

Bella Coola Nominal Deixis

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Abstract

The principal nominal deictic affixes of Bella Coola are examined. Semantically, a three-way distinction is found: Proximal, Middle, and Distal. The notion of neighborhood and a definition of natural and unnatural circumstance are introduced to explain the usage of the affixes and the observed neutralization of certain semantic components.

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0. Deixis in Bella Coola has been discussed by Newman(1935 and 1969) and in passing by Davis and Saunders(1973). The purpose of this paper is the examination of the semantics of Bella Coola nominal deixis in some detail. Even so, we provide only a framework for a complete description, if such is in fact possible. Newman(1935:39) has noted in this regard that deictic affixes constitute 'a functionally subtle category of expression' and concludes that 'the lexical distinctions between one form and another...cannot be determined with precision.' We concentrate on one set of deictic affixes and attempt to determine their semantic composition and usage.¹ We forego at this point any attempt at formal expression of Bella Coola deixis, but we conclude by indicating some theoretical implications of the description.

1.0 The principal deictic affixes of Bella Coola are presented in (1):²

(1)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
Singular	Feminine	ci-cx	ci-c'ayx	ʔa-ʔiʔaʔiʔ	ʔa-ʔ	ʔa-ʔiʔ	ʔa-ʔiʔ
	Nonfeminine	ti-tx	ti-t'ayx	ta-t'aḵ	ta-ʔ	ta-tḵ	ta-taḵ
Plural		wa-c	wa-ʔac	ta-t'aḵ ^w	ta-ʔ	ta-tḵ ^w	ta-tuḵ

In the discussion of the semantics of these affixal sets, we make use of a notion of natural and unnatural circumstance. Natural circumstance is that in which the speaker assumes the normal, to-be-expected state of events

to be in force.³ Unmarked usage of the deictics corresponds to natural circumstance, and marked, to unnatural. In what follows in 1.1-1.3 we outline some properties of the affixes of (1) in unmarked usage with fixed gender lexical items, i. e. Nouns.⁴

1.1 Spatially, affixes I-III indicate visible referents of the associated Nouns; IV-VI indicate invisible referents. The referents of II are closest to the speaker, close enough to the conversation to be participants, e. g. in the same room. The referents of III lie at a distance. Where the nominal referent is human, the absolute distance from the locus of the conversation is such that shouting is required to attract his attention. The boundary of III nearest the conversation seems to be approximately fifty yards. The zone of the III affixes extends as far as vision is possible. Where a person's attention may be obtained with only raised voice, the linguistic specification is via the affixes of I. The affixes of II and III are additionally associated with a gesture of pointing. Linguistically, this demonstrative property appears in possible question and answer pairs:⁵

- (2) ka-ks ti-[?]imlk ti-sp'-ct 'Which man hit you?'
- (3) (i) ti-[?]imlk-t'ayx 'This man'
- (ii) ta-[?]imlk-t'aḡ 'That man'
- (iii) ti-[?]imlk-tx 'The man'

Only (3i) and (3ii) answer the question of (2). (3iii) lacks the associated gesture and cannot be used to single out a particular member of a set.

There is a deictic boundary (indicated by shouting/nonshouting to obtain attention) that falls between the I/II and III affixal sets. Formally, this is marked by the prefix ti- on I and II and ta- on III. This distinction is additionally reflected in the time reference of utterances containing I, II, or III. Verbs in Bella Coola may occur with affixes of aspect, mood, mode, time, etc. Verbs always occur with an affixal set agreeing with the Agent and Patient of the sentence.⁶ We will call restricted stems without those affixes of aspect, mood, etc. bare stems. The time reference of a sentence with a bare verbal stem acquires a temporal locus by virtue of the deixis of the Agent and/or Patient. In the English gloss, this locus is expressed by the tense of the verb. In Bella Coola, it is better considered a property of the whole predication. Consider the following predications containing both Agent and Patient with some possible deictic combinations:⁷

- (4) (i) k'x-is ti-[?]imlk-tx ti-staltmx-tx 'The man sees the chief'
(ii) k'x-is ti-[?]imlk-tx ti-staltmx-t'ayx 'The man sees this chief'
(iii) k'x-is ti-[?]imlk-tx ta-staltmx-t'ax 'The man sees that chief' or 'The man (just) saw that chief'
- (5) (i) k'x-is ti-[?]imlk-t'ayx ti-staltmx-tx 'This man sees the chief'
(ii) k'x-is ti-[?]imlk-t'ayx ti-staltmx-t'ayx 'This man sees this chief'

- (iii) k'x-is ti-ʔimlk-t'ayx ta-staltmx-t'ayx 'This man sees that chief' or 'This man (just) saw that chief'
- (6) (i) k'x-is ta-ʔimlk-t'ayx ti-staltmx-tx 'That man sees the chief' or 'That man (just) saw the chief'
- (ii) k'x-is ta-ʔimlk-t'ayx ti-staltmx-t'ayx 'That man sees this chief' or 'That man (just) saw this chief'
- (iii) k'x-is ta-ʔimlk-t'ayx ta-staltmx-t'ayx 'That man sees that chief' or 'That man (just) saw that chief'

