

Reduplication Patterns in Bella Coola *

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- 1 Semantics
- 2 Morphology
- 3 Morphophonemics
- 4 Enumeration
- 5 Conclusions

1 In Bella Coola, reduplication serves to express a wide variety of grammatical categories: diminutive (I), plural (II), continuative (III), suffixal derivation (IV), transferred meaning (V), lexicalized forms (VI).

When reduplication is employed to form the diminutive, a suffix *-i* or *-ii* (*-y* or *-yi* after /a/) is added to the reduplicated stem.

The continuative can also describe a habit, profession, or game.

2 With regard to the phonological shape of reduplicated words, seven different productive types are distinguished: 12313 (a), 123123 (b), 212 (c), 23123 (d), 1212 (e), 1213 (f), 11 (g). Beside these formations, some unique types were found: *ciccipii* 'bird' (12112), *st(1)taltmx*¹) plural of *staltmx* 'chief' (13123), *maxn̄sni* diminutive of *maāsa* 'nose'.

3 In many cases, the process of reduplicating is accompanied by morphophonemic changes, which are: vowel- or sonant-lengthening (1), vowel-shortening (2), velar/uvular plosive or fricative replaced by homophonous fricative or /x/ (3), uvular fricative replaced by homophonous plosive (4),

* See also: Stanley Newman, 'Bella Coola Reduplication', IJAL 37: 34-38.

unrounded velar/uvular alternating with rounded one (5), zero replaced by nasal/vowel (6), /a/ replaced by /n/ (7), /a/ replaced by zero (8).²⁾

4 In this chapter, an enumeration is given of all types occurring. Lower case letters refer to the reduplication type, Roman numerals indicate the semantic function, Arabic numbers denote the morphophonemic changes involved. For the sake of clarity, in each example a hyphen is inserted before the second phoneme represented by the number 1 in the morphological formulas.

a-I q°tuł-tłi dim. of q°tuł 'cradle basket'; k°pał-płi dim. of k°pał 'liver'; t°q°us-q°si 'gnat', lit. 'little thing sticking (t°q) to the face (-us)'.
a-I-1 qaaḥ-qḥi dim. of qaḥ 'rabbit'; sq°uul-q°łi dim. of sq°uł 'bee, wasp'; ?ałq°uul-q°łi dim. of ?ałq°uł 'book'.

a-III ?anupus-psms 'it's floating around', from pum 'to float'.

a-IV ?ałq°uł-q°łanł 'variegated, gay dress', from q°uł 'to mark, paint', -anł 'clothing'.

a-V k°uł-k°łulmx 'ghost', from k°ułulmx 'earth'; ?ascał-cł 'heavy rainfall', from ?ascał 'waterfall'.

Note: all these items have in common, that the phoneme represented by the number 1 is a stop; 2 is a vowel; 3 is a fricative.

b-I-1/3 yax-yaaki dim. of yaki 'mountain goat'; sḥax-ḥaaḥti dim. of sḥaḥt 'cariboo'.

b-II stan-tanmc 'female ancestors', from stan 'mother', -mc 'relatives'; sux-suxa plur. of suxa 'hand'.

b-III scux-cuxm 'salmon jumps'; x°uł-x°ulm 'make fire with drill'.

b-III-3 lux-luukliwa 'acting mean', from V-luk/luuk 'repulsive',
-liwa '...-like'; nix-niqǫm 'have cramps' (simplex not recorded);
pax-paaǫ'u 'coward(ly)', from paaǫ'u 'to fear'.

b-IV mil-milix°ǫp 'plant of the milix° (bear berry)'; ck°al-k°al
'walk noisily', from ck° 'heavy', -al 'feet'.

b-IV-1 q°uǫ-q°uulta 'pen', from q°uǫ 'to mark, write', -ta 'implement'.

b-IV-3 cax-cak°al 'tall person', from cak° 'long', -al 'legs';
kax-kaxq°ǫp 'douglas fir', from kaxq°-t 'douglas fir bark', -ǫp 'plant, tree';
scix-cix°talp 'horsetail', from cix°ta 'stems of horsetail', -ǫp 'plant'.

b-V ǫ°al-ǫ°alx 'solder', from ǫ°alx 'to melt'.

b-V-3 tix-tiiǫ°m 'drive poles for eulachon net', from tiiǫ° 'hit with
hammer'; six-siiq° 'airplane', from sq° 'fly, jump' (+ change 6) 3).

b-VI mus-mus 'cow'; saw-sawa 'pillow'; win-winc 'sandpiper'; wil-wil
'mica'.

b-VI-3 tix-tik° 'piece of wood used as kindling'; mux°-muk°t 'bluegrouse';
mix-mik° 'star'.

