A List of Bella Coola Prefixes

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In his article 'Salish and Bella Coola Prefixes' (IJAL 42: 228-42) Stanley Newman lists some twenty prefixes for Bella Coola; the main purpose of this paper is to show that this is an under-estimation - the actual number is twice as high.

Newman states: 'Among the nineteen prefixes of BC, only two - ?a- static and progressive and s- nominalizer - are genuinely productive and enter into combinations with other prefixes. ... With the exception of ?a- and s-, the prefixes form an insignificant part of the productive morphology of BC.' This is not entirely true.

One must, however, bear in mind that Newman's observations are based on field notes gathered more than forty years ago - it is quite possible that, in the mean time, the number and morphological valence of Bella Coola prefixes have increased.

Newman distinguishes four classes of prefixes. These are: (a) aspects, (b) spatials, (c) predicatives, and (d) miscellaneous. One category not discussed by him is formed by the nomatic prefixes, which are treated in section 3.2 below.


As spatials are enumerated: nu- inside, ?u(s)- location, ?u(s)- direction, ?un- middle.
Predicatives are: ?is- eat, drink, rather, ?as- have, (x)? have, kil- have not, lack, tam- make, cause, ?anus- come in order to.

His category of miscellaneous prefixes comprises: s- nominalizer, nu- persons, stam- co-resident of the same kind, ?anus- mourn for, ?us- proximate.

2 Newman's classification roughly corresponds with mine. I propose the following division: (a) verbalizing prefixes, (b) somatic prefixes, (c) grammatical prefixes, (d) aspectual prefixes, (e) spatial prefixes.

3.1 Verbalizing prefixes are added to intransitive stems, combined with which they form intransitives. They are:

tam- make, construct: tam-suč 'build a house', tam-qnk 'ridicule' (qnk 'low'), tam-tksnimta 'make a bow'.

In combination with the causative suffix -tu- the meaning is that of benefactive: tam-yayačii-tum 'somebody made him a toy', tam-suč-tuminu 'I build a house for you', tam-tukis-tumant 'they made me a tool-box'.

1) tix- catch. This prefix always precedes quantifiers: tix-kax's 'he caught nothing at all', tix-slač 'he caught a lot', tix-mawlčs-c 'I caught twenty', tix-caacii-naw 'they caught only a few'.

2) tutu- prepare, work on something: tutu-sluq 'prepare eulachon oil', tutu-stala 'prepare hemlock-bark', tutu-spuč 'work on eagle feathers'.

sti- having a bodily asymmetry: sti-kic-ank 'lopsided' (kic 'twisted', -ank 'side'), sti-?amus 2) 'paralyzed at one side', sti-cyalsm 'to wink, blink one eye', sti-stnaaq 'having one wooden leg', sti-spučankiig'...
'having a lump on one side of the head', sti-k'aaqii 'having one leg shorter than the other'.

kəl-/kas- pursue, hunt; kəl-nəmək 'hunt animals', kəl-nsəxə 'get clay', kəl-qaʔ or kas-qaʔ 'hunt rabbits', kas-əmək 'fishing', kas-əpxəpnił 'hunt deer'.

Maybe from *ka-(x)ə-, cf. ka 'future' and xə- 'have, possess'.

kəl- have not, lack; kəl-məta 'having nowhere to go, wander around', kəl-mən 'having no father', kəl-xnas 'widower', kəl-ʔəca 'toothless'.

Before alveolars the allomorph kis- is found: kis-ckaak 'clumsy' (V'ck 'to fix'), kis-ʔəlq 'stupid' (lit. 'lacking-mind'), kis-əməx 'minus-one; nine'.

xə- have, possess: xə-ʔəca 'have a boat', xə-μəl̓xə 'have a baby', xə-yəlʔəyək 'have the time, opportunity'.

k̓əul̓-/k̓us- having much, being very: k̓əul̓-kəy 'much snow', k̓əul̓-taala 'rich' (taala 'money'), k̓us-k̓əl̓əla 'very friendly', k̓us-ʔəpxəpnsə 'having lots of freckles on one's face'.