The sentences with past time glosses occur where the III affixes occur as Agent or Patient. In (4iii), the man may be near the conversation and observing a chief in the III spatial deictic zone. Alternatively, the man may have observed the chief here, followed by the chief's moving to the more remote spot. This second interpretation places the event in the past. The past time is usually just that amount required for the present spatial arrangement to be attained. Occurrence of the I and II affixes on Agent and Patient is always present time when the verb is the bare stem. The I-III affixes place the referents involved in an utterance in deictic space; and from the predication made, the time of the utterance may be inferred. These deictic affixes say nothing of where the event occurred; they mark the location of referents only at the time of the utterance. In the past time interpretation of (4iii), for example, the event may have happened

such that the man observed the chief at the latter's present location and then moved closer to the site of the conversation. This is just the reverse of the possible location of the event described above. This temporal opposition of deixis appears as well in sentences where an Adjunct occurs:⁸

- (7) (i) cp-is ti-[?]imlk-tx ti-staltmx-tx [?]ai-ti-cpumpūsta-tx
'The man is wiping the chief
with the towel'
- (ii) cp-is ti-[?]imlk-tx ti-staltmx-tx [?]ai-ti-cpumpūsta-t'ayx
'The man is wiping the chief with
this towel'
- (iii) cp-is ti-[?]imlk-tx ti-staltmx-tx [?]ai-ta-cpumpūsta-t'ax
'The man (just) wiped the chief
with that towel'

That only the III affixes consistently have a past time implication further points to the opposition of III to I and II. We preliminarily label that opposition distant (III) and near (I and II).

1.2 The affixes IV, V, and VI indicate that the referent of the associated Noun is invisible. The affixal set IV implies that the referent lies in the neighborhood; occurrence with V and VI marks the referent as lying outside the neighborhood. In natural circumstance the neighborhood extends outward from the immediate invisible environs of the conversation. In the context of elicitation, i. e. the Bella Coola reserve, the neighborhood extends eastward ten miles to include the community of Hagensborg. Westward, it extends to a point just short of the wharf on the North Bentinck arm of Burke Channel, a distance of approximately four miles. An invisible referent that lies in this zone is specified with the IV affixes.

Neighborhood as defined overlaps the near and distant zones of visible deixis. A person known to rent a room above the location of the conversation is specified by IV as is a more distant, invisible resident of Hagensborg.

If the invisible referent lies outside the neighborhood, the specification is by the affixes V and VI. These last two differ as nondemonstrative versus demonstrative.

The affixes of V and VI are opposed to those of IV as distant versus near, respectively. Invisible deictic space then seems to parallel visible space in its two-way division. This parallelism extends to the temporal implication of these affixes on Agents and Patients where the predicating Comment is a bare stem. Consider the following sentences:⁹

- (8) (i) k'x-is ti-²imlk-tx ta-staltmx-~~i~~ 'The man saw (earlier this day) the chief'
- (ii) k'x-is ti-²imlk-tx ta-staltmx-tx 'The man saw (yesterday or before) the chief'
- (iii) k'x-is-a ti-²imlk-tx ta-staltmx-tax 'Did the man see (yesterday or before) that chief?'¹⁰
- (9) (i) k'x-is ti-²imlk-t'ayx ta-staltmx-~~i~~ 'This man saw (earlier this day) the chief'
- (ii) k'x-is ti-²imlk-t'ayx ta-staltmx-tx 'This man saw (yesterday or before) the chief'
- (iii) k'x-is-a ti-²imlk-t'ayx ta-staltmx-tax 'Did this man see (yesterday or before) that chief?'

- (10) (i) k'x-is ta-[?]imlk-t'aḁ ta-staltmx-₁ 'That man saw (earlier this day) the chief'
- (ii) k'x-is ta-[?]imlk-t'aḁ ta-staltmx-tḁ 'That man saw (yesterday or before) the chief'
- (iii) k'x-is-a ta-[?]imlk-t'aḁ ta-staltmx-taḁ 'Did that man see (yesterday or before) that chief?'
- (11) (i) k'x-is ta-[?]imlk-₁ ta-staltmx-₁ 'The man saw (earlier this day) the chief'
- (ii) k'x-is ti-[?]imlk-tḁ ta-staltmx-tḁ¹¹ 'The man saw (yesterday or before) the chief'
- (iii) k'x-is-a ti-[?]imlk-tḁ ta-staltmx-taḁ 'Did the man see (yesterday or before) that chief?'
- ~~But see 11~~ (12) (i) k'x-is ta-[?]imlk-tḁ ta-staltmx-tḁ 'The man saw (yesterday or before) the chief'
- (ii) k'x-is-a ta-[?]imlk-tḁ ta-staltmx-taḁ 'Did the man see (yesterday or before) that chief?'
- (13) k'x-is-a ta-[?]imlk-taḁ ta-staltmx-taḁ 'Did that man see (yesterday or before) that chief?'