Note: in these formations the first phoneme represented by the number 3
is always either a fricative or a sonant; 2 is always a vowel.

c-I ?n-knci dim. of knc 'whale'; ?i-tixlalay dim. of tixlala 'robin';
?u-pwii dim. of pwi 'halibut'.

c-II si-k°yan plur. of sk°yan 'knee'.

c-III-6 sun-puuǫnm 'baseball', from sp° 'to hit', -uuǫ 'ball', -nm 'game'.

c-IV sl-tlsǫp 'plant of the stls (highbush cranberry)'; ?m-kmlqsakta
'fingerring', from km 'to bite', -lqsak 'finger', -ta 'implement';
?l-klayǫp 'western birch', from klay 'western birch bark', -ǫp 'tree';
?i-kyukmtmax° 'to argue', from kyuk 'to talk', -tmax° 'each other'.

c-VI: ɫm-kmani 'weasel'; ʔl-qllis ⁴) 'giant kelp with herring spawn on it'; ʔu-q'uuni 'throat'.

Note: the reduplicated sonant or vowel always precedes (and follows) a glottalized stop. When this sonant/vowel appears at the beginning of the word, it is automatically preceded by a glottal stop. Compare the items listed under d.

Some reduplications of this type, however, do not have this peculiarity: ʔm-tm 'sea eggs', sn-knix 'food' (from s- 'nominalizer', knix 'to eat'), ʔl-plii 'thin', su-pusɫp 'young willow tree' (from pus 'to grow', -ɫp 'tree'), ʔu-suk'lt 'blackcap berry'.

d-I ʔus-cusmi 'dusk, early evening', from ʔusm 'evening'.

d-III-3 ʔix-tiiχɫalam 'hop on one leg'. Alternatively, ʔix- may here represent the prefix ʔix- 'distributive'.

d-III-6 ʔis-k'ismtmax' 'animals try to copulate', from k's 'engaged', -tmax' 'each other'; ʔis-ciis 'make noise with tools', from cs 'noise'.

d-IV ʔix-piiχcut 'take a steambath', from V'piiχ 'steam(ing)', -cut 'reflexive'.

d-V-6 ʔix-pixɫp 'crabapple tree', from px 'crabapple', -ɫp 'tree'.

d-VI ʔus-pus 'lungs'; ʔaw-kawaɫ 'blind'.

Note: these formations are reminiscent of the type discussed under c in that ɫ is always a glottalized stop; ɥ is always a vowel. They have in common with b that ɣ is always a fricative or sonant. ʔ- is automatic.

e-I su-sumii dim. of sum 'trousers'; qɫm-ɫmii dim. of qɫm 'black cod'; stn-tnii dim. of stn 'tree'.

e-I-1 ca-caaɫii dim. of caɫ 'lake'; tɫɫaa-ɫay dim. of tɫɫa 'knife'; ʔimlk-mlɫkii 'boy', from ʔimlk 'man'.

e-II pl-plak 'both arms (-ak) missing'; p'la-la 'blink both eyes';
?imc-mc plur. of ?imc 'nephew'; m(n)-mmc¹) 'children'.

e-III k'u-k'ukma 'have the hiccups', from k'ul- 'many', kma 'stuck
in throat'; sm-sma 'tell a story', from sma 'myth, legend'.

e-III-6 pum-puus (+ change 1) 'keeps growing', from pus 'to grow';
kin-kislu'pstalx 'having trouble breathing', from kis- 'without', slupsta
'breath'; sun-supt 'whistle continually'.

e-IV sx°(m)-x°maltwa¹) 'lightning in the sky', from sx°m 'burning',
-altwa 'sky'; l(1)-lliq°ta¹) 'scissors (for cutting hair)', from Vll
'to cut', -iiq° 'head, hair', -ta 'implement'.

e-IV-6 sx°tun-tus 'deadfall', from x°t 'let go, drop', -us 'face';
tx°un-x°ulmxta 'broom', from tx° 'sweep', -ulmx 'floor', -ta 'implement';
cpum-puusta 'face towel', from cp 'wipe', -uus 'face', -ta 'implement'.

e-V-6 pan-pacał 'be the first, leader', from pacał 'go first, ahead';
man-maatqa (+ change 1) 'inch worm', from matqa 'to measure'.

e-VI tu-tup 'trout'; n(m)-nmk¹) 'animal'; ya-yač 'small horn';
ča-čač 'goose'; stan-tapilm (+ change 6) 'bat (zool.)'.

e-VI-1 ya-yaatwii 'happy'; ya-yaasii 'good-looking'; q°ulu-luuč°u
'strawberry'; snu-nuupq° 'rags used for stockings'.

