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How to Get Things Done in Bella Coola: The Expression of Mood

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In this paper we examine the expression of mood in Bella Coola, a Salishan language spoken on the central coast of British Columbia, Canada.[1] We will consider some of the formal and semantic properties of individual moods, and discuss some of the criteria for the recognition of a system of moods. We will also introduce and detail a complex of roots that function only in conjunction with non-Indicative mood morphology and conclude with an examination of the grammar of mood and some comments on possible historical origins.

Bella Coola has three mutually exclusive morphemes that, when added to stems, have the function of shifting the mood from the Indicative to some other. A morpheme that belongs to this class will be called a Modal. These appear in lieu of the normal Indicative suffixation. Consider the following Intransitive forms:

(1) ʔaxap-ʔit
go-
'You can go now'

(2) ʔaxap-na
'Try and go'

(3) ʔaxap-nas
'Go and find out'

The elements ʔit, na, and nas differ in at least two ways from another class of elements that occurs to the right of predicates, viz. Particles.[2] First, Modals do not follow additional morphological expression of Agents as the Particles do.[3] In the third person singular, the Agent is normally marked by -Ø in the Intransitive, and

this constraint is not therefore readily detectable in (1)-(3); it is, however, easily seen in the first and second person forms as in (4):[4]

(4) (i) *ʔap-c-ʔit (iv) *ʔap-nu-it
(ii) *ʔap-c-na (v) *ʔap-nu-na
(iii) *ʔap-c-nas (vi) *ʔap-nu-nas

(5) (i) ʔap-c ma
'I may go'
(ii) ʔap-nu ma
'You may go'
(iii) ʔap-Ø ma
'He may go'

Sentence (5) shows that Particles are permitted following morphological marking of the first, second, and third person Agents, while (4) shows such combinations with the Modals to be incorrect. Secondly, although the Modal elements of (1)-(3) are semantically distinct from each other, they share a common second person semantic force that Particles lack; this explains why the sentences of (4) are wrong and further sets the Modals apart from the Particles. This second person force is apparent in the glosses of (1)-(3), which are all singular. The distinction in number——singular versus plural——is made by the addition of a suffix -aw-:[5]

(6) ʔap-aw-it
(7) ʔap-aw-na
(8) ʔap-aw-nas

Since these three forms replace certain person-number suffixes and semantically express person, it would appear not unreasonable to assume that they constitute a suffixal system. The grammar of these morphemes is not, however, that clear-cut; and we will return below to this matter showing that they exhibit an array of properties ranging from the more independent to the boundedness of affixes.

Semantically, none of these three is a command or imperative. The Modal ʔit has also been glossed as 'You better ...,' 'Try and ...,' and 'Now you can ....' In commenting upon it, speakers have characterized ʔit as 'not really telling' someone to do something, and have described it as 'kind of advice'. Employment of this mood indicates that in the speaker's estimation, circumstances are such that improvement would result if the addressee acceded to the speaker's words; but there is no appeal to personal authority, and there appears to be no moral obligation nor necessity of any kind involved. Contexts range from children in bed but not asleep (cituma-naw-it) to encouraging an ailing person to get up from bed and begin to walk some (ʔixʔmi-it) to advising someone that the trail has gotten so bad it would be better to turn around and go back (lipcut-ʔit). Usage of this mood seems to indicate that the present situation is such that all-in-all, a particular course of action is, in the speaker's judgment, appropriate; hence, this mood will be labeled the Appropriative.

The remaining two moods are somewhat closer semantically, and both stand a bit apart from ʔit. Both na and nas invite the addressee to perform or experience for himself the semantic content of the Comment. Glosses for na additional to that in (2) are 'Just ...' and '... and see what happens [to someone who is curious about it].' The speaker exhorts or encourages the addressee to perform some act or experience some state on his own; again there is no command, nor is there an element of circumstantial appropriateness as with ʔit. The Modal nas has the same experiential component of na, but seems further to require that the speaker has, or is presently performing/experiencing that which he suggests the addressee share. As such, a gloss like 'Prove it for yourself' is frequent, although the skepticism evinced in the English gloss is not a necessary element. The semantic difference between na and nas seems to be a constant

sharedness of performance/experience (by speaker and addressee) implied by nas, a component that is not necessarily present in na. We shall then characterize these three Modals as

