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A Plea for Conformity and Some Amendments to Reichard

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This paper has two principal aims. The first of these is to suggest a standard orthography of familiar symbols for Coeur d' Alene. The second is to make available information which I think will make Gladys Reichard's published materials on Coeur d' Alene commensurate with modern practice and more accurate. The information here presented developed out of a consideration of Reichard's work in relation to the results of my own field work with and analysis of Coeur d' Alene undertaken in the period 1964-1966 (for details see Sloat 1966, preface).

I should point out that I am only too aware of the near futility of suggesting standard practice in transcribing a language, but I believe that an alphabet of symbols which are familiar and immediately suggestive of the phonetic material they classify is preferable to an alphabet of unfamiliar symbols or of familiar symbols with unusual values.

It seems that almost everyone who works with Reichard's Salishan material revises her transcription of it. See, for example, Reichard 1958, (edited by Florence M. Voegelin), p. 293: footnote to the title; Swadesh 1952, p. 237; or Vogt 1940, pp. 13, 16-19. Particularly likely to be changed is her rendering of the shibilants and affricates. However, the retranscriptions presented in the works just cited are

in some ways as unfortunate as the transcriptions they replace.

As was pointed out in Sloat 1966, p. 110-11: footnote 38, Voegelin was misled in substituting λ, λ for Reichard's $t\underline{\lambda}$, $\hat{t}\underline{\lambda}$. (In Sloat, 1966, p. 111, line 4, for λ read λ). For Coeur d' Alene, Reichard's $t\underline{\lambda}$, $\hat{t}\underline{\lambda}$ always record a stop followed by a voiceless lateral, never an affricate. It is clear that Reichard intended such symbols as $t\underline{s}$, $t\underline{c}$, $t\underline{\check{s}}$, $t\underline{\check{c}}$ to represent single segments: see the chart of consonants and accompanying comments in Reichard 1933, §§ 47-57, p. 531-2. But she is not entirely consistent in her transcription, in spite of her claim to the contrary in § 57. For consistency she should have written $t\underline{\check{z}}$, on the pattern of $t\underline{s}$, which represents a stop followed by $\underline{s}$. This inconsistency probably explains Mrs. Voegelins' use of a unit symbol for a sequence.

Mrs. Voegelins' retranscription has another unfortunate aspect. The more common $\underline{j}$ would have been a better substitute for Reichard's $\underline{dj}$ than the rather unusual $\underline{\check{z}}$. consistently used by both Voegelins - for symmetry.

The usage of Swadesh 1952 in regard to the shibilants and affricates is perhaps even less felicitous than that of Mrs. Voegelin. He substitutes $\underline{c}$, $\underline{\check{c}}$, $\underline{j}$, $\underline{\int}$ for Reichard's $t\underline{c}$, $t\underline{\check{c}}$, $\underline{j}$, $\underline{c}$, respectively. There is a preferable symbol available for each of these four respective segment types: $\underline{\check{c}}$, $\underline{\check{j}}$, $\underline{\check{s}}$, $\underline{\check{z}}$. One reason the latter symbols are preferable, I think, is that they are more immediately suggestive to Amerindianists of the sound types being represented. Outside the shibilants

and affricates, Swadesh's substitution of the rather uncommon $\underline{\chi}$, $\underline{\chi^{w}}$ for Reichard's more familiar $\underline{x}$, $\underline{x^{w}}$ was not a profitable exchange. On the other hand his replacement of $\underline{r^{\circ}}$, $\underline{r^{\circ w}}$ with $\underline{R^{\circ}}$, $\underline{R^{\circ w}}$ is an improvement. The latter symbols are easier to type and---I would assume---easier to set, than the former. Also $\underline{\chi}$ is perhaps more suggestive of a cacuminal than of a sound made back of the palate. [R] suggests a relationship to r.

The retranscription suggested in Vogt 1940, p. 13-19 is also unfortunate in places. Vogt, like Swadesh, chooses to replace the familiar $\underline{x}$, $\underline{x^{w}}$ with rather uncommon symbols, in this case $\underline{\bar{x}}$ and $\underline{\bar{x}^{w}}$. In all occurrences of glottalization Vogt has substituted the subscribed or superscribed period for the superscribed comma: $\underline{\dot{k}^{w}}$ for $\underline{k^{\prime w}}$, $\underline{\dot{q}}$ for $\underline{q^{\prime}}$. I don't think the change was beneficial. Further, Vogt's recommended change from $\underline{R}$, $\underline{R^{\circ}}$, $\underline{\dot{r}}$, $\underline{\dot{r}^{w}}$ to $\underline{\dot{\theta}}$, $\underline{\dot{\theta}^{\circ}}$, $\underline{\dot{\theta}^{w}}$, $\underline{\dot{\theta}^{\circ w}}$, should be rejected in favor of the practice of Swadesh 1952. (See Sloat, 1966, pp. 40-6 for a discussion of the phonetic inappropriateness of Vogt's suggestion.) On the credit side in Vogt's retranscription is his substitution of $\underline{\acute{c}}$, $\underline{\acute{s}}$ for $\underline{tc}$, $\underline{c}$ respectively, and his elimination of the "echo-vowels."

