

A List of Bella Coola Prefixes

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0 In his article 'Salish and Bella Coola Prefixes' (IJAL 42: 228-42) Stanley Newman lists some twenty prefixes for Bella Coola; the main purpose of this paper is to show that this is an under-estimation - the actual number is twice as high.

Newman states: 'Among the nineteen prefixes of BC, only two - ?aɫ- static and progressive and s- nominalizer - are genuinely productive and enter into combinations with other prefixes. ... With the exception of ?aɫ- and s-, the prefixes form an insignificant part of the productive morphology of BC.' This is not entirely true.

One must, however, bear in mind that Newman's observations are based on field notes gathered more than forty years ago - it is quite possible that, in the mean time, the number and morphological valence of Bella Coola prefixes have increased.

1 Newman distinguishes four classes of prefixes. These are: (a) aspects, (b) spatial, (c) predicatives, and (d) miscellaneous. One category not discussed by him is formed by the somatic prefixes, which are treated in section 3.2 below.

Newman lists as aspectual prefixes: nus- customary, ?anu- continuative, ?aɫ- stative and progressive, ?ix- distributive, ta'm- iterative.

As spatial are enumerated: nu- inside, ?a(s)- location, ?u(s)- direction, ?un- middle.

Predicatives are: ?is- eat, drink, gather, ?as- have, (x)l- have,
'kil- have not, lack, tam- make, cause, ?unus- come in order to.

His category of miscellaneous prefixes comprises: s- nominalizer,
nu- persons, stam- coresident of the same kind, ?anus- mourn for,
?us- proximate.

2 Newman's classification roughly corresponds with mine. I propose
the following division: (a) verbalizing prefixes, (b) somatic prefixes,
(c) grammatical prefixes, (d) aspectual prefixes, (e) spatial prefixes.

3.1 Verbalizing prefixes are added to intransitive stems, combined
with which they form intransitives. They are:

tam- make, construct: tam-sul' 'build a house', tam-qnk 'ridicule'
(qnk 'low'), tam-tksnimta 'make a bow'.

In combination with the causative suffix -tu- the meaning is that of
benefactive: tam-yayaǰii-tum 'somebody made him a toy', tam-sul'-tuminu
'I build a house for you', tam-lukis-tumant 'they made me a tool-box'.¹⁾

tix- catch. This prefix always precedes quantifiers: tix-kax°-s 'he
caught nothing at all', tix-slaǰ-s 'he caught a lot', tix-mawlǰs-c 'I
caught twenty', tix-caacii-naw 'they caught only a few'.¹⁾

tutu- prepare, work on something: tutu-sluǰ' 'prepare eulachon oil',
tutu-stala 'prepare hemlock-bark', tutu-spuǰ 'work on eagle feathers'.

sti- having a bodily asymmetry: sti-kić-ank 'lopsided' (kić 'twisted',
-ank 'side'), sti-?atpnus²⁾ 'paralyzed at one side', sti-cyalsm 'to
wink, blink one eye', sti-stnaaq 'having one wooden leg', sti-spułankiiq°

'having a lump on one side of the head', sti-k'aaqii 'having one leg shorter than the other'.

kał-/kas- pursue, hunt: kał-nmmk' 'hunt animals', kał-maač 'get clay', kał-qač or kas-qač 'hunt rabbits', kas-smk 'fishing', kas-sx°panił 'hunt deer'. 2)

Maybe from *ka-(x)ł-, cf. ka 'future' and xł- 'have, possess'.

kil- have not, lack: kil-mnta 'having nowhere to go, wander around', kil-man 'having no father', kil-xnas 'widower', kil-?ica 'toothless'.

Before alveolars the allomorph kis- is found: kis-čkaak 'clumsy' (V'ck 'to fix'), kis-slq' 'stupid' (lit. 'lacking-mind'), kis-smaw 'minus-one; nine'. 2)

xł- have, possess: xł-?aci 'have a boat', xł-mjalx 2) 'have a baby', xł-yał?ayak 'have the time, opportunity'.

k°ul-/k°us- having much, being very: k°ul-kay 'much snow', k°ul-taala 'rich' (taala 'money'), k°us-k°ała 'very friendly', k°us-stpuusps 2) 'having lots of freckles on one's face'.

