

# On Adverbial Enclisis in Bella Coola

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**Abstract:** The intricate Bella Coola adverbial enclitics  $\downarrow lu$  (DUR) and  $\downarrow alu$  (HYP) are examined first in this short paper. Of the two,  $\downarrow lu$  underlies  $\downarrow alu$  and is compared with particles in five other Salish languages. Next, we consider six adverbial enclitics that are matched in Lillooet; four of these are combined in strings in the same order as their Lillooet counterparts, but  $\downarrow k^w u$  and  $\downarrow tuu$  appear further to the right than the related enclitics  $\downarrow k^w$  and  $\downarrow tu$ . Another ten enclitics have diverse origins, while sources for the remaining two are as yet unknown. I argue that some allomorphic sets have evolved through alternation and elision processes governed by sentence type and string environment, and that the Salish portion of Bella Coola adverbial enclitics is based on a proto-Salish inventory of six enclitics and a root or particle  $*u(?)$ .

**Keywords:** Salish, Bella Coola, enclisis, clitic stringing and merging, allomorphy, diachrony

## 1 Introduction

Bella Coola (hereafter BeCo) has twenty modal and aspectual adverbial enclitics, as well as many enclitic strings (containing up to six units), that express notions such as frequency, predictability, likelihood, speaker’s mental state, attitude, or opinion, etc.<sup>1</sup> I first describe the related pair  $\downarrow lu$  (DUR) and  $\downarrow alu$  (HYP). Although  $\downarrow lu$  was ordinarily glossed as ‘still, yet’ by my consultants, its core meaning is ‘continuation of event begun in the recalled past’; vide the glosses cited in Section 2. (Davis & Saunders 1980 list both “-lu. Expectative” and “-lū. Persistent”.) There are related forms elsewhere, and  $\downarrow alu$  (various glosses) is shown to continue older  $*\downarrow a lu$ . Another six enclitics bear a systemic resemblance to enclitics found in Lillooet, an Interior Salish language with Central Salish adstrata. Of all other adverbial enclitics, six are matched in other Salish, four have foreign origins, and two have as yet no known etymologies. I also discuss doublets and conditioned allomorphy, and argue that twelve enclitics with Salish ancestry derive from a smaller inventory. Topics are arranged in Sections 2 to 8 (2:  $\downarrow lu$  and  $\downarrow alu$ , 3: Lillooet cognates, 4: allomorphy, 5: proto-Salish  $*u(?)$ , 6: foreign origins and unique cognates, 7: imperatives, 8: conclusions), and an appendix (string inventory and sample text) follows the list of references. Note that BeCo glottal stop and glottalization, being mutually exclusive,<sup>2</sup> are both represented by the apostrophe throughout this report.

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<sup>1</sup> A convenient (BeCo-centered and syntax-based) definition of BeCo adverbial enclitics is: “bound units that follow a full predicate, ‘ $a\chi^w$ ’ (‘is) not’, or central component of an argument”. Other Salish languages except Lillooet do not seem to exhibit adverbial enclisis as prolific as in BeCo: Kroeber (1999) cites a few Thompson and Comox adverbial enclitics, while Upper Chehalis appears to have only eight such enclitics (no strings, but many post-predicate “particles” that may have to be redefined as enclitics) (Kinkade 1991). On the other hand, Lillooet has sixteen adverbial enclitics, with strings containing maximally four units (Van Eijk 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Glottalization is a feature of eight occlusives ( $p^{\prime}$   $t^{\prime}$   $c^{\prime}$   $\lambda^{\prime}$   $k^{\prime}$   $k^w$   $q^{\prime}$   $q^w$ ) whose occurrence is affected by very few phonotactic restrictions. The glottal stop, on the other hand, is always preceded by a morpheme boundary, fricative, resonant, or vowel, and must be followed by a resonant or vowel (while it tends to glottalize occlusives (T) in the environments ...T-’... and ...T’...).

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*Papers for the International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages 58.*

D. K. E. Reisinger, Laura Griffin, Gloria Mellesmoen, Sander Nederveen, Julia Schillo, Bailey Trotter (eds.). Vancouver, BC: UBCWPL, 2023.

## 2 The enclitics *lu* and *alu*, hierarchy within strings

*lu* and *alu* are two etymologically and semantically intriguing members of the set of adverbial enclitics below, and can combine with other adverbial enclitics in ordered (A–M) strings:<sup>3</sup>

**Table 1:** Bella Coola adverbial enclitics

Slot	Unit	Leipzig Glossing	Definition/Gloss
A	<i>a</i>	QM	‘yes-no question marker’
	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i>	QUOT	‘quotative’
B	<i>(‘)l...</i>	WHQ <sub>1</sub>	‘wh- question marker 1’
C	<i>ma, m...</i>	POSB	‘possibly, perhaps’
	<i>mas</i>	HAB	‘habitual, cyclical, bound to, always’
D	<i>(‘)i(t)...</i>	ANTIC	‘anticipatory’
E	<i>alu, alu, altu</i>	HYP	‘hypothetical’
F	<i>(‘)i...</i>	WHQ <sub>2</sub>	‘wh- question marker 2’
G	<i>tu</i>	CERT	‘really, certainly’
	<i>su</i>	CNTREXP	‘unexpectedly’
H	<i>lu(u), lu(u)</i>	DUR	‘durative’
I	<i>k<sup>w</sup>, k<sup>w</sup>’u</i>	RPT	‘repeatedly’
J	<i>ya</i>	ASRT	‘assertive: eh?, right?’
	<i>k<sup>w</sup>u</i>	ASSUM	‘assumptive’
K	<i>(s)c’(n), (s)c’i...</i>	PNC	‘now, then, at that point’
L	<i>...k(a)</i>	CONS	‘consequently, consecutively’
	<i>ks</i>	UNSPEC	‘non-specific, unknown, confusion’
	<i>ck(i)</i>	INFR	‘I guess, inferential’
	<i>c’ak<sup>w</sup></i>	OPT	‘I wish, optative’
M	<i>tuu</i>	PREC	‘even, exactly, precisely’

The notation *(‘)...* serves to signal that (I) *(‘)i... > j...* after *l...* and *m...*, (II) *(‘)l... > l...* before *j...* (while *(‘)...* usually glottalizes a preceding occlusive where rules I and II do not apply) (cf. Section 4).

English glosses for *lu* and *alu* depend on context. Even though my consultants were generally in agreement that *lu* means ‘still, yet’, they translated *lu* also as ‘throughout, so far, eventually, as before’. Likewise, glosses for *alu* are diverse: ‘almost, contemplating, imaginary’. The use and semantic range of *(a)lu* are illustrated in sentences (1) to (6) below (from Nater 1983 and unpublished field notes). For allomorphic *(a)lu* and *altu* (< \**al(u)tu*) see Nater (1983: 28.3.9, 28.3.13).

<sup>3</sup> Strings are listed in the appendix. The one string containing *mas* (i.e., *mas tu*) is cited in Davis and Saunders (1980:259). *(‘)i(t)...* (D) as a rule co-occurs with *...k(a)* (L) (and vice versa; for exceptions see Section 7).

- (1) *naxliwatul<sub>v</sub>luu ti<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>'puc<sub>v</sub>t'ayx.* 'As usual, we get this net ready.'
- (2) *nuyamlusic<sub>v</sub>lu.* 'I still sing a lullaby to him.'
- (3) *'aynaw<sub>v</sub>lu<sub>v</sub>c'x<sub>v</sub>tχ<sup>w</sup> Hanmaw.* 'Eventually, they became fossils.'
- (4) *χχltutic wa<sub>v</sub>mmncc<sub>v</sub>alu<sub>v</sub>'ac'ut<sub>v</sub>'inu.* 'I sent these would-be children of mine to you.'
- (5) *λ'ikmtimuts<sub>v</sub>alu.* 'She tried to run away.'
- (6) *'isslayχtc<sub>v</sub>alu.* 'I would eat more.'