(9) (i) ʔit Appropriative
(ii) na Experiential
(iii) nas Co-Experiential

The Bella Coola Indicative mood distinguishes three inflections: the Intransitive, that we have already considered, and also the Transitive and the Causative.[6] This three-way distinction is maintained with the Modals under discussion. For ʔit the following forms are possible for grammatically Transitive stems. (We illustrate with the Transitive root cp 'wipe'; the na and nas forms are analogous to these.):

(10) (i) cp-c-ʔit (iii) cp-tuɬ-ʔit
(ii) cp-t-ʔit (iv) cp-tan-ʔit

The morphs -c- 'me', -t- 'him/her/it', -tuɬ- 'us', and -tan- 'them' are Patient markers. The second person Patient forms are replaced by the reflexive morpheme -cut-, e.g. cp-cut-ʔit, further evidence for the inherent 'second person' component of the Modals. Plurality is noted as in (6)-(8) by the insertion of -aw- before the Modal: cp-c-aw-it, cp-t-aw-it and so forth.

Causatively inflected stems in the non-Indicative show the shapes given in (11):

(11) (i) ʔaɬap-tum-ʔit (iii) ʔaɬap-tumuɬ-ʔit
(ii) ʔaɬap-tXʷ-ʔit (iv) ʔaɬap-tutan-ʔit

Comparison of these forms with the Indicative mood inflection of the Causative (cf. note 6) shows that with the exception of the third person singular, the Patient in each person-number of the non-Indicative Causative is clearly related to its expression in the Indicative mood. The third plural in (iv) differs slightly in that its shape is -tutan- rather than -tut-, i.e. *ʔaɬap-tut-ʔit. Cp. (10iv)

— versus (10ii)— and (11iv) — versus (11ii). The third singular shows further idiosyncracy in that when the plural -aw- is inserted, the shape is ʔaɬap-t-aw-it, morphologically a Transitive looking form (cf. [10ii]), but semantically Causative: 'You might as well take it back [i.e. cause it to go].' The distinction is more clearly seen when two different stems based on cp 'wipe' are considered. This root is strictly Transitive taking only those person-number affixes of the Transitive paradigm in note 6; but when the suffix -a Generalizer (Saunders and Davis 1978) is added, a stem is formed that grammatically takes both the Intransitive and Causative inflection, but not the Transitive.[7] Now, two forms——one based on the root-stem cp and another based on the stem cp-a——are possible.

(12) (i) cp-t-aw-it
(ii) cpa-t-aw-it

The first means only 'You guys wipe it now,' while the second has only the standard 'make/let' gloss of the Causative, 'You guys make him wipe now.' It is the stem and its possible inflections outside (12) that disambiguate the syncretism of -t-aw-it. A Causative gloss is not possible for (12i), nor a Transitive one for (12ii) because the stem of the former is not Causative and that of the latter is not Transitive. The syncretism is formally resolved in the singular, which for (12i) is (10ii) and for (12ii) is analogous to (11ii), i.e. cpa-tXʷ-ʔit.

The modal system of Bella Coola may be further expanded to incorporate the simple Imperative. The similarity of the Imperative to the first three Modals in the way they occur in the three inflections——replacing any other expression of the Agent and their second person reference——constitutes the basis for the addition of the Imperative to the modal system. We return to consider some differences between the two below.

With Intransitive stems the Imperative takes the following shapes:

(13) (i) ʔap-X
(ii) ʔap-aXʷ

Although the Imperative shapes that occur in (13) appear not to be that similar to each other, the background of the three other Modals suggests the plural Imperative may in fact be -aw-X. The Imperative marker would in general then be X; and number would be marked separately by -Ø- and -aw-. And indeed, such an 'analyzed' form is occasionally possible:

(14) ʔxan-aw-X-aksa
look-Pl-Imp-Individuative
'You guys go ahead and look'

Recovery of the Imperative mood requires only that we state a morphophonological alternation:

(15) wX ⟶ Xʷ

With this done, the Imperative is indicated by a single shape X, and number is marked separately. The Imperative then follows the same formal pattern as ?it, na, and nas and constitutes but one additional Modal within a system of moods.

