Reduplication in Lillooet

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1. Introduction. Reduplication plays an important part in the Lillooet language. There are four simple types and four complex types (see 2). Most types leave a number of rest-types which are discussed together with the main types (see 3). In the formulae that symbolize the various types I write 1, 2, p, q, etc. for C1, C2, etc. and I do not write unstressed schwa (= ə and ı, both symbolized E); where A is used twice in such a formula, it represents identical full vowels. In some cases reduplication is accompanied by resonant-glottalization (as in sq*am "mountain", sq*q'em "hill"), or schwa-insertion (e.g. sq*q'em *sq*q't). Before we have a corresponding to a elsewhere (e.g. spuz "animal" (hypocoristic term) → *spuzu? → spuza "animal, bird").

2. Table of main types.

Simple types.

1. Initial reduplication.

(a) l1v2, l1(4)2v. Examples: q'q*q'q'q'o\(\)l "bone" (no simplex), q'q'q'lataq "jackpines" (q'lataq "jackpine"), n-x'q-x'x'cin "four persons" (x'x'cin "four"), n-ka-kalas "three persons" (kalas "three").

(b) l1l4. Examples: s-t'a-talax "to keep standing up" (talax "to stand up"), x'f-x'xtan "to keep whistling" (xtan "to whistle").

(c) l1v2. This type is treated as a special case of consonant reduplication, see type 3b.

2. Final reduplication.

(a) p'pq. Examples: p'al-o\(\)l "to boil" (p'al-mu\(\) "to boil smt."), x'q'u-o\(\)s "to foam" (x'q'u-x'm "soapberry"), p'lik * "duet whirls up" (no simplex, cf? pluk "smoke"), x'q'l\(\)wos "married" (x'q*aws "together").

(b) l2v2. All cases recorded: q'li-"angry" (cf? q'ill-"weak"), q'tut "cricket" (cf? q'tut "cocoon"), p'lu\(\) "thick" (ab. cloth, blankets; cf. ph-ánis "thick layer of lumber (anis)") p'q'g "wild cherry" (no simplex), k'zu\(\) "(to have) twins"; s-q'l'q'a-xen "hoof" (q'vë- root in words for digits, e.g. č-q'ul-aka "thumb"; cf? q'ul "full").

(c) l2v2 (double final reduplication). Examples: k'slifl "to sprinkle" (Afl-in "to sprinkle smt."); j'slifl "fire flickering" (j'sl-an "to light smt."); sq'jilqiq "to creep while squatting" (mq'lix "to squat down").

3. Consonant reduplication.

(a) ...pq... Examples: x'x'x'cin "four (x'x'cin) animals", wsp-liča "caterpillar" (wsp- "hair", -l- connective, -ča- "covering, skin"). Many cases also change ı to ı: kalas "three (kałas) animals" and sq'iwłw "little beaver" (sq'aww "beaver").

(b) l7l2 (see also type 1c). Examples: ppla? "one (pľan) person", p'p'p'n to find (pun) smt. unexpectedly. With change ı → ı: ppla? "one animal", səma "white child" (sama "white person"). Here we also have cases with q in the root: s-q'se'ma "hill" (s-q'am "mountain").

4. Total reduplication.

(a) l2-lv2. Examples: s-qap-γap "trees" (s-qap "tree"), s-kex-kfizsa "motherer" (s-kfizsa "mother"), q'an-q'ánt "poor, destitute" (q'an- "to want, desire"), k'et-k'et "top of breastbone" (no simplex).

(b) l2-12. Examples: s-q'il-q'em "mountains, mountain range" (s-q'em "mountain"), sq'ay-qex- "men" (s-qayx- "man"), q'il-q'at "to ache, hurt" (q'al- "pain, ache"), q'il-q' "Oregon grape").

(c) l2-1(4)2v. Examples: xam-xam "enemies" (xam "enemy"), paml-pam "to fold smt. up" (pambl "to fold, bend smt."), mac-macxal "to write (macxal) a lot".
Complex types.

5. \((= 3 + 4)\)

(a) \((= 3b + 4a)\): 11f212. Examples: s-qaw-s-qawwac "little potatoes" (s-qaqwac "little potato" ← s-qwc "potato"), s-qaz-s-qaxw "pups" (s-qaxw "pups" ← s-qaxw "dog"), s-qal-s-qawx "little rooster" (s-qal-qalx) "rooster")

(b) \((= 3b + 4b)\): 11f12-12. Examples: šič-šič "kind of smart, a little bit smart" (esp. about young children; šič-šič "smart"), šič-šič "a little bit strong" (šič-šič "strong").

