

Reduplication in Lillooet

Jan van Eijk
Mount Currie, B.C.

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, C_p, etc. and I do not write unstressed schwa (= ə and ə, 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[◌]ə[◌]m "mountain", sq[◌]ə[◌]q[◌]ə[◌]m "hill"), or schwa-insertion (e.g. sq[◌]ə[◌]q[◌]ə[◌]m ← *sq[◌]ə[◌]q[◌]m). Before ʔ we have a corresponding to ə ə elsewhere (e.g. spzuʔ "animal" (hypocoristic term) → *spzuzʔ → spzúzaʔ "animal, bird").

2. Table of main types.

Simple types.

1. Initial reduplication.

(a) 11ʔ2, 11(A)2ʔ. Examples: q[◌]ə-q[◌]ú[◌]λ "bone" (no simplex), q[◌]ə-q[◌]lítaʔ "jackpines" (q[◌]lítaʔ "jackpine"), n-ʔə-ʔə-ʔúcin "four persons" (ʔúcin "four"), n-kə-kalás "three persons" (kalás "three").

(b) 1Á1A2. Examples: s-tá-tallex "to keep standing up" (tálex "to stand up"), x[◌]f-x[◌]ítən "to keep whistling" (x[◌]ítən "to whistle").

(c) 1ʔ12. This type is treated as a special case of consonant reduplication, see type 3b.

2. Final reduplication.

(a) pʔqq. Examples: púl-əλ "to boil" (púl-un "to boil smt."), ʔús-əs "to foam" (ʔús-um "soapberry"), píllek[◌] "dust whirls up" (no simplex, cf? pluk[◌] "smoke"), λq[◌]áw[◌]wəs "married" (λq[◌]aws "together").

(b) 12ʔ2. All cases recorded: qilil "angry" (cf? qil- "weak"), stut "cricket" (cf? sítut "cocoon"), pλλ "thick" (ab. cloth, blankets; cf. pλ-ánis "thick layer of lumber (-anis)"), pəpə "wild cherry" (no simplex), kuz "to have) twins", s-q[◌]lú[◌]-a[◌]xən "hoof" (q[◌]ú[◌]- root in words for digits, e.g. c-q[◌]ú[◌]-akaʔ "thumb"; cf? q[◌]ul "full").

(c) 12V2ʔ2 (double final reduplication). Examples: λəlálí "to sprinkle" (líl-in "to sprinkle smt."), ʔ[◌]ələlél "fire flickering" (ʔ[◌]él-en "to light smt."), məqíqíq "to creep while squatting" (míq[◌]-ləx "to squat down").

3. Consonant reduplication.

(a) ...pʔpq... Examples: ʔ[◌]ú[◌]cin "four (ʔ[◌]úcin) animals", wəp-lícaʔ "caterpillar" (wəp- "hair", -l-connective, -ícaʔ "covering, skin"). Many cases also change Á to É: kalás "three (kalás) animals", sqlélew "little beaver" (sqlaw "beaver").

(b) 1ʔ12 (see also type 1c). Examples: páplaʔ "one (pálaʔ) person", púpən "to find (pun) smt. unexpectedly". With change Á → É: péplaʔ "one animal", sésmaʔ "white child" (sámaʔ "white person"). Here we also have cases with É in the root: s-q[◌]ə[◌]q[◌]ə[◌]m "hill" (s-q[◌]ə[◌]m "mountain").

4. Total reduplication.

(a) 12-1ʔ2. Examples: s-ɣəp-ɣáp "trees" (s-ɣap "tree"), s-kəx-kíxzaʔ "mothers" (s-kíxzaʔ "mother"), q[◌]ən-q[◌]ánt "poor, destitute" (q[◌]an- "to want, desire"), k[◌]ət-k[◌]ét "top of breastbone" (no simplex).

(b) 1ʔ2-12. Examples: s-q[◌]ém-q[◌]əm "mountains, mountain range" (s-q[◌]əm "mountain"), sqáy-qyəx[◌] "men" (s-qayx[◌] "man"), q[◌]ái-q[◌]élt "to ache, hurt" (q[◌]ái- "pain, ache"), cúl-cəí "Oregon grape".

(c) 12-1(A)2[◌]... Examples: xəm-xmán "enemies" (xman "enemy"), pən-pánán "to fold smt. up" (pánán "to fold, bend smt."), məc-məcxál "to write (məcxál) a lot".

Complex types.

5. (= 3 + 4).