ʔas- have, use; contain: ʔas-ʔulixə 'take or have food with oneself', ʔas-luta 'use a crowbar', ʔas-nuʔumuc 'have a spear with oneself', ʔas-tnəx̌-aw tu_spanya-təx̌ 1,3 'the heads (tnəx) were (still) in the smoked fish (spanya)', ʔas-ʔulq-aaʔ 'the food (-aaʔ) contained eulachon grease', ʔas-ʔanulc'-aliic-tuʔ 1 'they have it with Indian cheese (ʔanulc)' (-aliic means 'tongue, taste').

ʔanulc- derived of, having lost: ʔanulc-ya 'looking hungry' (lit. 'having no - good'), ʔanulc-xnas 'having lost one's wife; widower', ʔanulc-mən 'having lost one's father', ʔanulc-ətan 2 'mother-less'.


"it-1 speak: "it-nuxalkm murdered speak Bella Coola", "it-q'unmsxiwa 'speak English" (lit. 'speak-whiteman'), "it-aksimx 'speak Chilcotin'.

"it-2 wear: "it-k'ut 'wear a coat'. Together with the suffix -am 'become' the meaning is to put on: "it-nup-am 'put a shirt on', "it-ksx-anâ-am 'dress in black' (skx 'black', -anâ 'clothing').

Prefixed to verbal roots, it means clothing: "it-cq 'tear (cq) one's clothes', "it-lâcuwá 'naked'.

The original meaning of this prefix must have been 'top' (hence: 'cover', 'clothing') - in combination with the suffix -aâq 'leg' it refers to the upper part of the thigh: "it-kmaâaâq 2) ' ... hurts'.

"is- take (in): consume, gather: "is-tii 'drink tea', "is-k'mâ 'gather firewood', "is-uk'uk 'gather skunk cabbage leaves'.

Frequently it co-occurs with the suffix -âx 'having undergone a change or preparation': "is-lalaqa-x 'eat something fried' (lalaqa 'fry'), "is-aâxik-x-x 'eat something barbecued' (aâxik 'barbecue').

"us-1 crave for. This prefix was found in two words, where it is accompanied by the passive suffix -ayx: "us-knum-ayx 'be hungry' (lit. 'crave for salmon fillet'), "us-qlaâayx 2) 'be thirsty' (qla 'water').

"us-2 put on. Always co-occurring with -am 'become': "us-k'ut-am 'put on a coat', "us-sicmaal-am 2) 'put mocassins on', "us-qinx-am 'put shoes on'. Original meaning probably 'surface', cf. "it-2, "us- (3, 5, 2).

"un- like to have: "un-sxik 'likes to eat fishbones', "un-lam 'likes rum', "un-snanik 'fond of gum'.

The basic meaning of this prefix is 'always ...-ing': "un-'usxî 'always bragging', "un-qaaâlrmx 'always drinking'.

...
"unusì-go somewhere in order to: "unusì-talawsntus 'he went in order to marry her to somebody', "unusì-x'lamaw 'they went in order to wage war', "unusì-naax'mì 'we're going there to have a dance'. 1)

3.2 Bella Coola has two somatic prefixes, always preceding verbal and adjectival stems:

k'ul-/k'us- penís: k'ul-cx'i 'having a normal-sized penis', k'ul-caak' 'have a long penis', k'us-?m 'have an erection', ?al-k'us-suq 'circumcised' (suq 'to skin') 2).

"us- buttocks. Always co-occurring with the suffix -aaX 'rear':
"us-sp-aaX 2) 'spank' (sp 'to hit'), "us-kmaaXaax 2) 'buttocks ache',
"us-sxp-aaX 2) 'buttocks'.

