary performance. For example, if a speech act describes a NARRATED EVENT concerning Nanus drinking a glass of water, an otherwise unmarked sentence implies that that Nanus wanted to drink water and that he was in FULL CONTROL of all the components of the ACT which would result in the water reaching his stomach. When the speaker has knowledge which indicates otherwise, he must mark this in his sentence. For example, if what Nanus really wanted to drink was rye, then the unmarked sentence describing his drinking water would not be appropriate to the NARRATED EVENT mediated by the speaker's knowledge of his true intent.[5] In action predicates, the Agent constituent of the Topic is the EXECUTOR of the ACT. If, as in transitives, a Patient constituent is present, it usually is the OBJECT or GOAL of the ACT.

Another component of the system is what we call the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION. We have viewed the underlying structure of simple sentences in Bella Coola as being:



with Patient under Topic and Adjunct under S as optional consituents.[6]

With transitives, Patient is not optional, while Adjunct is. We consider the obligatory Comment and Topic constituents to constitute the expression of a NUCLEAR PROPOSITION. There are a number of reasons for this, not all of which are germane to our discussion here. We note

first that the pronominal agreement suffixes of the Comment refer to Topic constituents. Second, when the narrative focus requires that normally Adjunctial elements such as TIME,PLACE, or INSTRUMENT be foregrounded, Bella Coola has ways of promoting these elements into the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION, as either Comments (when they consitute new information) or as Topic constituents (when they represent given information). Third, the personae of a NARRATED EVENT appear to be at least partially ranked, with the EXECUTOR and GOAL terms deemed most important in unmarked sentences. With action predicates, the grammatical Agent constituent of Topic is always the EXECUTOR of the ACT. The grammatical Patient is the GOAL of the ACT. Other elements such as BENEFICIARY and INSTRUMENT (if expressed) will occur in the Adjunct as prepositional phrases. They may be promoted to the status of Topic constituent, but such sentences are marked to show that such a shift in the normal constituency of the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION has occurred.[7]

1. FULL CONTROL

Consider sentences 1.) and 2.).

1.) tx-is Vance ti-q'1sx^{w}-tx[8]

cut-it/he rope

a i- 'Vance cut the rope.'

ii-'Vance is cutting the rope.'

2.) tx-a-tus Numucta Vance x ti-q'1sx^{w}-tx

cut-Int-he/she prep

a i- 'Numucta made Vance cut the rope.'

ii- 'Numucta let Vance cut the rope.'

In both 1.) and 2.), a NARRATED EVENT in which an EXECUTOR (Vance) cuts a GOAL (a rope) is described. In 1.) the simple unmarked transitive sentence, Vance is vested with the intention and the CONTROL required to perform the ACT. Vance, the EXECUTOR, occurs as the grammatical Agent and the GOAL occurs as the grammatical Patient. The entire sentence manifests the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION. The two glosses (i-ii) indicate that Tense is not overtly marked and is determined pragmatically. What is important here is that the domain of the EXECUTOR's CONTROL is over the ACT itself and that it is the requisite FULL CONTROL needed to perform the ACT.

Sentence 2.) contains a Causative Comment derived in two stages from the same transitive root found in 1.). There are a number of observations to make at this point. First, note that the two glosses 2ai-ii) strongly indicate that rather than semantic 'CAUSATION', what is involved here is CONTROL. This CONTROL is exercised by an added persona (Numucta---who is not an active participant in the act of cutting) over the EXECUTOR of the ACT (Vance). In other words, the domain of CONTROL is another persona, here specifically the actual EXECUTOR of the ACT. In 2ai), Numucta compels Vance to execute the action. Implied is Vance's lack of intent to do so. In 2aii), she permits Vance to cut the rope. The implication here is that Vance wanted to do it, but required her permission or connivance to do it. In both cases, the EXECUTOR's performance of the ACT is a direct result of Numucta's CONTROL. While the term will shortly be diluted in appropriateness, we shall call personae, such as Numucta a CONTROLLER. In active sentences that have CONTROL explicitly marked, the CONTROLLER is always the grammatical Agent. The EXECUTOR is then expressed as the grammatical Patient. The NUCLEAR PROPOSITION manifested by such a

Causative sentence thus contains a two-term Topic, both of whose constituents must be animate.