?as- have, use; contain: ?as-sulixc 2) 'take or have food with oneself', ?as-luta 'use a crowbar', ?as-nutumuc 'have a spear with oneself', ?as-tñx°-aw tu_spanya_tř° 1,3) 'the heads (tñx°) were (still) in the smoked fish (spanya)', ?as-sluq-aač 2) 'the food (-aač) contained eulachon grease', ?as-?anułc-aliic-tut 1) 'they have it with Indian cheese (?anułc)' (-aliic means 'tongue, taste').

?anus- deprived of, having lost: ?anus-ya 'looking hungry' (lit. 'having no - good'), ?anus-xnas 'having lost one's wife; widower', ?anus-man 'having lost one's father', ?anus-stan 2) 'mother-less'.

?it-₁ speak: ?it-nuʃalkmx 'speak Bella Coola', ?it-q°umsxiwa 'speak English' (lit. 'speak-whiteman'), ?it-aʃsmx 'speak Chilcotin'.

?it-₂ wear: ?it-k°uut 'wear a coat'. Together with the suffix -am 'become' the meaning is to put on: ?it-nup-am 'put a shirt on', ?it-skx-anł-am 'dress in black' (skx 'black', -anł 'clothing').

Prefixed to verbal roots, it means clothing: ?it-cq° 'tear (cq°) one's clothes', ?it-lulcuuł 'naked'.

The original meaning of this prefix must have been 'top' (hence: 'cover', 'clothing') - in combination with the suffix -aaq 'leg' it refers to the upper part of the thigh: ?it-kma^v-aaq²) '... hurts'.

?is- take (in): consume, gather: ?is-tii 'drink tea', ?is-k°mł 'gather firewood', ?is-uk°uk° 'gather skunk cabbage leaves'.

Frequently it co-occurs with the suffix -łł 'having undergone a change or preparation': ?is-lalaqa-łł 'eat something fried' (lalaqa 'fry'), ?is-ʔalʔik°-łł 'eat something barbecued' (ʔalʔik° 'barbecue').

?us-₁ crave for. This prefix was found in two words, where it is accompanied by the passive suffix -ayx: ?us-knum-ayx 'be hungry' (lit. 'crave for salmon fillet'), ?us-qla^v-ayx²) 'be thirsty' (qla 'water').

?us-₂ put on. Always co-occurring with -am 'become': ?us-k°uut-am 'put on a coat', ?us-ʃicmaal-am²) 'put mocassins on', ?us-qinč-am 'put shoes on'. Original meaning probably 'surface', cf. ?it-₂, ?us- (3.5.2).

?un- like to have: ?un-sčʔik° 'likes to eat fishbones', ?un-lam 'likes rum', ?un-snanik 'fond of gum'.

The basic meaning of this prefix is 'always ...-ing': ?un-ʔusčł 'always bragging', ?un-qaačlamx 'always drinking'.

?unusi- go somewhere in order to: ?unusi-talawsmtus 'he went in order to marry her to somebody', ?unusi-x°lamaw 'they went in order to wage war', ?unusi-naaĥ°ml 'we're going there to have a dance'. ¹⁾

3.2 Bella Coola has two somatic prefixes, always preceding verbal and adjectival stems:

k°ul-/k°us- penis: k°ul-cx°i 'having a normal-sized penis', k°ul-caak° 'have a long penis', k°us-°m 'have an erection', ?al-k°us°suq 'circumcised' (suq 'to skin') ²⁾.

?us- buttocks. Always co-occurring with the suffix -aaĥ 'rear':
?us°sp°aaĥ ²⁾ 'spank' (sp° 'to hit'), ?us-kma°aaĥ ²⁾ 'buttocks ache',
?us°sxp°aaĥ ²⁾ 'buttocks'.