Given (15), the Transitive Imperative inflection is patently the same as the Appropriative and the (Co-)Experiential:

(16) (i) cp-c-X (iii) cp-tuɬ-X
(ii) cp-t-X (iv) cp-tan-X

The plural Imperative is again formed by preposing -aw- to X yielding the expected shapes via (15), cp-c-a-Xʷ and so forth to cp-tan-a-Xʷ. The Causative Imperative appears much like the Causative in the other moods. The primary difference lies in the shape taken when the Patient is third person singular:[8]

(17) (i) ʔap-tum-X (iii) ʔap-tumuɬ-X
(ii) ʔap-t-Xʷ (iv) ʔap-tutan-X

There are also some unexpected Causative forms when the addressee

is plural:

(18) (i) ʔap-tum-an-X (iii) ʔap-tumuɬ-a-Xʷ
(ii) ʔap-t-a-Xʷ (iv) ʔap-tutan-ta-Xʷ

Here the third person Patient in (ii) follows its formation in the non-Indicative moods and takes on once again a Transitive looking shape with Causative semantics. The first person plural Patient form in (iii) is regular, given (15). The third person plural Patient is aberrant in that given the pattern to this point, we should expect *ʔap-tutan-a-Xʷ; but this formation is not accepted, and that in (iv) is substituted. Another possible expression of (18iv) is ʔap-tutan-X, i.e. the same as (17iv). Lastly, (18i) appears odd in that the expected *ʔap-tum-a-Xʷ is replaced by -an-X, containing apparently the same -an- that is above implicated in plurality with Patients—in (10iv), (11iv), and (16iv)—but functioning here as a marker of plurality with an Agent.

It is the examination of a complex of non-Indicative predicate roots that illuminates somewhat the semantics of -an- as opposed to that of the apparently synonymous suffix -aw-. Let us first consider the forms of (19) and (20):

(19) (i) ɬi-X
(ii) ɬi-it
(iii) ɬi-na
(iv) ɬi-nas
(v) *ɬi-c, *ɬi-nu, *ɬi-Ø

(20) (i) ki-X
(ii) ki-it
(iii) ki-na
(iv) ki-nas
(v) *ki-c, *ki-nu, *ki-Ø

As indicated by the asterisked forms, these two roots occur only with non-Indicative mood morphology; inflection with Transitive

and Causative Indicative suffixes is also incorrect. Semantically, both ʔi and ki are non-Stative, motion Comments; ʔi indicates motion toward the speaker and ki, motion from the speaker. In the same way ʔap 'go' may also be glossed as 'begin/start' in the proper contexts, these two roots have as well a gloss that refers to the inception of an action; for example, (20i) may mean 'Go on!' or 'Do it!' There are two complications to (19)and (20). First, there is a prefix ʔa- that appears with both roots, so that the possibilities of (19) and (20) are doubled. The Indicative forms remain unacceptable. The difference between forms with ʔa- and those without it, e.g. ʔa-ki-X versus ki-X, appears to lie in an element of 'hindrance'. The hindrance need not be physical; psychological restraints arising from bashfulness or simple orneriness are also proper contexts for ʔa-, which then appeals for an Extra Effort to be made. The second addition to the forms of (19) and (20)—that also occurs with and without ʔa- thus effectively tripling the possibilities of (19) and (20)—is an infix =an=, such that expressions like k=an=i-X exist. Its presence indicates that before the addressee is instructed or advised via the non-Indicative morphology to perform some act, that someone else has already performed or is performing it. The addition of =an= expresses the speaker's knowledge of this and seeks to add the addressee to the number of those prior performers; =an= indicates 'as well' or Inclusive. With these emendations, (19) and (20) may be summarized as (21):

(21)

$$(\text{ʔa}) \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{ʔ} & (\text{=an=}) & \text{i} \\ \text{k} & (\text{=an=}) & \text{i} \end{matrix} \right\} \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{X} \\ \text{?it} \\ \text{na} \\ \text{nas} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

The Inclusive function of =an= appears to be similar enough to the -an- of plurality so that their identification as different manifestations of the same morpheme is not completely implausible.

This also explains the presence of two plural-like markers (-an- and -aw-); they are—or, historically, were—semantically distinct. One way of stating that difference is to say that -an- marks sequential plurality whereas -aw- marks simultaneous plurality. This may not necessarily be the best way to characterize the distinction, and further that separateness may well no longer be felt, each suffix having become specialized to use in particular expressions signaling undifferentiated number and leaving the constructions of (21) as semantic relics.[9]

The system of non-Indicative mood in Bella Coola has been recognized on formal-semantic criteria. Formally, the shapes marking these moods preempt other expressions of Agent; semantically, the non-Indicative elements have second person reference and all serve to elicit some non-verbal response from the addressee. The neatness of this system is first disturbed by the observation that certain unexpected co-occurrences are possible. We have stated above that the Appropriative, the Experential, and the Co-Experential are mutually exclusive. While that is true, it is also true that each of these three may co-occur with the Imperative:

(22) (i) ʔap-X-?it
(ii) ʔap-X-na
(iii) ʔap-X-nas

(23) (i) cp-t-X-?it
(ii) cp-t-X-na
(iii) cp-t-X-nas

(24) (i) ʔap-t-Xʷ-?it
(ii) ʔap-t-Xʷ-na
(iii) ʔap-t-Xʷ-nas

Although the Transitive and Causative inflections are illustrated only with third person Patients, Patients of other person-numbers are also acceptable. Above, the semantic force of ?it, na, and nas was

shown to invoke an addressee-Agent. We have elsewhere (Saunders and Davis 1978) demonstrated that certain causatively inflected forms are systematically ambiguous in Bella Coola allowing the formal Causative-Agent to be EXECUTOR of the act designated by the stem (the Causative-Patient then being the BENEFICIARY) or allowing the formal Causative-Patient to be EXECUTOR while the Causative-Agent then CONTROLs, i.e. 'permits/makes', the EXECUTOR's action. That ambiguity remains in the Imperative, and the addition of the other non-Indicative Modals is similarly ambiguous; (24ii) may be glossed as 'Try and let him go' or 'Let him try and go/Let him go find out.' In the first, na combines semantically with the addressee as CONTROLLER and in the second, with the Patient as EXECUTOR. Ambiguity here indicates that usage of ?it, na, and nas may not exclusively imply second person. This is a semantic indication that they are more loosely associated with stems—not signaling person—and more generally assert, for example with ?it, that it would be appropriate were some course of action taken without binding that action to the addressee. That appears to be true at least in (24).

The Modals are somewhat more loosely bound to stems than the comparable Indicative morphology. Non-Indicative morphology as a whole—while having the affix-like properties noted above—still exhibit Particle-like properties. Historically, it is probably true that the non-Indicative morphemes are in the process of becoming affixes in the way the Indicative morphemes are already, but it is clear that that process is not yet complete. This drift with increased synthetic characteristics as the apparent direction has been elsewhere (Davis and Saunders 1976a) noted with deictics.

Particles are recognized as such by their behavior in negative sentences. As described in Davis and Saunders 1978b, Particles in negative sentences occur either immediately following the Comment of a sentence or after the negation that precedes the Comment. In

positive sentences, they occur only immediately after the Comment:

(25) (i) ƛ̓ap-c ma
'I may go'
(ii) ʔaXʷ ƛ̓ap-c ma
'I may not go'
(iii) ʔaXʷ ma ƛ̓ap-c
'I may not go'

Sentences (ii) and (iii) are not paraphrases in spite of the English glosses. Cf. Davis and Saunders 1978b for discussion. The Imperative shows the alternate positionings of (i) and (iii); (ii) is not acceptable for reasons identified in Davis and Saunders 1978b. Because of this formal behavior we have identified Imperative as a Particle. What we have tried to show here is that the distinction of Particle versus suffix is not absolute, and it is the Modals that blur the distinction.

Negative sentences also cause some unexpected alteration in the Imperative. Let us consider some Transitive forms:

(26) (i) ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ cp-cxʷ (iii) ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ cp-tuɬnu
(ii) ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ cp-ixʷ (iv) ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ cp-tixʷ

These are all singular Imperatives. Note first that there is a single shape -t-Xʷ here that does not differentiate the person of the Patient—cp. (i) and (ii)—nor the number of the Patient—cp. (ii) and (iv). The same model extends to both the Intransitive, e.g. ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ ƛ̓ap-nu, and the Causative, e.g. ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ ƛ̓ap-tuxʷ. Plurality of addressee is marked in the familiar way, e.g. ʔaXʷ-t-a-Xʷ cp-ip 'Don't you(pl.) wipe it!', ʔaXʷ-t-a-Xʷ ƛ̓ap-ap 'Don't you(pl.) go!', and ʔaXʷ-t-a-Xʷ ƛ̓ap-tup 'Don't you(pl.) let him go!' In the plural forms it is apparently possible to distinguish plural from singular Patients: ʔaXʷ-t-an-a-Xʷ cp-tip 'Don't you(pl.) wipe them!' and ʔaXʷ-t-an-a-Xʷ ƛ̓ap-tutip 'Don't you(pl.) let them go!'

