A REPORT ON SLIAMMON (MAINLAND COMOX) REDUPLICATION

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0. Introduction
1. Plural
2. Diminutive
3. Diminutive Plural
4. Imperfective
5. VCz Reduplication
6. CoR Reduplication
7. CCAz Reduplication
8. CVV-Reduplication
9. 'Volitional'?  
10. Personal
11. Final Remarks

0. INTRODUCTION. This paper treats the various types of reduplication in Sliammon (Mainland Comox). Previous works on Sliammon have already dealt with most of the processes treated below, but they sometimes are only mentioned in passing or not organized under one heading. Reduplication serves a major role in Sliammon morphology and surely merits an in-depth study. Because of the limitation of data, much more attention has been paid to the first two, plural (1) and diminutive (2). Imperfective (4) and VCz (5) have been treated in previous works, and little information can be added at this time, so they are treated only briefly. The remaining types are not well understood yet; the data are organized as lists of forms recorded thus far.

1. PLURAL. It seems most likely that number is obligatorily marked only for 1st and 2nd persons, 3rd person forms being unmarked as to number. There are three ways to clarify or insist upon plural reference, one of which involves reduplication (1.1). The non-reduplicative processes are also included (1.2) to better illustrate means of marking plurality in Sliammon.

1.1. REDUPLICATION.

1.1.1. FORMAL PROCESSES. Plural reduplication is formed by repeating the first consonant-vowel-consonant sequence of the root (i.e. /CVCz/). When the first vowel of the root is a full vowel, the copied vowel is changed to /a/ in the reduplicated syllable. There are a few exceptions to the change of the vowel quality, where the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is identical to the original vowel. The reduplicated syllable is prefixed directly to the root. Thus, plural reduplication can be formulated as CzCAz (and CzVCz for a few cases). Glottalized resonants, /j/ and /g/ in Cz position lose glottalization in the reduplicated syllable, for example, /CzVR... becomes CzR-CzVR.13

1.1.2. MEANING and USES. Plural reduplication commonly refers to several persons or things, in which case it is translated to English by plural forms of noun. It can also suggest distribution over space or time. Such forms are accordingly translated to English by 'all around/all over the place', and 'always/all the time'. Plural is used to refer also to several participants involved in the predication. Still others are found with the same processes but are lexicalized as such or idiosyncratic. The following examples are classified accordingly under 'plural', 'plural participant', and 'lexicalized/idiosyncratic'.

Plural:
- k'ask'usus 'stores' (k'usus)
- h'sa7a7 'lots of barbecued fish' ('tea')
- q'a7p'a7 'fishing nets' (p'a7ac')
- h'sa7a7 'lots of salt' (sa7am 'salt')
- t'ama7n'may 'shirts/dresses' (q'amay 'shirt/dress')
- tak'tok'yan'a #CoC-/tok'yan'a 'both ears deaf' (PL.?=?ear)
- t'om'tok'yan'a 'face' (tok'yan'a 'face')

Stems beginning with CzVR...
- h'usum'hun 'blue grouse' (h'usum'hun)
- q'asq'as 'gooseberries' (q'asq'as)
- t'am'tam 'headbands' (PL. belt=head-INS) (tam'us-tam'se/INS)

Exception:
- t'am'tan 'belts' (tam'us 'belt') (but see 'headband' above)

Stems taking CzCAz (V identical to the first vowel of the stem) as their reduplicated syllable:
- k'usik'usk'is 'bluejays' (k'usik'usk'is)
- h'osum'hun 'lots of kelp' (h'osum 'kelp')

Examples denoting distribution over space:
- h'asum 'headbands' (PL. belt=head-INS) (tam'us-tam'se/INS)

Those denoting distribution over time:
- h'asum 'headbands' (PL. belt=head-INS) (tam'us-tam'se/INS)
- h'asum 'headbands' (PL. belt=head-INS) (tam'us-tam'se/INS)
- h'asum 'headbands' (PL. belt=head-INS) (tam'us-tam'se/INS)

Plural Participant: plural reduplication of the predicate refers to plural number of the subject in intransitive forms and of the object in transitive forms. Thus,
Intransitive:

tq'tq' to 7am’imin #CaC/-taq to CaC/-ti míni /’All the doors are

closed.’ (PL.-close DEM PL.-door)
cf. taq to ti míni /’The door closed.’

gaq’gaq’ to ti míni /’CaC-gaq’ to CaC/-ti míni /’All the doors are

open.’ (PL.-open DEM PL.-door)
cf. gaq’ to ti míni /’The door opened.’

Transitive:

tq’taq can sam to 7am’imín /’CaC/-taq-t can sam to CaC/-ti míni /’I

will close all the doors.’ (PL.-close-CTL.TR lsg.SBJ FUT DEM
PL.-door)
cf. taq can sam to ti míni /’I will close the door.’

gaq’gaq’ can sam to ti míni /’CaC-gaq’-t can sam to CaC/-ti míni /’(to)

open all the doors.’ (PL.-open-CTL.TR DEM PL.-door)
cf. gaq’ can sam to ti míni /’I opened the door.’