We give only fourteen of the twenty-seven possible Agent-Patient combinations of the IV-VI affixes. This is because Agent V-Patient I, for example, is temporally the same as Agent I-Patient V. Such deictic reversals, e. g.

- (14) (i) k'x-is ta-[?]imlk-tx ti-staltmx-tx 'The man saw (yesterday
or before) the chief'
- (ii) k'x-is ti-[?]imlk-tx ta-staltmx-tx 'The man saw (yesterday
or before) the chief'

show that it is not the Agent or Patient per se that determines the time reference of transitive predications, but the occurrence of particular deictic affixes within the Topic.

Sentences (8)-(13) show that the IV affixal set occurring with I-III implies a time the same day of the event. The affixal set III occurring with I or II similarly implies a same day event but with this difference. IV usually implies a longer time between the execution of the event and the conversation. Sentences with the IV affixal set occur preferably with the -i- Near Past verbal suffix. Sentences with the III affix set identify a past time equivalent to that necessary for the visible deictic arrangement to be reached. The IV affix set is compatible with -i-, but the V and VI affixes are not. Their occurrence implies an event on the previous day or before and contradicts the Near Past -i-.

The Near Past time of IV correlates with the close, but invisible location of their associated referents, and the Distant Past time of V and VI correlates with the more distant and invisible location of the referents associated with them. This supports the division of invisible space into a near and a distant portion. The occurrence of the deictic affixes in Adjuncts function as they do in Agents and Patients. Cf. (7). They produce a Near or Distant Past event.

The nominal deixis involving IV-VI in Agents, Patients, and Adjuncts does not determine where an event occurred (as the affixes I-III do not), but only when relative to the time of the speech act. In (12i), for example, the man could have seen the chief in any location. Four possible spatial arrangements are as follows. The event could have occurred at the location of the conversation and subsequently each participant has traveled into the most distant, spatial deictic zone. It could have occurred at the location where the man now is, but subsequently both the reporter and the chief have moved, so that the man and the chief occupy distinct locations, both in the most distant, spatial deictic zone with respect to the speaker. The event could have occurred where the chief now is, but the man and the reporter have moved such that the man and the chief occupy distinct locations, both again in the most distant spatial, deictic zone with respect to the speaker. Finally, the event could have occurred at a location that both the man and the chief still occupy, and the reporter alone has traveled so that the site of the event is now in the most distant spatial, deictic zone with respect to the speaker. In unmarked usage, nominal deictic affixes IV-VI, like I-III, specify the spatial arrangement with respect to the present speech act and not the arrangement at the time of the event.

From what we have so far seen: deictic space at the time of the speech act correlates with the deictic time of the reported event, such that occurrence of I and/or II but no other deictic affixes in the Agent, Patient, or Adjunct implies Present time. The occurrence of III or IV implies Near Past, same day time; III and IV override the Present time

of I and II. The occurrence of V and/or VI overrides the Present or Near Past time of I-IV and implies Distant Past time of the event.

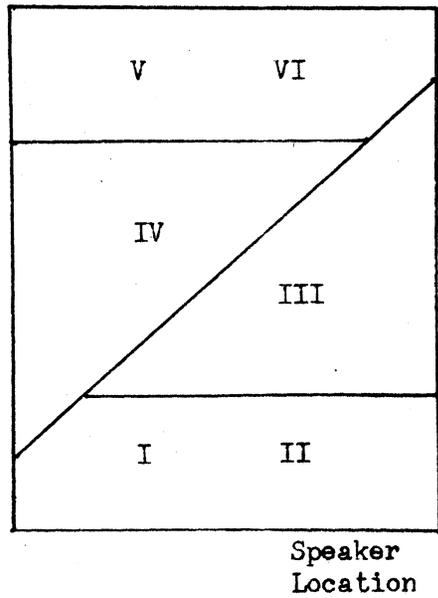
1.3 We summarize in (15) some semantic properties of the deictic affixes keeping in mind that 'near' and 'distant' take on different meanings dependent upon whether the affixal set indicates invisible or visible referents:

(15)

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Visible	Visible	Visible	Invisible	Invisible	Invisible
Near	Near	Distant	Near	Distant	Distant
Present time	Present time	Present/Near Past time	Near Past time	Distant Past time	Distant Past time
Nondemonstrative	Demonstrative	Demonstrative	Nondemonstrative	Nondemonstrative	Demonstrative