(a) (= 3b + 4a): 12-1ṽ12. Examples: s-qəw-qəq̄wəc "little potatoes" (s-qəq̄wəc "little potato" ← s-qawc "potato"), s-qəx̄-qəq̄x̄a? "pups" (s-qəq̄x̄a? "pup" ← "s-qəx̄a? "dog"), s-qəl-qəq̄l̄əx̄ "little rooster" (s-qəl-qəl̄x̄ "rooster"): note the difference in derivational history between the last word and the preceding ones.

(b) (= 3b + 4b): 1ṽ12-12. Examples: ís̄íx̄-ləx̄ "kind of smart, a little bit smart" (esp. about young children; l̄əx̄-ləx̄ "smart"), ȳ̄əȳ̄əí-ȳ̄əí "a little bit strong" (ȳ̄əí-ȳ̄əí "strong").

(c) (= 3a + 4c): 12-12ṽ23, 12-123ṽ34. Examples: n-zəw-zəwəw̄k̄stən "little cups" (n-zəwəw̄k̄stən "little cup", n-zəwák̄stən "cup"), təw-twiwt "boys" (twiwt "boy"), ləp-ləpnún̄l "forgetful" (lápən "to forget", -u "always").

6. (= 2a + 4a): 12-1ṽ22. Examples: pəλ-púl-əλ "rapids" (púl-əλ "to boil"), cəq-cíq-əq "to get stabbed all over" (cíq-əq "stabbed"), q̄ən-q̄án̄nət "getting poor" (q̄ən-q̄ánt "poor"): note the difference in derivational history between the last word and the preceding ones.

7. (= 1a + 3): 11ṽ12, 112ṽ23: k̄ə-k̄úk̄pi? "chiefs" (k̄úk̄pi? "chief"), k̄ə-k̄ék̄a? "grandmothers" (k̄ék̄a? "grandmother"), s-pə-pzúza? "animals" (s-pzúza? "animal").

8. (= 2 + 3).

(a) (= 2b + 3a): 12ṽ22. One case recorded: ql̄s̄l̄əí "a little bit mad" (ql̄il "mad, angry").

(b) (= 2a + 3b): 1ṽ112. One case recorded: q̄íq̄q̄əí "getting weak" (q̄íq̄əí "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 1a expresses plurality in q̄ə-q̄l̄itaž and in s-kə-k̄l̄ip̄q̄ "lots of curly hair" (s-k̄l̄ip̄q̄ "curly hair"), k̄ə-k̄x̄ús-am "to hail" (s-k̄x̄ús "tear"), s-qə-q̄níwaλ "shadows" (s-q̄níwaλ "shadow"), ȳ̄ə-ȳ̄zúm- "big (plural)" (e.g. ȳ̄ə-ȳ̄zúm-q̄ "big animals", ȳ̄zúm-q̄ "big animal"). The words kə-k̄l̄áx̄ "muskrat(s)" (kl̄áx̄ "muskrat") and s-q̄ə-q̄yíc "rabbit(s), hare(s)" (s-q̄yíc "rabbit, hare") are ambiguous, since some consultants ascribe plurality to the reduplicated forms while others do not. The forms cə-cít̄x̄ "houses" (cít̄x̄ "house") and cə-cutál "sons-in-law" (cutál "son-in-law") may contain a deleted t: *cə[t]-c̄... In the numerals "three" and "four", type 1a refers to the category "persons" (rather than to animals or objects).

In all other cases of 1a, this type has no clear function: next to q̄ə-q̄úʷ we only have q̄ə-q̄alút "to grumble, complain" (q̄alút "to deliver a speech, talk seriously"), kə-káw "far away" (káv-ləx "to move, go away"), and (without simplex) q̄ə-q̄úʷaxnam "horse-race" (cf. Shuswap ȳ̄-q̄əq̄úʷte?-xn-m "to race"), kə-kníf "kokanee salmon", n-q̄ə-q̄ápasən "to castrate", q̄ə-q̄íla Lo-matium macrocarpum (cf. Shuswap q̄əq̄íla "hog fennel (?)"), pə-píʷə? "to swing". For q̄ə-q̄uʷ cf. Sh. q̄əq̄uʷ id.