The addition of the CONTROLLER as Agent and the shift of the EXECUTOR to Patient are accompanied by a shift of the GOAL of the ACT into the Adjunct of the sentence, i.e., out of the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION. This removal of GOAL from the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION to expression in the Adjunct is not a direct consequence of Causative inflection. Note that the Causative pronominal suffixes cannot be directly affixed to a transitive root (Newman, 1969). They may however, be directly affixed to the so-called 'causative roots' (Newman, ibid.) or to intransitive stems. The intransitivizing suffix -a- must first be affixed to transitive roots to derive an intransitive stem to which the Causative pronominals may be affixed. However, other non-Causative intransitive pronominal suffixes may be used with such a derived stem. Consider 3.).

3.) tx-a-Ø Vance x ti-q'lsx^{w}-tx

'Vance is cutting a rope.'

The function of -a- is to generalize. Sentences 1.) and 3.) are not paraphrases. In 1.), it is a specific rope Vance is cutting; in 3.), it can be any rope. Sentence 3.) represents a shift in narrative focus from the transitive ACT of cutting a specific object to the ACT of cutting itself.

The suffixation of the Causative subject-object pronominal suffixes (hereafter CSO) in effect retransitivizes the intransitivized stem in -a, thus reconstituting a two term Topic for the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION allowing for the addition of the CONTROLLER as Agent and shifting the EXECUTOR to

Patient. The occurrence of two animate terms in Topic in Causative sentences foregrounds the relationship of CONTROL and establishes its domain.

Sentences 1.) and 2.) share the specification of FULL CONTROL vested in the term that occurs as the grammatical Agent, be that Agent an EXECUTOR as in 1.) or a CONTROLLER as in 2.). They differ as to the domain of that FULL CONTROL. In 1.), the domain of CONTROL is the ACT; in 2.), it is over an EXECUTOR.

There is another gloss for 2.) which presents a problem. Consider 2b.)

2. b- 'Numucta cut the rope for Vance.'

There may appear at first to be no systematic relationship between 2b.) and 2ai-ii.) in terms of CONTROL. We shall argue that there is a pattern in the semantics of these terms.

First, we note that the gloss 2b.) appears to describe a NARRATED EVENT quite different than that described by either 2ai) or 2aii). Here Numucta is the EXECUTOR of the ACT and Vance is the BENEFICIARY. Both occur in the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION, but it appears their roles have changed. To bring it to a point, how can this benefactive gloss of 2b.) be reconciled with the type of CONTROL we found in the 2ai-ii) glosses? Perhaps the answer lies in the type of benefactive expressed by 2b.). The context in which 2b.) is appropriate is when Vance has some obligation, self-imposed or imposed from without, to cut the rope, but for whatever reason cannot do it. Numucta replaces Vance as the expected EXECUTOR and performs

the ACT. It is in this sense that Vance is the BENEFICIARY of Numucta's activity. In this replacive sense, Numucta controls Vance's performance---she controls it in that she does it in his place . This replacive relationship is the relationship of the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION. Thus one can view the forcing, enabling, and replacing glosses of 2.) as possible manifestations of a CONTROL relationship between two animate personae.[9] The relationship is is that of FULL CONTROL, but FULL CONTROL between personae can take on many different forms because relations between animates are more complex and variable than those between an EXECUTOR and his ACT.

CSO pronominal suffixes occur directly affixed to intransitive roots. When these intransitives are non-statives and their usual Agent is an EXECUTOR, they are glossed with the same variety as we saw in 2.), that is, the compelling, enabling, and replacing glosses. The domain of FULL CONTROL with intransitive action predicates is as before over an EXECUTOR. If, however, the root is a stative as in 4.)

4.) piλ'-tus Vance ti-q'lsx^{w}-tx
filthy

'Vance made the rope filthy.'

then we see that FULL CONTROL is exercised by the grammatical Agent over the Patient as EXECUTOR to GOAL, exactly as is the domain of FULL CONTROL expressed by unmarked transitive sentences such as 1.) Here it does not matter if the Patient is animate. If we substitute for rope, the name Saaxwan, the domain remains the same and the sentence would be glossed as

'Vance made Saaxwan filthy.' In Bella Coola, the grammatical Agent of Statives is not an EXECUTOR; and since FULL CONTROL has EXECUTOR as its domain the replacive gloss is not possible. Consistent with this, statives cannot be transitivized with the SO pronominals (the transitive subject-object pronominal suffixes).