The above forms show plural reduplication on both the predicate and
on the subject (in intransitive) or on the object (in transitive).
The next example, in which only the predicate is reduplicated for
plural, was rejected by MG.

#tq’taq can sam to ti míni /’CaC/-taq-t can sam to /’ti míni /’I

will close the doors.’ (PL.-close-CTL.TR lsg.SBJ FUT DEM
PL.-door)

Examples from texts are too few to make any generalization, but it seems
that this construction is very awkward, if not ungrammatical. It has
plural number of objects overtly marked on the predicate by reduplica-
tion, stressing their plurality, and lacks any mark of plurality on the
corresponding overt argument. See the next two examples for further
illustration.

napnapi #tq’am to caycu’y #a to k*aw*a /’CaC/-nap-Is #tq’am to

caycu’y #a to k*aw*a /’I will put the kids in the box.’

(PL.-put-in-V8 lsg.SBJ+FUT DEM PL.-child OBL DEM box)

(’/1’y/C or #)

napnapi #tq’am to cuy’ #a to k*aw*a

In the next example, plural reduplication is combined with 2sg.OBJ
suffixed (‘-mi) to indicate 2pl.OBJ.

napnapi #tq’am to k*aw*a /’CaC/-nap-1-mi #tq’am to k*aw*a

/’I will put you guys in the box.’

(PL.-put-in-Link-2sg.OBJ lsg.SBJ
+FUT OBL DEM box)
cf. nap #tq’am to janx’ #a to k*aw*a /’I will put fish

in the box.’ (put.in lsg.SBJ+FUT DEM fish OBL DEM box)

This is the only example of a pronominal suffix for sg. person
combined with plural reduplication to refer to pl. persons. It was
elicited from MG, but DD and AD readily recognized it and gave the same
English translation without hesitation.

The root nap- belongs to a class that takes the suffix -V8 (i.e.
nap-V8), which can be inflected for pronominal object (cf. Kroober
1989:112). The pronominal object suffixes for lsg., lpl., and 2sg. are
the same ones used with noncontrol transitive and with causative (‘-m8

Lig., -mut lpl., -mi 2sg.). Thus, nap-‘m8 ‘put me in’, and nap-‘mut
‘put us in’, nap-‘mi ‘put thee in’:)

However, it was difficult to elicit the parallel form for 2pl.OBJ.
Instead of the expected -anapi, used with the noncontrol and causative,
my data shows nap-anami. This form was elicited with difficulty, and it
may be the result of forced elicitation. Interestingly, Kroober (1989:112)
encountered the same problem; he lists nap-‘(na)nami ‘you (pl.) in’ but with a question mark, and remarks that the plural forms
were rather hard to elicit.

Whatever the reason for this difficulty may be, the above example
shows that plural reduplication serves as a ready means to indicate
plurality.

Lexicalized / Idiosyncratic:

Tah váhám #CaC/-lah-?om# ‘arthritis/diabetes’ (PL.-more-INTR) (lah
‘more’)

dj#ay?ajulom #cvc/-taj#ubom# ‘native Indian (i.e., Stl’ammom) language’

([Dyjorj#Dj#am] (Ijy/C or #)

cf. ?a?aj#ubom #taj#ubom-mut# ‘He knows Indian language well.’ (??-

very?) (Iddj#urj#omat)

The next example peculiarly has a negative connotation with CaCa-
reduplication where no such meaning is suggested in the corresponding
simplex forms. It is difficult, at least for non-native speakers, to
see the connection, if any, to plural.

-gagagqanumut #CaC/-gag-nu-mut# ‘nightmare’ (CaCa-??-NCT.TR-RFL)

(gagqanumut ‘dream/He dreams.’)

To specify the plurality of ‘dream’, an analytical process using
qax ‘many’ is employed (see 1.2.2 for further discussion on qax).

qax #gagqanumut s natul #qax #gag-nu-mut-fut s /nat-ul# I

had lots of dreams last night.’ (many lsg.SFV ??-NCT.TR-RFL-PAST
TIME night-PAST) [qax #gag-nomot and #10]

Some forms in CaC, reduplication occur as such without
the corresponding simplexes.

k’/isk’/is ‘blue/eyes’ cf. k’/isk’/isk’/is ‘blue-eyes’

musumus ‘mow’ cf. musumusmus ‘musumusmus’ ‘mow’

1.2. NON-REDUPPLICATIVE PROCESSES. There are two ways to specify plural
reference other than the plural reduplication.16

1.2.1. PLURAL AFFIX. There is an affix to mark plurality: /’vgl. Often
the reference is to 3rd person, and it may be better to treat this affix
in terms of pronominal markers. It is found also, however, to occur
with 1st and 2nd person plural pronominal subject clitics. It may be
that collectiveness is stressed in the latter case.17

The position of this affix within a word is somewhat obscure. It can
be attached right after the first syllable of the stem, thus
appearing as an infix if the result is decomposition of what is
otherwise unanalyzable.18 In this position, the vowel of this affix is
the same as that of the first vowel of the root.