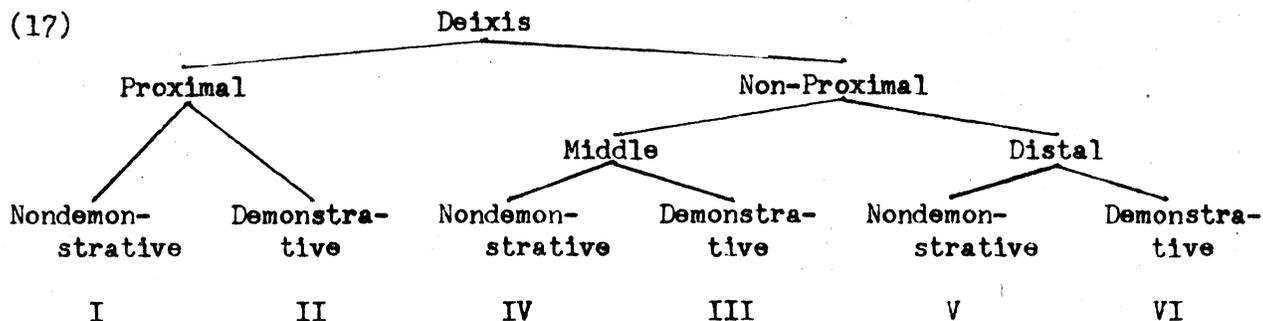
I and II form a pair differing only in Demonstrative:Nondemonstrative. V and VI form a similar set. III and IV may appear anomalous. But observe that in absolute terms they may be viewed as occupying a middle ground between I/II and V/VI:

(16)



Schematically, the deictic space surrounding a speaker is divided as in (16). The numerals indicate the affixal set used for referents in each portion. Only relatively is III Distant and IV Near. Further, within the Visible, Distant affixes of III there is no Nondemonstrative; and within the Invisible, Near of IV, there is no Demonstrative. Finally, both III and IV can mark Near Past time. On the basis of these observations we conclude the deictic system of nominal affixes in Bella Coola distinguishes space-time in a three-way opposition: Proximal (I and II), Middle (III and IV), and Distal (V and VI). The identification of III and IV as Middle is spatially plausible when it is considered that Proximal space is always visible; Distal space is always invisible; but the Middle ground may contain both invisible and visible referents. Thus the Visible of III and the Invisible of IV are not contradictory but complementary.

Examination of (1) shows the prefix of I and II marks Proximal; the prefix of III-VI marks non-Proximal. The suffixes indicate the distinctions within each division. If we take the occurrence of the non-Proximal prefix on III-VI seriously, then Bella Coola deixis can be described with this hierarchy:



In distinguishing III from IV, we might have chosen Visibility, variation in time, or Demonstrative. We chose the last on the basis that it is that feature that distinguishes I from II and V from VI. The semantic features of deixis are further discussed in 2.0-2.2.

2.0 To this point, we have discussed Bella Coola deixis in terms of unmarked circumstance, tentatively defined as one in which the speaker is not conscious of an unnatural situation. A definition of natural presupposes neighborhood, which we now extend beyond the earlier definition of neighborhood-of-invisible-space. The absolute boundary of the Bella Coola neighborhood is set on the east at a distance of approximately ten miles, on the west at approximately four miles. The north and south boundaries of the neighborhood are the mountains defining the Bella Coola valley. Combination of those boundaries invisible from the location of the conversation with those boundaries visibly determined by the mountains outlines Proximal and Middle space and defines neighborhood. It is natural for those people living within the neighborhood to be present there; it is natural for those people to be known to the speaker. Those living outside the neighborhood are naturally not in the neighborhood nor known to the speaker. A circumstance meeting these conditions is a natural circumstance, otherwise it is unnatural.

The definition of neighborhood and the notion of natural based upon it are arbitrary in two ways. First, neighborhood is defined for a single locale, yet people can in principle hold conversations outside Bella Coola. It is tempting to explain the boundaries of neighborhood

as an artifact of a pretechnical culture that is centered about its settlement. Such a material culture is now 70± years past. Fluent native speakers are approximately fifty-five years old or older, and if they have no direct knowledge of that culture, they have acquired their language from parents who did. That Distal marks Distant Past time (one day or more before the speech act) and Middle marks Near Past time (earlier the day of the speech act) seems to lend some oblique support in that the neighborhood might be that space one might see in one day's travel or activity. More than one day's travel would place one outside the neighborhood. Second, the definitions of neighborhood and natural are arbitrary in that they as yet lack firm support from within the deictic system of Bella Coola. It is to the degree these definitions order the usage of the deictic system and motivate choice of one deictic affixal set in place of another in predictable spots in a conversation that these notions and their definitions are acceptable and correct.

2.1 A speaker's usage is unmarked when he is not conscious of a contradiction of the natural. Marked usage can come about in two ways: either a speaker is conscious of unnatural circumstances existing preceding the conversation or he may learn of them from his interlocutor during the conversation. Consciousness of an unnatural circumstance evokes marked deictic usage. We consider first the invisible affixes in their marked usage and then the visible affixes.