(c) \((= 3a + 4c)\): 12-12f2, 12-12f23. Examples: n-saw-sawken "little cups" (n-sawken "little cup", n-sawken "cup"), taw-twít "boys" (twít "boy"), šap-šap "forgettable" (šap "to forget").

6. \((= 2a + 4a)\): 11f12-22. Examples: pš-špš-špš "rapid", čq-čq-čq "to get stabbed all over" (čq-čq "stabbed"), q-an-q-an "getting poor" (q-an-q-an "poor").

7. \((= 1a + 3)\): 11f212, 11f23: k-s-kšk-pš "chiefs", k-s-kšk-pš "chiefs", k-s-kšk-a, s-paa-puša "animals" (s-puša "animal").

8. \((= 2 + 3)\)

(a) \((= 2b + 3a)\): 12f22. One case recorded: qāšāl "a little bit mad" (qāšāl "mad, angry").

(b) \((= 2a + 3b)\): 11f12. One case recorded: qāšāl "getting weak" (qāšāl "weak").

3. Functions and rest-types. Only types 2a, 3, 4, and 5 are productive. These types and types 6, 7, and 8 have definite functions. In what follows, the various types are discussed in the order used in 2. Unless otherwise indicated I give all available examples of each (sub)type. Where I have no simplex, I give the Shuswap parallel (if available) from Kuipers, 1974.

3.1 Initial reduplication. Type la expresses plurality in q-q-q-qałam and in s-šü-šüf. "lots of curly hair" (s-šüf "curly hair"), x-a-x-aš-w "to move" (x-a-x-aš "move"), s-qaw-s-qaw "shadows" (s-qaw-s-qaw "shadow"), s-qaw-s-qaw "big (plural)" (e.g. s-qaw-s-qaw "big animals", s-qaw-s-qaw "big animal").

The words ka-šiq-t "muskrat" (ka-šiq "muskrat") and s-qaw-s-qaw "rabbit, hare") are ambiguous, since some consultants ascribe plurality to the reduplicated forms while others do not. The forms ca-šif="houses" (cf. Sh. ca-šif "house") and ca-šif="souls-in-law" (cf. Sh. ca-šif "souls-in-law") may contain a deleted t: ca]-ca]. In the numeral "three" and "four", la refers to the category "persons" (rather than to animals or objects).

In all other cases of la, this type has no clear function: next to q-q-q-qałam we only have q-q-q-qałam "to grumble, complain" (q-q-q-qałam "to deliver a speech, talk seriously"), ka-šik "far away" (ka-šik "far away"; "always, "always").

Types of la comprise first of all the type la expresses plurality in q-q-q-qałam and in s-šü-šüf. "lots of curly hair" (s-šüf "curly hair"), x-a-x-aš-w "to move" (x-a-x-aš "move"), s-qaw-s-qaw "shadows" (s-qaw-s-qaw "shadow"), s-qaw-s-qaw "big (plural)" (e.g. s-qaw-s-qaw "big animals", s-qaw-s-qaw "big animal").

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"wolf"). The function of this type is less clear in q'u-q'u (spring of water, small body of water) (q'u-9 water), s-nâ-hatx" (morning) (natx- tomorrow), pâ-pâk" sliced salmon) (pâ-kâ to slice salmon), à-wa-lax" patch-blanket" (s-lax-"patch"), q'u-q'u" trap" (s-q'u" id.). Cases without simplex: pú-púq", "grey" huckleberry (cf. Sh. s-pûq" unidentified shrub (sillvery, with small white berries)), cf-ci9 boy's penis, s-xf-xi9 1. Hudson Bay bird, camprobber, 2. "curious", s-xf-xi9 "hudson Bay bird", n-xc-xa-x-an" to trot", hâ-hu9 "a little bit more!" (cf? huâ "to be about to", x'uy "come on!"), and n-qf-qist-an"dragonfly".

3.2 Final reduplication. Type 2a expresses in general an achieved or lasting state, or transition. Next to the examples given above we have n-fî-lî -al "to sprinkle" (n-fî-in "to sprinkle smt."), q'û-fî-sîl "filled up" (q'ul "full"), q'û-sx-ax" broken down" (qax- to break), n-nîc-âk "a cut" (nîk-ân "to cut"), pâw-sx- "to echo" (cf? paw "to swell"), kâ'-sîl "laid up" (kâ- smt. comes to rest at smt.), qâw-sît "too late" (s'wtt "to be late, behind"), etc. Rest-types comprise 1v212 and 1v2a2: s-k'sâc-ic "name" (cf. s-k'st-ây "nick-name", kâq-lîk-ik "ptarmigan", s-sî-19 -magpie", n-fî-lî "to cry". Type 2b has one set of rest-types: n-fî-lî -lî "tired" (n-fî-an "to stop smt."), kâl-îl "soon" (cf? kâl-an "to follow, pursue"), q-ac-âc "to leave, set cut" (cf. q'âc-ân "to shake smt."). Unique is the case n-sîx'sî x'a (a geographical name; ka-n-sîx'sî "to come up to smt. suddenly").