**?Hilton state** #?Hiton +[Vg] state# 'We will eat together.' (eat

1.2.2. ANALYTICAL PLURAL. Plural reference can be stated analytically by juxtaposition of qox 'many'. Plural reduplication seems to have dwindled, and the use of qox is prevalent, at least in the speech of DD among my consultants, and more so among the younger speakers. This is most likely an influence from English.

A few words do not, however, undergo plural reduplication, and for such words qox is the only means to specify plurality:

qox puqWpuqW 'lots of (wild) blueberries' (puqWpuqW 'wild blueberry')

qoxmut hiwqin 'lots of swans' DD (-mut 'very', hiwqin 'swan')

qoxmut hajuqWton 'lots of barbecued seal' (hajuqWton 'barbecued seal')

The reason for inhibition of these particular words from undergoing reduplication is not clear, but for the last word, 'clam', Blake (1982) states that the reduplicated form, [xox'pa] SB, means 'woman's genitals', and that is the reason why the reduplicated form is not used to refer to 'clams'.

With one word, gija 'dirt/ground/earth', qox conveys a different meaning from plural reduplication:

qox gija 'lots of dirt'

But a difference between the two processes has not been attested with any other forms.

qox can also be expanded by a lexical suffix or be inflected:

qoxaya 'lots of people' (=aya person?)

qoxigal 'har' (=gal sentiment)

qoxax? Cax? #qox-sx? Cax?# 'Get lots/Pick lots (of berries)'

(many-CAU 2sg.SBJ)

qoxax?xu can tut #/qox-sx?-xu can tut# 'I picked/get real lots.'

(many-CAU-PAST lag.SBJ ptc) [qaxa?xuCanu*t]

qox can function also as an oblique complement, e.g.:

?Hilton Mary 7a to qoxmut #CV-qoxmut 'Mary is eating lots.' (IMPF.eat Mary OBL DEM many-very) [?Hilton Mary =eating lots]

2. DIMINUTIVE. Diminutive formation is more complex than plural formation. Five morphological processes are involved: (1) reduplication of stem initial C1V, (2) i insertion, (3) glottalization of resonants
or attachment of a glottal stop to word-final vowel. (4) suffixing -u, and (5) ʔ insertion. C.V. reduplication (1) is by far the most productive. C.V. reduplication (1), suffixing of -u (4), and ʔ insertion (5) can form diminutives by themselves alone. Diminutives formed with (4) or (5) alone are few in number, however, making (1) the only productive process. The other two processes (2 and 3) occur only with the others, namely (1) and (4). The five processes are discussed in detail below. The numbers in parentheses in this section correspond to the five processes. When two or three processes are combined, numbers are marked with '∗' (e.g. 1∗2, etc.).

The basic meaning is smaller in size, amount, or force, but specialized meanings, or nuances, and lexicalized items are also found.

2.1. FORMAL PROCESSES.

(1) C.V. reduplication: Most roots lose their root vowel when they undergo diminutive C.V. reduplication. The vowel of the reduplicated syllable is the same as the root vowel if the root vowel is a full vowel. Most words with a take C−1 as their reduplicated syllable.

suspayu 'small az' [sosporyo] (supayu 'az' [soporyo])
'ti′in 'small barbecued fish' ('ti′in 'barbecued fish')
q′i′sna′y 'Cl−q′o′sana' [q′o′sna′y]
(q′u′sna′y 'shirt/dress')
Cl′t′u′sai [Cl′t′u′sai] ('The door is open a little bit')
(DIM−open−STV) [gigq′t]
T′a′t′a′y [T′a′t′a′y] 'small house' (Taya 'house')

(2) i insertion: i is inserted in some forms undergoing C.V. reduplication. It is inserted between the last two consonants of the word. If there is an underlying vowel between the last two consonants, i or the word does not end in a consonant cluster -- i replaces the vowel.∗

(1+2)
T′a′t′a′x [T′a′t′a′x] #CV−/Ta′t′a′x [T′a′t′a′x] +[i] 'small seal' (Tasx 'seal')
Mimís [MCl−/Ma′8k [MCl−/Ma′8k] +[i] 'small blackcop berry' (Mmís [MCl−/Ma′8k] blackcop berry)

(3) Glottalization of resonants or attachment of a glottal stop to word-final vowel: (4) suffixing -u, and (5) ʔ insertion. C.V. reduplication (1) is by far the most productive. C.V. reduplication (1), suffixing of -u (4), and ʔ insertion (5) can form diminutives by themselves alone. Diminutives formed with (4) or (5) alone are few in number, however, making (1) the only productive process. The other two processes (2 and 3) occur only with the others, namely (1) and (4). The five processes are discussed in detail below. The numbers in parentheses in this section correspond to the five processes. When two or three processes are combined, numbers are marked with '∗' (e.g. 1∗2, etc.).

