REDUPLICATION IN BELLA COOLA: CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

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1. Introduction. The main goal of this paper is to refute a sigma-interpretation¹ of two reduplicative types in Bella Coola, to wit, <u>type (a)</u>, which is characterized as having the shape C1VC2:C1C2, and <u>type (b)</u>, which is C1V1C2:C1V1C2 (cf. Nater 1984; Van Eijk employs similar formulae). The reader must keep in mind that my attack is directed not as much at Van Eijk's article (which I have seen only in ROUGH DRAFT) as it is at certain theories currently fashionable in linguistics that - whether in themselves valid or not - have the unfortunate effect of confusing some of their adherents and, consequently, of seriously distorting linguistic facts described within the framework of such theories. The reader infers that the theories here alluded to pertain to syllable structure and reduplication; Van Eijk has relied heavily on Marantz 1982 and Broselow 1983.⁴ En passant, I proffer a set-theoretical diagram of the distributive relations between the various Bella Coola reduplicative types.

2. Background. Quite recently, Jan van Eijk requested my comments on the first version of his "CVC reduplication in Bella Coola," which, once edited by himself, he intends to publish in the Canadian Journal of Linguistics. It is possible that the same paper has by now appeared in this very same volume, and I have deemed it prudent to forewarn the reader of Van Eijk's unjustified premises and hasty conclusions, his (to date) omitting and misinterpreting crucial Bella Coola data, obscure reasoning and nonchalant handling of data. Below, my objections are listed in separate sections.

3. Commentary.

3.1. Types (a) and (b). On page 4 (middle) of his paper, Van Eijk makes the regrettable statement:

"However, since the (a) and (b) types serve the same semantic function, we class them as variants of the same reduplicative type,"

This is a deplorable mistake, for, considered as a set, type (a) is contained in (or: a sub-set of) the set represented by type (b). For further details see 4.1.

3.2. "Prefixal" vs. "suffixal" reduplication. Van Eijk is erroneous in regarding Bella Coola reduplication as essentially "prefixal" (page 5, line 9 from top). Admittedly, types (c) and (d) SEEM to have a "prefixal" structure, but types (a) and (f) would rather appear "suffixal," while types (b), (e) and (g) are structurally "neutral," i.e., cannot properly be described in terms of "affixal" structure (again, see 4.1 for details). If, however, Bella Coola "suffixal" reduplication is indeed unique within Salish, why does Van Eijk not "bring it in line with" the general preponderance of suffixation in Bella Coola, rather than conveniently ignoring it?

3.3. Stress in Thompson sample word. Reading pages 5 (line 4 from bottom) and 5A (the déjà vu tree), the reader may be puzzled by the seemingly random position of stress in the Thompson example. Is it possible that Van Eijk will here have to posit a (déjà entendu)

"deep structure" (or, if one will, "underlying form")? Consequently, a "transformational rule" seems required. Compare 3.5 and 3.7 below.

3.4. **CV vs. CVC.** On pages 6 ($\underline{p'}$ tata) and 6A (p' tata), the sequence /...ta(...)/ is treated ambiguously: Van Eijk cannot choose between CV and CVC, and he should have been specific about the status of the chimerical final C in the second formula (cf. 3.7).

3.5. A ghost word. Re page 6A (q^W tuł tuł + i) one wonders if $*\underline{q^{W}tultuli}$ (which does not exist in Bella Coola) is another "underlying form" or "deep structure," and - if that indeed be the case - why Van Eijk has not shown us another "transformational rule." Cf. 3.3 and 3.7.

3.6. Morphological status and non-existence of Bella Coola words. On page 7, Van Eijk misquotes and -interprets several Bella Coola words: $\underline{t'ksn}$, $\underline{t'ksnsn}$ (but rather $\underline{t'ksnsn}$, $\underline{k'm}$, $\underline{k'm}$, $\underline{k'm}$, $\underline{k'm}$ (the latter form not found in my files) are FREE FORMS; $\underline{*tlk''}_{-}$ and $\underline{*tltlk''}_{-}$ are not Bella Coola words (but the structurally and semantically similar $\underline{tlk'}$ and $\underline{tltlk''}_{-}$ does not exist ($\underline{stftlk''i}_{i}$, however, does), and 'jellyfish' is $\underline{stlk''a}_{i}$ in Bella Coola.