Rest-types of 1a comprise first of all the type 11ṽ2a: ʷə-ʷák-a "to go right through" (ʷák "to go along"), q̄ə-q̄áy-a "roof supported only by poles (used on hunting trips)" (cf. s-q̄az "roof, tent"). Next there is 1alṽ...: n-ka-kúsənt "star" (cf. Sh. sə-k̄úsnt id.), ča-čú(?) "wren", n-s-ʷa-ʷú "coot" (also recorded ʷa-ʷəw, ʷa-ʷúw, n-s-ʷaw-ʷú(w)), pa-páw "swimming bladder" (paw- "to swell"). In the third place we have 1ilṽ...: pi-pála " (to take, do) one at a time" (pála? "one"; the other numerals do not allow this derivation), s-ci-cá? "crow" (cf. cac?-úsa? "black-cap", cac?- ← *ca?-); here also belongs piy-a-pánt-a "to go back and forth" (pánt "to return"), with a repetitive connotation that is also found in pi-pála?.

Type 1b expresses continuation in s-tá-tallex, x̄í-x̄itən, and in s-ʷí-ʷíʷ "to hum" (ʷíʷ-əm "to sing"), s-ʷú-ʷúʷ "to sing a lullaby" (cf. ʷúʷ-ən "to sing a lullaby to sb." with metathesis; cf. also preceding item), and in s-q̄ə-q̄awam "to howl" (s-q̄awam

"wolf"). The function of this type is less clear in q^oú-q^ou^o "spring of water, small body of water" (q^ou^o "water"), s-ná-natx^o "morning" (natx^o "tomorrow"), pá-pak^o "sliced salmon" (pák^oan^o "to slice salmon"), lá-lax^o "patch-blanket" (s-lax^o "patch"), q^oú-q^ou^o "trap" (s-q^ou^o *id.*). Cases without simplexes: pú-puq^o "grey huckleberry" (cf. Sh. s-puq^oy^o "unidentified shrub (silvery, with small white berries)"), cí-ci^o "boy's penis", s-xí-xi^o 1. "Hudson Bay bird, camprober", 2. "curious", s-xí-xix "Hudson Bay bird", n-ǰǰ-ǰaxxən "to trot", hú-hu^o "a little bit more!" (cf? huž "to be about to", x^ouy "come on!"), and n-qí-qistən "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 líl-əl "to sprinkle" (líl-in "to sprinkle smt."), q^oúl-əl "filled up" (q^oul "full"), qáx^o-əx^o "broken down" (qax^o "to break"), s-ník-ək "a cut" (ník-in "to cut"), páw-əw "to echo" (cf? paw "to swell"), ká^o-a^o "laid up" (ka^o "smt. comes to rest at smt."), ʔáwət "too late" (ʔawt "to be late, behind"), etc. Rest-types comprise 1ʋ2i2 and 1ʋ2a2: s-k^oác-ic "name" (cf. s-k^oast-áy "nick-name"), ɭək-ɭək-ik "ptarmigan", s-ǰí^o-i^o "magpie", ʔíl-al "to cry".

Type 2b has one set of rest-types: 1A2A2: ǰal-ál "tired" (ǰál-an "to stop smt."), kal-ál "soon" (cf? kál-ən "to follow, pursue"), q^oac-ác "to leave, set out" (cf. q^oéc-ən "to shake smt."). Unique is the case ǰax^oǰǰ^oa (a geographical name; ka_ǰǰ^o_a "to come up to smt. suddenly").

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

The examples of type 2c are completed by ǰ^oəsəsús (name of a fishing place, cf. ǰ^oús-əs), ǰəkákík "to rattle (like wooden pegs)" (ǰík *id.*). Note that in two cases we have a form 1V22 besides 12V2ʋ2: líl-əl/ǰəlálíl and ǰ^oús-əs/ǰ^oəsəsús.

3.3 Consonant reduplication. Consonant reduplication (types 3a and 3b) expressed diminutiveness in most cases: twíwt "boy" (twit "young man that has finished his training"), səmǰǰəw "little lynx" (səmǰáw "lynx"), nǰǰǰ^ot "worm" (nǰǰ^oít "snake"), ʔímac "little grandchild" (ʔímac "grandchild"), s-ǰǰǰp "little tree" (s-ǰap "tree"), ǰǰǰǰǰəp "little flame" (ǰǰǰǰǰəp "flame"), etc. With adjectives, consonant reduplication expresses weakened character or a weakened comparative (here we always have a change Á → É, with a instead of ə ǰ before ʔ): nǰǰǰpəm "a little bit deeper" (nǰǰpəm "deep"), ǰǰǰǰəm "a little bit bigger" (ǰǰǰəm "big"), ʔáma "pretty, cute" (ʔáma "good"), ʔáwət "a little bit later" (ʔawt "to be late, behind"), etc. (cf. these forms with húhu^o, 3.1, p.5). With some numerals, this type expresses "persons" or "animals" (e.g. pápla^o and pépla^o, ǰ^oú^ociñ, kalólas, p. 2). In many cases, consonant reduplication is merely a lexicalizing device: lúləm "jealous" (lúm-ən "to accuse of infidelity"), cícəl "new" (cf? cíl-kət "five"), qíqəl "weak" (cf? qlil "angry"), scwáw^o "creek" (cf. Sh. cwex "creek"), sq^omémnək "pregnant" (q^oəm- "heaped up", -ank "belly"), sq^oǰq^oəl "(realistic) story" (q^oáí- "to tell, report, speak"), etc.