3.3 The grammatical prefixes are:

s- nominalizer. This prefix is treated in detail in: Philip W. Davis and Ross Saunders, Bella Coola s- (contribution to the 13th Conference on American Indian Languages, 1974).

si- paraphraser. This element replaces the prepositions ?al° 'location', ?ul° 'direction', x° 'relative case' in subordinate constructions:
wa_si-ninic 'that which kept him alive' (ninic 'alive'), wix c si-°mt-s 'that's when he gets up', ?alq°uluus ti_si-kxis 'it was on a picture that he saw him' (lit. 'printed the /si-/he saw him'). ³⁾

nu- human. With quantifiers only: nu-maaskawks 'how many are they?', nu-musaw 'they are four', nu-tĥ°ulil 'we are six'. ¹⁾

l- associative: wixanaw tĥ° ta_l-Hank ³⁾ 'it's Hank and someone else', l-ĥila 'ĥila and somebody else'.

3.4 The aspectual prefixes precede predicates:

tm- just: tm-limlaw 'they just dropped down', tm-[?]ačmlxlc 'I just went to bed', tm-smawluł ti_napc_tx 'I have only one dollar' (nap 'what one has'), tm-^kacalis 'he just shook it', tm-stnł 'it was just a stick'. ^{1,3)}

tam- iterative: tam-sčmčmpim 'they kept tying it'. ¹⁾

It is most frequently found in combination with [?]al- 'progressive': [?]al-tam-q^oyakmit 'they kept putting it aside' ¹⁾, [?]al-tam-^čalaakas xa_slaqk_[?]ac ³⁾ 'he continually puts the fillets (slaqk) on the bars to dry', [?]al-tam-[?]ikłlxatii 'he kept coming closer'.

sm- right away: sm-qawamsim 'they tied it right away', sm-yalxs 'right away he got better', sm-nusakayaačtimutlc ²⁾ 'right away I went out again'. ¹⁾

^kam- the same: ^kam-[?]ayliwanaw stalawsaw ¹⁾ 'they got married at the same time', ^kam-cayłtuc ta_^čapłtuc [?]uł_[?]inu [?]in tayx ³⁾ 'I gave you the same amount I gave him'.

[?]al- progressive/perfective. Before intransitive stems, the meaning is perfective: [?]al-psm 'it's bent', [?]al-q^ouł 'written', [?]al-lipus 'folded', [?]al-cq 'torn'. Prefixed to transitive forms, it expresses the progressive aspect: [?]al-[?]ayucmtim 'they were being told (over and over)', [?]al-[?]awłim 'he was being followed'. ¹⁾

[?]ix- distributive: [?]ix-musa 'feel around', [?]ix-[?]ak^ok^oa 'shopping', [?]ix-liik^oiitis 'he kept rolling it from one end to the other', [?]ix-piičłlanaw 'they were floating around'.

Before uvulars, we find the allomorph [?]ič-: [?]ič-qm 'to be walking' (qm 'to step'), [?]ič-qlm 'swimming'.

3.5 There are two types of spatial prefixes: ones preceding locative stems, and prefixes added to non-locative stems.

The former class is enumerated in 3.5.1, the latter one in 3.5.2.

3.5.1 Spatial prefixes combined with locative stems:

tx- area: tx-^ʔuk^ʔ-ams 'upper (^ʔuk) jaw (-ams)', tx-a^ʔs-aa^ʔ 'back (a^ʔs) wall of house (-aa^ʔ)', wa_tx-amat^ʔ 'the place one has come from', tx-aca^ʔaa^ʔ 'south-east wind', tx-alsq^ʔ 'west wind'.

In a few words the allomorph t- is found: t-aq^ʔ 'downstream area', t-q^ʔn^ʔ 'hither', t-kil- 'near, at this side' (cf. ^ʔikl-, ^ʔiikl- 'near').

tx^ʔu- towards an area (originally a compound, cf. tx-^ʔu-): tx^ʔu-kawk 'go down to the riverbank', kil-tx^ʔu-mat 'disappear, get lost' ('having nowhere to go'), tx^ʔu-^ʔuk^ʔ-a^ʔ 'going up' (^ʔuk 'high', -a^ʔ 'feet, going').

t^ʔx- geographical area (cf. tx-): t^ʔx-aq^ʔ 'people from the north, Port Simpson', t^ʔx-a^ʔaa^ʔ 'people from Alert Bay'.

t^ʔx^ʔu- towards geographical area (cf. tx^ʔu-, t^ʔx-, ^ʔu-): t^ʔx^ʔu-l-^ʔ 'go upriver' (cf. ^ʔaa^ʔ 'upstream area'), t^ʔx^ʔu-q^ʔ 'go downriver' (cf. ^ʔuq^ʔ id., t-aq^ʔ 'downstream area').