There are in other Salish languages a few particles that resemble BeCo  $\downarrow lu$ : Shuswap has a deictic stem  $\sqrt{lu}?$  ~  $\sqrt{tu}?$  'over there (invisible)' (Kuipers 1974); Kalispel has  $tu?$  which is tentatively labelled as 'article' and 'subordinate' (Speck 1980); Squamish has a conjunction  $yu$  'but then, but finally' (Kuipers 1969) (possibly from older  $*y-u$  or  $*l-u$ ). The Upper Chehalis enclitic  $\rho u, u?$  'still, yet' (Kinkade 1991) and the Cowichan conjunctive  $\rho o?$  'temporal sequence' (Hukari 1982), too, match BeCo  $\downarrow lu$  (which continues  $*l-u(?)$ , see Section 5).

The semantics and hierarchical position of  $\downarrow alu$  imply that it is a merger of  $\downarrow a$  (QM, 'debatably') and  $\downarrow lu$  (DUR, 'still, as yet').<sup>4</sup> This amalgamation entailed left-to-right migration of  $\downarrow a$  and concurrent right-to-left migration of  $\downarrow lu$ . Similar fusions, along with left-to-right migration, have occurred elsewhere as well: see Sections 4 ( $\downarrow sc'n$ ) and 8 (Table 7).

### 3 Bella Coola adverbial enclitics with cognates in Lillooet

In regard to adverbial enclitic morphology, BeCo resembles, surprisingly enough, Lillooet more closely than all other Salish: Lillooet has an abundance of adverbial enclitics (sixteen) most of which can be combined in clusters of up to four units (Van Eijk 1997:207–211). Below, the four Lillooet adverbial enclitics with cognates in BeCo are shown; note that these enclitics are arranged in strings in the same order as their BeCo counterparts (except for  $\downarrow k^w$  and  $\downarrow tu$ ). Although  $\downarrow (V)k^wu$  (QUOT),  $\downarrow a$  (QM), and  $\downarrow tu$  (several glosses) are also found elsewhere (see Tables 4 and 6 further below), I have to date seen no evidence of adverbial enclitic inventories and enclitic stringing in Salish as profuse as in BeCo and Lillooet.

**Table 2:** Cognation between Bella Coola and Lillooet adverbial enclitics

<b>Bella Coola</b>	$\downarrow a$	$\downarrow k^w$	$\downarrow tu$	$\downarrow k^wu$	$\downarrow \dots k(a)$	$\downarrow tuu$
Gloss	Q marker	quotative	really	assumptive	consecutive	exactly
POSITION	A	A	G	J	L	M
<b>Lillooet</b>	$\downarrow ha$	see $\downarrow k^wu?$	see $\downarrow tu?$	$\downarrow k^wu?$	$\downarrow ka$	$\downarrow tu?$
Gloss	interrogative			quotative	expectancy	definite past
POSITION	C			D	E	I

BeCo  $\downarrow tu$  and  $\downarrow tuu$  constitute a doublet ( $< * \downarrow tu \sim * \downarrow tu?$  'having happened, actually'), as do  $\downarrow k^w$  and  $\downarrow k^wu$  ( $< * \downarrow (a)k^w \sim * \downarrow (a)k^w-u$  'not witnessed personally, assumedly'), see Section 5 below. Note that  $\downarrow k^wu$  and  $\downarrow tuu$  have moved further away from the predicate,<sup>5</sup> and appear after  $\downarrow k^w$  and  $\downarrow tu$ . For a different interpretation of Lillooet  $\downarrow tu?$ , see Davis and Matthewson (2003).

<sup>4</sup> Thus, enclitical  $\downarrow alu$  is more or less equivalent to sentential  $'a\chi^w lu$  '(it has) not (happened) yet'.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that  $\downarrow tu?$  is assigned a slot after  $\downarrow ka$  (rather than before  $\downarrow k^wu?$ ) in Lillooet is an indication that left-to-right migration of older  $* \downarrow t-u?$  (vs.  $* \downarrow t-u$ ) may also have happened in Lillooet (due to contact with older Central Salish (including pre-BeCo) groups?).

#### 4 Allomorphy: alternations and reductions

There are four allomorphic sets of adverbial enclitics where a vowel or resonant (and *t* in  $\underset{\cdot}{(')}i(t)\dots$ ) varies with zero. Such variation is associated with *string environment or sentence type*.<sup>6</sup> Sentences listed below are from Nater (1983) and the author's unpublished field notes. For more examples, the reader is referred to the enclitic strings in the inventory and sample text provided in the appendix.

$\underset{\cdot}{c}'(n) \sim \underset{\cdot}{c}'i \dots \sim \underset{\cdot}{sc}'(n) \sim \underset{\cdot}{sc}'i \dots$

- ▶  $\underset{\cdot}{c}'(i)$  and  $\underset{\cdot}{sc}'(n/i)$  in strings
- ▶  $\underset{\cdot}{c}'n\#$  in near-complementary distribution with  $\underset{\cdot}{c}'\#$ <sup>7</sup>

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (7)  | $'ipcikit \underset{\cdot}{i} \underset{\cdot}{c}'i k.$   | 'And then they covered it with moss.'         |
| (8)  | $"\lambda'ali na, \lambda'ali na!" cut \underset{\cdot}{k}^w \underset{\cdot}{i} \underset{\cdot}{sc}'i k.$ | "'Come here, come here!'", he then said.'     |
| (9)  | $ka \underset{\cdot}{lip}'cutnu \underset{\cdot}{a} \underset{\cdot}{sc}'(n)?$                              | 'Will you still be coming back?'              |
| (10) | $'\chi muuc \underset{\cdot}{k}^w \underset{\cdot}{c}' cki ti 'ayuc.$                                       | 'Apparently, a ringing sound was then heard.' |
| (11) | $'inixa 'ii \underset{\cdot}{a} \underset{\cdot}{c}'n?$   | 'Are we almost there yet?'                    |
| (12) | $tixs \underset{\cdot}{c}'(n) t\chi.$   | 'Now it was him.'                             |

$\underset{\cdot}{ma} \sim \underset{\cdot}{m} \dots$

- ▶  $\underset{\cdot}{m}$  before  $\underset{\cdot}{i} \dots$  in strings
- ▶  $\underset{\cdot}{ma}$  everywhere else

- |      |  |                                     |
|------|--|-------------------------------------|
| (13) | $yanu \underset{\cdot}{m} \underset{\cdot}{i} \underset{\cdot}{c}'i k ska \lambda'apnu.$ | 'Perhaps it is time for you to go.' |
| (14) | $ka \lambda'api \underset{\cdot}{m} a.$  | 'We may be going.'                  |

$\underset{\cdot}{(')}it \dots \sim \underset{\cdot}{(')}i \dots$

- ▶  $\underset{\cdot}{(')}it \dots$  before  $\underset{\cdot}{\dots}k, \underset{\cdot}{alu}, \underset{\cdot}{k}^w / \underset{\cdot}{k}^w u$
- ▶  $\underset{\cdot}{(')}i \dots$  before  $\underset{\cdot}{tu}, \underset{\cdot}{su}, \underset{\cdot}{lu}, \underset{\cdot}{c}'i \dots$

<sup>6</sup> In allomorphic sets not considered here, the choice between allomorphs is determined by *phonetic-syntactic* factors ( $\underset{\cdot}{lu}$  and  $\underset{\cdot}{alu}$  following a word- or enclitic-final obstruent vs.  $\underset{\cdot}{lu}$  and  $\underset{\cdot}{(y)alu}$  after a word- or enclitic-final vowel or resonant), or members are in *free variation* ( $\underset{\cdot}{ck} \sim \underset{\cdot}{cki}, \underset{\cdot}{k}^w \sim \underset{\cdot}{k}^w u$ ).