We summarize our results so far in the matrix of Figure 1.

Figure 1.

			Domain of Control	
			ACT	EXECUTOR
Degree of Control	FULL	v.t.	-SO	-a-CSO
		v.i.a.	-S	-CSO
		v.i.s.	-CSO	NA

Figure 1. illustrates the morphemes which mark FULL CONTROL in the two domains of CONTROL: ACT and EXECUTOR for transitive (v.t.), active intransitive (v.i.a.) and intransitive stative (v.i.s.) roots. The cell containing -S representing the intransitive Subject pronominal suffixes was not treated above, but is obvious. Action intransitives have EXECUTOR as the grammatical Agent; there is no Patient, and thus the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION has but a single term. The domain of CONTROL can only be the ACT. The cell containing NA (not applicable) is so marked because the Bella Coola cannot see the relationship as valid. That is, in the NARRATED EVENT X makes Y make Z tight , they cannot express the predicate 'tight' as a direct FULL CONTROL function of X's CONTROL over Y. A NUCLEAR PROPOSITION in Bella Coola has but two

Topic terms.

A Stative with normal inflection contains no EXECUTOR in the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION. Its grammatical Agent is an EXPERIENCER. When a CSO is affixed to a Stative, it can cause only one shift and that is the shift of EXPERIENCER to grammatical Patient after the addition of an EXECUTOR.

2. LIMITED CONTROL[10]

Consider sentence 5.).

5.) tx-a-nix-ic Vance x ti-q'lsx^{w}-tx

LC-him/I

'I figure Vance cut the rope.'

Sentence 5.) may concern the same historical event described in sentence 1.), but expressed here as a judgement or conclusion of its Agent-Speaker. We find here an array of constituents analogous to those in 2.), the Causative sentence. The added persona, the speaker, is again a type of CONTROLLER and the EXECUTOR of the ACT is the grammatical Patient. The same shifts of EXECUTOR to Patient and GOAL to Adjunct occur. The transitive root is generalized and intransitivized with -a- as in the Causative sentence. Likewise the speaker's judgement of LIMITED CONTROL is not directed to Vance's ACT. It is the expression of the speaker-CONTROLLER's uncertainty concerning Vance and what he is doing. Here the speaker has not witnessed the event. Whatever evidence he has to make the assertion is mental, derived from his knowledge of Vance's customary activities, his

personal preferences, his most recent intentions, and so on. Whether or not the speaker-CONTROLLER figures Vance is cutting depends on what he knows about Vance and not what he knows about cutting. Vance is the pivot for the judgement; thus the relation of LIMITED CONTROL exists between the two terms of the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION, the LIMITED CONTROLLER (the speaker) and the EXECUTOR (Vance).

Sentence 6.) shows that the judgement of LIMITED CONTROL is not limited to speaker-CONTROLLERs.

6.) tx-a-nix-is Numucta Vance x ti-q'1sx^{w}-tx

'Numucta thinks Vance cut the rope.'

Here as in 5.) Numucta does not know whether Vance cut the rope or not.

The LIMITED CONTROL morpheme occurs directly suffixed to intransitive roots both actives and statives. As in the case of the CSO's, when affixed to action intransitives, the morpheme nix transitivizes the root creating a two term Topic in the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION where the LIMITED CONTROLLER occurs as the grammatical Agent and the EXECUTOR shifts to Patient. Thus 7.)

7.) ?aɬps-nix-ic Charlie

eat

'I think Charlie is eating.'

When -nix- is affixed directly to statives, the situation parallels the Causative inflection in that the domain of LIMITED CONTROL is not over an EXECUTOR but is an expression of the LIMITED CONTROLLER's uncertainty as to the actual STATE of the EXPERIENCER which occurs as the grammatical Patient. Thus 8.)

8.) q's-nix-is Vance ti-q'lsx^{w}-tx

tight

'Vance thinks the rope is tight.'

We must now modify our domain of ACT to include STATE. To do so we simply add a slash and the word STATE as in ACT/STATE.

To this point, the morphemes marking CONTROL have been pronominal suffixes, SO , S and CSO. The LIMITED CONTROL morpheme -nix- however is not in itself a pronominal suffix. Normally it takes SO pronominal suffixes.[11]

LIMITED CONTROL is also expressed as a function of an EXECUTOR over his own ACT with transitive roots. Consider 9.).