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The basic meaning is smaller in size, amount, or force, but specialized meanings, or nuances, and lexicalized items are also found.
(1+2+4)

1.  "pigisut k'i:pi=igs+u4 [*] k'i:pi'pegis0t] 'small
   underwear' (k'ipinsa k'i:pi=igs] 'underwear' (deep/under=body))

(5) ? insertion: there are only a few examples of this process. (See
   also the next section.)

sa?itx' 'small woman, girl' (sa?itx' 'woman'; sa?asatx' also
   elicited as diminutive)

2.2. SPECIALIZED NUANCES. Some personal names were recorded in
diminutive forms. These forms convey contempt:

lu?sa 'that's my' [l?osa] (properly, luz [l?osa] or lusi
[?osa]; DIM form is formed by 7 insertion)
pap? 'that's my' [pap?] (properly, pap [pap]; also by
? insertion)

t'at'kina 'that's my' [t'at'kina's] (properly, t?aknis
[t?oka'nes]; DIM form can be analyzed as C, V. reduplication with
loss of the first vowel of the stem, or as 7 insertion.)

Another form probably belongs in this category:

ci?i 'that's my' [ci?i] (properly, cu [c?u])

Some forms carry a nuance of affection or endearment:

(sa t?) minam 'that's my' [low-mon] (sa DEM, t? 1PSV, man
'father')
(t? t?) ti?in 'that's my' [t?i'ton] (t? DEM, t? 1PSV, tan
'mother')

nim?u [k'it'xi?axay] 'as old people' [nim?u x'e-y?x'a'qo'ay?]
(nim?u 1pl. pronoun)

The next example probably can be used contemptuously or affection­
ately.41

sa?itx' #C, V-sa?itx' [+][i] 'my little wife' [s?ositetx'] (sa?itx'
'woman')41

Some forms have specialized meanings or are lexicalized as such.

k'at'xasay 'that's my' [k'at'xasay] 'elderly person' [t'axasay] 'old'42

Ci?iyo 'grandmother' [Ci?iyo] 'great-grandmother'

Still others are found in what may be diminutives, but their non-
reduplicated simplex forms have not been attested.41

?it'?i[k'x] 'earth' worm42

3. DIMINUTIVE PLURAL. Diminutive plurals are often difficult to elicit.
It seems likely that such a process is no longer in use, though more
research may reveal otherwise. Among my consultants, only MG gave
diminutive plurals by means of reduplication and/or suffixation. Others
usually used qut 'many' plus diminutives. Many forms obtained are
questionable, so it is difficult to generalize patterns from them. The
following therefore is a tentative description based on forms that seem
fairly reliable.

One of the two main processes of diminutive plural is double
reduplication: the diminutive C, i. reduplication occurs in front of
plural C, a C,4. reduplication. As Harris (1977:108) describes this
process, the plural formation precedes the diminutive formation. Just
as described in 2.1, since the first vowel of the stem, i.e. the vowel
of the plural reduplication, is i, the vowel of the diminutive is i.
This process can be formulated as C, i C, a C,4. Contrary to the
diminutive reduplication described above (2.1), neither the vowel of
the root nor that of plural C, a C,4 is lost.

C, i C, a C,4/

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qutqut'saanay} & \quad \text{C, i C, a C,4/qut'saanay} '\text{small shirts/dresses'} \\
\text{qut'saanay} & \quad \text{shirt/dress'} \\
\text{sisa?supayu} & \quad \text{C, i C, a C,4/supayu} '\text{small axes'} \\
\text{supayu} & \quad \text{'az' [supayyo]} \\
\text{t'it'etu' ati} & \quad \text{C, i C, a C,4/tu' ati} '\text{small beds'} \\
\text{tu' ati} & \quad \text{bed'}
\end{align*}
\]

Interestingly, in some cases this double reduplication occurs with
glottalization of resonants or attaching ? following the word-final
vowel (one example only). The corresponding diminutive of these forms
shows glottalization of the resonant and ? attachment. It is not clear
if the glottalized resonant (if there is one) in C,4 position of the stem
loses glottalization or not (see the first two examples). Note also
that the first example has infixed i.

sisu'meminin' #C, i C, a C,4/sim'on +[i][i] 'small boil'
[gsu=su-mem'en] (sim'on 'boil', sim'in 'small boil')

[ki'k'a'k'nak'san'ay] #C, i C, a C,4/k'an'san'ay 'i'] 'small lids'
[ki'k'a'k'nak'sa'nay] (k'an'i lid', k'ic'k'ax ay 'small lid')

titqat?asq'asq'a 'C, i C, a C,4/taq'asq'amay 'i'] 'small cedars'
[titaq'asq'amay] (taq'asq'ay 'cedar', titq'amay 'small cedar')

pipaqaq? #C, i C, a C,4/pipa 'i'] 'small cedar root baskets'
[pipa papa y?] (papa 'cedar root basket', pipa 'small cedar
root basket')

The other main process combines plural reduplication with diminu­
tive suffix -u4.