^ʔa- location: ^ʔa-stx^ʔ 'be inside', ^ʔa-sqa 'be outside', ^ʔa-^ʔ 'at', t-a-q^ʔ 'downstream area', ^ʔa-mat 'place where something is', ^ʔa-stamks 'where is it?', ^ʔa-s-uca^ʔ 'underneath the house', ^ʔa-s-aq^ʔs 'waterbed'.

These examples pair the first eight items treated under ^ʔu-.

^ʔu- direction: ^ʔu-stx^ʔ 'go inside', ^ʔu-sqa 'go outside', ^ʔu-^ʔ 'toward', ^ʔu-q^ʔ 'go downriver', ^ʔu-mat 'place something is taken to', ^ʔu-stamks 'where is he going?', ^ʔu-s-uca^ʔ-am 'go under the house', ^ʔu-s-aq^ʔs-am

'dive to the bottom'. These examples pair the ones listed under ?a-. Further: ?u-l-ǰl 'go upstream' (vs. ?aaǰl 'upstream area'), ?u-ǰuk 'upwards' (ǰuk 'high'), ?uu-ǰnk 'downwards' (qnk 'low').

3.5.2 Spatial precedents preceding non-locative stems:

stam- the one beside, with one: ti_stam-ksnǰakc²) 'the one I work with', ti_stam-pusanu 'the one you grew up with', stam-?apsulmtmax^oaw 'they live close together (in the same village)', ci_stam-numusam 'the fourth woman he lived with', wa_stam-ǰmstas 'the people he lives with', wa_stam-?apsulc 'my fellow-villagers'.¹)

nu- inside: nu-?pciiǰ^o 'submerge', nu-tplǰ 'turn something inside out', nu-kalik 'half, middle', nu-sǰik^o 'hide something'.

Also water: nu-papnt 'boiling', nu-sǰp 'pool', nu-sǰ^oaǰ^oa 'mud-pool', nu-ǰl 'shallow water', nu-qaǰp 'slough in tideflats'.

kaǰ- downwards: ?aǰ-kaǰ-kxcut 'looking down', kaǰ-sǰx^omta 'cedar bark used for mattress'. Maybe identical to kaǰ- in 3.1.

?anu- (coming) out of; spread, draped: ?anu-pipǰmiik 'spark (pipǰ) comes out of chimney (-iik)', k^ol ti_?anu-puǰ³) 'hot (k^ol) spring' (puǰ 'to come'), ?anu-pusm 'come floating up', ?anu-cǰmiklǰs 'nose (-iklǰs) is dripping'; ?anu-tǰ^omik 'hang draped over something', ?anu-scmkxaaǰ 'river delta' (lit. 'river spreads'), ?anu-?isck^oaǰ 'to sprinkle a liquid on ('over') someone's head'.

?inix- additional, extra, more: wa_?inix-?aǰlii 'the ones that were not killed' (lit. 'the extra-being ones': ?aǰli 'to be there'), ?inix-maw-aǰ 'another bottle' (lit. 'extra-one-container').

?us- horizontal surface: ?us-pik^ouuc 'water is reflecting', ?us-pu^u
'come to the surface', ?us-mntax^ouuc 'skim off', ?us-pu^umuuc 'foam on
surface of a liquid', ?a^l-us-pliik 'flat roof'.

3.6 A few prefixes occur only in combination with a suffix - these combinations could be labelled as 'circumfixes':

ka-...-s next, following in time: ka-?a?amlanmii-s 'next spring',
ka-malax^o-s 'next year', ka-nukalik-s 'at noon' (said in the morning),
ka-ynux-s 'tomorrow'. These forms go back to ka clauses: ka expresses
future; -s 'it is'.