We have one case of 2a and 2b combined: qîlî-sîl "getting angrier".

The examples of type 2c are completed by X'asasû (name of a fishing place, cf. X'as-9s) s-kââlîk "to rattle (like wooden pegs)" (kââlîk id.). Note that in two cases we have a form 1v22 besides 1v2v2: n-fî-lî -lî/ka-lâlîl and X'as-9s/X'asasû.

3.3 Consonant reduplication. Consonant reduplication (types 3a and 3b) expresses diminutiveness in most cases: twît- "boy" (twît young man that has finished his training), s-nâ-yîw- "little lynx" (s-nâyîw "lynx"), n-sîn-x19 "worn" (n-sâx19 "snake"), s-îmac "little grandchild" (s-îmac "grandchild"), n-sâp-9p "little tree" (n-9p "tree"), s-si-x19 "little flame" (s-x19 "flame"), etc. With adjectives, consonant reduplication expresses weakened character or a weakened comparative (here we always have a change s' → 9, with a instead of a 9 before s'?): n-sâp-9p "a little bit deeper" (n-sâp-9p "deep"), X'asasû "a little bit bigger" (X'as "big"), X'asasû "pretty, cute" (X'as "good"), X'asasû "a little bit later" (s'wtt "to be late, behind"), etc. (cf. these forms with hûnu", 3.1, p.5). With some numerals, this type expresses "persons" or "animals" (e.g. pâpâla and pâpâla), X'as ocîn, kalâx, p. 2). In many cases, consonant reduplication is merely a lexicalizing device: lûa- "jealous" (lû-s- "to accuse of infidelity"), x-wav9 "new" (cf? cil-kst "five"), qîqî "weak" (cf? qîl "angry"), sccawxw- "creek" (cf. Sh. cwey "creek"), q-sâm-9n "pregnant" (q-sâm- "heaped up", -an "belly"), n-qâq-9s9-1 "(realistic) story" (qâq- to tell, report, speak"), etc.

Some forms show double consonant reduplication, e.g. twîw-wtt "young boy" (twît- "boy"), sccawxw- "little creek (sccawx)", qîqî "rather weak" (qîqîl "weak"). All cases recorded here show s' → 9.

Rest-types: (1): ...s99 → ...9 (a)99p99- (9) 9-i-xu:n9a "to try to beat each other (in a game)" (X'asx-99 "to beat sb. in a contest"), qîltawaxw-99 "race" (qîltawx- "war"), s-mamûni-999 "blanket-wife, mistress" (s-mâmûni id.), X'as-9ntwalûsa-99 "to wrestle" (X'as-9ntwalûsa id.), 1g9-9lûxûs99 "to play hide-and-seek" (1g9-9lûxûs99 id.), s99s9999 "a little, a few" (9999 "how much, how many"). (2): 1v2 → 1v2l: sîsâq9999 "to chop wood in oven-ready pieces" (sîsâq9999 "to chop, split"), X'as999999 "thin" (mâson "to place close together"), X'asx
"skirt" (ɪęp- root in words for clothing); (3): ... plagued... → ... plagued...: ḅešašlīkam "fish swimming just under surface of water" (ɪʍ- "top (ridge)", -lıkam "back"); ḅeşqiqínkst "hundred" (ɪqop- "unit", ḅin "head", -kst "hand, finger"), nq̓q̓iqínkst "stationary fishing rod" (n- prefix "at, on, in"), ḅ- cf. ḅa"q am. comes to rest at am., -qin "head", -tank "implement").

A number of words of the shape ɬéqu (← *1V1?) form a semantic unit. The cases at hand are: ḅíka aspirationate way to address a woman (cf. ḅ-kuza "mother"), ḅúya- "boy's penis (yu- id., rarely used), tátá" "sleep!" ('baby-talk', cf. Squamish "itut to sleep"), ḅ-kuZa- "grandmother", ḅaš-a- "to ride piggyback" (cf. Sh. ḅe- "to pack (a child) on one's back"), tátá" (a woman's name; s-ta- "aunt"). These words are hypocoristic in character. The underlying form of these cases is probably *CVVp. This form is suggested by the expression mi- "sit down!" ('baby-talk', cf. míc-qa "to sit down or up") and by ḅe- "good job, way to go!" (x-šéx-est "strong, very much so"). The morphologic history of the forms given above seems to be: (full form) → *CVVp → CVVip → CVQa.