The Invisible affixes of IV-VI can correlate with an unnatural circumstance in two ways: (1) the Middle used of a referent that is in

Distal space at the time of the utterance and (2) the Distal used of a referent that occupies Middle space at the time of the utterance. This contradicts unmarked usage since the referents there occupy a space at the time of the utterance that agrees with the deictic affix used. We consider marked use of the Middle first.

Let us suppose A and B are participants in the conversation taking place in Bella Coola and that a third person Snac, a resident, is the topic. A is looking for Snac and failing to find him at home goes to B's house and inquires after Snac. B knows Snac is working at Stuie, which, at a distance of sixty miles from Bella Coola, is outside the neighborhood. B knows that Snac has been there for several weeks. The following conversation ensues:

- (18) (i) A ka-ks ta snac¹² 'Where's Snac?'
 (ii) B k'x-l-ic ta-[?]imlk-l [?]al-stuix 'I saw the man at Stuie'
 (iii) B ksnmak ta-[?]imlk-l [?]al-stuix 'The man is working at Stuie'
 (iv) A lq-ma ta-[?]imlk-l wix-s [?]al-wilal-s 'The man is probably wet because it's raining'

A first inquires, 'Where's Snac?' B may reply with (18ii): 'I saw the man at Stuie.'¹³ The use of ta-l IV here implies Near Past time; that is, B must have been at Stuie the day of the conversation to witness Snac there. B may also have replied with (18iii): 'The man is working at Stuie.' In (18iii) it is not necessary that B have witnessed Snac there in the Near Past, nor is it necessary that B saw Snac in the neighborhood.

It is a sufficient condition for the use of ta-1 that B know Snac is naturally in the neighborhood, i. e., he lives there and is known to B, and that B know Snac has been in Stuié and unseen for several weeks. The marked usage is the application of the IV affixes to a presently Distal referent. The distinctive semantic component of IV in (18iii) is not Near Past time as it was in (18ii), but the normal closeness of the referent. Were Snac a traveling salesman, whom A and B were both aware of, and further, had A inquired as to his whereabouts, B could not have correctly answered with the IV affixes. (18iii) would then be incorrect, and B would have answered with (19):

(19) ksmak ta-ʔimlk-tx ʔal-stuix 'The man is working at Stuié'

And (19) would in turn be incorrect of the Bella Coola-resident-friend-Snac.

A may reply to B saying (18iv): 'The man's probably wet because it's raining.' Saying this with (18iv)---keeping in mind it has been several weeks since either A or B has seen the resident Snac---implies not only that Snac is a resident of the neighborhood, but that A is also and himself knows Snac. Were A the traveling salesman in search of Snac, (18iv) would be incorrect, and A should say (20):

(20) ɬq-ma ta-ʔimlk-tx wix-s ʔal-wilal-s 'The man is probably
wet because it's raining'

with the V affixes.

B's and A's possible responses show the various distinctive components of IV. In (18ii) Middle space is neutralized in the marked usage, and Near Past time is distinctive. In (18iii) and (18iv), Near Past time

is neutralized, and it is distinctive that Snac is a member of the neighborhood and known to the speaker. This last may be viewed as a result of nondistinctive Near Past and distinctive Middle specifying a Distally located referent. It means the referent naturally occupies Middle space but is presently in Distal space. Three possibilities occur with IV, one unmarked, two marked:

(21)		Distinctive	Nondistinctive
(i)	Unmarked	Middle space	
		Near Past time	
(ii)	Marked	Near Past time	Middle space
(iii)	Marked	Middle space	Near Past time

Recall that in the unmarked usage of 1.1 Middle space correlated with Near Past time. In marked usage either Middle or Near Past may be suppressed so that in (21ii) it is Near Past witnessing that is distinctive, e. g. (18ii). In (21iii) it is Near Past that is suppressed so that Middle alone that is distinctive, e. g. (18iii) and (18iv).

A's response when A is a nonresident is (20), not (18iv). The latter is incorrect because A has not witnessed Snac in the Near Past, i. e., he cannot use (21ii). Nor can he use (21iii) because he does not know Snac. Distinctive Middle combined with nondistinctive Near Past then means the referent is naturally in the neighborhood and and the speaker knows or is familiar with the referent. Because A-the-traveling-salesman fails the second criterion, he must use the V affixes of Snac. These are unmarked for A; both Distal space and Distant Past time are distinctive.

The same marked usage of (18) characterizes objects and possessions of residents in the neighborhood. Let us suppose that Snac is a neighbor of B and that Snac owns a car that usually sits in his driveway. Both A and B know this. Now let us suppose the car disappears and has been gone for a month. After this time elapse, A notices the absence; the following conversation ensues:

(22) (i) A ka-ks ta-q ^{'w_xw}umtimut-s snac 'Where's Snac's car?'