It was noted in Davis and Saunders 1978b that ʔaXʷ Negation may occur alone, i.e. without other overt Comment; and when it does, it may take the Imperative inflection. In this use, more distinctions are made than the number discriminations of the addressee. A formal distinction between Transitive and Causative is possible as well as the distinction in number of the Patient (in the plural and singular Imperative); but again marking of the Patient is possible only in the third person:

(27) (i) *ʔaXʷ-tum-X
(ii) ʔaXʷ-txʷ-t-Xʷ
ʻDon't let himʼ
(iii) ʔaXʷ-txʷ-t-a-Xʷ
ʻDon't you(pl.) let himʼ
(iv) *aXʷ-tumuɬ-X
(v) ʔaXʷ-tutan-X
ʻDon't let themʼ
(vi) ʔaXʷ-tutan-ta-Xʷ
ʻDon't you(pl.) let themʼ

(28) (i) *ʔaXʷ-c-X
(ii) ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ
ʻDon't do it to himʼ
(iii) ʔaXʷ-t-a-Xʷ
ʻDon't you(pl.) do it to himʼ
(iv) *aXʷ-tuɬ-X
(v) ʔaXʷ-t-an-X
ʻDon't do it to themʼ
(vi) ʔaXʷ-t-an-a-Xʷ
ʻDon't you(pl.) do it to themʼ

The awkwardness of having utterances like (28i) be unacceptable is avoided by the possibility of such expressions as ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ ʔuɬ-ʔnc ʻDon't do it to me!ʼ The Intransitive negative Imperatives continue without distinct expression; they are homophonous with (28ii) and (28iii).

We turn now to the other Modals as they occur in negative utterances, and the first thing to note is that they do not. Taking (1) as example, we find:

(29) (i) *ʔaXʷ ƛap-ʔit
(ii) *ʔaXʷ-ʔit ƛap
(iii) *ʔaXʷ-ʔit ƛap-nu
(iv) *ʔaXʷ-ʔit

There is occasional vacillation with the forms of (29); but they are all generally unacceptable. The picture for na and nas is identical. To accomplish some negation of (1), it is necessary to use the Imperative along with the other Modal; that is, negatives exist for (22)-(24):

(30) (i) ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ-ʔit ƛap-nu
ʻYou need not goʼ
(ii) ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ-ʔit
ʻDon't do it(it's not time yet)!ʼ

and so forth.

The odd properties of Imperatives that we have noted so far are summarized in (31):

(31) (i) The Imperative form is sensitive only to third person Patients
(ii) When a Comment occurs with Negation, the Imperative form is not sensitive to a distinction among inflection types
(iii) The shape is generally -tXʷ (varying with others to indicate plurality), the "irregular" Imperative of (17ii). There is no general Imperative shape X with Negation.

Some explanation for (31) may come from the following forms:

(32) (i) ʔaXʷ tXʷ ƛap-c
(ii) ʔaXʷ tXʷ ƛap-nu
(iii) ʔaXʷ tXʷ ƛap-s
(iv) ʔaXʷ tXʷ ƛap-iɬ
(v) ʔaXʷ tXʷ ƛap-ap
(vi) ʔaXʷ tXʷ ƛap-aw

The initial difficulty with the forms of (32) is the non-second person inflection of ƛap; difficult, because of the apparent Imperative-like glosses of (32). Sentence (32i) is rendered as ʻDon't let me go!ʼ and appears semantically close to a form ʔaXʷ-t-Xʷ ƛap-tum-ʃʷ ʻDon't make me go!ʼ The curiosity of (32) is increased with the observation that they admit no plurals; that is,

(33) *?aX$^{\cup}$-t-a-X$^{\cup}$ ʔap-s

is unacceptable, and (32v) shows a seeming further discrepancy: a "singular" tX$^{\cup}$ with a plural -ap. This collection of misfit forms is reconciled when it is discovered that tX$^{\cup}$ here is not Imperative at all. Positive forms exist for all the sentences of (32):

(34) (i) ʔap-c tX$^{\cup}$ (iv) ʔap-iɬ tX$^{\cup}$
(ii) ʔap-nu tX$^{\cup}$ (v) ʔap-ap tX$^{\cup}$
(iii) ʔap-Ø tX$^{\cup}$ (vi) ʔap-aw tX$^{\cup}$