The bound form -ynux- is historically related to ?inax^o 'morning',
?a^ltu^unixa 'yesterday', ?a^ltu^umaynuxa 'the day before yesterday'.

kanus-...-m taste, smell: kanus-ya-m 'sweet, good taste', kanus-luk^u-m
'tastes, smells horrible', kanus-xawis-m 'metal taste', kanus-sx-m ²)
'it stinks, tastes bad'.

?a^ltu-...-a last, previous: ?a^ltu-nix-a 'yesterday', ?a^ltu-maynux-a
'the day before yesterday', ?a^ltu-malax^o-a 'last year'.

The bound forms -nix- and -ynux- are related etymologically to ?inax^o
'morning'. The element ma- in ?a^ltu^umalax^o and ?a^ltu^umaynuxa is the bound
form of s-maw 'one'. ?a^ltu- goes back to ?a^l 'at' and tu 'plural/temporal
article'.

4 In several cases there are discrepancies between Newman's observations
and mine. The differences are summed up in the following table:

Newman

my notes

nus- customary

In my recordings, this prefix never occurs without the suffix -mx 'indulging in': nus-[?]im[?]mx²) 'preoccupied with sex' ([?]im 'copulate'), nus[?]sxali-mx 'jealous all the time'. I have analyzed nus- as nu- 'inside' + s- 'nominalizer'.

[?]anu- continuative

Not recorded by me as having this meaning. Compare, however, [?]anu- spread (3.5.2).

ta'm- iterative

Indicating vowel-length is redundant.²)

[?]un- middle

Not recorded by me as having this meaning. Probably the same element as [?]un- 'like to have' (3.1).

[?]unus- come in order to

Always [?]unusi- in my notes (3.1). Possibly related to [?]anus- in the same way as [?]u- : [?]a- (3.5.1).

stam- coresident of the same kind

Is classified by me as a spatial prefix: 'the one next to or with one' (3.5.2).

[?]anus- mourn for

Has the more general meaning of 'having lost' in my notes and was listed by me as a verbalizer (3.1).

It is probably a compound, viz. [?]anu- 'out of' + s- 'nominalizer': compare, semantically, English 'to run out of ... '.

[?]us- proximate

Does not occur in my notes as having this meaning. It is probably the same element as [?]us-...-aa[?] (3.2).

[?]us-cusm-i 'twilight'

In this example, [?]us- is a reduplicative syllable, expressing - together with the ending -i - the diminutive; the simplex [?]cusm means 'evening'.⁴)

5 Newman's notion that only $\text{ʔa}\text{-}$ and s- are truly productive prefixes is a misconception: the prefixes listed in 3.1, $\text{k}^{\circ}\text{u}\text{-}$ in 3.2, si- in 3.3, and the prefixes treated in 3.4 are highly productive.

Furthermore, they can occur in strings: $\text{kil-tx}^{\circ}\text{u-mat}$ 'disappear, get lost', $\text{ʔas-}\hat{\text{sti}}\text{-stn}\text{maaq}$ ²⁾ 'having one stiff leg', $\text{ʔas-t}\check{\text{x}}^{\circ}\text{u}\text{-}\check{\text{x}}\text{nk}^{\circ}\text{us}$ 'lie face down'. Also the prefixes $\text{tx}^{\circ}\text{u-}$ and $\text{t}\check{\text{x}}^{\circ}\text{u-}$ are compounds (3.5.1).

FOOTNOTES

- 1) See: Stanley Newman, 'Bella Coola Paradigms', IJAL 35: 299-306.
- 2) Sonants with the symbol ' printed underneath are syllabic; the symbol '^ indicates telescoping; $\text{'\check{v}}$ is junctural; the opposition short vs. long vowel is neutralized before a sonant that is not followed by a vowel. See also: H.F. Nater, Bella Coola Phonology, contribution to the 13th International Conference on Salish Languages, 1978 (sections 3.5, 4.2.1, 5.4, 4.3.2).
- 3) The symbol '_ serves to connect full words and clitics.
- 4) The reduplication-pattern 23123 is regular in all cases where 1 is a glottalized stop and 2 a vowel (3 is always either a fricative or a sonant): ʔix-pix-lp 'crabapple tree' (from px 'crabapple'), ʔis-ciis 'make noise with tools' (from cs 'noisy') - initial ʔ is automatic.