(ii) B ?a_ii-k^w ta-q ^{'w_xw}umtimut-i-s ?a_i-stuix 'I hear his car
is at Stuié'

(Deictic suffixation is absent on 'car' in (22i) as it was in the question (18i).) In (22ii) the IV Middle affixes ta-i are used of a presently Distal referent. Notice that the deictic suffix -i- precedes the third person singular possessive marker. All other deictic suffixes follow. The time of (22ii) is the present 'I hear his car is at Stuié.' Again Near Past is neutralized leaving Middle the distinctive component. Middle is here interpreted similar to its use in (18iii). The referent presently in Distal deictic space is usually, naturally in the neighborhood. Otherwise, the V affixes would be used.

Usage of the V-VI affixes of a referent occupying a Middle location at the time of the utterance parallels the usage of the Middle, invisible IV affixes of a Distal, nonneighborhood referent. The same possibilities for neutralization occur:

(23)		Distinctive	Nondistinctive
(i)	Unmarked	Distal space	
		Distant Past time	
(ii)	Marked	Distant Past time	Distal space
(iii)	Marked	Distal space	Distant Past time

(23ii) is used when the referent was in the neighborhood in the Distant Past time. Consistent with this, (23iii) is employed when talking of the deceased after burial. Consider this conversation at B's house in Bella Coola. Again between A and B about Snac, and all three are residents:

- (24) (i) A ka-ks ta snac 'Where's Snac?'
(ii) B ?ali-ma ?al-a-ax^Wa. c'ix^W-āxam-c' wixiɫ ta-s-k'x-ic
ta-[?]imlk-tx 'He's probably around. I
saw him five days ago.'
(iii) B *?ali-ma ?al-a-ax^Wa. c'ix^W-āxam-c' wixiɫ ta-s-k'x-ic
ta-[?]imlk-ɫ

A inquires where an unseen Snac is; B replies 'He's probably around. I saw him five days ago.' Because the referent is in the neighborhood or assumed to be there, the V affixes, ta-tx, are used with Distal space neutralized, leaving Distant Past time distinctive.

If (23iii) is actualized, we might expect it to be used of strangers about town. This is not the case; q^Wlasɫɫ 'stranger' is something that is natural in the neighborhood and does not elicit the marked usage by itself. However, if a person who is known from outside the neighborhood appears, that person when first spoken of as 'the one called X' elicits the (23iii)

usage. Consider the following conversation (where Snac is remembered by A from outside the neighborhood):

(25) (i) A k'x-i-ic ta-snac-tūm-tx ʔal-a-stua-c¹⁴ 'I saw today the
 person called Snac at the
 store'

(ii) B ʔaw. ʔati-k^w ta-ʔimlk-tx ʔal-a-ax^wa 'Yes. I hear the
 man is staying around here'

(iii) B ʔq-i ta-ʔimlk-i 'The man was wet'

A uses the Near Past time verbal affix in (25i): 'I saw today the person called Snac in the store.' And the Distal affixes are used. Here, Distant Past time is neutralized. It must be, because this is the only place in the language where the Near Past verbal suffix -i- may occur with ta-tx affixed to an Agent, Patient, or prepositional Object. It is the neutralization of the deictic time component of V that permits this cooccurrence. Distal space remains distinctive and marks Snac as a Distal intrusion into Middle space, as one who is not naturally there and hence, a visitor. B may reply in two ways that depend upon whether he himself has seen Snac. If he has not, then (25ii) with the Distal affixes is appropriate; if he has, then (25iii) with the Middle affixes is required. B's having seen Snac is the factor that permits integration of the latter as a known element of the neighborhood. Similarly, since A has seen Snac in the store, any further mention of him by A is via the Middle affixes.¹⁵

The conclusion is that both Distal/Middle space and Distant/Near Past time semantically characterize the IV-VI affixes. And it is the

natural or unnatural circumstance that determines unmarked or marked usage, respectively; marked usage is characterized by neutralization of an otherwise distinctive time or space component.

2.2 The visible affixes I-III exhibit neutralization in marked usage as do the invisible affixes. Since time and space neutralization has been involved in marked usage in 2.1, we would expect the same features to operate analogously. The possibilities are given in (26); (a) represents I/II and (b) represents III:

(26)		Distinctive	Nondistinctive
(i) Unmarked	(a)	Proximal space	
		Present time	
	(b)	Middle space	
		Present/Near Past time	
(ii) Marked	(a)	Present time	Proximal space
	(b)	Present/Near Past time	Middle space
(iii) Marked	(a)	Proximal space	Present time
	(b)	Middle space	Present/Near Past time

Usage illustrating (26ii) exists. We have found nothing corresponding to (26iii), and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine an actual state of events that would lead to such a semantic combination.

To exemplify (26ii), let us consider the following circumstance and conversational fragments. A visits B, and Snac and Nanus are there. While A is present, Snac goes into another part of the house, and Nanus

usage of I in the way Nanus' departure has.