3.3 The grammatical prefixes are:

s- nominalizer. This prefix is treated in detail in: Philip W. Davis and Ross Saunders, Bella Coola s- (contribution to the 13th Conference on American Indian Languages, 1974).

si- paraphraser. This element replaces the prepositions ?al 'location', ?uX 'direction', x 'relative case' in subordinate constructions:
wa-si-ninic 'that which kept him alive' (ninic 'alive'), wix c si-?mt-s 'that's when he gets up', ?aXq'uusu tsì-sì-kxis 'it was on a picture that he saw him' (lit. 'printed the /si-/he saw him'). 3)

nu- human. With quantifiers only: nu-maaskawks 'how many are they?', nu-musaw 'they are four', nu-tX'ulít 'we are six'. 1)

ì- associative: wixanaw tX' ta-ì-Hank 3) 'it's Hank and someone else', ì-Xìla 'Xìla and somebody else'.

3.4 The aspectual prefixes precede predicates:

\[ \text{tm-} \text{ just: } \text{tm-} \text{lim} \text{aw} \text{'they just dropped down'}, \text{tm-} \text{?a} \text{xmlx} \text{aw} \text{'}I just went to bed', \text{tm-} \text{smaw} \text{?u} \text{ ti} \text{napc} \text{tx} \text{'I have only one dollar'} \text{ (nap 'what one has'), tm-} \text{?a} \text{calis} \text{'}he just shook it'}, \text{tm-} \text{stn} \text{? a } \text{'it was just a stick'}. \]

\[ \text{tam-} \text{ iterative: } \text{tam-} \text{?xmxmpim} \text{'}they kept tying it'. \]

It is most frequently found in combination with \text{?aI-} 'progressive':

\[ \text{?aI-} \text{tam-} \text{?yakmit} \text{'}they kept putting it aside'}, \text{?aI-} \text{tam-} \text{?alaakas xa} \text{slaqk} \text{?ac} \text{'he continually puts the fillets (slaqk) on the bars to dry'}, \text{?aI-} \text{tam-} \text{?ik} \text{lxalii} \text{'}he kept coming closer'}. \]

\[ \text{sm-} \text{ right away: } \text{sm-} \text{qawamsim} \text{'}they tied it right away'}, \text{sm-} \text{yalxs 'right away he got better'}, \text{sm-} \text{nusakayaxtimutic} \text{'right away I went out again'}. \]

\[ \text{?aI-} \text{ the same: } \text{?aI-} \text{ayliwanaw stalawsaw} \text{'they got married at the same time'}, \text{?aI-} \text{caytuc ta} \text{kap} \text{tuc } \text{?u} \text{?inu } \text{?in} \text{tayx} \text{'I gave you the same amount I gave him'}. \]

\[ \text{?aI-} \text{ progressive/perfective. Before intransitive stems, the meaning is perfective: } \text{?aI-} \text{psm 'it's bent'}, \text{?aI-} \text{?u} \text{written'}, \text{?aI-} \text{lipus 'folded'}, \text{?aI-} \text{cq 'torn'}. \text{Prefixed to transitive forms, it expresses the progressive aspect: } \text{?aI-} \text{?ayucntim 'they were being told (over and over)'}, \text{?aI-} \text{awlim 'he was being followed'}. \]

\[ \text{?ix-} \text{ distributive: } \text{?ix-} \text{musa 'feel around'}, \text{?ix-} \text{ak} \text{?a 'shopping'}, \text{?ix-} \text{liik} \text{iitis 'he kept rolling it from one end to the other'}, \text{?ix-} \text{piixlanaw 'they were floating around'}. \]

Before uvulars, we find the allomorph \text{?ix-} \text{?x-qm 'to be walking' (qm 'to step')}, \text{?ix-} \text{qlm 'swimming'}. \]
3.5 There are two types of spatial prefixes: ones preceding locative stems, and prefixes added to non-locative stems.

The former class is enumerated in 3.5.1, the latter one in 3.5.2.

3.5.1 Spatial prefixes combined with locative stems:

- **tx- area:** tx-\text{kuk}-\text{ams} 'upper (\text{kuk}) jaw (-\text{ams})'; tx-\text{aks}-\text{aa}\text{x} 'back (\text{aks}) wall of house (-\text{aa}\text{x})'; wa-_\text{tx}-\text{amat} 'the place one has come from'; tx-\text{aca}\text{a}\text{ax} 'south-east wind', tx-\text{alsqa} 'west wind'.