Some forms show double consonant reduplication, e.g. twéwət "young boy" (twíwt "boy"), scwéwəw^o "little creek (scwáw^o)", qǰqǰəl "rather weak" (qíqəl "weak"). All cases recorded here show Á → É.

Rest-types: (1): ...pǰq → ... (a)pǰpqa(ʔ): ǰəx^o-ǰax^oúx^ona^o "to try to beat each other (in a game)" (ǰx^oún "to beat sb. in a contest"), ǰəltawáw^oa "race" (ǰəltwáx^o "war"), səm^oamúza^o "blanket-wife, mistress" (səm^oamúž *id.*), ǰǰǰǰǰəntwalúlza^o "to wrestle" (ǰǰǰǰǰəntwalúlž *id.*), ɭǰǰ^oilxúza^o "to play hide-and-seek" (→ *ɭǰǰ^oilxúž), lax^oúx^oza^o *id.* (probably children's talk variant of preceding item; note resonant-deglottalization in last four words; -už "toy, play"), k^oík^ona^o "a little, a few" (k^oin "how much, how many?"); (2): 1É2 → 1f12: sísqən "to chop wood in oven-ready pieces" (sǰǰən "to chop, split"), mímsa^o "thin" (mésən "to place close together"), lífǰptən

"skirt" (ləp- root in words for clothing); (3): ...pÁq... → ...pÁpÁq...: xwəslílikəm "fish swimming just under surface of water" (xwis- "top (ridge)", -likəm "back"), xəcpqíqínkst "hundred" (xəcp- "unit", -qín "head", -kst "hand, finger"), nkqíqínstən "stationary fishing rod" (n- prefix "at, on, in", k- cf. kə? smt. comes to rest at smt., -qín "head", -tən "implement").

A number of words of the shape lVla? (← *lVl?) form a semantic unit. The cases at hand are: kíkə? affectionate way to address a woman (cf. s-kíxza? "mother"), yúya? "boy's penis (yu? id., rarely used), túta? "sleep!" ('baby-talk', cf. Squamish ?ítut "to sleep"), k'ék'a? "grandmother", pápa? "to ride piggyback" (cf. Sh. pə?-m "to pack (a child) on one's back"), táta? (a woman's name; s-ta? "aunt"). These words are hypocoristic in character. The underlying form of these cases is probably *CV?. This form is suggested by the expression mí? "sit down!" ('baby-talk', cf. míçə(?)q "to sit down or up"), and by x'ə? "good job!, way to go!" (x'ésx'əst "strong, very much so"). The morphologic history of the forms given above seems to be: (full form) → *CV? → *CVC? → CVCa?.

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. s-yəq-qəqca? "women" (s-yəqca? "woman", Mount Currie dialect), s-məl-múlac "women" (s-múlac "woman", Fountain dialect), səw-sáwt "slaves" (sáwt "slave"), cək'-cúk' "various things are finished" (cuk' "finished"), təp-túpuñ "to beat up sb." (túpuñ "to punch sb., hit with fist"), s-xət-xətq "holes" (s-xətq "hole"), s-tá?-ta? "aunts" (s-ta? "aunt"), s-qáy-qyax' "men" (s-qáyx' "man"), pəq'-pq'-ən "to split wood several times" (pəq'-ən "to split wood"), kál-kál-ən "to take completely apart" (kál-ən "to take off, apart"), xəm-xmáñ "enemies" (xmáñ "enemy"), q'ən-q'núx' "various people are sick" (q'núx' "sick", Fountain dialect).