3.4 Total reduplication. Total reduplication (types 4a, b, and c) expresses plurality (or better, collectivity) in many nouns and also in some adjectives and verbs, e.g. ḅ-yaq-yaqa" women" (s-yaqca "woman", Mount Currie dialect), ḅ-ma-μuac "women" (s-muac "woman", Fountain dialect), ḅw-sáw-áw "slaves" (saw- "slave"), ḅak-čūk- "various things are finished" (cūk- "finished"), top-túpuin- "to beat up sb." (túpuin- "to punch sb., hit with fist"), s-łt-łtq- "holes" (s-\-tq- "holec), s-ta- "aunts" (s-ta- "aunt"), s-qay-qayc- "men" (s-qay-x- "man"), ḅiGq-qa- "to split wood several times" (qiGq- "an "to split wood"), ḅaGq-ka- "to take completely apart" (ka- "to take off, apart"), s-=k-ic "enemies" (manc "enemy"), q-em-\-n\-i- "various people are sick" (q-mi- "sick", Fountain dialect).

The idea of collectivity is clearly present in the meaning of, e.g., s-q\-m-\-q\-s "mountain range" (s-q\-em "mountain"), ḅiGq-1-1-\-q\-al- "forest-fire" (fi\-al "flame, fire"). Likewise, certain words have total reduplication only when one aspect of their meaning is taken under consideration, e.g. ḅ-č-taw- "needles of tree or bush" (taw- "needle"), but not in the meaning of "sewing needles", ḅ-č-taw- "leaves on tree" (taw- "leaf"), but not for a small group of individually recognizable leaves. This also explains why certain words allow the complex type 5, but not just total reduplication, e.g. s-qa\-q\-qa\- "pups" (xa\-qa\- "dog"), but not *s-qa\-q\-qa\- for "dogs", s-qa\-q\-q\-woc "little potatoes" (qa\-woc "potato"), but not *s-qa\-q\-woc for "potatoes": collectivity can be represented by a litter or a handful, but not by a number of rather large individual objects.

Almost all terms for persons show total reduplication when they are used in the plural (see the examples given on pp. 2 and 7 and note also s-za\-q\-q\-qa\- "friends, relatives" (n\-za\-q\-qa\- "friend, relative"), s-qa\-q\-qa\- "fathers" (sa\-qa\-q\-qa\- "father", etc.). However, the words ɪdx\-amix "Indian, person", and ṭama- "white person" do not allow total reduplication for pluralization purposes. Note that s- \-s \-s \-s \-s is allowed, but this form means "to behave like, pretend to be a white person". Not in all words which allow total reduplication, this device is obligatory, e.g. t\- \-x\- \-x\- \-x\- \-x\- "the enemies" (t\- \-x\- \-x\- \-x\- \-x\- a plural-article and enclitic required by it). The word k\-k\-k\- "elders sister" (with lexicalized total reduplication) is usually unchanged in the plural, but also allows (probably hypercorrectly) k\-k\-k\-k\-k\-k. See also 3.7 (note on k\-\-k\-k\-ka).
3.5 Consonant reduplication and total reduplication. Types 5a and c express, in the first place, the plural of diminutives. In addition to the examples on p. 3 we have əm-’f’mac “(small) grandchildren” (’f’mac “small” grandchild), ʔs-ʔs-ʔw’bat “children” (ʔs-ʔw’bat “child”), tw-wowet “(young) boys” (tw-wowet “(young) boy”; tw-tw “boy”), etc. In the second place, these subtypes are lexicalized in a number of words, viz. ʔs-ʔs-ʔk’ab “weasel in winter, when white” (ʔs-ʔs-ʔk’ab “light-coloured”), k-ʔs-ʔk’ab “weasel in summer, brown phase”, ʔ-ʔs-ʔk’ab “unid. plant with little red berries” (ʔ-ʔs-ʔk’ab “salmon roe”), ʔ-ʔs-ʔk’ab “forgetful” (ʔ-ʔs-ʔk’ab “to forget”, ʔl-ʔs-ʔk’ab “always”), ʔ-ʔs-ʔk’ab “swamp robin”. In forms with lexicalized total reduplication, type 5a expresses diminutiveness (as in qal-qax * → qal-qax,* p. 3), or plural and diminutiveness (as in qaq-qax “little red ones” → qaq-qax “red”, ʔp’q-ʔp’q “black”, ʔp’q-ʔp’q “little black ones” → ʔp’q-ʔp’q “black”, ʔp’q-ʔp’q “little blue ones” → ʔp’q-ʔp’q “blue”). Type 5b expresses diminutives of lexicalized forms 4b. This type is never used for the plural of diminutives, see also 3.6.1.