Again, there are no taX$^{\cup}$ forms here, e.g. *ʔap-c taX$^{\cup}$, *cp-ic taX$^{\cup}$, etc. The first person forms of (34) are most acceptable, there being some hesitation with the others; but they, too, are generally accepted. Analogous positive and negative paradigms exist for the Transitives, e.g. cp-ic tX$^{\cup}$, and the Causatives, e.g. ʔap-tuc tX$^{\cup}$, as well as passive forms, e.g. cp-tinic tX$^{\cup}$ 'Let me be wiped' and ʔap-tuminic tX$^{\cup}$ 'Let me be sent.' Semantically, tX$^{\cup}$ indicates 'sort of volunteer[ing]' on the part of the speaker with glosses for (34i) as 'I may as well go,' 'I better go,' 'Let me go,' and 'I should go.' After some thought, the speaker resolves an issue positively. This may explain the occasional reluctance to accept forms like (34ii); one doesn't often volunteer one's interlocutor. Lastly, tX$^{\cup}$ does not follow Imperative inflection, i.e. *ʔap-X tX$^{\cup}$. The morpheme tX$^{\cup}$ is obviously a Particle to be added to the list of Table 1 in Davis and Saunders 1978b. It is Modal-like in the way the Optative ʔak$^{\cup}$ is (cf. note 2).

We have now in tX$^{\cup}$ a possible explanation for some of the oddities of the Imperative mood. Let us consider this historical scenario. Stage 1 —— There exist Particles k$^{\cup}$ Quotative and so forth including ?it, na, nas, and tX$^{\cup}$. The Particle origin of ?it, na, and nas is still to be seen formally in their behavior following positive Imperatives and their behavior in negative sentences. Semantically, their Particle origin appears in the occasional

neutrality of these Modals with respect to second person reference. Cf. the discussion of (24ii) above. There exist inflections for the Indicative and the Imperative (X), but no other moods. The negative Imperative function is filled by using the Particle tX$^{\cup}$ replacing perhaps the now non-occurring forms *aX$^{\cup}$ ʔap-X and so forth. Stage 2 —— The shape of the Particle tX$^{\cup}$ in its Imperative function in negative sentences is analogized to the positive Imperative to introduce number; that is, the t of tX$^{\cup}$ is reanalyzed as the third person Patient marker. (Thus forms like ?aX$^{\cup}$-t-a-X$^{\cup}$ ʔap-ap have a possible gloss 'I don't think you all should go' as well as the Imperative 'Don't you(pl.) go!') This explains the lack of first and second person in the negative Imperative; viz. there were never Particles *cX$^{\cup}$, *tuɬX$^{\cup}$, etc., and analogy has not to this point extended to the introduction of the non-third person forms. This also explains the lack of distinction among the inflections with the negative Imperative; the Particles, including tX$^{\cup}$, weren't and aren't sensitive to the trichotomy Intransitive-Transitive-Causative. The possible invasion of the partially analyzed tX$^{\cup}$ into the positive, viz. in the Causative, may be the basis of the aberrant form in (17ii) and (18ii) and also the -tutan-ta-X$^{\cup}$ alternative to (18iv). Thus, the peculiarities of (31) are accounted for.

A second related sequence of developments may underlie the other moods. First, we note that in the positive the three Modals occur with the Particle tX$^{\cup}$ as in (34), including as well the Transitive and Causative; for example,

(35) (i) ʔap-c tX$^{\cup}$?it (iv) ʔap-iɬ tX$^{\cup}$?it
(ii) ʔap-nu tX$^{\cup}$?it (v) ʔap-ap tX$^{\cup}$?it
(iii) ʔap-Ø tX$^{\cup}$?it (vi) ʔap-aw tX$^{\cup}$?it

Now, let us consider a scenario that begins as above with Stage 1 —— ?it, na, nas, and tX$^{\cup}$ are Particles. In positive sentences they

appear as in (35); and in negative ones, as in ʔaXʷ tXʷ ʔit ƛ̓x-s 'Don't let him look again.' The Particles ʔit, na, and nas do not at this stage occur without tXʷ.[10] This would explain the unacceptability of (29). Stage 2 — tXʷ is confused with and adopts some Imperative functions. Hence in the negative, ʔit, na, and nas appear following the Imperative. By analogy they then appear in the positive expressions following Imperatives. Cf. (22)-(24). Some Imperative force is conveyed by the stem (or stem plus Patient marker) under the appropriate conditions.[11] The new freedom of ʔit, na, and nas to occur after semantic Imperatives then allows them to appear after the alternative inflectionless Imperative. This yields ultimately the forms of (1)-(3), (10), and (11) and simultaneously explains the absence of (4), i.e. the non-occurrence of these three Modals with any Indicative forms. The extension of the three is via the Imperative that in turn is linked to the Particle origin of certain Imperative markers; and this path produces the limited possibilities observed in the contemporary language.