The idea of collectivity is clearly present in the meaning of, e.g., s-q'ém-q'əm "mountain range" (s-q'əm "mountain"),

ʃ'əl-ʃ'əl-əp "forest-fire" (ʃ'əlp "flame, fire"). Likewise, certain words have total reduplication only when one aspect of their meaning is taken under consideration, e.g. pət-pátka "needles of tree or bush" (pátka "needle"), but not in the meaning of "sewing needles", péc-pəkλ "leaves on tree" (pəkλ "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-qəx-qəqxa? "pups" (s-qəxa? "dog"), but not *s-qəx-qəqxa?, *s-qəx-qəxa? for "dogs", s-qəw-qəqwəc "little potatoes" (s-qəw "potato"), but not *s-qəw-qəw, *s-qəw-qwəc 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-nək'-núk'a? "friends, relatives" (s-núk'a? "friend, relative"), s-qəc-qácza? "fathers" (s-qácza? "father"), etc.). However, the words ?úx'almix' "Indian, person", and sáma? "white person" do not allow total reduplication for pluralization purposes. Note that səm-sáma? 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. ?i_xəm-xmáñ_a, ?i_xmáñ_a "the enemies" (?i..._a plural-article and enclitic required by it). The word káx-kəx "elder sister" (with lexicalized total reduplication) is usually unchanged in the plural, but also allows (probably hypercorrect) kəx-kəx-kəx. See also 3.7 (note on k'ək'-k'ék'a?).

Total reduplication (always of the type n-lV2-12) is used in some numerals, and in the words k'in "how much, how many?", xék-ən "to count", and cuk' "finished", to make reference to persons (rather than objects or animals), e.g. n-cíl-cləkst "five persons", n-cúk'-cək' "a number of people is finished".

Types 4a, b, and c are lexicalized in a number of nouns, adjectives, and verbs, e.g. s-qəl-qálx' "rooster", məl-míl "domesticated animal", cək'-cúk' "rough", λət-λút "squishy, soft", cəq'-cíq' "red", q'əz-q'áz "blue", q'əx-q'íx "black", kəl-kálən "to

follow, chase after, try to catch up with sb.", ʔəm-ʔímnəm "to make animal noise", káw-kəw "sagebrush", cán-cən "grasshopper", cəq-cəqət "tame", kín-kənt "dangerous", ʃél-ʃəl "strong", sáy-səz "to play", kən-knáp "thunder", wəl-wəlq'úsəm "lightning".

Type 4a leaves the following rest-types: (1): $1(V)2-a-1V2-a$: łəq-a-łəq-a "sound of grasshopper flying", ʃ'əc-a-ʃ'ác-a (a geographical name), çək-a-çək-a "blue jay", łak-a-łák-a "continuously", ləq-a-ləq-a "a kind of design on a basket", ləq-a-ləq-a "mud-trampling game", kiy-a-kíy-a "daddy long-legs", ʃim-a-ʃim-a-s "to make smt. smaller by rumpling it" (-s causativizer), note also zəx-a-zəz'x-a "to play checkers", 3.5.; (2): $1V2-1V2-1V2$: ʔuy-ʔuy-ʔúy "to sob", ləp-ləp-ləp "to blink, keep blinking", xaw-xaw-xawən "all along the low part" (xawən "low"), ʃ'əl-ʃ'əl-ʃ'ələn "to walk all over the land" (metaphoric use of ʃ'ələn "to light smt."), ka_mul-mul-múl_a "to stay in the water" (múlun "to dip smt. into water or loose stuff"); (3): łən-łínana (approximately) "I did not hear that" (said in answer to a rude remark), cf. łəna "ear".

Rest-types of 4b are: (1): $1A2-1A2$: tín-tin "bell" (onomatopoeia), mús-mus "cow" (borrowed from Chinook), cix'-cix' "fish-hawk" (cix' "pointed"), lík-lik (unidentified bird), ʃít-ʃít (unid. waterbird), káy-kay "Steller's jay when forecasting good weather", qáy-qay "sound made by káy-kay"; (2) $1A2-1A2$: cf'c'íj' "to bleed all over" (cf'íj' "to bleed"), n-q'f'q'q'ín "haze", q'ú'q'uł "blisters" (q'uł "blister"), pú'pu'cxən "feet get wet" (puc- "to get soft in water") with lack of metathesis $A' \rightarrow ʔA$ in the unstressed syllable. Note also xə'xəs "sore all over" (xə's- "sore from exercise") with a unique occurrence of ə before ʔ .