The retranscription of consonants which I recommend for Coeur d' Alene, and which I will use in the discussion which follows, is completely compatible with the usage of Swadesh 1949 and Sloat 1966. For Reichard's $\underline{t.s}$, $\underline{\dot{t}.s}$, $\underline{t.c}$, $\underline{\dot{t}.c}$, $\underline{ts}$, $\underline{t\dot{s}}$, $\underline{gw}$, $\underline{dj}$, $\underline{tc}$, $\underline{t\dot{c}}$, $\underline{c}$, $\underline{x^{w}}$, $\underline{\chi^{w}}$, $\underline{'}$ are substituted $\underline{ts}$, $\underline{\dot{t}s}$, $\underline{t\check{s}}$, $\underline{\dot{t}\check{s}}$,

s, ɬ, ɛ, ɪ, ɔ, ɔ̣, ə, ɐ, ɐ̣, ʔ, respectively.

Possible retranscriptions of vowels deserve some particular comment. To begin with, it should be pointed out that Coeur d' Alene has eight phonemically distinct vowels. Phonemically distinct is here to be understood as distinct on the basis of locally determinate contrast; i.e., distinct in the neo-Bloomfieldian sense (see Chomsky, 1964, p. 95). It should also be pointed out that Reichard recognized an eight vowel system. However, it seems that she posited one too many back vowels and one too few front ones. Her symbol ụ is superfluous: see Sloat 1966, pp. 53-4. But there is a contrast between the low front vowel Reichard writes as ạ and a slightly higher vowel which also contrasts with all the other Reichard vowels: see Sloat 1966, pp. 30-2 and reference in footnote 33.

Reichard's vowel ụ needs special comment perhaps more than the other vowels. /ɪ/ is distinguished from /i/ phonetically more by its shortness than by its timbre. [ɪ] is distinct from [ə] in certain unstressed positions: see Sloat 1966, p. 59. [i] does not occur unstressed except where it is the vowel just before the stressed vowel and is separated from that vowel by just one consonant. Neither [ɪ] nor [ə] may occur in this environment. When [i] occurs in this position, it is as a rule rendered as /i^{i}/ by Reichard. Thus, if [ɪ] did not occur in stressed position, it could be considered a variant of /i/. As a matter of fact, [ɪ] does occur stressed only in such apparently onomatopoeic utterances as [ʔu'dɪsɪsɪs...] 'they are

milling about.' Of course, if one set aside such data for special treatment, /t/ would be superfluous.

Reichard's presentation of the vowel system is confused by her insistence on recording the echo-vowels. In fact, however, all the echo-vowels are predictable, even the ones that do not follow glottal stop. Thus, all the small raised vowel symbols may be omitted from her transcriptions without loss of information: see Sloat 1966, pp. 48-50.

The vowels of Coeur d' Alene may be represented by the following symbols:

i ə u
(ʊ)
e
ɛ a o

In this scheme either ɛ or æ is a suitable substitute for ɛ. ɛ is rather more suggestive of the usual phonetic quality of this phoneme and I have always written it that way in my own representations of Coeur d' Alene. Others, however, have used æ. ɑ might be substituted for ɔ. I have used ɔ in my own work, again because it is more suggestive of the usual phonetic quality of the phoneme in question. In the chart above e has been substituted for Reichard's ɛ.

Now I would like to suggest a few procedures by which Reichard's published Coeur d' Alene materials may be made less wieldy and more accurate. A bibliography of her materials and some other relevant work is appended to this paper.

1. /i/ does not occur unstressed except under the conditions detailed above. Retranscribe Reichard's unstressed

/i/, but not /i^i/, as /ɪ/. For the treatment of /i^i/ see #6 below.

2. Retranscribe Reichard's /ụ/ as /ə́/ when stressed and as /u/ when unstressed. This will give the correct results where Reichard has not actually erred in recording. In the case that she has, no generalization will suffice to put things aright.

3. Reichard has underdifferentiated in the case of [e]: [ɛ]. The facts can be recovered by observing the following:

a. /ɛ/ does not occur stressed in suffixes. Nearly exhaustive lists of suffixes are given in Reichard 1933, §§ 432-589, pp. 601-30. These lists do not, however, include the pronominal endings, for which, see §§ 275-369, pp. 573-88. Retranscribe /ɛ́/ as /é/ in suffixes.

Where do they contrast? Can you tell from Reichard's data?

b. /ɛ/ does not occur stressed in any kind of morphemes if it is followed in the same word by one of the faucalizing consonants. The faucalizing consonants comprise the sounds listed in the following classes in the chart in Reichard 1933, § 47, p. 531:

i. velar

ii. velar-labialized

iii. trills (all three subclasses)

Before such consonants in the same word write /é/ for Reichard's /ɛ́/.

4. /u/ does not occur before a faucalizing consonant in the same word. Replace Reichard's /u/ with /o/ in such cases. Take this step after having completed #2 above in order to change all the affected segments.

5. Reichard has quite uniformly misrepresented the inceptive morpheme of certain roots. She writes /ná²as/ for 'it became wet'; cf. /nás/ 'it is wet'. The correct form is /ná²s/. Analogously she has written /lú²up/. The repeated vowel should be omitted from all such forms: see Reichard 1933, § 606, p. 637.

6. Write all occurènces of $\underline{V^{V}}$ and $\underline{V^{2}V}$ as $\underline{V}$ and $\underline{V^{2}}$ respectively. See the remarks and references above concerning the echo-vowels.

7. Replace $\underline{\not{\text{V}}}$ with $\underline{^{2}V}$. Contrary to Reichard (1933, § 61, p. 533), there is always a glottal stop in this position.

8. Only the labialized consonants occur contiguous with a rounded vowel. Thus where Reichard writes Ru, ku, qu, uk, etc. substitute $\underline{\not{\text{R}}u}$, $\underline{\not{\text{k}}u}$, $\underline{\not{\text{q}}u}$, $\underline{uk^{W}}$, etc. See Reichard, 1933, § 55, p. 532.

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