Note: this type of reduplication is the most productive one. The number
of lexicalized forms is strikingly high.

f-I ya-yncii dim. of yanc 'driftwood'; sča-čnii dim. of sčan 'sweetheart'.

f-I-1 spuu-ptxi dim. of sputx 'eulachon'; taa-tk°si dim. of tak°s
'willow grouse'; čii-ččini dim. of čičin 'sea lion'; wa-wiisi dim. of
ways 'coho salmon'; ka-kpuuci dim. of kapuc 'sucker fish'; tpii-pq°ii
(+ change 4) dim. of tpiič° 'cover, lid'.

f-I-1/7 'cii-čk°ni dim. of čik°a 'clam'; 'tuu-tk°ni (+ change 5)
dim. of tuka 'mink'.

f-II sk°ca-clš plur. of sk°cals 'cheek'.

f-III 'anupi-pkmiik 'sparks (pikm) come out of (?anu-) chimney (-iik)'.
f-IV nuca-ck°lqsnk 'wharf rat', lit. 'long (cak°) tail (nu-...-lqsnk)';

'anuksaa-sktmax° 'tug-of-war', from ks 'to pull', -aak 'hand', -tmax° 'each
other'; nusi-sxiik 'vein', from six 'blood', nu-...-iik 'container'.

f-IV-1 'x°uu-x°cliwa 'supple', from x°uc 'to soak', -liwa 'semblative';
sxp̄ii-pk 'spine' (= sx̄pik; cf. 'us̄-sxp̄-aaš 5) 'buttocks').

f-IV-2 pa-pqcut 'name oneself', from paaš/paaq- 'to name', -cut
'reflexive'.

f-VI k°u-k°pi 'grandfather'; x°aa-x°x°ii 'light of weight' (actually:
12113); ca-ctawlp 'cedar tree'; ta-tkanałp 'yellow pond lily'.

g-I-1 'aac-cayi (+ change 8) dim. of 'acaya 'fox'.

g-IV 'aš-šanulp ('aššanulšłp 5)) 'plant of the 'ašanulš (gooseberry);
'uq-qallp 'plant of the 'uqal (cinquefoil roots)'.
g-III 'ix'ak°-k°a 'go shopping', from 'ix- 'distributive', 'ak°a 'buy'.

Note: this reduplicative type is rather rare. The only regularity seems
to be that the reduplicated consonant is always a stop. However: 'is-sut
'to travel a long time by canoe', from 'isut 'to paddle, travel by canoe'.

5.1 A striking characteristic of many reduplicative formations is that
reduplication can take place across morpheme boundaries: tq°us-q°si 'gnat'
derives from tq 'to stick', -us 'face', -i 'diminutive'; sun-puulnm
'baseball' consists of sp 'to hit', -uulš 'ball', -nm 'game'; sx°tun-tus
'deadfall', from s- 'nominalizer', x°t 'let go, drop', -us 'face';
tx°un-x°ulmxta 'broom', from tx° 'sweep', -ulmx 'floor', -ta 'implement'.

5.2 From the list contained in section 4 we can see that not all semantic classes are covered by all possible formations; at the same time, the morphophonemic changes are not associated with all reduplicative types. The following matrices may exemplify the situation:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a	+							
b	+		+			+		
c						+		
d			+			+		
e	+					+		
f	+	+		+	+		+	
g	+							+

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
a	+		+	+	+	
b	+	+	+	+	+	+
c	+	+	+	+		+
d	+		+	+	+	+
e	+	+	+	+	+	+
f	+	+	+	+		+
g	+		+	+		

N O T E S

¹) See: H.F. Nater, Bella Coola Phonology, contribution to the 13th International Conference on Salish Languages, 1978 (sections 3.2.1.1, 3.2.5).

All subsequent footnotes are from the above article

²) See sections 4.3.4, 8.4, 8.3.1, 8.1, 8.2.

³) See section 6.1.

⁴) See section 3.5.

⁵) See section 4.2.1.