C, a C,4-\text{ut}:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sa?mawi'ut} & \quad \text{C, a C,4/wawi'ut} '\text{small deer (pl.)'} \\
\text{t'om'tam'x'ut} & \quad \text{C, a C,4/tam'x'ut} '\text{small gooseberries'} \\
\text{t'am'tam'x'ut} & \quad \text{t'at'm'x'ut} '\text{gooseberry'} \\
\text{t'am'sasx'ut} & \quad \text{C, a C,4/tasx'ut} '-i'] '\text{small seeds'} \\
\text{tasx'ut} & \quad \text{'seed'}
\end{align*}
\]

There are a few examples with double reduplication occurring with
the diminutive suffix. From a formal point of view, the diminutive is
marked twice on these forms, i.e. by C, i. reduplication and the suffix
-ut4.
clear (hence glossed as classifies 'stative'. It carries inceptive meaning with intransitives. Thus, data are listed here.

Kroeber (1988) explores REDUPLICATION. The vowel of the reduplicated syllable aspect is formed almost all roots with a resonant in C\textsubscript{2} position are found to undergo what looks like glottalization; this is radically different from the plural reduplication analyzed above (1.1.1) where glottalized resonants in C\textsubscript{2} position lose their glottalization in the reduplicated syllable. The examples have been found unreduplicated or unaffixed so far. The data are insufficient to determine what this process means. The first three examples are similar to what is called 'characteristic' or 'dispositional' aspect in other Salish languages (cf. for example Galloway 1993).

With a few forms, glottalization of word-final resonants was observed when a form underwent C\textsubscript{2} imperfactive reduplication. e.g.:

- tsegqin' /CV/-tag-qin+'[tf answering (back)] (IMPF-??=mouth)
- tagagbut /CV/-tag-a-but+ 'sneaking away' (IMPF-leave-Link-RFL)
- C'iC' /CV/-C'aC'+ 'shaping' (C'iC' = 'shaping')

With few forms, glottalization of word-final resonants was observed when a form underwent C\textsubscript{2} imperfactive reduplication.

5. VC\textsubscript{2} REDUPLICATION. Kroeber (1988) explores VC\textsubscript{2} reduplication very carefully. No further research has been done on this particular process either to add to or correct Kroeber's description. Some additional data are listed here.

- VC\textsubscript{2} reduplication repeats the second consonant of the root (i.e. C\textsubscript{2}) and the vowel preceding it (i.e. the (first) vowel of the root) and places them directly following the second consonant of the root. Thus the reduplication appears as an infix when the stem is longer than a CVC root. Its occurrence is limited to roots which Kroeber (1988) classifies 'stative'. It carries inceptive meaning with intransitives. With transitives, the semantic contribution of the reduplication is not clear (hence glossed as VC\textsubscript{2}).

6. CaR\textsuperscript{2}. REDUPLICATION. Some roots with a resonant in C\textsubscript{2} position are found to undergo what looks like CaR\textsubscript{2} plural reduplication at first glance. However, the resonant in the reduplicated syllable receives glottalization; this is radically different from the plural reduplication analyzed above (1.1.1) where glottalized resonants in C\textsubscript{2} position lose their glottalization in the reduplicated syllable. The process in question here can be formulated as CaR\textsuperscript{2}. None of the roots in the following examples, except one ('talk'), has been found unreduplicated or unaffixed so far. The data are insufficient to determine what this process means. The first three examples are similar to what is called 'characteristic' or 'dispositional' aspect in other Salish languages (cf. for example Galloway 1993).

7. CaC\textsubscript{2} REDUPLICATION. The examples of the reduplication discussed
here are still few in number, which may be due only to my belated realization of its potential productivity.

This reduplication copies the first CVC sequence of the stem (i.e., C,aC,a) with the change of the vowel to a, hence the formula C,aC,a. Some forms attested with C,aC,a reduplication do not have corresponding C,aC,a (plural) reduplication, in which case the former perhaps functions in place of the latter. In other examples, however, C,aC,a reduplication contrasts with C,aC,a reduplication, with a slight difference in meaning. The meaning of this process is not entirely clear; it seems to involve some sort of aspect. Many more examples, with syntactic tests (such as the one carried out by Kroeber 1988), are necessary to determine what this reduplication means (or whether all of the following examples can be classified under one semantic category).

The following presents all the examples of this process in my data. Though perhaps tedious, all information and translations by different consultants are given."
in \( \text{x'atx'ay} \) may be older in age than in \( \text{x'atx'ay} \). Further checking is needed to see if there is such a difference in meaning; the possibility is just mentioned here.\(^{39}\)

The next example is peculiar, perhaps idiosyncratic, in that the reduplication also involves the second consonant of the stem:

\[
\text{ma'tux'max' #CaTaC/~max' # 'calm spot all over the place'}
\]

(\( \text{mox'} \) 'water is calm', \( \text{ma'tux'im 'calm spot in water'} \))