<sup>7</sup>  $\underset{\cdot}{c}'$  prevails in statements ("realis"), while  $\underset{\cdot}{c}'n$  is more frequent in interrogative and negative ("irrealis") utterances. Davis and Saunders (1980) cite "-c'n. Imperfective" vs. "-c'. Perfective" and "-c'i. Cf. -c'" (no gloss).  $\underset{\cdot}{sc}'(n)$  (with "contrary to expectation" implied) likely continues  $*\underset{\cdot}{s(-u)} \underset{\cdot}{c}'(n)$  (vs. recent  $\underset{\cdot}{su} \underset{\cdot}{c}'(n)$  which, like  $\underset{\cdot}{tu} \underset{\cdot}{c}'(n)$ , was consistently glossed as 'again' by my consultants).

- (15) *cucut<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>'it<sub>v</sub>k.* 'Well, that's what he was saying.'  
 (16) *spuxamtimut<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>'it<sub>v</sub>alu<sub>v</sub>c'i<sub>v</sub>k.* 'Now he tried to transform himself into eagle down.'  
 (17) *wix<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>'i<sub>v</sub>c'i<sub>v</sub>ka c sλ'apaw<sub>v</sub>c'.* 'That's when they started.'

...*ka* ~ ...*k*

- ▶ *ka* is often preferred in *wix*... *c* and *wix*... *tχ<sup>w</sup>*, as well as in hypothetical, interrogative, and imperative (“irrealis”) utterances
- ▶ *k* found everywhere else (“realis”)

- (18) *wix<sub>v</sub>'i<sub>v</sub>c'i<sub>v</sub>ka tχ<sup>w</sup>sq<sup>w</sup>lχ<sup>w</sup>ulcutaw.* 'And that's when they had a meeting.'  
 (19) *stam<sub>v</sub>'it<sub>v</sub>ka?* 'Well, what about it?'  
 (20) *yupalc<sub>v</sub>'i<sub>v</sub>luu<sub>v</sub>kaχ!* 'Let me pass first!'  
 (See Nater 1983: 28.3.20.4 for post-enclitical /-χ/)  
 (21) *χimlayxa<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>'i<sub>v</sub>c'i<sub>v</sub>k.* 'And they arrived early in the morning.'

### 5 All-Salish \*u(?)

Comparative data (Table 4 on the following page) indicate that BeCo adverbial enclitics ending in ...*u* are originally complex. These morphemes share a fossilized particle \**u* ~ \**u?* ‘time flow, sequence, forward direction’:

**Table 3:** Common Salish \*u(?) in Bella Coola adverbial enclitics

Common Salish	Bella Coola	
* <i>s-u</i>	<i>su</i> (G)	
* <i>t-u(?)</i>	<i>tu</i> (G) vs. <i>tuu</i> (M)	} DOUBLET PAIRS
* <i>k<sup>w</sup>(-u)</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup></i> (A) vs. <i>k<sup>w</sup>u</i> (J)	
* <i>l/-u(?)</i>	<i>l/lu</i> ~ <i>l/luu</i> (H)	} ALLOMORPH PAIRS
* <i>k<sup>w</sup>'(-u)</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>'</i> ~ <i>k<sup>w</sup>'u</i> (I)	

Notes:

- ▶ \**u?* as such has persisted as an enclitic ‘still, yet’ in Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991) and, along with along with \**s-u?*, as the Cowichan mobile conjunctive *ʔo?*, *s-o?* ‘temporal sequence, (and) then, so’ (Hukari 1982).
- ▶ ...*u#* is a component of five adverbial enclitics (other than *tuu* and *alu*, for the latter see Section 2) that occupy adjacent slots in strings: *tu* (G), *su* (G), *lu* (H), *k<sup>w</sup>'u* (I), *k<sup>w</sup>u* (J). The relevance of this pattern is addressed in Section 8.
- ▶ Concerning the function and semantic load of \**t-* and \**l/-*, note that *t-* < \**(ʔi)t* and *l/-* < \**(ʔə)l*, for which see Section 8 where I proffer tentative reconstructions of underlying forms. *su* is related to Cowichan *so?* where according to Hukari (1982) *s-* is a nominalizer; one may argue that BeCo *su*, too, originally contained nominalizing *s-*.

- For a likely connection of  $\checkmark k^w(u)$  with deixis, cf. Lillooet  $k^w$ ... ‘invisible’ and  $k^w$ ... $\checkmark$  ‘unknown’ (Van Eijk 1997: 25.1, 31.1), Squamish  $k^w$ ... $\checkmark$  ‘non-present, indefinite’ (Kuipers 1967:189), and Huijsmans and Reisinger 2018 (on the Comox-Sliammon clausal demonstratives  $k^w a/k^w u$  and  $k^w i$  ‘not visible’).

The particle  $*u(?)$  is distributed throughout Salish as shown in Table 4, where each instance of BeCo ... $u\#$  matches at least two morphemes in other Salish. Note that BeCo resembles Upper Chehalis here more than Central Salish (cf. Nater 2014): (1) Upper Chehalis  $tu$  and BeCo  $\checkmark tu$ ; (2) Upper Chehalis  $\text{?}u \sim u\text{?}$  and BeCo  $\checkmark lu$  (a perfect semantic match). (For Upper Chehalis  $\text{?}i$ ... (in  $\text{?}itu$ ) and BeCo  $(')i(t)$ ..., see Section 8.)

**Table 4:** Evidence for  $*u(?)$  in Salish

Language	Source	$*t-u(?)$	$*k^w-u(?)$	$*l/t-u(?)$	$*s-u(?)$	$*u(?)$	Gloss
Bella Coola	Nater (1983)	$\checkmark tu/\checkmark tuu$	$\checkmark k^w u$	$\checkmark lu(u), \checkmark lu(u)$	$\checkmark su$	$\checkmark \dots u(u)$	(see Section 2)
U. Chehalis	Kinkade (1991)	$(\text{?}i)tu$				$u\text{?} \sim \text{?}u$	‘then, finally’ ‘still, yet’
Lillooet	Van Eijk (1997)	$\checkmark tu\text{?}$	$\checkmark k^w u\text{?}$				definite past quotative
Thompson	Kroeber (1999)		$\checkmark ek^w u$				quotative
Sechelt	Beaumont (2011)		$k^w u$				(event unseen)
Shuswap	Kuipers (1974)			$\checkmark lu\text{?}, \checkmark lu\text{?}$			‘yonder’
Kalispel	Speck (1980)			$tu\text{?}$			(particle)
Squamish	Kuipers (1969)			$yu$			‘but finally’
Cowichan	Hukari (1982)				$s-o\text{?}$	$\text{?}o\text{?}$	‘(and) then, so’
Columbian	Kinkade (1976)				$na\text{?}-sú\text{?}$		future, ‘when’

## 6 Foreign origins and unique cognates

Four adverbial enclitics have been copied (however imperfectly) from Chinookan and Tsimshianic, two are matched in Interior Salish, and one is matched in Central and Tsamosan Salish:

**Table 5:** Unexpected origins and matches

Bella Coola	Source / Cognate	Notes
$\checkmark ma, \checkmark m...$ (POSB)	Tsimshianic $\checkmark [\partial]ma?$ ‘dubitative’ (Tarpent 1987)	
$\checkmark mas$ (HAB)	Tsimshianic $\checkmark ima_s$ ‘might, must have ...’ (Peterson 1999)	Was Tsimshianic $\checkmark ima_s$ initially perceived as ‘as expected’?
$\checkmark ks$ (UNSPEC)	Chinook $-k\checkmark$ ‘animate pl., multitude’ (vs. $-ma\checkmark$ ‘distributive pl.’) (Dyk 1933)	Chinook $-uk\checkmark$ was copied as $-uks$ ‘plural’ (Nater 2010)
$\checkmark ck(i)$ (INFR)	Chinook $-c\checkmark k$ ‘continuative/distributive-perfective’ (Dyk 1933) and/or Gitksan $s\checkmark gi$ ‘necessity’ (Matthewson 2011)	Copied from Chinook as “fait accompli”, then altered to EV~INFR upon contact with Tsimshianic? <sup>8</sup>
$\checkmark (')i...$ (WHQ)	Shuswap $-y'$ [ $\dots e?$ ] ‘id.’ (Kuipers 1974)	Common Salish $*\checkmark \eta i(t)$ (EXPECT? ~ WHQ) (see Table 7)
$\checkmark k^w$ (RPT)	Kalispel $k^w$ ‘evidently’ (Speck 1980) and Coeur d’Alene $k^w$ ‘(-)ne?’ ‘future’ (cf. Columbian $na?$ ‘future’) (Kinkade 1976)	From $**\checkmark k^w -\eta$ ‘frequently reported by others, expected to happen again’?
$\checkmark (')i(t)...$ (ANTIC)	Sliammon $\checkmark \eta iyt$ ‘Confirming, Admitting; Emphasis’ (?) (Watanabe); Upper Chehalis $\checkmark it$ ‘completive aspect’ (Kinkade 1991)	Common Salish $*\checkmark \eta i(t)$ (EXPECT?) (see Table 7)

## 7 Imperatives

Certain adverbial enclitics are also used as imperative markers (Nater 1983: 28.3.20 ff.).