9.) tx-ay-nix-is Vance ti-q'lsx^{w}-tx

Aux.

a i- 'Vance happened to cut the rope.'

ii- 'Vance accidently cut the rope.'

b 'Vance (finally) managed to cut the rope.'

The range of glosses exhibited in 9.) is typical of LIMITED CONTROL morphemes in Salishan languages. LIMITED CONTROL is expressed of unintentional ACTs in glosses ai-ii) as well as of intentional ACTs as in 9b.). The NUCLEAR PROPOSITION contains the EXECUTOR as Agent and a GOAL as Patient. LIMITED CONTROL here simply means that the EXECUTOR had less than normal or expected CONTROL over his ACT. Glosses ai-ii) arise from a lack of intention to do the act as well as from a lack of FULL physical CONTROL, say as when Vance is cutting fish and his knife slips and cuts the rope. Gloss 9b.) is appropriate to an intended ACT

where something else is awry. It could be that Vance's knife is dull and he has to expend more than the normal effort, hence less than the normal FULL CONTROL to complete the ACT.

The derivation of tx-ay-nix-is is in itself interesting. Note that as a transitiving suffix, -nix- cannot be directly affixed to a transitive root. In the previous section, we saw -nix- affixed to an intransitivized stem in -a- . Here -nix- is affixed to the Auxilliary -ay- yielding 'do with limited control' and this in turn affixed to the root 'cut' yielding 'do with limited control the act of cutting.' The paraphrase is admittedly awkward in English, but its sense is retrievable. The modification of the Auxilliary by -nix- has the effect of focusing LIMITED CONTROL on ACT.

The LIMITED CONTROL morpheme affixed to the Auxilliary (-ay-nix) never occurs with intransitive action roots. That is because the morpheme is a transitivizing suffix and these roots require derivation to promote their normally Adjunctial GOALS into the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION. After such derivation, these as well as other transitive stems may be affixed by -ay-nix-SO as in sentence 10.).

10.) nuyamɬ-amk-ay-nix-is Margaret ti siyut-nu-tx
sing-Instr. song
'Margaret accidently sang your song.'

Cf. also nuyamɬ-Ø Margaret 'Margaret is singing', but neither * nuyamɬ-ay-nix-S nor %nuyamɬ-ay-nix-is.

We saw earlier that LIMITED CONTROL in the domain of ACT/STATE is expressed by -nix- directly affixed to statives. When a stative is converted to a process stem by derivation with -lx- , the addition

of -ay-nix-SO asserts LIMITED CONTROL by the EXECUTOR of the process, thus 11.)

11.) q's-lx-ay-nix-is Alex ti-q'lsx^{w}-tx

Devl.

'Alex accidently tightened the rope.'

It would appear that our claim that -ay- is an Auxilliary requires some external motivation. To be as brief as possible , here are some reasons. First, (?)ay- occurs as a full verb as in ?ay-Ø 'He's doing (it)'; ?ay-timut-c 'I am trying to do s.t.'; ?ay-m-ic 'I am going (over there) to do (it)'; and ?ay-nix-ic 'I think he is doing (it)'. Second, it acts as a pro-verb as in ?ay-aɬ-c 'I am kicking/walking/etc.'i.e., doing something with my feet'(-aɬ) and ?ay-ūc-c 'I am eating/singing/talking/etc.' i.e., 'to do something with my mouth (-ūc)'.

These examples demonstrate a paralellism with the English Auxilliary do, the usual gloss of -ay-. The English Auxilliary is both a full verb as in 'I do my work.' and a pro-verb as in the answer to the question 'Are you going to wash your hair?', 'I already did.'

We add the category of LIMITED CONTROL to our original matrix to form Figure 2., a summary of our findings to this point.

Figure 2.

			Domain of Control	
			ACT/STATE	EXECUTOR
Degree of Control	FULL	v.t.	1. -SO	7. -a-CSO
		v.i.a.	2. -S	8. -CSO
		v.i.s.	3. -CSO	9. NA
	LIMITED	v.t.	4. -ay-nix-SO	10. -a-nix-SO
		v.i.a.	5. NA	11. -nix-SO
		v.i.s.	6. -nix-SO	12. NA

Cell 12. is non-applicable for the same reason we described for 9. The non-applicability of the system in cell 5. has been explained above in the discussion of sentence 10.)