9. 'VOLITIONAL'? Hagège (1981) claims that reduplication and prefixation of stem initial C,V, combined with -(7)am conveys 'volitional' meaning. He also states that the meaning conveyed by this process differs from constructions with juxtaposition of \( \text{xat} \) 'want (to X)' in that the former conveys insistence or obstinacy. All examples listed in Hagège (1981:210) are cited here\(^{40}\):

\[
\text{7i-7t\text{am}-is-7a7m CH 'He wants to hunt.'}
\]
\[
\text{jiq'-7a7m CH 'He wants to run.' (} < \text{jiy'-} < \text{ja-} \text{jiq'} < \text{ja-jaq'} \text{)}
\]
\[
\text{qaqsimam-7a7m-a-cx' CH 'Do you want to play?'}
\]
\[
\text{mamkW-} \text{t}-7a7m-a-o-a-s CH 'He wants to eat it.'}
\]
\[
\text{k'w} \text{a} \text{k'w} \text{a} \text{n}-t-7a7m-a-b-i-s CH 'He wants to see you.'}
\]
\[
\text{qi-qi-7a7m-a-o-a-s CH 'He wants to kill me.'}
\]
\[
\text{ma-ma7-} \text{t}-7a7m-a-tumut-a-clip CH 'You guys want to take us (prisoners)'}
\]
\[
\text{x'at} \text{a7} \text{-} \text{ba-7a7m-a-o-s CH 'He doesn't want to go (there).'}
\]

It was quite difficult to elicit examples of this process, but MG and AD, at different occasions, uttered 'volitional' reduplication spontaneously (they are marked <spon> following the examples).\(^{40}\) Due to lack of sufficient data, much remains obscure. Detailed description must wait future research; just two problems concerning the formal process are pointed out here.

First, although it is difficult to state the exact phonemic shape of this suffix, it is probably -(7)am. The ? between a and m that Hagège writes was never heard; appearance and disappearance of the first ? remains also obscure (thus in parenthesis).\(^{39}\)

Second, a few examples expressing 'volition' were elicited without reduplication, so that it is not certain whether -(7)am must be combined with C,V-reduplication or not. For example, see the next contrasting pair of examples,\(^{39}\) which are pointed out here.

Example cited by Hagège were re-elicited as follow:

\[
\text{7i7t\text{am}-sa-7a7m CH 'He wants to eat it.'}
\]
\[
\text{jiq'-7a7m CH 'He wants to eat the fish.'}
\]
\[
\text{qaqsimam-7a7m-a-cx' CH 'Do you want to play?'}
\]
\[
\text{mamkW-} \text{t}-7a7m-a-o-a-s CH 'He wants to eat it.'}
\]
\[
\text{k'w} \text{a} \text{k'w} \text{a} \text{n}-t-7a7m-a-b-i-s CH 'He wants to see you.'}
\]
\[
\text{qi-qi-7a7m-a-o-a-s CH 'He wants to kill me.'}
\]
\[
\text{ma-ma7-} \text{t}-7a7m-a-tumut-a-clip CH 'You guys want to take us (prisoners)'}
\]
\[
\text{x'at} \text{a7} \text{-} \text{ba-7a7m-a-o-s CH 'He doesn't want to go (there).'}
\]

10. Personal. Two numerals, 1 and 2, undergo C,V-reduplication when counting persons:

\[
\text{pi'apa} \text{ 'one person'} \} \text{p'epo7o} \text{ (pa'apa} \text{ 'one')}
\]
\[
\text{sisa'apa} \text{ 'two persons'} \} \text{siso7o} \text{ (sa'apa} \text{ 'two').}
\]

With other numerals, \( \text{a} \text{ya} \text{ 'person'} \) is attached when counting persons, e.g. musaya 'four persons' (mus 'four').

11. Final Remarks. In this chapter ten types of reduplicative processes were discussed: plural, diminutive, diminutive plural, imperfective, -VC\( \text{a} \), C,Ha\( \text{a} \), C\( \text{a} \)\( \text{C} \), C\( \text{V} \)\( \text{V} \), 'volitional', and personal. The present survey, however, is far from being exhaustive. There are still other types of reduplication yet to be studied\(^{41}\), e.g.:

\[
\text{[jiq'} \text{ 'run' [jiq'} \text{ 'running' [jiq'}
\]
There is a strong tendency, specially among the younger speakers, to use analytical means of expression rather than synthetic ones, such as reduplication. One cannot but feel that if not all, reduplicative processes will soon be irretrievably lost. There is no doubt, however, that reduplication plays an important role in Salishan morphology, and that it needs to be worked out before it is too late.

Notes

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Abbreviations and symbols used in the present work are: [ .. ] infix in morphophonemic representation (preceded by +), otherwise phonetic transcription; [ .. ] root - reduplication; [ .. ] lexical suffix; CAU causative; CTL control; IMP imperative; INS instrumental; LIG ligature; Link link vowel; NCT noncontrol; NEG negative; NOM nominalizer; OBL oblique complement; PFSV possessive, ptc particle; QN question marker; RCP reciprocal; RFL reflexive; STV stative; C any consonant; V any vowel; any other. Resonant and symbols are self-explanatory. Vowel length are indicated as [ .. ] long, and [ .. ] short. [ .. ] is an indicator of used articulation, [ .. ] that of lowered.

The term Sliammon is used here as a cover term for the mainland dialect of Comox. All examples are elicited from MG unless indicated otherwise. Examples cited from other works on Sliammon or Island Comox are indicated by the researchers' initials.