Of special interest is  $\checkmark (')it$  (ANTIC) which here does not require the presence of additional  $\checkmark \dots k(a)$ , and signifies urgency or impatience:

(22)  $k'xc\checkmark 'it!$  ‘Hey, look at me!’

(23)  $'\text{alpstumannaw}\checkmark 'it!$  ‘Come on, folks, give me something to eat!’

Two enclitic strings that function as imperative markers are  $\checkmark 'i\checkmark su$  ‘again, (some) more’ and  $\checkmark 'i\checkmark tu$  ‘first, for a while (before you do anything else)’ (here, too,  $\checkmark \dots k(a)$  is absent, however, cf. sample sentence (20) in Section 4):

<sup>8</sup> However, the resemblance to Columbian  $sa(?)k$  ‘can, will, should’, Thompson  $ske, se?$  ‘presumptive, ought, should’, Northern Shuswap  $-s-ke, -c-ke$  ‘conditional’ (Kinkade 1976) cannot be ignored either. Cf. fn. 10.

- (24) *qaaxla* <sub>v</sub> *'i su!* ‘Have another drink!’  
 (25) *'alpstumutax* <sup>w</sup> <sub>v</sub> *'i su!* ‘Give us some more to eat, folks!’  
 (26) *cayuc* <sub>v</sub> *'i tu!* ‘Be quiet for a while!’  
 (27) *qaaxlatutannaw* <sub>v</sub> *'i tu!* ‘Give them something to drink first, folks!’  
 (28) *txt* <sub>v</sub> *'i tu!* ‘Cut it first!’  
 (29) *'ax<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>* <sub>v</sub> *'i tu* *'aytux<sup>w</sup>!* ‘Don’t do it yet!’

Two adverbial enclitics, and one adverbial enclitic string, are extended with preceding *a* when used as imperative markers in combination with an imperative suffix:

- (30) *'ick<sup>w</sup>ix<sup>w</sup>ac* <sub>v</sub> *'!* ‘Get out of my way now!’  
 (31) *q<sup>w</sup>ux<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>atuu!* ‘Call him too!’  
 (32) *q<sup>w</sup>ux<sup>w</sup>tx<sup>w</sup>asu<sub>v</sub>c* <sub>v</sub> *'!* ‘Call him again!’

Two enclitics that are used exclusively as imperative markers are *na* and *nas* ‘if you don’t mind, please ...’. *na* is probably repurposed *na!* ‘take this, there you are!’ (cf. *ya* in Table 1), and *nas* possibly < \**na<sub>v</sub>s(-u)*.

- (33) *'at'at'awlc<sub>v</sub>na!* ‘Please follow me!’  
 (34) *'alix<sup>w</sup>na wa papa!* ‘Please pass the pepper!’  
 (35) *k'xt<sub>v</sub>nas!* ‘Please look at him!’  
 (36) *k'xtaw<sub>v</sub>nas!* ‘Please look at him, folks!’

## 8 Conclusions

Suffixation and enclisis, and stringing of suffixes and enclitics, have become more productive in BeCo due mainly to long-term proximity and exposure to Heiltsuk, Haisla, and Oowekyala (Nater 2014). North Wakashan suffixes were fashionably copied but not always properly understood (due to which a few semantically empty (“formative”) suffixes now exist in BeCo). In bilingual communities, BeCo lexicon of Salish descent was often replaced by North Wakashan material; the phonology was restructured (loss or replacement of schwa, spirantization of syllable-final uvular stops, appearance of long vowels, etc.); grammatical templates (specifically deictic and transitive pronominal paradigms (Nater 2014)) were expanded. To a lesser degree, dealings with Athabaskan (Nater 1994) and Tsimshianic (Nater 2014) populations in northeastern and northern regions also played a role in the addition of copied vocabulary (and a few Tsimshianic affixes).

If my reconstructions are accurate, 70% of BeCo adverbial enclitics have Salish origins, while 30% come from foreign and unidentified sources.

As stated earlier (Section 5), BeCo appears to be more closely aligned with Tsamosan than with other Salish (Nater 2014). This does not surprise, in view of early contact with other ethnicities in the Olympic region: Chimakuan (words for ‘hair’ and ‘head’), Nootkic (word for ‘head’), and Chinookan (word for ‘yes’, plural suffix) (Nater 2010, 2013). For southern origins of Salish in general, see Kinkade (1990).

The findings of this report are summarized in Tables 6 and 7 below. Note the highlighted fields G–J plus M (*...u*) (the latter disconnected from G–J by *...k(a)* and K–L units with foreign and unknown origins copied or continued prior to doublet splitting) and D–F (*(')i...*) where E *alu* has intruded as a result of the A + H > E event described in Section 2).



**Table 6:** Affiliations of Bella Coola adverbial enclitics

Slot	All Salish	Interior	Central	Foreign source	Unknown source
A	$\surd a, \surd k^w$				
B	$\surd l...$				
C				$\surd ma \sim \surd m...,$ $\surd mas$	
D			$\surd (')i(t)...$		
E	$\surd alu \sim \surd at\u$				
F		$\surd (')i...$			
G	$\surd tu$		$\surd su$		
H	$\surd lu \sim \surd t\u$				
I		$\surd k^w' =$ $\surd k^w'u$			
J	$\surd k^w u$	$\surd ya$			
K					$\surd c'(n) \sim \surd c'i...$
L		$\surd ...k(a)$		$\surd ks, \surd ck(i)$	$\surd c'ak^w$
M	$\surd tuu$				

Enclitical  $\surd ya$  is repurposed  $ya$  ‘good’ (cf. Thompson  $y'e$  ‘good’ (Kuipers 2002:51)).

The highlighted G–J field plus M is morpho-phonemically uniform (the domain of  $*\surd u(?)$ , cf. Section 5, Table 4), and so is D–F  $\surd (')i(t)...$ ; clearly, all BeCo adverbial enclitics of Salish heritage derive from a smaller stock (consisting of seven units). How such a small package may have expanded to a more sizable inventory is detailed in Table 7.