3.0 INDIRECT CONTROL

Our concern so far has been with degrees of DIRECT CONTROL (FULL and LIMITED). When the domain is ACT/STATE, FULL or LIMITED CONTROL is exercised directly by the EXECUTOR of the ACT or PROCESS. When the domain is EXECUTOR, the relationships of FULL or LIMITED CONTROL exist directly between the CONTROLLER and the EXECUTOR. We turn now to another dimension of the CONTROL system, the specification of INDIRECT CONTROL. Consider sentences 12.)-14.).

12. tx-a-layx-Ø Vance x Lara
'Vance got Lara to cut it.'

13. qaXla-layx-Ø Alex x a-λ'msta-c

'Alex got those guys started drinking.'

14. ʔut'ak-layx-Ø Pat x Chris

'Pat made Chris vomit.'

In sentences 12.)-14.) the morpheme -layx occurs. It is followed by the subject or intransitive pronominal suffixes. Note that the transitive root tx 'cut' is again intransitivized via the generalizer -a-. The NUCLEAR PROPOSITION of each sentence contains a single term in the Topic, but unlike action intransitives without -layx, that term does not refer to the EXECUTOR of the ACT. Rather it refers to a CONTROLLER who is vested with INDIRECT CONTROL over the actual EXECUTOR of the ACT who appears in the Adjunct as the Object of a preposition. The nature of INDIRECT CONTROL is not immediately revealed by the glosses. We must go beyond them to their context.

In 12.) someone wants Lara to cut something, but she has no desire or intent to do so. Vance performs some totally unrelated ACT which has the gratuitous result of stimulating Lara to change her mind and do the cutting. What is essential here is that whatever it was that Vance did, it had to be something that normally has no causal connection with Lara's change of mind and her subsequent cutting. Note that the grammatical Agent is Vance, the CONTROLLER and that the EXECUTOR Lara is in the Adjunct. What is unusual here is that in all other forms we have seen, the EXECUTOR of the ACT, whether the GOAL of CONTROL or in CONTROL himself, has always been in the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION along with his ACT.

Here the EXECUTOR's ACT is in the NUCLEAR PROPOSITION, but the EXECUTOR is not.

In 13.) Alex is giving a party. Some of the guests do not drink. Nevertheless, in the course of being a good host according to his own lights, Alex sets out a bottle for them. The bottle turns out to be a great temptation to which the guests succumb. Note again that Alex's ACT has no necessary or direct connection with their drinking. He provided only a stimulus for them to change their minds and start drinking.

In 14.) Pat gives Chris some food that turned out to be bad and which caused Chris to get sick, which in turn caused him to vomit. Note that Pat's initial ACT, intentional in itself (to provide food for her child), leads to an unforeseen consequence. None of the intervening events are necessary causes for the subsequent event. Pat's food usually is good; if bad, it would not always make him sick; and if it did, vomiting is not a universal consequence of being sick. But even if one could see a clear causal chain, the number of intervening events itself is sufficient to deem Pat as best only the indirect cause or CONTROLLER of Chris's vomiting.

Note that the predicate itself never specifies any intervening event. It specifies only the end point of the established causal continuum, while its grammatical Agent specifies the EXECUTOR of the initial point. From a sentence containing -layx, a hearer can deduce that the grammatical Agent was the EXECUTOR of an unspecified ACT lacking a direct causal relationship to the ACT specified in the Comment and that this

unspecified ACT had the effect of creating a change in the mind of the EXECUTOR of the specified ACT or a change in his STATE. The morpheme -layx in effect establishes a causal or CONTROL connection where one would not be expected. The domain of this INDIRECT CONTROL is EXECUTOR in sentences 12.)-14.), but the domain of ACT/STATE can also be specified as under INDIRECT CONTROL. Consider sentences 15.) and 16.).

15. tx-ay-layx-Ø Nick x Matt

'Nick got it cut for Matt.'

16. supt-ay-layx-Ø Greg

a i) 'Greg happened to whistle.'

ii)'Greg managed to whistle for someone.'

b) 'Greg knows how to whistle.'