- **tx°u- towards area** (originally a compound, cf. tx- ?\text{u}-): tx°u-kawk 'go down to the riverbank', ki\text{t}-tx°u-mat 'disappear, get lost' ('having nowhere to go'), tx°u-\text{kuk}-\text{al} 'going up' (\text{kuk} 'high', -\text{al} 'feet, going').

- **tx- geographical area** (cf. tx-): tx°-\text{aq} 'people from the north, Port Simpson', t\text{x}-\text{a}\text{kaa}\text{x} 'people from Alert Bay'.

- **tx°u- towards geographical area** (cf. tx°u-, t\text{x}-, ?\text{u}-): tx°u-\text{l}-\text{al} 'go upriver' (cf. ?a\text{a}\text{x} 'upstream area'), tx°u-\text{q} 'go downriver' (cf. ?\text{uq} id., t-\text{aq} 'downstream area').

- **?a- location:** ?a-stx 'be inside', ?a-sqa 'be outside', ?a-\text{al} 'at', t-\text{a}-?\text{al} 'downstream area', ?a-mat 'place where something is', ?a-\text{stamks} 'where is it?', ?a-s-\text{u}\text{aa}\text{ax} 'underneath the house', ?a-s-\text{aq}s 'waterbed'.

These examples pair the first eight items treated under ?\text{u}-.

- **?u- direction:** ?u-stx 'go inside', ?u-sqa 'go outside', ?u-\text{al} 'toward', ?u-\text{q} 'go downriver', ?u-mat 'place something is taken to', ?u-\text{stamks} 'where is he going?', ?u-s-\text{uu}\text{aa}\text{ax}-\text{am} 'go under the house', ?u-s-\text{aq}s-\text{am}
'dive to the bottom'. These examples pair the ones listed under ?a-.
Further: ?u-l-?k 'go upstream' (vs. ?aax 'upstream area'), ?u-kuk 'upwards' (?k 'high'), ?uu-?nk 'downwards' (qnk 'low').

3.5.2 Spatialia preceding non-locative stems:

stam- the one beside, with one: ti_stam-ksn?akc 2) 'the one I work
with', ti_stam-pusanu 'the one you grew up with', stam-apsu?mtmax'aw
'they live close together (in the same village)', ci_stam-numusam 'the
fourth woman he lived with', wa_stam-?mstas 'the people he lives with',
wa_stam-apsu?c 'my fellow-villagers'. 1)

nu- inside: nu-poiix 'submerge', nu-tplq 'turn something inside out',
nu-kalik 'half, middle', nu-?rik 'hide something'.

Also water: nu-papnt 'boiling', nu-?k 'pool', nu-?xax'a 'mud-pool',
nu-kil 'shallow water', nu-qaaaxp 'slough in tideflats'.

kal- downwards: ?a-kal-kxcut 'looking down', kal-stx'mta 'cedar
bark used for mattress'. Maybe identical to kal- in 3.1.

?anu- (coming) out of; spread, draped: ?anu-pikmiik 'spark (pikm)
comes out of chimney (-iik)', k'ol ti_?anu-puk 3) 'hot (k'ol) spring'
(puk 'to come'), ?anu-pusm 'come floating up', ?anu-cxmi?lxs 'nose
(-iklx) is dripping'; ?anu-tq'mik 'hang draped over something',
?anu-scmlxaxk 'river delta' (lit. 'river spreads'), ?anu-?isck'a? 'to
sprinkle a liquid on ('over') someone's head'.

?inix- additional, extra, more: wa_?inix-?a?ii 'the ones that were
not killed' (lit. 'the extra-being ones'; ?a?i 'to be there'),
?inix-maw-a? 'another bottle' (lit. 'extra-one-container').
**us- horizontal surface**: us-pik'uuuc 'water is reflecting', us-pu' 'come to the surface', us-mntax'uuuc 'skim off', us-pu'muuc 'foam on surface of a liquid', al-us-pliik 'flat roof'.