1. The Sliammon phonemes are /p, (t, t', k, c, k, q, q', p, t, t}', k}', c', (k'), k}', q, q}', j, 7(2), g, j}', t}', q}', j, k, g, j'], g}', t}', q}', j}', t}', q}', j, k, g, j'] are not ejectives; they realize as [ .. ] and [ .. ] respectively. The sequence [ .. ] and [ .. ] however, behave like single units. For discussions on postulating these two segments as phonemes see Watanabe (1994a, b).

2. It may be that the specific meaning of the plural reduplication is ambiguous, without any context, as to whether plural participants are involved or one participant is performing the action repetitively and/or distributionally.

3. I may have simply misheard the glottalization on o : the corre-

tion of the root vowel to a, this may be yet another process. Cf. X'at' action 'falling asleep' [X'at'kotam'm]

4. Third person object is not overtly marked, i.e., s-pa is 'put it in'.

5. There are at least two roots that may denote plurality of action by ablaut. If to spank s-o.' is understood (usually) to involve multiple slapping, then compare the following: sap'at #s-ap-tf 'to club / slap s-o.', sap'at 'to spank s-o.' (s-ap-tf-CTL.TR). The other example: 8ax'at su# #8ax'at-t-as-u# 'He stabbed him.' (stab-CTL.TR-3SBJ-PAST) [8ax'at-sot], 8ax'at as #8ax'at-t-as-u# 'He is stabbing it many times.' (stab-Link-CTL.TR-3SBJ-IPFSG). I mention this possibility because of parallel forms in Sechelt (another Coast Salish language) (Beaumont 1985): sap'at 'slap (from one direction)', sap'at 'slap (back and forth)'. These are the only such examples found in Beaumont (1985). Ron Beaumont (p.c.), however, claims this process fairly productive in Sechelt, and kindly provided me with the following additional examples: T5'at'as(V)qm 'punching', T5'at'as'q'at'qm 'punching all over the place'; s-paq' s-it 'down', s-paq's 'lil at (down) anywhere/all over the place'; s-paq(V) 'drip', rip a. (once)', s-paq 'drip, rip up'; s-paq 'has a drip / tear' (stative), s-paq(V) 'has tears / rips (all over)' (stative); qa.q'am 'Leak (canoe, roof, etc.)', qa.q'am 'Leaking everywhere' (pl. distributive).

6. John Davis (p.c.) reports that for native Indian qaq' aq'has the distributive plural qaqaq' aq' and also the collective plural qaqaq'm'ax'. The third form seems to have infix d.'v.

7. Even when this affix is marked as an inflex ( [ .. ] ) in the following examples, further research may reveal that the stem can be analyzed so that the affix should be marked as a suffix.

8. Ja.q'a.q' is an irregular plural formed from ja.q'a 'tree'.


10. The English translation suggests that this glottalization may denote imperfective aspect. Glottalization of resonants is observed with a few forms which underwent C-V- imperfective reduplication (see 4). This example is the only one found so far in which glottalization alone may denote imperfective aspect.

11. I have not carried out systematic research on the speech of different generations. I can refer only to those few speakers under 50 years of age with whom I had chance to talk. But I believe younger speakers tend to employ analytical expressions.

12. DD rejected more reduplicated forms than MG did. It is difficult to say whether DD did not recognize them, or whether MG formed reduplication by analogy to words that may not have reduplicated forms.

13. Examples with an initial TV sequence can be analyzed either as
undergoing CV- reduplication with loss of the first vowel of the stem, or as showing ? insertion. E.g., 'smaH' 'small house' can be /CV-/taya/ or /t/aya/ +[i]. I have analyzed such cases as undergoing CV-reduplication; this process is the most prevalent. There are only a few examples which can be analyzed only as showing ? insertion.

14. Stative aspect is marked on some words also by i insertion at the same position as in the diminutive, but that is likely to be an entirely different process.

15. However, 'small bull/frog' is the only example, found so far in Sliammon, of a word-internal resonant being glottalized in diminutive.

16. The following form was also recorded:

\[ k'tay'aj^u/l \]

[k'tay'ay 'dog salmon']

(k'tay'ay 'dog salmon' [k'tay'ay])

For the same word, Blake (1992:201) recorded k'ik'ay'ayut 'small dog salmon.

Thus, it is not clear if the last consonant in 'dog salmon' is /\$/ or /\$#/.

17. Apparently uttered by one of the Sliammon elders at a local soccer tournament in such a context as, 'It's a nice day. Here we are. us old people, enjoying the soccer game.' Later reported to me by MG.

This form is actually the diminutive plural reduplication discussed in the next section. For other forms meaning 'lots of elderly people', see 8. See also note 20.

18. MG said that it has negative connotation, but can also be said jokingly.

19. 'wt' is elicited as [sdtu] - sdtu]. It is clearly related to saix' 'woman', but as regards how is still unclear, though x' and u alternate in certain positions (cf. Blake 1982).