In sentence 15.) Matt is supposed to cut something, but Nick does not know this and unwittingly cuts the object thereby preempting Matt's fulfilling his obligation.

In 16ai.) Greg is trying to blow out his birthday cake candles and accidently produces a whistle. His intended ACT results in an unintended one. Note again that only the accidental ACT is specified. In 16aii.) Greg inadvertently preempts someone else from whistling by doing it himself. In 16b.) Greg has learned to whistle. Bella Coolas appear to believe that one can only indirectly control learning. It is possible to place oneself in such a position as to be exposed to a source of knowledge or skills, but that is the extent of one's DIRECT CONTROL.

This CONTROLLED ACT may, however, lead indirectly to the acquisition of knowledge or of a skill.

We know add INDIRECT CONTROL to the matrix of FIgure 2 to form Figure 3 summarizing these results.

				Domain of Control	
				ACT/STATE	EXECUTOR
Degree of Control	DIRECT	FULL	v.t.	1. -SO	10. -a-CSO
			v.i.a.	2. -S	11. -CSO
			v.i.s.	3. -CSO	12. NA
		LIMITED	v.t.	4. -ay-nix-SO	13. -a-nix-SO
			v.i.a.	5. NA	14. -nix-SO
			v.i.s.	6. -nix-SO	15. NA
	INDIRECT		v.t.	7. -ay-layx-S	16. -a-layx-S
			v.i.a.	8. -ay-layx-S	17. -layx-S
			v.i.s.	9. -layx-S	18. NA

In the introduction to this paper we observed that Bella Coola appears to differ from most Salishan languages in extending the category of CONTROL into intransitive stems; and this is reflected in the vertical dimension (v.t., v.i.a. and v.i.s.) of the matrices in Figures 1, 2 and 3. It is clear now that this labelling can equally well be replaced by semantic correlates, i.e. NUCLEAR PROPOSITION with two personae related by some ACT/STATE for v.t., and so forth for v.i.a. and

v.i.s. The point we make now is that transitive and intransitive are actually irrelevant to CONTROL. This can be seen, as well, in the involvement of all conjugations in the expression of CONTROL, e.g. FULL CONTROL via SO and CSO, LIMITED CONTROL via SO, and INDIRECT CONTROL via S. A better statement is that, in Bella Coola, the semantic category of CONTROL is relevant to the expression of all possible ACTS.[13]

NOTES

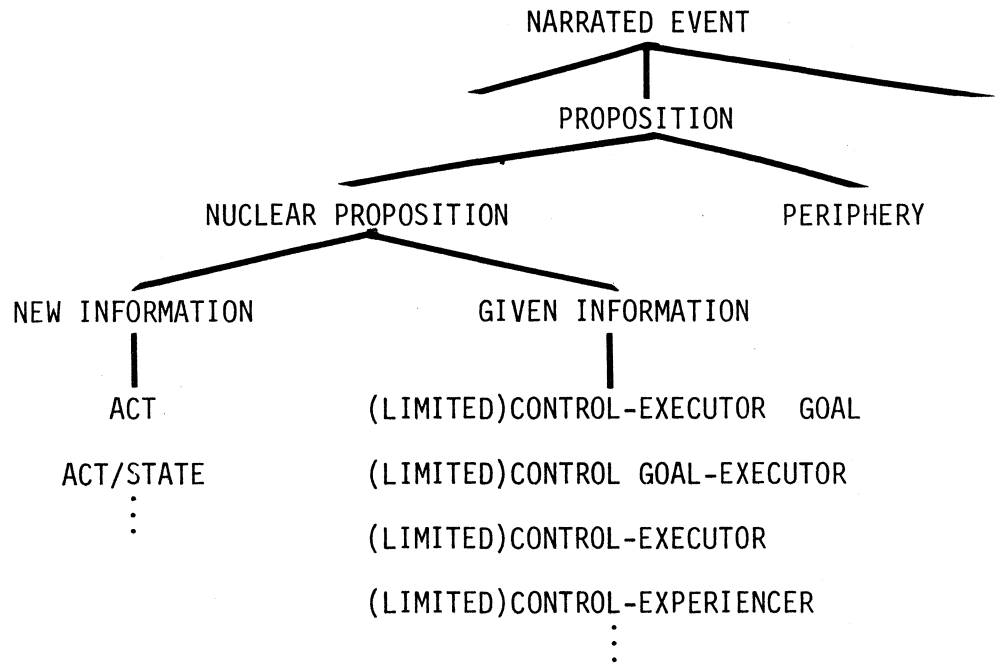
[1]Bella Coola is an isolated Salishan language spoken on the north central coast of British Columbia, Canada. We wish to express our gratitude to all those Bella Coolas who have helped us over the years. Special thanks are due Charles Snow and M. Siwallace. We also would like to thank the Canada Council (Grant #410-770025) and the National Science Foundation (Grant SOC 73-05713 A01) for their financial support of this work.