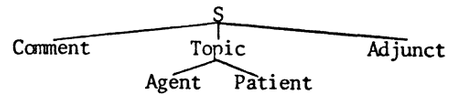
The two scenarios also produce an explanation for the formal differences, as well as similarities, between the Imperative and the other non-Indicative Modals. These explanations remain, however, speculative and take whatever validity they may have from their capacity to introduce some historical order into the synchronic asymmetries that characterize mood in Bella Coola.

NOTES

[1]We would like to acknowledge here the aid provided by those speakers of Bella Coola who have guided us to an understanding of their language, especially Charles Snow and Margaret Siwallace. We also wish to express our gratitude to those agencies that have provided financial support of this work: the National Science Foundation (Grants SOC73-05713 A01 and BNS73-05713 A02), the Linguistics Division of the British Columbia Provincial Museum, and the Canada Council (Grant 410-770025).

[2]If mood is semantically described as an expression of the speaker's attitude toward some event, then the class of Particles contains some Modal-like elements, e.g. the Optative ƛ̓akʷ, that adds the speaker's wish/desire/hope that something be so. Indeed, we argue below that this class is the historical source of ʔit, na, and nas. Cf. Davis and Saunders 1978b for a discussion of the Particles.

[3]The terms Agent, Patient, and Comment are discussed in Davis and Saunders 1978a. The structure we attribute to sentences in Bella Coola is generally



where Patient and Adjunct are optional and any of the four ultimate constituents may be further expanded by S. Adjunct may also be expanded via a prepositional phrase.

[4]The Indicative Intransitive inflection is as follows:

INTRANSITIVE

Agent	Sg	Pl
1	-c	-(i)ɬ
2	-nu	-(n)ap
3	-Ø ~ -s	-(n)aw

The consonant initial forms of the plural follow vowel final stems; the vowel initial forms follow consonant final stems. The alternation in the third person singular appears to be an index of the syntactic 'embeddedness' of a sentence; -s occurs when the sentence is embedded, and -Ø, otherwise. Cf. Davis and Saunders 1976b, 1978a, 1978b.

[5]There is some alternation between the shapes ?it ~ it. The former is most common following obstruents and resonants; the latter, following vowels and semivowels. The -Ø versus -aw opposition is clearly the same as that of the Intransitive third person. The non-Indicative forms suggest that the Indicative Intransitive may be analyzed generally with -Ø as third person, and -Ø versus -aw simply marking number.

[6]The Indicative Transitive and Causative inflections code information of the person (first, second or third) and number (singular or plural) of the Agent and Patient; the paradigms are the following:

TRANSITIVE

Agent \ Patient	Sg 1	Sg 2	Sg 3	Pl 1	Pl 2	Pl 3
1	——	-cinu	-ic		-tuɬap	-tic
Sg 2	-cxʷ	——	-ixʷ	-tuɬ[illegible]xʷ		-tixʷ
3	-cs	-ct	-is	-tuɬs	-tap	-tis

TRANSITIVE(cont.)

Agent \ Patient	Sg 1	Sg 2	Sg 3	Pl 1	Pl 2	Pl 3
1		-tuɬnu	-iɬ	——	-tuɬap	-tiɬ
Pl 2	-cap		-ip	-tuɬp	——	-tip
3	-cant	-ct	-it	-tuɬt	-tap	-tit

CAUSATIVE

Agent \ Patient	Sg 1	Sg 2	Sg 3	Pl 1	Pl 2	Pl 3
1	——	-tuminu	-tuc		-tumuɬap	-tutic
Sg 2	-tumxʷ	——	-tuxʷ	-tumuɬxʷ		-tutixʷ
3	-tums	-tumt	-tus	-tumuɬs	-tuɬap	-tutis
1		-tumuɬnu	-tuɬ	——	-tumuɬap	-tutiɬ
Pl 2	-tumanp		-tup	-tumuɬp	——	-tutip
3	-tumant	-tumt	-tut	-tumuɬt	-tutap	-tutit

The dashes indicate combinations in which reflexives appear (Transitive -cut or Causative -timut); they take the Intransitive inflection. Cf. note 4.