**Table 7:** Speculative development of Bella Coola adverbial enclisis

Proto-Salish	Common Salish	Bella Coola	Comment
$*\surd (h)a$ (QM)	$*\surd (h)a$	$\surd a$	$*h$ is marginal
$*\surd (\partial)k^v$ (QUOT)	$*\surd (\partial)k^v$	$\surd k^w$	doublet relation with $\surd k^v u$
$*\surd (?\partial)l$ (ASSOC?)	$*\surd (?\partial)l$	$\surd (')l$	
		$\surd ma$	foreign origin
		$\surd mas$	foreign origin
$*\surd ?it$ (EXPECT?)	$*\surd ?i(t)$	$\surd (')i(t)...$	doublet relation with $\surd (')i...$
		$\surd alu$	merger of $\surd a$ and $\surd lu$
	$*\surd ?i \sim *i?$	$\surd (')i...$	doublet relation with $\surd (')i(t)...$
	$*\surd (?i)t-u$	$\surd tu$	doublet relation with $\surd tuu$
$*\surd u(?)$ (SEQ)	$*\surd s-u(?)$	$\surd su$	$s$ - NMZ
	$*\surd l/t-u(?)$	$\surd l/t\u \sim$ $\surd l/tuu$	$< *l + *u(?)$

Proto-Salish	Common Salish	Bella Coola	Comment
* $\checkmark k^w$ ' (QUOT+FRQ?)	* $\checkmark k^w(-u)$	$\checkmark k^w \sim \checkmark k^w u$	free variation
	* $\checkmark k^w-u$	$\checkmark k^w u$	doublet relation with $\checkmark k^w$
	* $\checkmark ya$ 'good'	$\checkmark ya$	repurposed
		$\checkmark c'n$	unknown origin <sup>9</sup>
		$\checkmark ks$	foreign origin
		$\checkmark ck$	foreign origin
		$\checkmark c'ak^w$	unknown origin <sup>10</sup>
* $\checkmark ka$ (PREDICT)	* $\checkmark ka$	$\checkmark k(a)$	
	* $\checkmark t-u\checkmark$	$\checkmark tuu$	doublet relation with $\checkmark tu$

Notes:

- ▶ The *proto-Salish vs. common Salish* distinction is essentially the same as Van Eijk's *pre-PS vs. PS* and Nater's *PS vs. post-PS*: see Van Eijk and Nater (2020: fn. 14). For rare \**h* in Salish, see Kuipers (2002:35–36, 164, 216, 224).
- ▶ A reflex of PS \* $\checkmark(\partial)k^w$  (without ...*u*(*?*)) appears in southern Shuswap (Kinkade 1976:  $\checkmark uk^w$ ), while Sechelt *-k<sup>w</sup>'a* 'supposed, alleged, they say that ...' (Beaumont 2011) may go back to \*\* $\checkmark k^w-\checkmark a$  (whose \* $\checkmark \dots \checkmark a$  compares with \* $\checkmark \dots \checkmark \partial$  considered below). See Section 5 for a deictic origin of  $\checkmark k^w$ .
- ▶ \* $\checkmark(\partial)l$  may have been a mobile particle related to common Salish \* $\checkmark(\partial)l\checkmark$  'preposition, at' (= BeCo 'at', 'al...').
- ▶ \* $\checkmark k^w$  may continue \*\* $\checkmark k^w-\checkmark \partial$  (see Section 6, and cf. \* $\checkmark(\partial)k^w$  and \* $\checkmark \dots \checkmark a$  above).

At this point, one is left to wonder why BeCo and Lillooet would be the only Salish languages with robust (and oddly similar) adverbial enclitic systems in place, however, see fn. 1 about the uncertain status of Upper Chehalis in this regard, and fn. 5 on Central Salish adstrata in Lillooet. Throughout the history of ICSNL, adverbial enclisis in Salish other than BeCo has received only sporadic attention (viz. Kinkade 1976; Hukari 1982; Davis and Matthewson 2003; Huijismans and Reisinger 2018; Reisinger 2018). One hopes that more data on adverbial enclisis in Salish other than BeCo and Lillooet will become available before such knowledge is irretrievably lost.

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<sup>9</sup> ?Cf. proto-Interior Salish \* $\checkmark c' \checkmark n$  'tight' (Kuipers 2002).

<sup>10</sup> But cf. Okanagan  $\checkmark cak^w$  'conditional, should, wish' (Kinkade 1976) (the BeCo and Okanagan forms may continue \* $\checkmark c \checkmark ak^w \sim \checkmark ca \checkmark k^w$ ). Compare as well Northern Shuswap *-s-ke, -c-ke* 'conditional', Thompson *ske, se?* 'presumptive, ought, should', Columbian *sa(?)k* 'can, will, should' (Kinkade 1976) (see fn. 8).

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## Appendix A: string inventory

All enclitic strings cited in Nater (1983) are listed below. Note that WHQ (B) and WHQ (F) are allowed to coexist in strings (14, 75, 76, 78), and see Section 2 for the ANTIC...CONS link. For absence vs. presence of glottal stop in  $\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')l/i...$ , see Section 2.  $\cdot$  separates reduplicated syllables within a string. Strings that appear in the sample text are highlighted.

#	Enclitic String	Sequence	Leipzig Glossing
1	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')i_{\cdot}ks$	F-L	WHQ-UNSPEC
2	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')i_{\cdot}lu_{\cdot}k, \underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')i_{\cdot}luu_{\cdot}k$	D-H-L	ANTIC-DUR-CONS
3	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')i_{\cdot}lu_{\cdot}c'i_{\cdot}k$	D-H-K-L	ANTIC-DUR-PNC-CONS
4	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')i_{\cdot}su_{\cdot}ks$	F-G-L	WHQ-CNTREXP-UNSPEC
5	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')it_{\cdot}alu_{\cdot}tu_{\cdot}c'i_{\cdot}k$	D-E-G-K-L	ANTIC-HYP-CERT-PNC-CONS
6	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')it_{\cdot}aluu_{\cdot}k$	D-E-L	ANTIC-HYP-CONS
7	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')it_{\cdot}k^{w'}u_{\cdot}k$	D-I-L	ANTIC-RPT-CONS
8	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')it_{\cdot}ka$	D-L	ANTIC-CONS
9	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')i_{\cdot}c'i_{\cdot}k(a)$	D-K-L	ANTIC-PNC-CONS
10	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')i_{\cdot}tu_{\cdot}k$	D-G-L	ANTIC-CERT-CONS
11	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')i_{\cdot}tu_{\cdot}k_{\cdot}tuu$	D-G-L-M	ANTIC-CERT-CONS-PREC
12	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')l_{\cdot}ks$	B-L	WHQ-UNSPEC
13	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')l_{\cdot}ma$	B-C	WHQ-POSB
14	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')l_{\cdot}m_{\cdot}i_{\cdot}c'$	B-C-F-K	WHQ-POSB-WHQ-PNC
15	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}(')l_{\cdot}tu_{\cdot}ks$	B-G-L	WHQ-CERT-UNSPEC
16	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}k^{w'}u$	A-J	QM-ASSUM
17	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}ttu_{\cdot}k^{w'}$	E-I	HYP-RPT
18	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}lu$	A-H	QM-DUR
19	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}tu_{\cdot}ck$	E-L	HYP-INFR
20	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}lu_{\cdot}lu_{\cdot}k^{w'}$	E-H-I	HYP-DUR-RPT
21	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}lu_{\cdot}c'ak^{w'}$	E-L	HYP-OPT
22	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}lw_{\cdot}i_{\cdot}ks$	E-F-L	HYP-WHQ-UNSPEC
23	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}ma_{\cdot}tu$	A-C-G	QM-POSB-CERT
24	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}(s)c'(n)$	A-K	QM-PNC
25	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}tu$	A-G	QM-CERT
26	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}tuu$	A-M	QM-PREC
27	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}yaltu$	A-E	QM-HYP
28	$\underset{\cdot}{\cdot}a_{\cdot}yatu$	A-E	QM-HYP

