TRUNCATED REDUPLICATION IN SHUSWAP[1]

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1. The occurrence of schwa constitutes one of the major problems in many Salish languages. The problem begins at the observational level: one often doubts whether, in a particular word, a schwa is present in its unstressed part. And once the presence of schwa has been established, say, on the basis of slow, deliberate speech of several informants, the next problem is whether or not schwa, in a particular position, is predictable and hence non-phonemic. Once its phonemic status is proved, there still remains the problem whether schwa is predictable once the morphemic makeup of a word is given.

The present paper deals with a class of occurrences of schwa in Shuswap which is not phonemically predictable, and the morphemic status of which is, so far as I know, unique in Salish.

Shuswap lacks schwa as a separate stressable vowel. Under the stress, there are the vowels /a e i o u/ and rarely /ʌ/. In unstressed syllables there is only one vowel, which in slow speech is phonetically similar to stressed /e/ (phonetically [ɛ]). Phonetically, there are also unstressed [i(:), u(:)], but these represent the vocalic forms of /y/ and /w/. Thus, the reduplication of V k°iw slip, slide /k°wk°iw/ is pronounced [k°u:k°íw]; the form with consonant reduplication of /t̓q°-ews/ together /t̓q°eq°ws/ is pronounced [λ̓q°ɛ́q°us] companion (where interconsonantal /w/ is automatically produced [u]). Compare, on the other hand, the suffix /-us/ face which in unstressed position simply loses its vowel, e.g. in /c-qal-s/ smudgy-faced, or the vowel of /mus/ four which is reduced to schwa in /s-məs-és̓qt/ Thursday.

In general, then, stressed /Vw V̓w Vy V̓y/ (V = stressed vowel) are matched by unstressed /w ̓w y ̓y/ pronounced [u uʔ i iʔ] in phonetically "vocalic" positions. These "vowels" are less subject to reduction in fast speech than is unstressed /e/, except that certain instances of unstressed /e eʔ/ show the same relative stability as /y ̓y/ [i iʔ], etc. It can be shown that these cases of /e eʔ/ represent a third resonant-pair /h ̓h/. These cases do not concern us here; we deal with the remaining instances of unstressed vowels, which are all written

/ə/.

2. The Shuswap instances of /ə/ fall into a number of categories. Morphologically least significant are those cases where /ə/ is phonemically predictable. Such is the case where an unstressed root /C_1 C_2 -/ is not adjacent to a vowel, in which case its form will be /C_1əC_2 -/. This case typically obtains in stressless roots, e.g. /qp-em/ to bandage, /qp-ekst/ pot-holder (/-ekst/ hand) but /qəp-xít-s/ he bandages it for him. Morphologically significant are those cases where /ə/ appears without phonetic necessity, cf. on the one hand /qəm-nwén-s/ he accidentally hits it (besides root-stressed /qém-n-s/ he hits it) and on the other hand /ˀqm-nwen-s/ he accidentally swallows it (besides suffix-stressed /ˀqm-nt-és/ he swallows it). It is clear that the /ə/ in /qəmnwéns/ is conditioned by the root-stressed nature of the verb to hit and represents a reduction of stressed /é/ in the same way as the /ə/ in /sməsésqt/ Thursday is a reduction of /ú/ in /mus/ four.

The rule exemplified in the above two verbs is not without exceptions in Shuswap. For instance, the suffix-stressed verb /sp-em/ to hit, whip has the form /səp-/ with several suffixes beginning in a vowel, e.g. /səp-ékst/ get hit on the arm. Such cases are unexplainable in Shuswap; in a wider setting they would be explained if the verb historically had root-stressed forms.

3. Besides phonemically predictable /ə/ and /ə/ as a reduction of a stressed full vowel, there are a number of incidental instances of /ə/ which are reductions of resonants. The /ə/ in /ʔúpəkst/ ten (the combination of stressed /ʔúp-/ and the unstressed form of /-(é)kst/ hand would give */ʔupkst/) must go back to /n/, cf. Th. /ʔúpnekst/. The /ə/ in Sh. /səméx/ guardian spirit goes back to /w/, cf. Sh. /wmex/ to live, Kal. /su:méš/ guardian spirit.

4. The cases of Sh. /ə/ we are particularly concerned with here are those which result from what we shall term "truncated reduplication", which can be defined as follows: a root /C_1(V)C_2-/ is reduplicated to /C_1əC_1(V)C_2-/; the addition of the nominalizer /s-/ to this reduplication results in /s-C_1əC_1(V)C_2-/. The latter form can in a number of cases be reduced to /s-əC_1(V)C_2-/, i.e. the consonant of the reduplication-syllable is dropped, but the vowel remains. Three groups of cases have to be distinguished: (a) full and truncated reduplication

are in free variation, (b) truncated reduplication is regular with the nominalizer but the full reduplication is found in other cases, (c) only the truncated form occurs. It is clear that in case (c) there is no direct evidence in Sh. that we are faced with a truncated reduplication -- we just have an "unexplained /ə/" after the nominalizer. It is our purpose to show that at least some of the cases (c) historically represent truncated reduplications, and to sum up the remaining cases, which may be explained as belonging to this type or to the type /səméx/ (see 3) as more comparative evidence becomes available.