3. What may have at first examination seemed to be a random and unpredictable use of deixis is now seen to be patterned if we assume (1) that space and time are independent semantic components of the deictic affixes I-VI and (2) that there exists the possibility of marking an utterance (as opposed to its being unmarked) in the consciousness of a speaker and that marking is based on natural circumstance encompassing what a native speaker assumes as the usual state of events. This in turn requires definition of neighborhood versus nonneighborhood. To the degree deictic usage is ordered by this schema and correct predictions of usage and meaning are made, the definitions we have proposed are non-arbitrary and should be correct.

If this explanation of Bella Coola nominal deixis is correct, then there are implications for language in general, since any theory of language must account for the phenomena of Bella Coola. We have adopted notions used elsewhere in the description of languages: (un)natural, (un)marked, neutralization, etc. These constructs have to our knowledge always been employed in the description of either grammar or phonology. But the Bella Coola data are semantic.

Semantic structures as discussed by linguists, cognitive anthropologists, or cognitive psychologists have been assumed to be taxonomic---hierarchical or matricial.¹⁶ That approach is reflected in the taxonomy of (17). But we have seen in 2.0-2.2 that this is not sufficient. A speaker of Bella Coola knows more. We require some way of predicting

the observed neutralization. If we assume that language semantics is part of a speaker's knowledge, then a speaker must know not only (17) as emended in 2.0-2.2, but also what is natural and unnatural in order to use (17) with the variant meanings of the affixes. In so far as this second knowledge impinges on language, it requires intergration with it. It is debatable whether that knowledge is linguistic or nonlinguistic--- or whether there is such a distinction. We offer no solution to that problem, but only indicate that that second knowledge seems not to be amenable to such 'simple' hierarchies as (17) and requires a more subtle description.

Notes

*we wish to express here our gratitude to those who speak Bella Coola who have helped us to an understanding of their language: Andy Schooner, Margaret Siwallace, Felicity Walkus, and Charles Snow, especially the last named for his endurance of much tedious questioning. This work is partially supported by National Science Foundation Grant GS-41733 and Canada Council Grant S73-1973.

¹Additional deictic affixes and roots and their grammatical usage are discussed in Davis and Saunders, To appear.

²There exists some variation in the shapes of these affixes. The Feminine prefix of sets III, V, and VI (but not IV) has a variant ?iɬ-. The plural prefix of III, V, and VI (but not IV) has the variant tu-. There seems to be no consistent distinction in meaning between ta- and tu- (and we consider them variants), although occasionally a slightly more Non-proximal meaning (cf. 1.3) is attributed to tu-; for example, if ta-t'ax^W means 'so far distant', then tu-tax^W is 'somewhat more distant'. The tu- prefix primarily characterizes the language of origin myths and similar stories. Newman(1935:43 and 1969:304) notes the occurrence of ta- only with the affixal set V (the remainder of the III-VI group having the tu- prefix) and the absence of a difference in meaning accompanying the choice ta- or tu- in V.

We ignore some morphophonemic variation. For example, ta-[?]imlk-tx may occur as ti-imlk-tx with loss of glottal catch and vocalic assimilation.

The suffix -i of IV differs from the remainder of the deictic suffixes in several ways. We have noted above that it does not occur with the variant prefixal shapes ?i- or tu-. Other peculiarities of -i are noted where relevant to the discussion. It is probable that this suffix is to be identified with the verbal Near Past suffix -i-; it nevertheless functions within the system of nominal deixis and is discussed here.

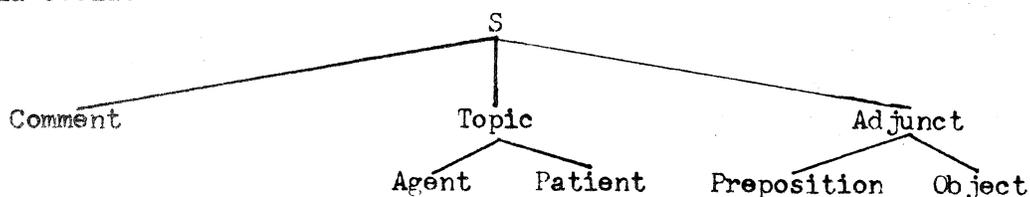
³The situation may be marked by the speaker's consciousness of unnatural events preceding the conversation or by his awareness of the introduction of a nonnormal situation during the conversation. A characterization of natural:unnatural and marked:unmarked is given in 2.0.

⁴Lexical classes Noun, Adjective, and Verb are distinguishable in Bella Coola. The distinction is primarily based on the various structural changes of transformational rules dependent upon whether a variable in the structural description is Noun, Adjective, or Verb. Cf. Davis and Saunders, 1973. Another property of Nouns (used in Davis and Saunders, 1974) is their fixed gender indicated by a single choice from the three rows in (1). Adjectives and Verbs may appear with affixes from more than one row, e. g. ti-λ'ap-tx 'he who is going' and ci-λ'ap-cx 'she who is going'. The syntax of these is discussed in Davis and Saunders, 1973.