#	Enclitic String	Sequence	Leipzig Glossing
29	$\downarrow i c'$	F-K	WHQ-PNC
30	$\downarrow k^w u ks$	J-L	ASSUM-UNSPEC
31	$\downarrow k^w 'i(s)c'i k(a)$	A-D-K-L	QUOT-ANTIC-PNC-CONS
32	$\downarrow k^w 'i lu k, \downarrow k^w 'i tuu k$	A-D-H-L	QUOT-ANTIC-DUR-CONS
33	$\downarrow k^w 'i lu c'i k$	A-D-H-K-L	QUOT-ANTIC-DUR-PNC-CONS
34	$\downarrow k^w 'i su lu c'i k$	A-D-G-H-K-L	QUOT-ANTIC-CNTREXP-DUR-PNC-CONS
35	$\downarrow k^w 'it alu luu k$	A-D-E-H-L	QUOT-ANTIC-HYP-DUR-CONS
36	$\downarrow k^w 'it alu c'i k$	A-D-E-K-L	QUOT-ANTIC-HYP-PNC-CONS
37	$\downarrow k^w 'it alu tu c'i k$	A-D-E-G-K-L	QUOT-ANTIC-HYP-CERT-PNC-CONS
38	$\downarrow k^w 'it aluu k$	A-D-E-L	QUOT-ANTIC-HYP-CONS
39	$\downarrow k^w 'it k$	A-D-L	QUOT-ANTIC-CONS
40	$\downarrow k^w 'it k^w u k$	A-D-I-L	QUOT-ANTIC-RPT-CONS
41	$\downarrow k^w 'i tu k$	A-D-G-L	QUOT-ANTIC-CERT-CONS
42	$\downarrow k^w 'i tu c'i k$	A-D-G-K-L	QUOT-ANTIC-CERT-PNC-CONS
43	$\downarrow k^w 'l ks$	A-B-L	QUOT-WHQ-UNSPEC
44	$\downarrow k^w alu$	A-E	QUOT-HYP
45	$\downarrow k^w alu k^w, \downarrow k^w alu k^w u$	A-E-I	QUOT-HYP-RPT
46	$\downarrow k^w alu lu k^w$	A-E-H-I	QUOT-HYP-DUR-RPT
47	$\downarrow k^w alu c'$	A-E-K	QUOT-HYP-PNC
48	$\downarrow k^w alu tu k^w$	A-E-G-I	QUOT-HYP-CERT-RPT
49	$\downarrow k^w alu tu c'$	A-E-G-K	QUOT-HYP-CERT-PNC
50	$\downarrow k^w alu tuu$	A-E-M	QUOT-HYP-PREC
51	$\downarrow k^w k^w u ya c'n$	A-I-J-K	QUOT-RPT-ASRT-PNC
52	$\downarrow k^w k^w, \downarrow k^w k^w u$	A-I	QUOT-RPT
53	$\downarrow k^w lu(u)$	A-H	QUOT-DUR
54	$\downarrow k^w lu ks$	A-H-L	QUOT-DUR-UNSPEC
55	$\downarrow k^w lu k^w u ks$	A-H-J-L	QUOT-DUR-ASSUM -UNSPEC
56	$\downarrow k^w lu k^w u ks tuu$	A-H-J-L-M	QUOT-DUR-ASSUM-UNSPEC-PREC
57	$\downarrow k^w lu k^w$	A-H-I	QUOT-DUR-RPT
58	$\downarrow k^w lu c'$	A-H-K	QUOT-DUR-PNC
59	$\downarrow k^w ma$	A-C	QUOT-POSB
60	$\downarrow k^w ma k^w u$	A-C-J	QUOT-POSB-ASSUM
61	$\downarrow k^w ma k^w u c'$	A-C-J-K	QUOT-POSB-ASSUM-PNC
62	$\downarrow k^w ma su k^w u$	A-C-G-J	QUOT-POSB-CNTREXP-ASSUM

#	Enclitic String	Sequence	Leipzig Glossing
63	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ma c'</i>	A-C-K	QUOT-POSB-PNC
64	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ma tu ya</i>	A-C-G-J	QUOT-POSB-CERT-ASRT
65	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ma yahu c'</i>	A-C-E-K	QUOT-POSB-HYP-PNC
66	<i>k<sup>w</sup>su</i>	A-G	QUOT-CNTREXP
67	<i>k<sup>w</sup>su c'</i>	A-G-K	QUOT-CNTREXP-PNC
68	<i>k<sup>w</sup>c'(n)</i>	A-K	QUOT-PNC
69	<i>k<sup>w</sup>c' tuu</i>	A-K-M	QUOT-PNC-PREC
70	<i>k<sup>w</sup>tu</i>	A-G	QUOT-CERT
71	<i>k<sup>w</sup>tu c'(n)</i>	A-G-K	QUOT-CERT-PNC
72	<i>k<sup>w</sup>tu:tu k<sup>w</sup>u</i>	A-G:G-J	QUOT-CERT:CERT-ASSUM
73	<i>k<sup>w</sup>tuu</i>	A-M	QUOT-PREC
74	<i>k<sup>w</sup>tu ya</i>	A-G-J	QUOT-CERT-ASRT
75	<i>li(s)c'</i>	B-F-K	WHQ-WHQ-PNC
76	<i>li suu ks</i>	B-F-G-L	WHQ-WHQ-CNTREXP-UNSPEC
77	<i>li tu k<sup>w</sup>'</i>	B-D-I	WHQ-CONS-RPT
78	<i>li tu c'</i>	B-F-G-K	WHQ-WHQ-CERT-PNC
79	<i>lu ks</i>	H-L	DUR-UNSPEC
80	<i>lu c'(n)</i>	H-K	DUR-PNC
81	<i>lu ck</i>	H-L	DUR-INFR
82	<i>ma k<sup>w</sup>'u</i>	C-I	POSB-RPT
83	<i>ma k<sup>w</sup>u</i>	C-J	POSB-ASSUM
84	<i>ma lu</i>	C-H	POSB-DUR
85	<i>ma lu ks</i>	C-H-L	POSB-DUR-UNSPEC
86	<i>ma lu c'</i>	C-H-K	POSB-DUR-PNC
87	<i>ma su ks</i>	C-G-L	POSB-CNTREXP-UNSPEC
88	<i>ma c'(n)</i>	C-K	POSB-PNC
89	<i>ma c'ak<sup>w</sup></i>	C-L	POSB-OPT
90	<i>ma cki</i>	C-L	POSB-INFR
91	<i>ma tu</i>	C-G	POSB-CERT
92	<i>ma tu c'</i>	C-G-K	POSB-CERT-PNC
93	<i>ma tuu</i>	C-M	POSB-PREC
94	<i>mi lu k</i>	C-D-H-L	POSB-ANTIC-DUR-CONS
95	<i>mi c'i k(a), mi sc'i k</i>	C-D-K-L	POSB-ANTIC-PNC-CONS
96	<i>mi tu k</i>	C-D-G-L	POSB-ANTIC-CERT-CONS

#	Enclitic String	Sequence	Leipzig Glossing
97	<i>su<sub>1</sub>ks</i>	G-L	CNTREXP-UNSPEC
98	<i>su<sub>1</sub>c'(n)</i>	G-K	CNTREXP-PNC
99	<i>su<sub>1</sub>ck</i>	G-L	CNTREXP-INFR
100	<i>c'(n)<sub>1</sub>ck(i)</i>	K-L	PNC-INFR
101	<i>c'<sub>1</sub>tuu</i>	K-M	PNC-PREC
102	<i>tu<sub>1</sub>ks</i>	G-L	CERT-UNSPEC
103	<i>tu<sub>1</sub>c'(n)</i>	G-K	CERT-PNC
104	<i>tu:tu<sub>1</sub>ck</i>	G:G-L	CERT:CERT-INFR
105	<i>tu<sub>1</sub>tuu</i>	G-M	CERT-PREC

## Appendix B: sample text

The story shown below was recorded, transcribed, and translated by the author, with assistance by the late Mrs. Felicity Walkus. The text illustrates frequent use of adverbial enclitics and enclitic strings (the latter highlighted) in BeCo as it was still spoken half a century ago.