5. The most obvious cases of truncated reduplication are those where full and truncated form occur side by side:

(1) /kəkéw/ far, /s-(k)əkéw-s/ its being far.

(2) /x̌°əx̌°éyt/ all, /s-(x̌°)əx̌°éyt-s/ its being all.

(3) /pəpén/ to find, /s-(p)əpén-s/ his finding it.

The above cases concern nominalized verb-forms of the "factual" type. Free variation was also observed in the nouns

(4) /s-(c)əc̓úye/ porcupine.

(5) /s-(c)əc̓wénmx/ Okanagan people.

In another group of cases, the nominalization of a verb was recorded in truncated form exclusively:

(6) /x̌°əx̌°ystés/ he likes it, /s-əx̌°ystés/ his liking it.

(7) /qəqnim/ to hear, /s-əqníms/ his hearing it.

All the above cases except (4,5) concern "factual" nominalizations. There are, in addition, simple nouns which show truncated reduplication:

(8) /s-əkéwmx/ Cree Indians, lit. the faraway people, cf. /kəkéw/ under (1).

(9) /s-əq°lút/ word, cf. /q°əq°lút/ to speak.

(10) /s-əx̌°ú?/ a coughing cold, cf. /x̌°əx̌ú?/ to cough.

(11) /s-əcíntn/ song, /s-əcínm/ to sing, cf. /pəλ-x-cəcíntn/ having its song (to be sung inside it; of sweatbath).

(12) /s-əq°úṫe?xntn/ race-horse, cf. /x̌-q°əq°úṫe?xntn/ idem, /x̌-q°əq°úṫe?-xnm/ to have a horse-race.

(13) /s-əc̓ex̌/ witness, cf. /cəc̓éx̌/ to look, /s-cəc̓éx̌/ to look hither (where /s-/ is the allomorph of /c-, s-/ hither required before /t ṫ c c̓/).

6. There remain a number of cases of Sh. /səC$_1$.../ which are not matched by forms with full reduplication. These cases are not necessarily the result of truncated reduplication. They are listed below, with appropriate comments.

Historical truncations of reduplicated forms may be safely assumed in those cases where closely related languages show reduplication:

(14) /s-əq°yíc/ rabbit, cf. Th. /sq°əq°yíc/, Kal. /sq°áq°ci?/ (here CdA. has the unreduplicated form /sq°ícuməš/).

(15) /s-ək°úsn̓t/ star, cf. Th. /nk°ək°úsn̓/, Kal. /λk°kúsəm̓/ (where /λ-/ plus reduplication has a diminutive function).

(16) /s-ək°éw̓/ rosebud, cf. Th. /sk°ək°éw̓/.

(17) /s-əkléx°e?/ muskrat, cf. Th. /skəkəléx°e?/.

Those of the above Sh. cases which start with /səKR.../ (K = obstruent, R = resonant) allow an alternative pronunciation /sKəR.../, but the forms given above (14, 17) are practically certain to be the original ones and hence historically represent truncated reduplications.

The following two cases are slightly more difficult: they have correspondences with reduplication, but these reduplications are of a different type:

(18) /səkí?/ cactus, cf. Th. /skəžkáž/[2]. Th. has a total reduplication here; nevertheless an older Sh. */s-kəkí?/ is probable.

(19) /s-əcé?/ raven, cf. Kal. /sca?á?/ crow. The Kal. form, with final reduplication, suggests that /s-/ is the nominalizer; if so, the Sh. form goes back to */s-cəcé?/.

The remaining cases of which cognates are known each present their own peculiar problems:

(20) /səx̌éx̌?e/ father-in-law, cf. Kal. /sx̌a?x̌é/ wife's father. Here the same remark as was made under (19) would apply, except that CdA. has /nasx̌á?ax̌/, which throws doubt on the status of /s/ as the nominalizer. Th. /sxi?xí?, shi?-hí?/ pleads for the nominalizer, as does Pug. /(s)x̌áx̌a/ in-laws, but this may be a secondary development, cf. Sq. /sa?x̌/ parent- or child-in-law, where /s/ belongs to the root. A Sh. reduplication /C$_1$əC$_1$V́C$_1$C$_2$/ (as we would have in a presumed */sx̌əx̌éx̌?e/) is in itself possible: it is regular in comparatives, e.g. /q°ec/ warm, /q°əq°éq°c/ warmer. The Sh. form could be a derivative of √x̌e?, cf. /x̌əx̌é?/ impressive, intelligent, powerful, etc.