20. k'ay'axay most likely contains a lexical suffix /'ax/y/ ('person?') which may be the same as the one for 'tree'. Blake (1982) suggests that this suffix is perhaps better glossed as 'long or standing upright object'. This word is always translated as 'old', but corresponding -VC. form is without the suffix: k'axay 'get old' (see 5).

21. Perhaps the word for 'cat' can be analyzed also as a diminutive of non-occurring simplex form: mimaw' ??/CI-icmaw +[i]/ 'cat'

22. Non-reduplicated cognate forms are found in other Coast Salish languages, e.g., Squamish: c'ok' 'worm' (Kuipers 1967)

Halkomelem: t'ok' 'worm' (Galloway p.c.)

23. 'small rabbits' was also elicited with C,IC_cC_r, reduplication:

[tok'tok'ti]

24. The change of the vowel quality cannot be explained.

25. Hagl!ge called it 'progressive'. The term 'imperfective' is used following Davis (1970, etc.) and Kroeber (1988).

26. Non-reduplicated forms of the second and third example have not been recorded.

27. 'Characteristic or dispositional' is explained as follows in Galloway (1983: 297): "The aspect in Halkomelem indicates that an action is characteristic or habitual of the actor or that the actor has the disposition of doing the action repeatedly.'

28. Note the diminutive of these forms:

\[ k'tay'mumk'm' \]

[CI-CaC-/xam +[i]+[i] 'little square basket/object'

\[ k'tay'mumk'm' \]

[k'tay'mumk'm?]

\[ k'tay'mk'm' \]

[CI-CaC-/xam +[i] 'little shy' [k'tay'mkm?]

\[ k'tay'mk'm' \]

[k'tay'mkm?]

29. In the following examples, <span> indicates that the Sliammon form was uttered spontaneously, and <txt> indicates that the form was attested in texts.

30. MG claimed that the C,IC_cC_r, reduplication is the "old way" of saying 'running around', the C,IC_cC_r, reduplication "new way". It may be that C,IC_cC_r, reduplication is formed by analogy with the plural reduplication.

31. This example with C,IC_cC_r, reduplication was not well attested; its meaning is not clear. This is possibly the result of forced elicitation.

32. I checked the two forms involving 'itch' with EP. It seemed that the latter form (with C,IC_cC_r,) could also mean 'itchy all over'. The difference between the two forms was not clear to me, however.

33. Paul Kroeber (p.c.) recorded a fair number of CVV- reduplication, e.g., /qii-kiq-kam/ 'go on and go, go on and stop' (from /qok-kam/ 'stop').

34. INTR /-7am/ has an allomorph /-a7am/ after roots that have lost their vowel.

35. See also C,IC_cC_r, reduplication of k'ay'ay in 2.2.

36. It is often difficult to determine if the vowel following ? is only an echo vowel or exists underlyingly. In this example, however, a following ? is fairly strong and long, and I believe it to exist underlyingly.

37. I have slightly converted Hagl!ge's phonemic transcription to minimize differences from my own: e (CH) > i (HW), o > u. I also will not follow Hagl!ge's elaborate juncture markers (+ for boundary between root and reduplication, etc.). His phonemic long vowels have been left as they are (thus, i: in two of the examples). 2sg.OBJ marker, which he writes 8, has been converted to my transcription, 8. (See Kroeber [1989] for problems in Hagl!ge's transcriptions.) Translation from French is my own.

38. 'Spontaneous' means here the first (and immediate) answer to my
asking how to say 'I want to X'. My consultants usually recurred to using ʕəx', and they could form the process in question only after pondering for a while. When I read examples from Hagège, at least MG, DD, and AD recognized them immediately (and corrected my pronunciation), giving the same translation Hagège gave.

39. In Squamish, there is a suffix meaning 'to want': /-aIT/ usually followed by INTR /-m/ (Kuipers 1967:127). I do not know if this suffix is cognate with the Sliammon suffix in question. None of the ten examples with this suffix in Kuipers (ibid.) have reduplication.

40. Paul Kroeber (p.c.) also recorded relevant data without reduplication, e.g., /juʔ-am/ 'want to go home' PK (/juʔ/ 'go home').

41. Beaumont (1985:301) cites "want to go (somewhere)" as Təʔəʔom in Sechelt. This is the only form found in Beaumont (1985) that may be of relevance to the 'volitional' reduplication discussed here. Ron Beaumont (p.c.), however, has found quite a few regular examples of this process: Təʔəʔom 'I need, want to urinate.' C'ax'am-ʔam-Can 'I feel like singing.' C'ax'am-hunt, sneak'; C'ax'am-hunt (short trip')

42. Furthermore, Davis (1971) reported the following examples that seem to have undergone C,V,- reduplication. (I was unable to check these forms with my consultants.): Juyʔat 'trying to vomit', Juyʔat 'to vomit' JD Juyʔat 'trying to push (it)', Juyʔat 'to push (it)' JD

Paul Kroeber (p.c.) has found a few forms with C,a- reduplication: P'ap'8 'lots of dirty things' PK (p'ap'8 'dirty/black')

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