[7]Newman (1969) identifies four classes of stems: those that take the Transitive inflection alone (e.g. cp 'wipe'), those that take the Causative inflection alone (e.g. ks 'fix, prepare'), those that take the Intransitive or Causative inflection (e.g. ʔap 'go' or cp-a 'wipe'), and those that select any of the three (e.g. ʔkx 'see/look'). The second class—the strictly Causative—appears to be extremely small with perhaps three members; it is probably best viewed as constituted of exceptional roots. The other three classes are large and membership can in part be predicted from the semantics of the roots/stems.

[8]The Causative inflection is systematically ambiguous, having ˅make/let˅ glosses and also ˅do for˅ benefactive ones (Saunders and Davis 1978). The strictly Causative roots (cf. note 7) show glosses that are only indirectly interpretable as ˅make/let˅, e.g. ˅help˅, ˅send˅, ˅fix˅, and they do not show the ˅do for˅ benefactive. To express the latter a derived stem is required, e.g. ks-tx^{w}-, that then takes Transitive morphology, e.g. ks-tx^{w}-t-X ˅Fix it for him.˅

[9]The -an- suffix occurs in places other than we have noted. The pronominal roots ˅be we,˅ be you(pl.),˅ and ˅be they˅ require third person plural agreement; and rather than the expected -aw, the variant -anaw appears:

(i) ɬmiɬ-anaw ˅It's us˅
(ii) ɬup-anaw ˅It's you all˅
(iii) wix-anaw ˅It's them˅

Cf. Davis and Saunders 1976b. The combination -an-aw may also be responsible for the -aw ~ -naw alternation (via metanalysis) given in note 4.

[10]Some Particles are clearly segmentable from sequences in which they occur, but nevertheless fail to occur by themselves; for example, lu appears in lu-c̓, which contrasts with tu-c̓, su-c̓, and c̓, yet lu fails to appear in isolation without an accompanying Particle. Thus, the claim made about ?it, na, and nas is not without precedent in the language.

[11]We have noted (Davis and Saunders 1978b) that certain Particles acquire grammatically conditioned variant shapes when they follow the Imperative, e.g. ɬū ˅still, yet˅, but ?iɬū after Imperatives. Now, in certain circumstances these Imperative variants may follow what appears to be an incompletely inflected stem:

(i) puʔ-?iɬū ˅Come now˅
(ii) cp-t-?iɬū ˅Wipe it now˅

The semantics of these forms is similarly imperative and difficult to disentangle from the more usual forms, e.g. cp-t-X ?iɬū. The Agentless stem *cp-t does not occur by itself. It is the combination of uninflected, Agentless stem plus the Imperative variant of the Particle that produces the imperative force. These ˅Imperatives˅ allow plural forms as well:

(iii) puʔ-aw-iɬū
(iv) cp-t-aw-iɬū

and begin suddenly to look like the Modals. Cp. (1)-(3) and (6)-(8). This Modal-like behavior of Particles (as opposed to the Particle-like behavior of Modals) shows the incipient stages we now posit for ?it, na, and nas.

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PRELIMINARY NOTES ON LOWER CHEHALIS (ɬəẃál̓məš) MORPHOLOGY

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0. Little information is available either in print, in archives, or in private hands on Lower Chehalis. All we have are a few early word-lists, two or three texts and a little vocabulary collected by Myron Eells (American Philosophical Society Library) corrected by Boas, vocabulary for Boas' Comparative Salishan Vocabularies manuscript (APS Library), Charles Snow's M.A. thesis on Lower Chehalis phonology (1969), and vocabulary collected by Snow and by me. There has been no information whatever available on morphology or syntax. At the request of the Shoalwater Bay Indian Tribe, I recommenced collecting data on Lower Chehalis last summer. The language has not been actively used for many years, and the 10 or 12 people who still know some of it (the oldest is 110) have difficulty recalling it. Nevertheless, some unexpected vocabulary has re-emerged. I have so far been unable to collect much morphological information, but have enough to get a general idea of Lower Chehalis (ɬəẃál̓məš) grammar; syntax and texts may yet be possible when speakers have been brought together and given a chance to practice.

My purpose here is to make some early remarks about ɬəẃál̓məš morphology. This is premature, but the ɬəẃál̓məš and I feel that a beginning at its description should be made as soon as possible. This is possible because it turns out that it resembles Upper Chehalis strongly in its grammatical structure. For this sketch to make sense, I will have to present it by comparing it with Upper Chehalis (as revised in a recent manuscript from my earlier publications; cf. Kinkade 1963-64).