Ošpáye 7

Reduplication

Reduplication, or the doubling of one syllable in a word, is a very common process in Dakota. In fact, all stative cores, many active cores and some nouns have reduplicated forms. Some examples of this process are below

šá	ptéčedaŋ	sápA	háŋskA	wašté
šašá	pteptéčedaŋ	sab:sápA	háŋskaska	waštéšte
to be red	to be short	to be black	to be tall	to be good

Reduplication is used for various purposes in Dakota, although all of them are related to some sort of plurality. For example

íŋyaŋ kiŋ he sápe	íŋyaŋ kiŋ hená sab:sápe
That rock is black.	Those rocks are black.

With active cores, reduplication marks not a plurality of the subject, but a plurality of the action, either in space or time. For example, given an action, the reduplicated form can mean *doing that action time and time again*, where the action is distributed in time, or *that action occurs here and there*, where the action is distributed in space. Some examples are below:

čháŋ kiŋ kaksé	šiná kiŋ yuȟdéče	namáȟtake
He cut the wood.	She tore the blanket.	He kicked me.
thadó kiŋ kaksákse	šiná kiŋ yuȟdéȟdeče	makhá naȟtágȟtáke
He chopped up the meat.	She ripped the blanket up.	He stomped on the ground.

Reduplication is a fairly common process throughout the worlds languages, but is rare in the languages of Europe. If reduplicating a word sounds like a strange concept, it's likely because English does not have any in-built reduplication processes like Dakota does. However, as reduplication is such a common feature of human languages, from time to time small cases of reduplication do pop up in spoken English; consider the following conversation for example

Hey man! Do you wanna hang out this evening?
Ah, I'd love to, but I gotta write a history paper, been putting it off all week!
Bahhhhhh history-shmistory, just do it tomorrow or something dude!

Conversational English has developed a form of rhyming reduplication (replacing the first consonant of the reduplicated word with *shm*), taking a word such as *blah* and replacing with with *blah-shmah*, to give the meaning *blah doesn't really matter.*

Another example of reduplication in conversational English is the reduplication of an entire word for contrast. Again, this is most easily exemplified with a fake conversation (between some imaginary roommates):

Hey guys! I just brought a cake home, if you want some!
Mmmmm, cake! Wait...is it, like, carrot-cake? Or cake-cake?

Here, *cake-cake* has the meaning of *not carrot cake.* One final example of almost-reduplication in English is the pattern that takes *fast* to *faster and faster*, or *hard* to *harder and harder.*

Reduplication Patterns

The process of reduplication treats contracting and non-contracting words differently; as a general rule non-contracting words reduplicate a single syllable, whereas contracting stems reduplicate their final *CVC* se-

quence (the final consonant-vowel-consonant sequence which appears before the *a* which gets deleted in contraction).

Single syllable words are the easiest; they reduplicate just by repeating themselves in their entirety, and the final stress appears on the second syllable.

ská	ğí	thó	šá	zí	tké
skaská	ğiğí	thothó	šašá	zizí	tketké
white	brown	blue/green	red	yellow	heavy

Two-syllable words usually reduplicate their second syllable, leaving the stress where it originally was

wašté	manúŋ	idé	uŋspé	kaksÁ
waštéšte	manúŋnuŋ	idéde	uŋspéspe	kaksáksA
to be good	to steal	to ignite	to learn something	to chop up

However, if the word is a contracting word, the final syllable does not reduplicate (as the final syllable contains the deletable *a*) and instead the preceding syllable and the following consonant reduplicate.

ȟóta	šíčA	théča	zúka	sápA
ȟod:ȟóta	šig:šíčA	thek:théča	zug:zúka	sab:sápA
to be gray	to be bad	to be new	to be drenched	to be black

The pattern behind these sound changes is explained below:

Sound Changes in Contraction

The sound changes which occur in reduplication are exactly the same as the sound changes which take place in contraction; the general pattern is that voiced consonants become unvoiced, and unvoiced become voiced. A table of all occurring sound changes is below:

č	t/d	ğíŋčA	ğiŋd:ğíŋčA
č	k/g	šíčA	šig:šíčA
p	b	tópa	tob:tópa
t	d	átaya	ád:ataya
k	g	thókeča	thog:thókeča
z	s	yúzA	yus:yúzA
ž	š		
ğ	ɦ	káğA	káɦ:káğA

The one case that needs some more explanation is when the final consonant is *č*. As can be seen in the above table, here there are two choices for what *č* can contract to, either *d* or *g*, depending on the circumstance. Luckily, there is a very predictable pattern behind this.

there is no voiced counterpart of *č* in Dakota, so it has to become something else

If the word in question begins in one of the following consonants, then a final *č* will contract to *k* or *g*.

s š n t č z ž d th čh

The reason for this is that these sounds are all produced near the same part of the mouth as *t* and *d*, and so if *č* contracted to this instead, the resulting word would be harder to say. Some examples of this process are below:

šéčA	théča	žíŋča	ečhádaŋ
šek:šéčA	thek:théča	žiŋk:žíŋča	ečhák:čhadaŋ
to be dry and dead	to be new	to sniffle	soon

Dissimilation also occurs in English: *br* often becomes *by* before *u*, consider *February*, which is pronounced almost universally as *feb-you-wary*.