3.7. Bella Coola consonantal /1/ considered as a vowel. Van Eijk offers an amusing analysis of <u>plplak</u> (middle of page 7) in the diagram on page 7A: /...plak/ has a "CVVC" (sic) structure! This reminds one of children (whining or not) saying PULLEASE (for PLEASE), or TURRAP (rather than TRAP). Again, Van Eijk is trying hard to bring Bella Coola patterns "in line with the general Salish CVC pattern" (page 5, lines 9-10 from top). NOTA BENE: in /...ta(...)/, a mysterious syllable-final C is introduced (see 3.4 above), whereas in /...plak/, an equally perplexing V is postulated.

4. Reduplicative types as mathematical sets. As adumbrated in 3.1, a phoneme sequence that can be (partially) doubled belongs to one of a number of type-sets. Six such sets may intersect or be contained in (an)other set(s). Below I give a diagram that summarizes the situation. For the sake of clarity, I enumerate first the seven different types of reduplication (for which see Nater 1984: 24.2). Note: C = any consonant, F = fricative, K = postpalatal or unrounded postvelar, <math>R = m/n/1 (vocalic and consonantal), T = voiceless consonant, V = a/i/u, a = glottalized stop.

4.1. Details. Type (a)⁴ contains a TVF sequence (T and F of which are repeated "suffixally"); type (b) contains CVF/R/K (completely repeated); type (c) contains ν/R (V/R of which is repeated before); type (d) contains $\nu/F/R$ (i/uF/R of which is repeated before); type (e) contains CV/R (repeated); type (f) contains CVC (the first C of which is repeated); type (g) contains VCV (C of which is repeated). Therefore:

the set represented by TVF (a) is contained in CVF/R/K (b), CV/R (e) and CVC (f), and intersects ν/R (c), $\nu/\mu/R$ (d) and VCV (g);

(b) is contained in (e) and (f), and intersects (c), (d) and (g);⁵

(c) contains (d), is contained in (e), and intersects (f) and (g);

(d) is contained in (e) and (f), and intersects (g);

(e) contains (f) and (g);

(f) is contained in (e).

Therefore:

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Jean D'Or Prairie, 20 May 1989 (telephone: (403-)759-3805)

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FOOTNOTES

I am referring to Jan van Eijk's paper on two types of reduplication in Bella Coola; by <u>sigma</u> is of course meant the well-known Greek letter, used by Marantz et alii in the sense of <u>syllable</u>.

E.I. Broselow (1983), Salish Double Reduplications: Subjacency in Morphology, Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 1:317-46.
A.P. Marantz (1982), Re Reduplication, Linguistics Inquiry 13:435-82.

³ Types (c), (d), (e), (f) and (g) are not even considered by Van Eijk, who has thus kept his account to a near-absolute minimum.

In section 24.4 of my Bella Coola grammar (re type (a)), I made the statement "Note: 1 = T^{P} ," That is not true, since there exist formations like /²ix-nu-kx-a¹:x¹-i-t wa+mf:mnta+c/ 'they are chalking lines on the road,' where the first C involved in the reduplication /...x-a¹:x¹.../ is a fricative: we must delete the raised letter in T^{P} .

⁵ Here and henceforth, (b), (c) etc. stand for "the set represented by CVF/R/K (b)," "the set represented by ν/R (c)" etc.

CETERVM CENSEO SIGMATA DELENDA ESSE

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REFERENCES

Eijk, Jan P. van (1989), CVC Reduplication in Bella Coola, ms.

Nater, H.F. (1984), The Bella Coola Language, National Museum of Man Mercury Series No. 92 (Ottawa)