3.6 Final reduplication and total reduplication. Type 6 has two functions: when we have total reduplication applied to a stem with final reduplication, it expresses the plural of objects in a more or less lasting stage, as in p’al-p’al “haze”, qq-qq “blister”, pu-pu “feet get wet” (puc- “to get soft in water”) with lack of metathesis A → ?A in the unstressed syllable. Note also ka-ʔa “sore all over” (ʔaʔa “sore from exercise”) with a unique occurrence of a before o.

See 3.6.1 for a discussion on the interrelation between stem-type and total reduplication subtype.


Type 4a leaves the following rest-types: (1): ʔs-ʔw’-ʔs-ʔw’-ʔs-ʔw’ (a geographical name), ʔs-ʔk- “(young) boys” “to blink, keep blinking”, k-wk- “all along the low part” “low”), ʔs-ʔw’ “to walk all over the land” (metaphoric use of ʔs-ʔw’ “to light smt.”), k-wk- “to stay in the water” (mdin- “to dip smt. into water or loose stuff”), (2): ʔs-ʔw’ “to play checkers”, ʔs-ʔw’ “to move smt.”.

Rest-types of 4b are: (1): ʔs-ʔw’-ʔs-ʔw’ “bell” (onomatopoia), m-w- “cow” (borrowed from Chincok), ʔc- “fish-hawk” (ʔc- “pointed”), ʔw- “unidentified bird”, ʔf- “unid. waterbird”, ʔk- “Steller’s jay when forecasting good weather”, ʔq- “sound made by ʔw”, ʔf- “to bleed all over” (cf. ʔq- “to bleed”), n-ʔq-ʔq “haze”, qʔq “ɬ “blister” (qʔq “blister”), pů- “feet get wet” (puc- “to get soft in water”) with lack of metathesis A → ?A in the unstressed syllable. Note also ʔaʔa “sore all over” (ʔaʔa “sore from exercise”) with a unique occurrence of a before o.

See 3.6.1 for a discussion on the interrelation between stem-type and total reduplication subtype.
1'712(...) and 1'722 always take type a; stems 1'72(...) and 1'70c always take type b; stems 1(A)2... always take type c. Stems 1'72(...)** usually take type a, whereas stems 1A23 usually take type b. Stems 1'712(...) select type a even where their underlying stems, i.e. 1'72(...), select type b. Hence we have s-qayx* "man", s-qay-qayx* "men", s-qay-qayx* "boy", s-qay-qayx* "boys"; s-λq*-spot*; s-λq*-spot*; s-λq*- "little spot", s-λq*- "little spots". Note also και-κικα* "elders", και-κικα* "ancestors" (και* "first").

The following cases show types a and b, both selected by the same root: χαλ-χαλ* "sour, bitter (berries)", χαλ-χαλ* "Oregon grape"; χακ-χακ* "rough (surface)", χακ-χακ* "blister, carbuncle"; κεκ-κεκ* "several things finished", κεκ-κεκ* "several people finished", pei-pei = pui-pui "cache made by squirrel"; λακ-λακ = λακ-λακ "dry".

3.7 Initial reduplication and consonant reduplication. Most cases of type 7 express plurals of diminutives. Next to the examples listed on p. 3 I recorded sa-sqa* "uncles" (sqa* "uncle"), θα-θαφα* "grandfathers" (θαφα* "grandfather", Mount Currie dialect), and ςα-ςαφα* "grandfathers" (ςαφα* "grandfather", Mount Currie dialect). These forms are considered to be less correct than θα-θαφα*, ςα-ςαφα*, and κα-καφα*.

On the other hand, next to k*ά-k*άp*: I recorded more or less substandard k*ά-k*άp*. The form k*ά-k*άp* is not obligatory as the plural-form of k*άp*: ιιιι-k*ά-k*άp* ιιιι "my (n-) grandmothers". It is not clear why certain stems p̺p̺p̺(... select initial reduplication in the plural, while other such stems select total reduplication (cf. s-puza* s-puza* vs. tw̺̺̺, tw̺̺̺). Type 7 is lexicalized in

3.8 Final reduplication and consonant reduplication. Type a expresses diminutiveness, while type b expresses transition. Note the difference between q̺q̺q̺αl "getting weak" and q̺q̺q̺αl "rather weak" (with double consonant reduplication, see p.96).

Reference

Kuipers, A. H., The Shuswap Language (The Hague, 1974)