(21) /s-əx°yénst/ woodworm, cf. Sh. /s-x°y-x°éye/ ant (the latter with the known cognates Th. /sx°úx°eće/, Kal. /sxúx°iy̓e?/, CdA. /sux°-eney̓/, cf? also Pug. /šú3a/ maggots). An underlying Sh. */sx°əx°yénst/ is possible but by no means certain, as there is another Sh. case where the formative /-(é)nst/ is preceded by /C_1VC_2y-/, viz. /(s)t̓ək°yénst/ medicine made of balsam-tree bark, so that the original Salish root may be */sux°-/, cf. the CdA. form.

(22) /s-əq̓°út/ half besides /s-q̓°ut/ side. Here the other evidence for truncated reduplication strongly suggests an older */s-q°əq̓°út/ half. The related forms only cause several problems of a different nature (Kal. /č̓ut/ half of something, Sq. √q̓aw(?), q̓əw(?), q̓°u? side, etc., Pug. /k̓u?/ to be together, /sk̓u?/ companion).

There is, in addition, a case where the cognates point to a "sonantal" (cf. 3) rather than a reduplicative origin of /ə/:

(23) /səkl̓ép/ coyote, cf. Th. /snkiy̓ép/, Kal. /sənč̓əlé(p)/. Here the Sh. /ə/ goes back to /n/, as it does in /?úpəkst/ ten. Note that this word has the structure /səKR.../ and hence allows an alternative /sKəR.../ (cf. nos. 14, 17); Here the form with /səKR.../ is certainly the original one. These vocalizations of syllabic /n/ are rare and incidental in (Northern) Shuswap, cf. e.g. /snc̓e?-sqéx̌e?/ horse, where the /n/ is preserved.

Finally, there are a number of words of the type under discussion of which no cognates are known. Only of the first of these there is a possible interior reconstruction as a truncated reduplication. The others are merely summed up. Additional comparative data may clear up the origin of /sə.../ in these cases.

(24) /sətétk°e/ river, cf. /ste?/ to drink; possibly <*/stətétk°e/. The suffix water occurs both as /-k°e/ and as /-étk°e/.

(25) /səpsyúl̓əx°/ moss.

(26) /sət̓éke/ mountain blueberry.

(27) /səq̓°é?s/ Saskatoonberry.

(28) /səwəqín/ unidentified plant.

For truncated reduplication in plant names see (16, 18) above.

(29) /səx°épmx/ Shuswap.

(30) /sək°ək°ínmx/ people of Sugar Cane Reserve near Williams Lake.

For truncated reduplication in ethnic names see (5, 8) above.

(31) /səx°lét/ very sick, dying.

(32) /səx̌cíne/ downstream area.

(33) /səwénx/ body.

7. It remains to define the theoretical status of /ə/ in such cases as (6) /səx̌°ystés/, (9) /səq°lút/, etc. There is sufficient evidence to show that we are dealing with roots /x̌°y-, q°el-/ (cf. e.g. /q°ʔel/ discuss, talk in group, with interior glottalization). What is reduplicated in such cases is not a syllable /Cə/ but just the syllabic peak. The term "truncated reduplication" may synchronically be applied to those cases which are matched by full reduplications (1-13). Where no such counterpart exists, and where neverthless the existence of the unreduplicated root in Sh. is established (as in 22), we could speak of "syllabic reduplication". The remaining cases are on the synchronic level best kept apart; e.g. in /səx°ép̓mx/ Shuswap we do not really know whether the word contains a √ səx°- with the well-known suffix /-ep/ (semantically cf. Sh. √ sux°- recognize and Kal. √ six° root of several relationship terms) or whether we are dealing with a syllabically reduplicated form of Sh. √ x°ep- unfold. For both interpretations there would be analogies in other tribal-ethnic terms: (a) recognize, know and procreate, beget cf. Indo-European √ g'en- (Lat. gens, genus, etc.), (b) spread cf. Spóroi (Procopius), one of the possible etymologies of which is the widely spread ones -- a notion quite applicable to the Shuswap.

F o o t n o t e s

1) For a more detailed discussion of Shuswap phonology see the author's The Shuswap Language. Grammar, Texts, Dictionary (Mouton, The Hague, 1974). The Kalispel, Cœur d'Alene, Southern Puget Sound Salish and Squamish material is taken from the respective descriptions by Vogt, Reichard, Snyder and the author; the Thompson material is based on the author's field notes, for which thanks are due to Mrs. Mamie Henry and Mr. Louis Philips of Lytton, B.C.

2) Quoted from Nancy J. Turner, Thompson Indian Ethnobotany (Preliminary version, Sept. 1973) Botany Division, Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C., p. 28.