[2]Cf. Thompson 1976, Beaumont 1977 and Mattina 1978.

[3]Cf. also Galloway 1978 in which Control is described as extending to intransitives in Upriver Halkomelem.

[4]We use full capitalization of terms (e.g. CONTROL, EXECUTOR and EXPERIENCER) to mark their applicability within semantics and to oppose them to the grammatical terminology (e.g. Agent). It was remarked in Davis and Saunders 1973 that such terms as Agent were used with deliberate ambiguity. The terms of that ambiguity, however, are distinct within semantics. Equivalently, semantic distinctions do not have a one-to-one correlation with grammatical ones as the discussion of CONTROL will illustrate.

Briefly, we view the arrangement of the semantic terms introduced in this paper to be somewhat as follows:



[5]That is, he could not discharge his responsibility to include in his speech act all relevant knowledge concerning the NARRATED EVENT without modifying the sentence either by particles or suffixes. Cf. Saunders and Davis 1976.

[6]For details cf. Davis and Saunders 1973.

[7]Compare

a) tx-is Rosie tiq'ɬsxʷtx ʔaɬ titq'ɬatx

'Rosie cut the rope with a knife.'

and b) tx-amk-is Rosie titq'ɬatx x tiq'ɬsxʷtx

'Rosie used a knife to cut the rope.'

In b.) the INSTRUMENT of a.) appears in the Patient, while the GOAL is part of the Adjunct.

[8]The affixes ti-...-tx are part of a system of deictic reference. We gloss them here simply with English determiners. For a description of the system, cf. Davis and Saunders 1975.

[9]Beaumont (1977) uses the terms Strong and Weak Causation for glosses analogous to our compelling and enabling glosses. He does not mention whether or not his correlative forms express a replacive benefactive meaning.

[10]The term is adapted from Thompson 1976.

[11]Both -nix- and -aynix- may occur with the CSO pronouns:

a) ʔut'ak-nix-ic

'I think he's vomiting.'

b) ʔut'ak-nix-tuc

'I gave him something(i.e. an emetic), and he vomited.'

c) qup'-aynix-ic

'I managed to punch him.'

d) qup'-aynix-tuc

'I made sure I got him punched.'

Forms b.) and d.) give some impression of the complexity of the interplay of CONTROL forms in derivation. Analysis of these and analogous derivational usage goes beyond the scope of this paper and will be discussed elsewhere.

[12]This form is appropriate with the gloss 'Margaret accidently sang to him.'

[13]This discussion omits some expressions of CONTROL additional to the ones presented here. We have dealt with CONTROL as it combines with ACT and ACT/STATE, but a further distinction is required, viz. ACT/DEVELOPMENT, that includes what has usually been designated the Inchoative(g.). This distinction is necessary because DIRECT FULL CONTROL(a.), DIRECT LIMITED CONTROL(b.-f.), and INDIRECT CONTROL(g.) are manifest here as well; for example,

a. ʔaq̓ʷlīkʷ-am-c

'I became a policeman.' (where before I was a mechanic or something else. ʔaq̓ʷlīkʷ 'policeman')

b. k̓ʷnus-nm-c

'I'm going to show them(something).' (k̓ʷnus-ic 'I'll show him.')

c. ʔiɬm-anm-c

'It seems it's getting steep.' (walking up the hill for the n^{th} time. ʔiɬm 'steep')

d. nuxs-tnm-c

'I'm keeping them quiet.' (nuxs 'quiet')

e. ɬm-tnm-c

'I got him to stand.' (ɬm 'to stand')

f. tx-atnm-c

'I got him to cut.' or 'I cut it for him.'

g. Xs-lx-c

'I'm getting fat(ter).' (Xs 'fat')

These will be discussed at greater length elsewhere.

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