### A War Story (narrated by Felicity Walkus)

- (1) *wix<sub>̣</sub> 'i<sub>̣</sub>c' i<sub>̣</sub>k wa<sub>̣</sub> swinwintmax<sup>w</sup>aw<sub>̣</sub> ck 'ala<sub>̣</sub> 'ayk'.*  
'Now, this is about people waging war at some time in the past.'
- (2) *'ax<sup>w</sup> 'i<sub>̣</sub>c' i<sub>̣</sub>k 'ayk' ska<sub>̣</sub> q' ss 'ac.*  
'This happened not very long ago.'
- (3) *wix<sub>̣</sub> ma<sub>̣</sub> c' n c wa<sub>̣</sub> 'aluuxam<sub>̣</sub> ck s' atx<sup>w</sup> lanaw swintmax<sup>w</sup>aw.*  
'It appears this may have been the last time people fought each other in a war.'
- (4) *wintim<sub>̣</sub> k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup> u ta<sub>̣</sub> K<sup>w</sup> 'atnamx<sub>̣</sub> tx<sup>w</sup>.*  
'It is said that the Kwatna people were raided repeatedly.'
- (5) *snaaxayxtum<sub>̣</sub> k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup> ci<sub>̣</sub> Plx<sup>w</sup> laqstum.*  
'And each time, a woman by the name of *Plx<sup>w</sup> laqs* was taken as a slave.'
- (6) *snaaxayxtum x<sub>̣</sub> a<sub>̣</sub> Tχaxaax<sub>̣</sub> 'ac.*  
'The Alert Bay people enslaved her.'
- (7) *λ'apmim<sub>̣</sub> k<sup>w</sup> 'it<sub>̣</sub> k<sup>w</sup> u k s' ak<sup>w</sup> atim 'it<sub>̣</sub> λ' msta<sub>̣</sub> 'it x<sub>̣</sub> ti<sub>̣</sub> mans.*  
'And over and over, the woman's father came for her, and bought her back.'
- (8) *'ala<sub>̣</sub> χit<sub>̣</sub> k<sup>w</sup> s' at' ays x<sub>̣</sub> tx<sup>w</sup> ssnaaxayxs.*  
'She was enslaved many times.'
- (9) *'ak<sup>w</sup> atim<sub>̣</sub> k<sup>w</sup> k<sup>w</sup> x<sub>̣</sub> ti<sub>̣</sub> mans*  
'And each time, she was bought back by her father.'
- (10) *'ala<sub>̣</sub> 'ax<sub>̣</sub> k<sup>w</sup> c' 'ayk' s' itcayuksaw x<sub>̣</sub> a<sub>̣</sub> mik<sup>w</sup> 't' at<sub>̣</sub> Q<sup>w</sup> 'plplys.*  
'Now, not long ago, people were picking salalberries at *Q<sup>w</sup> 'plplys*.'
- (11) *snukaklikalayxa<sub>̣</sub> k<sup>w</sup> 'i<sub>̣</sub>c' i<sub>̣</sub>k wa<sub>̣</sub> 'atk' xtit t' ax<sup>w</sup> wa<sub>̣</sub> 'isut wa<sub>̣</sub> puλ' at' 'utq<sup>w</sup> nλ' 'ut<sub>̣</sub> Nuχalk.*  
'Then they saw people paddling in the middle of the channel, coming this way to Bella Coala.'
- (12) *'ax<sup>w</sup> s<sub>̣</sub> k<sup>w</sup> c' 'it<sub>̣</sub> λ' msta<sub>̣</sub> 'it skascayultis skanmxaw s' ustamaw.*  
'And this woman shouted, asking them where they were from and where they were going.'
- (13) *tm' uq' χalaynixtis<sub>̣</sub> 'i<sub>̣</sub> lu<sub>̣</sub> c' i<sub>̣</sub>k ska<sub>̣</sub> puλ' aw 'ut<sub>̣</sub> tx<sup>w</sup> ska<sub>̣</sub> wnc' tim.*  
'She had barely managed to call out to them, when they came closer, intending to kill them.'



- (14) *wix<sub>v</sub> k<sub>v</sub> 'i lu<sub>v</sub> c' i<sub>v</sub> k sc' ktaw tu<sub>v</sub> win<sub>v</sub> k<sub>v</sub> ma<sub>v</sub> k<sub>w</sub> u<sub>v</sub> tχw 'ula<sub>v</sub> k<sub>w</sub> u<sub>v</sub> luuc.*  
'And before long, those raiders reached the shore.'
- (15) *napamx<sup>w</sup> it<sub>v</sub> c'.*  
'Now they (the Bella Coola) realized what was happening.'
- (16) *λ' apakmtim<sub>v</sub> c' ska<sub>v</sub> wnc' tim wa<sub>v</sub> 'ax<sup>w</sup> l.*  
'And some of them were taken and killed.'
- (17) *'a<sub>l</sub> k' yukim<sub>v</sub> k<sub>w</sub> c' n' 'i<sub>l</sub> λ' msta<sub>v</sub> 'i<sub>l</sub> x<sub>v</sub> a<sub>v</sub> winaw<sub>v</sub> c.*  
'Then the raiders recognized this woman.'
- (18) *'anaykmim<sub>v</sub> k<sub>w</sub> alu<sub>v</sub> tu<sub>v</sub> c' ska<sub>v</sub> snaaxayxtum<sub>v</sub> tu<sub>v</sub> c'.*  
'And again, they wanted to try and take her as a slave.'
- (19) *'ax<sub>v</sub> k<sub>w</sub> c' 'anayks 'i<sub>l</sub> λ' msta<sub>v</sub> 'i<sub>l</sub> ska<sub>v</sub> 'ays ska<sub>v</sub> snaax<sub>v</sub> tu<sub>v</sub> c'.*  
'But the woman did not want to be a slave again.'
- (20) *"wnc' caχ<sup>w</sup> ac'!" cut<sub>v</sub> k<sub>w</sub> 'i<sub>v</sub> c' i<sub>v</sub> k 'i<sub>l</sub> λ' msta<sub>v</sub> 'i<sub>l</sub>.*  
'"Kill me now!"; the woman said then.'
- (21) *'a<sub>l</sub> is<sub>v</sub> k<sub>w</sub> c' ci<sub>v</sub> suuχis 'a<sub>l</sub> cnl.*  
'Her younger sister was with her.'
- (22) *'aytutim<sub>v</sub> k<sub>w</sub> 'i lu<sub>v</sub> c' i<sub>v</sub> k swnc' tim stxapsmtim.*  
'And shortly, they were killed and beheaded.'
- (23) *sik<sup>w</sup> 'iktim<sub>v</sub> c' n s' mtstutim 'n 'i<sub>l</sub> suuχis 'i<sub>l</sub>.*  
'And they placed her and her sister in a sitting position, side by side.'
- (24) *c' χmayx stmnumawit<sub>s</sub> ci<sub>v</sub> walayx 'ala<sub>v</sub> 'ac wa<sub>v</sub> sinapamx<sup>w</sup> tim<sub>v</sub> c' s' aynaw swnc' tim x<sub>v</sub> a<sub>v</sub> wina.*  
'Really, there was only one survivor among them, that's how people found out that they had indeed been killed by raiders.'
- (25) *'ixq' ms<sub>v</sub> c' 'i<sub>l</sub> λ' msta<sub>v</sub> 'i<sub>l</sub>.*  
'Now, this woman started walking.'
- (26) *λ' aps 'u<sub>l</sub> K<sup>w</sup> a<sub>l</sub> na.*  
'She was going to Kwatna.'
- (27) *'ala<sub>v</sub> maaskaax<sub>v</sub> ck s' a<sub>l</sub> 'ays s' ixq' ms sc' kts.*  
'She must have walked for so many days before she arrived there.'
- (28) *puλ' mtim ska<sub>v</sub> k<sup>w</sup> ntim wa<sub>v</sub> 'a<sub>l</sub> 'atma.*  
'They came to collect the dead.'
- (29) *q' awtim 'u<sub>l</sub> K<sup>w</sup> a<sub>l</sub> na.*  
'They took them to Kwatna for burial.'