3.6 A few prefixes occur only in combination with a suffix - these combinations could be labelled as 'circumfixes':

ka-...s next, following in time: ka-a'am-annii-s 'next spring', ka-malax'-s 'next year', ka-nukalik-s 'at noon' (said in the morning), ka-ynux-s 'tomorrow'. These forms go back to ka clauses: ka expresses future; -s 'it is'.

The bound form -ynux- is historically related to ?inax' 'morning', aitunixa 'yesterday', aitumaynuxa 'the day before yesterday'.

kanus-...m taste, smell: kanus-ya-m 'sweet, good taste', kanus-lik-m 'tastes, smells horrible', kanus-xawis-m 'metal taste', kanus-sx-m 2) 'it stinks, tastes bad'.

altu-...a last, previous: altu-nix-a 'yesterday', altu-maynux-a 'the day before yesterday', altu-malax'-a 'last year'.

The bound forms -nix- and -ynux- are related etymologically to ?inax' 'morning'. The element ma- in altumalax'a and aitumaynuxa is the bound form of s-maw 'one'. altu- goes back to al 'at' and tu 'plural/temporal article'.

4 In several cases there are discrepancies between Newman's observations and mine. The differences are summed up in the following table:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newman</th>
<th>my notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nus- customary</td>
<td>In my recordings, this prefix never occurs without the suffix -mx 'indulging in': nus-?im-mx 2) 'preoccupied with sex' (?im 'copulate'), nus-sxali-mx 'jealous all the time'. I have analyzed nus- as nu- 'inside' + s- 'nominalizer'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?anu- continuative</td>
<td>Not recorded by me as having this meaning. Compare, however, ?anu- spread (3.5.2).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'm- iterative</td>
<td>Indicating vowel-length is redundant. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?un- middle</td>
<td>Not recorded by me as having this meaning. Probably the same element as ?un- 'like to have' (3.1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?unus- come in order to</td>
<td>Always ?unusi- in my notes (3.1). Possibly related to ?anus- in the same way as ?u- : ?a- (3.5.1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stam- coresident of the same kind</td>
<td>Is classified by me as a spatial prefix: 'the one next to or with one' (3.5.2).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?anus- mourn for</td>
<td>Has the more general meaning of 'having lost' in my notes and was listed by me as a verbalizer (3.1). It is probably a compound, viz. ?anu- 'out of' + s- 'nominalizer': compare, semantically, English 'to run out of ...'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?us- proximate</td>
<td>Does not occur in my notes as having this meaning. It is probably the same element as ?us-...-aax (3.2).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?us-cusm-i 'twilight'</td>
<td>In this example, ?us- is a reduplicative syllable, expressing - together with the ending -i - the diminutive; the simplex 'cusm means 'evening'. 4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Newman's notion that only ?a~ and s- are truly productive prefixes is a misconception: the prefixes listed in 3.1, k'u- in 3.2, si- in 3.3, and the prefixes treated in 3.4 are highly productive.

Furthermore, they can occur in strings: kil-tx¹-u- 'disappear, get lost', ?as-sti-stn̂qaq ²) 'having one stiff leg', ?as-tx¹-u- 'lie face down'. Also the prefixes tx¹-u- and tx¹-u- are compounds (3.5.1).

FOOTNOTES


2) Sonants with the symbol '·' printed underneath are syllabic; the symbol '·' indicates telescoping; '¥' is junctural; the opposition short vs. long vowel is neutralized before a sonant that is not followed by a vowel. See also: H.F. Nater, Bella Coola Phonology, contribution to the 13th International Conference on Salish Languages, 1978 (sections 3.5, 4.2.1, 5.4, 4.3.2).

3) The symbol ' ' serves to connect full words and clitics.

4) The reduplication-pattern 23123 is regular in all cases where 1 is a glottalized stop and 2 a vowel (3 is always either a fricative or a sonant): ?ix-pix-áp 'crabapple tree' (from px 'crabapple'), ?is-ciis 'make noise with tools' (from cs 'noisy') - initial ? is automatic.