⁵Our examples of deictic usage are all Nonfeminine Singular. The comments are equally applicable to the Feminine Singular and the Plural. The use of ti- without an accompanying suffix in (2) means an indefinite

referent 'some/any/a'. This usage is discussed in more detail in Davis and Saunders, To appear.

⁶The semantics and morphological occurrence of some of these verbal affixes are discussed in Saunders and Davis, In preparation. The terms Agent and Patient are discussed in Davis and Saunders, 1973. We assume without elaboration the following underlying structure for simple sentences in Bella Coola:



The Patient and Adjunct constituents are optional. With an Agent alone, Verbs are marked with the affixes:

-c	'I'	-(i)ɬ	'we'
-nu	'you'	-(n)ap	'you'
-∅	'he, she, it'	-(n)aw	'they'

The zero suffix has the variant -s in embedded sentences. With both Agent and Patient, there occurs a suffix for each person-number combination.

⁷Sentences occur that contain only an overt Comment in the surface structure. If the Agent and Patient are unmarked pronouns, they are deleted, and the accompanying Verb will have an Agent-Patient suffix. In these sentences, bare stems are not temporally modified by overt deixis of the Agent or Patient (since there is none), and the sentence has a time locus dependent upon the person of the Agent and Patient and the semantic character of the Verb. At least two distinctions are relevant

in the latter determinant: momentaneous Verbs such as sp' 'strike/hit' and nonmomentaneous Verbs such as cp 'wipe'. These are illustrated below in the possible person combinations in the singular:

sp'

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| (i) | sp'-cinu | 'I hit you'---about to or just did |
| (ii) | sp'-ic | 'I hit him'---about to or just did |
| (iii) | sp'-cx ^W | 'You hit me'---just did |
| (iv) | sp'-ix ^W | 'You hit him!'---imperative force |
| (v) | sp'-cs | 'He hit me'---just did |
| (vi) | sp'-ct | 'He hit you'---just did |
| (vii) | sp'-is | 'He hit him'---just did |

cp

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| (i) | cp-cinu | 'I wipe you'---now |
| (ii) | cp-ic | 'I wipe him'---now |
| (iii) | cp-cx ^W | 'You wipe me'---now |
| (iv) | cp-ix ^W | 'You wipe him!'---imperative force |
| (v) | cp-cs | 'He wipes me'---now |
| (vi) | cp-ct | 'He wipes you'---now |
| (vii) | cp-is | 'He wipes him'---now |

We deal here only with the third person-third person combinations that have overt, deictally determined Nouns manifesting Agent and Patient. The observations made of transitive Comments in (4)-(6) and below extend to the intransitive ones: Adjectives, intransitive Verbs, and Nouns.

⁸In these and preceding sentences, it is always the case that the speaker was present at the occurrence of the event that is related. The speaker witnessed the event. When this is not factually so, a verbal suffix is required to express this: -k^w for his being told it, -ck for his inference of it, -ma for his conjecture, etc. Cf. Saunders and Davis, In preparation.

⁹Future time is not directly expressed in Bella Coola. It is a concomitant of Aspect, e. g. ka- Unrealized, or Mode, e. g. -ma Conjectural.

¹⁰The Demonstrative VI affixes only occur in questions asking for 'yes' or 'no' confirmation.

¹¹When the V affixes occur on the Agent or Patient, the IV affixes may not occur on the remaining constituent of the Topic. The ta/la-ɬ set is replaced by I in that environment. That constraint does not extend across the boundary of Topic and Adjunct.

¹²The use of ta- with no suffix indicates invisibility. This usage is further discussed in Davis and Saunders, To appear.

¹³The use of Nouns is grammatically correct in B's responses but somewhat awkward. Pronouns of some type would be more expected. We retain this usage to illustrate the deixis.

¹⁴The suffix -tūm is the third person singular causative passive. Used with names, it is glossed as 'the one called'.

¹⁵An interesting confirmation of the Distant Past neutralization in V affixes is found in such sentences as

cituma-tx ti-[?]imlk-tx

'The man is sleeping'

The -tx affix may be used independently of the prefix ta- as a verbal suffix. (This and similar usage are more fully described in Davis and Saunders, To appear.) The suffix is used with an otherwise bare stem that is interpreted as Present time. Note the I affixes on ?imlk. The V suffix is used of a presently Proximal referent. Distant Past time is neutralized leaving Distal distinctive. The usage is marked and the circumstance must somehow be unnatural to permit this. And it is. This phrasing of 'The man is sleeping' expresses mild surprise upon walking into a room to find asleep a man the speaker thought to be awake (the unnatural circumstance).

¹⁶Cf. Tyler, 1967.

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