- (30) *λ'aps<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>ma<sub>v</sub>c' 'il λ'msta<sub>v</sub> 'il ska<sub>v</sub> 'alkaltx<sup>w</sup>mis wa<sub>v</sub>sx<sup>w</sup>mta.*  
 'This woman may have been planning to look after the gunpowder.'
- (31) *twaasał<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup> wa<sub>v</sub>k'xis<sub>v</sub>c' ta<sub>v</sub>mans<sub>v</sub>tχ.*  
 'Her father saw two boxes of it.'
- (32) *puł'tus<sub>v</sub>c' 'ul<sub>v</sub>Nuχalk ska<sub>v</sub>puntutis Nuχalkmx<sub>v</sub>x<sub>v</sub>tχ<sup>w</sup>.*  
 'He brought them to Bella Coola, and offered them to the Bella Coola people.'
- (33) *wix<sub>v</sub>'i<sub>v</sub>c'i<sub>v</sub>k c sq<sup>w</sup>lχ<sup>w</sup>ulcutaw s'al'alcimtmax<sup>w</sup>aw tu<sub>v</sub>Nuχalkmx<sub>v</sub>tχ<sup>w</sup> swinas<sub>v</sub>lu<sub>v</sub>c' wa<sub>v</sub>kstut.*  
 'This is when the Bella Coola had a meeting and discussed preparations for another war.'
- (34) *λ'apaw<sub>v</sub>c' ska<sub>v</sub>λ'apaw<sub>v</sub>c' 'ala<sub>v</sub>'ac.*  
 'And they started from there.'
- (35) *wix<sub>v</sub>c' tu<sub>v</sub>sx<sup>w</sup>mtas 'il λ'msta<sub>v</sub> 'il ka<sub>v</sub>usedamkit.*  
 'They were going to **make use** of that woman's gunpowder.'
- (36) *λ'apaw<sub>v</sub>c' 'ala<sub>v</sub>'ac ska<sub>v</sub>q<sup>w</sup>χ<sup>w</sup>maw.*  
 'Now they started to move.'
- (37) *tm'aylaw s'aχ<sup>w</sup> 'alnāpit ka<sub>v</sub>'umataław ska<sub>v</sub>winanaw.*  
 'But they did not know where they were supposed to go to fight the war.'
- (38) *tix<sub>v</sub>'i<sub>v</sub>c'i<sub>v</sub>k ta<sub>v</sub>mnas 'il Tχaχaaχł 'il ti<sub>v</sub> 'ayuc<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup> ska<sub>v</sub>'inatis x<sub>v</sub>'il stans<sub>v</sub>'il.*  
 'Then, the son of this Alert Bay woman said he would offer his mother to them.'
- (39) *snukaklikatayxa<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>c' 'ala<sub>v</sub>'aws Na'mu.*  
 'They were now travelling in the middle of the channel, in the vicinity of Namu.'
- (40) *k'il'umataław<sub>v</sub>c'.*  
 'They did not know in which direction to go.'
- (41) *'aχ<sup>w</sup> 'alnāpit ka<sub>v</sub>'umataław ska<sub>v</sub>winanaw s'ayuc<sub>v</sub> ta<sub>v</sub>λ'msta<sub>v</sub>tχ sλ'apaw<sub>v</sub>lu<sub>v</sub>c'.*  
 'They did not know where to go and start raiding, but then this man told them to keep going.'
- (42) *wix<sub>v</sub>'i<sub>v</sub>c'i<sub>v</sub>k wa<sub>v</sub>txaλ'salχis Alert Bay wa<sub>v</sub>'amats ti<sub>v</sub>'apsuł wa<sub>v</sub>'umataw.*  
 'Behind Alert Bay, there was a village, and that's where they were heading.'
- (43) *χimlayxa<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>'i<sub>v</sub>c'i<sub>v</sub>k.*  
 'And they arrived early in the morning.'
- (44) *ksalaw<sub>v</sub>c'.*  
 'And they pulled ashore.'
- (45) *plikit ti<sub>v</sub>łalasaw.*  
 'They turned their boat upside down.'

- (46) *'ipcikit' i c' i k.*  
'And they covered it with moss.'
- (47) *nusuk'aaḡaw wa'apsuḡ 'aḡ tḡ<sup>w</sup> sc'usms.*  
'Then, at night, villagers were sailing in.'
- (48) *wix k<sup>w</sup> 'i c' i k' c sḡ'apaw c' ska musalx<sup>w</sup>s ti numaw ck 'aḡ tḡ<sup>w</sup>.*  
'That's when they (the Bella Coola) started, sending one of them out to spy.'
- (49) *wix k<sup>w</sup> 'i lu c' i k s'axcmuksaw wa ḡ' msta.*  
'While this was happening, the people were sleeping.'
- (50) *naxliwatimutaw c' 'ula k<sup>w</sup>uliks wa suḡ c ska txit wa sim wa sitiliwas ck wa suḡ.*  
'Now they prepared to go on top of the roofs and cut the ropes that held the houses together.'
- (51) *x<sup>w</sup>t' uus k<sup>w</sup> c' tu suḡuks tḡ<sup>w</sup>.*  
'Then the houses collapsed.'
- (52) *ḡ'apakmtit ska wnc'tit wa ḡ' mstayuks 'aḡ tḡ<sup>w</sup> wa'apsuḡuks.*  
'And they started to kill the people who lived there.'
- (53) *wix k<sup>w</sup> 'i c' i k tḡ<sup>w</sup> snmptit k<sup>w</sup> c' wa xnasuks wa mnmncaw 'ula 'ak<sup>w</sup>'na ska tḡ<sup>w</sup>maw aḡu.*  
'The women put their children in canoes, and attempted to escape.'
- (54) *ḡ'aptutim k<sup>w</sup> tu c' ska wnc'tim tu qiqipi tḡ<sup>w</sup>.*  
'But the little ones were captured again and killed.'
- (55) *c'ḡmayx k<sup>w</sup> snumuk<sup>w</sup>xs wa 'asanks ta suḡ tḡ x a six.*  
'It is said that the entire side of one house turned red with blood.'
- (56) *alk<sup>w</sup>nis k<sup>w</sup> 'it alu c' i k ta wixḡ tḡ wa Tḡaxaaxḡ 'ac (nukakliktmax<sup>w</sup>s 'uḡ c) 'iḡ stans 'iḡ tq<sup>w</sup>nḡ'.*  
'But the one from Alert Bay (he was half Bella Coola) was supposed to bring his mother this way.'
- (57) *slaḡa k<sup>w</sup> lu k<sup>w</sup>u ks tuu tu snaaxayxtutit tḡ<sup>w</sup> ta qiqipi tḡ<sup>w</sup>.*  
'Finally, they enslaved many children as well.'
- (58) *'awḡtim k<sup>w</sup> c' x a 'inix'altḡ ck.*  
'They were followed by people who had somehow survived.'
- (59) *cix c' 'iḡ ḡ' msta 'iḡ ci si'al'awḡtim.*  
'That woman (the abovementioned mother) was the reason they were being followed.'
- (60) *“'ax<sup>w</sup> yanap ka' alk<sup>w</sup>ncap,” cut k<sup>w</sup> 'i c' i k 'iḡ ḡ' msta 'iḡ.*  
'“It would be better if you did not have me on board”, that woman said.'
- (61) *“qcamkcaḡ!”*  
'“Throw me overboard!”'

- (62) “‘ix’alatktuminap<sub>v</sub> i<sub>v</sub>c’i<sub>v</sub>k ska<sub>v</sub> tkayanap’ala<sub>v</sub>’aluuχap<sub>v</sub>c ska<sub>v</sub>c’ktaw’ut<sub>v</sub>’nc.”  
 “‘And I will make sure that you will keep missing when you are shooting at me behind you, until they reach me.’”
- (63) cut<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>i<sub>v</sub>c’i<sub>v</sub>k’it<sub>v</sub>λ’msta<sub>v</sub>’it.  
 ‘And that’s what that woman said.’
- (64) ’at’ayna<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>i<sub>v</sub>lu<sub>v</sub>c’i<sub>v</sub>k.  
 ‘So they did that for some time.’
- (65) tm’ayanmuucla<sub>v</sub>k<sup>w</sup>i<sub>v</sub>lu<sub>v</sub>c’i<sub>v</sub>k tu<sub>v</sub>’awltmx<sub>v</sub>tχ<sup>w</sup>’ut<sub>v</sub>’it slip’cutaw.  
 ‘And eventually, the pursuers failed to reach her, and turned back around.’
- (66) puλ’aw<sub>v</sub>c’ ’ala<sub>v</sub>’ac’ut<sub>v</sub>Nuχalk<sub>v</sub>c’.  
 ‘And then they (the Nuxalk) came (back) to Bella Coola.’
- (67) cací<sub>v</sub>tu x<sub>v</sub>t’αχ<sup>w</sup>s’atnapic’at<sub>v</sub>tχ<sup>w</sup>.  
 ‘That’s all that I know about them.’