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

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 ʔəm-ʔíʔmac "(small) grandchildren" (ʔíʔmac "(small) grandchild"; ʔímac "grandchild"), s-k'əm-k'úk'mit "children" (s-k'úk'mit "child"), təw-twéwəwət "(young) boys" (twéwəwət "(young) boy"; twíwt "boy"), etc. In the second place, these subtypes are lexicalized in a number of words, viz. łəq-łəłq "weasel in winter, when white" (łəq-łíq "light-coloured"), k'əm-k'ək'əm "weasel in summer, brown phase", k'ən-k'ək'na "unid. plant with little red berries" (k'úna "salmon roe"), ləp-ləpnúł "forgetful" (łápən "to forget"; $-\text{uł}$ "always"), kəm-kmúnsaxən "swamp robin". In forms with lexicalized total reduplication, type 5a expresses diminutiveness (as in qəl-qálx' \rightarrow qəl-qəqílx' , p. 3), or plural and diminutiveness (as in cəq-cəcəq "little red ones" \leftarrow cəq-cíq "red", q'əx-q'əq'x "little black ones" \leftarrow q'əx-q'íx "black", q'əz-q'əq'əz "little blue ones" \leftarrow q'əz-q'áz "blue").

Type 5b expresses diminutives of lexicalized forms 4b. This type is never used for the plural of diminutives, see also 3.6.1.

Type 5a leaves one rest-type: zəx-a-zəz'x-a "to play checkers". (zəxən "to move smt.").

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 pəl-púl-əl , cəq-cíq-əq , p. 3, and in ləq-łíq-əq "to get sore from poison ivy", etc. When we have final reduplication applied to a form with lexicalized total reduplication, the resulting form denotes a changing state, see q'ən-q'ánnət , p. 3, the only form recorded in this category.

3.6.1 Predictability of subtypes of total reduplication. Words with total reduplication are distributed over three groups: a (comprising types 4a, 5a, 6), b (comprising 4b, 5b), and c (comprising 4c, 5c). The shape of a stem will often indicate whether this stem will select total reduplication type a, b, or c: stems

lʷ12(...) and lʷ22 always take type a; stems lÉ2(...) and lʷC always take type b*; stems l(A)2... always take type c. Stems lÁ2(...)** usually take type a, whereas stems lA23 usually take type b. Stems lʷ12(...) select type a even where their underlying stems, i.e. lʷ2(...), select type b. Hence we have s-qayx° "man", s-qáy-qyex° "men" vs. s-qéqyex° "boy", s-qey-qéqyex° "boys"; s-łəq° "spot", s-łəq°-łəq° "spots", s-łəłq° "little spot", s-łəq°-łəłq° "little spots". Note also kəl-kla° "elders", kəl-kəkla° "ancestors" (kəla° "first").

The following cases show types a and b, both selected by the same root: čəl-čúł "sour, bitter (berries)", čúł-čəł "Oregon grape"; čəm-čúm "rough (surface)", čúm-čəm "blister, carbuncle"; cək°-cúk° "several things finished", n-cúk°-cək° "several people finished", pəl-púl = púl-pəl "cache made by squirrel"; kəx-káx = káx-kəx "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 sə-sísqa° "uncles" (sísqa° "uncle"), čə-čəcčpa° "grandfathers" (čəcčpa° "grandfather", Mount Currie dialect), and s-pə-pápza° "grandfathers" (s-pápza° "grandfather", Fountain dialect). These forms are considered to be less correct than səq-sísqa°, čəp-čəcčpa°, and s-pəz-pápza°. On the other hand, next to k°ə-k°ék°pi° I recorded more or less substandard k°əp-k°úk°pi°. The form k°ə-k°ék°a° is not obligatory as the plural-form of k°ék°a°: ?i_n-k°ə-k°ék°°_a, ?i_n-k°ék°°_a "my (n-) grandmothers". It is not clear why certain stems pʷpq(...) select initial reduplication in the plural, while other such stems select total reduplication (cf. s-pzúza°, s-pə-pzúza° vs. twíwt, təw-twíwt). Type 7 is lexicalized in

* the only exceptions here are k°ət-k°ét "top of breastbone" and čəz-čəzččəm "sleet".

** except lA23

ʷa-ʷúʷsa° "egg" (ʷúsa° "huckleberry", -usa° "round object"), q°ə-q°alísít "to talk, have a conversation" (q°alít "to give a speech, serious talk"), λə-λk°aʷúʷsa° "'red' saskatoon" (no simplex). In one case we have initial reduplication first, and then consonant reduplication (yielding a different semantic type): q°ə-q°úʷλ "bone", q°ə-q°əq°ʷλ "little bone".

Type 7 leaves one rest-type (a combination of 1b and 3b): λəłax° "little patch-blanket" (lá-łax° "patch-blanket").

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

Reference

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