And, if the reduplicating syllable begins with any other consonant, then the final *č* contracts to *d* or *t* instead.

khíŋčA	ɦičáhAŋ
khiŋd:khíŋčA	ɦid:ɦíčahAŋ
to scrape smth off	to trip and fall

While this process is most notable when it comes to the consonant *č*, Dakota will change the final consonant of a reduplicating syllable whenever it is too similar to the following consonant. This sort of process is called *dissimilation*.

Here are some further examples of dissimilation in Dakota reduplication: *t* will become *k* when it occurs near *s*, and *n* will become *k* when occurring near *č*.

súta	čónana
suk:súta	čok:čónana
to be firm	to be few

Consonant Clusters

All of the above examples of contracting words reduplicate a syllable which starts with a single lone consonant . When a contracting word reduplicates a syllable that begins with a consonant cluster, keeping the final consonant as above would produce a sequence of three consonants in a row within a single word, which is prohibited in Dakota. (For example, if *ksápa* reduplicated as expected, it would produce **ksabksapa*, which has the three-consonant sequence **bks* in it). To prevent this, the final consonant is simply deleted, and these words reduplicate just like non-contracting words. The following examples below illustrate this:

remember, the combinations *th, kh, h* and *ph* all represent a single consonant sound

ksápA	sdúta	ȟdókA
ksaksápA	sdusdúta	ȟdoȟdókA
to be wise	to slide through an opening	to have holes

ptúzA	mnúǧA	šnížA
ptuptúzA	mnumnúǧA	šnišnížA
to be bent over	to produce crackling sounds	to be wilted

Irregular Reduplications

Some Dakota words have irregular reduplicated forms, the most notable of which is the stative core *tháŋka*, meaning *it is big*. This has two possible reduplicated forms, one which is regular, and one which is irregular.

tháŋka	thaŋk:tháŋka	thaŋkíŋkiŋyaŋ
	to be big / great	

A few other irregular reduplications are below:

witkó	íŋyaŋkA
witkótkoka	iŋyáŋng:yaŋka
to be crazy	to run

Stress and Reduplication

The pattern of stress for single syllable words was already mentioned; the stress on the the reduplicated form falls on the second syllable. Furthermore, if a word originally has second-syllable stress, then its reduplicated form will always be stressed on the second syllable as well.

iȟá	idéğA	kaȟbóğA	aphÁ
iȟáȟa	idéȟ:değA	kaȟbóȟboğA	aphápha
to laugh	to shine	to drift in the wind	to hit it

Thus, the cases of interest are words which are initially stressed on the first syllable. When it comes to these, the location of the stress depends on whether it is a stative or active core undergoing reduplication.

Stative cores place the stress on the second syllable (even when the original stress occurred on the first syllable) For example:

sápA	púzA	ptéčedaŋ	ȟóta
sab:sápA	pus:púzA	pteptéčedaŋ	ȟod:ȟóta
to be black	to be dry	to be short	to be gray

There are exceptions to this process, such as *háŋskA*, which has initial stress, and its reduplicated form *háŋskaska* does as well.

Active verbs however retain first-syllable stress after reduplication

ğópA	phátaŋ	psíčA	káğA
ğób:ğopA	phád:phataŋ	psípsičA	káȟ:káğA
to snore	to butcher	to jump	to make it

The A-E Change

Reduplicating a word can change whether or not that word undergoes the *a-e* change. Reduplication will never make a changeable word out of a non-changeable word, so the only cases that need to be discussed are those which end originally with a changeable *A*. If the word in question is a contractible word, then its reduplicated form will continue to undergo the *a-e* change. For example,

ğópA	snízA	šíčA	šéčA
ğób:ğopA	snisnízA	šig:šíčA	šek:šéčA
to snore	to be deflated	to be bad	to be dry

However, non-contracting words loose their ability to ablaut after reduplication: even if the word itself undergoes the a-e change, its reduplicated form does not.

háŋskA	čhaphÁ	aphÁ	kaptÁ
háŋskaska	čhaphápha	aphápha	kaptápta
to be tall	to stab it	to hit it	to cut through it

Following is an example of two similar sentences, one with ablaut and one without.

isáŋ uŋ čhamaphé k'a makte nuŋs'é

He stabbed me with a knife and almost killed me.

isáŋ uŋ čhamaphápha k'a makte nuŋs'é

He stabbed me repeatedly with a knife and almost killed me.

The K-Č Change

If cores are reduplicated on a syllable which can undergo the *k-č* change, then both of the resulting *k*'s turn to *č*'s, even if one of them is no longer near the vowel which triggered the change to begin with. This is easier to see via example. Take the verb *káğA*, *he made it*, and its dative form *kičáğA*, *he made it for her*. These two words reduplicate as follows:

kágA	kičágA
káȟ:kağA	kičáȟ:čağA
to make something	to make something for somebody

The reason why the reduplicated form of *kičágA* is this, and not *kičáȟ:kağA*, is the order in which the word is created. First, *kičágA* is created from *kágA*, and at this point the *k* has already become a *č*. Then, this word is reduplicated, so it is the syllable *čağ*, and not *kağ*, which actually undergoes the reduplication.