

LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION

IN

NITINAT

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss some linguistic aspects of post-contact cultural changes among the Nitinat Indians of Vancouver Island, British Columbia.

Acculturated items are treated in three categories:

1. loanwords
2. loanshifts
3. native creations.

1. Loanwords: morphemic importation without substitution.

A detailed account of Nitinat phonology is not called for here. There are 11 positions of contrast among the consonants:

1. bilabial
2. alveolar
3. alveolar affricate
4. palatal
5. lateral
6. front velar
7. rounded front velar
8. back velar
9. rounded back velar
10. glottal
11. laryngeal

The consonants are:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<u>Stops</u>											
vl. aspirated	p	t	c	č	ʔ	k	k ^w	q	q ^w	ʔ	ʔ
glottalized	pʰ	tʰ	cʰ	čʰ	ʔ	kʰ	k ^w	qʰ	q ^w		
voiced	b	d									
<u>Continuants</u>											
vl. fricatives		s		š	ʃ	x	x ^w	χ	χ ^w	h	
vd. nasals	m	n									
	ɱ	ɳ									
vd. glides	w			y	l						
	ʷ			ɥ	l'						

The vowels are:

	front		central	back	
	high	low		high	low
short	i		a	u	
long	i·	e·	a·	u·	o·

Syllable shape is CV(C(C(C(C))))

To account for some loans from English, we posit an expanded phoneme inventory. To the 41 phonemes of conservative Nitinat must be added:

g vd. front velar stop
 f vl. labiodental fricative
 e short low front vowel
 æ and æ·
 short and long front central vowels
 stress.

Thus the chart on page 1 may be revised:

p	t	c	č	ʔ	k	k ^w	q	q ^w	ʔ	ʔ
p'	t'	c'	č'	ʔ'	k'	k' ^w				
b	d				g					
f	s		š	ʒ	x	x ^w	x̣	x̣ ^w	h	
m	n									
w			y	l						
	i	e	æ	a		u				
	i·	e·	æ·	a·		o·	u·			plus

In expanded Nitinat, some words begin with CC.

1.1 A list of loanwords from English follows:

1. papa "pepper"
2. pi·pa "paper, letter, book"
3. pikč̣as "photograph, picture", from pictures
4. bi·t "ten cents", from bit

5. bo·t	"boat"
6. matuli	"Victoria"
7. wa·p	"wharf, bridge"
8. wa·č	"watch, clock"
9. ta·la	"money", from <u>dollar</u>
10. ti	"tea"
11. ša·t	"shot, bullets"
12. so·p	"soap"
13. la·b	"liquor", from <u>rum</u>
14. ?e·plis or ha·plis	"apple"
15. be·bi	"baby"
16. k ^w a·ta	"twenty-five cents", from <u>quarter</u>

In the expanded system:

17. krísmis	"Christmas"
18. sæ·min	"salmon"
19. fiškamíšina	"fish commissioner"
20. plams	"plum", from <u>plums</u>
21. smu·k ^w a·wis	"smokehouse"
22. mæ·n	"man, person"
23. gæs	"gas"
24. ?æpls	"apples"
25. páta	"butter"
26. čapen	"Japan"

1.2 A number of loans from French, Chinook, and Salish were recorded. Like many of the English loans listed above, the French and Salish items in Nitinat probably passed first through the intermediary of Chinook Jargon.

From French:

1. bu·la	"engine, motor, machine", from <u>moulin</u>
2. lipla·š	"plank", from <u>la planche</u>
3. lipli·t	"churchman", from <u>le prêtre</u>
4. lipute·	"bottle", from <u>le bouteille</u>

From Chinook:

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------------------|
| 5. pi·špiš | "cat" |
| 6. mu·smas | "cow" |
| 7. c'i·k'e'ik | "wagon, wheels of wagon or car" |
| 8. saplil | "bread" |
| 9. walo | "panties" |

From Salish:

- | | |
|------------|------------|
| 10. qa·wic | "potatoes" |
|------------|------------|

A clearer picture of the phonological adaptation of loans emerges if we distinguish alterations due to differences between the two languages involved from those due to internal historical change in Nitinat.

Thus the / b / in la·b "liquor" reflects the historical change from Proto-Nootkan / m / (\leftarrow En [m]) to Nitinat / b / , while the / m / in matuli "Victoria" is an assimilation of English [v] to Nitinat / m / .

It seems unlikely that la·b dates as a loan to the Proto-Nootkan period, about 1,000 years ago. More likely, it passed first through the intermediary of Makah, which has the same item, and has fewer instances of / m n / than Nitinat [W. H. Jacobsen, Jr., personal communication]: the shift of Proto-Nootkan */ m n / to / b d / took place in Proto-Nitinat-Makah.

Similarly, Nitinat / matuli / could well be from Salish: cf. Cowichan / mətúli / .

2. Loanshifts are native morphs whose meaning has altered on the model of the other language.

The names of the months, for example, refer to natural phenomena such as the weather and the ripening of various berries. The duration and sequence of pre-contact "months" were not fixed, as our months are. Drucker reports a similar situation among the Nootka:

Informants tell of 'old-timers' arguing over what moon it was; presumably, if the geese came north early one year

the month in which they came became the "Geese Month" no matter if the previous moon had not run its course.

[Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes,
Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin
144; 1951: 116]

Nitinat month names are listed below with a literal meaning where known and approximate month. The suffix -aba·¹/₁/-pa¹/₁/-p¹/₁ is glossed as "season, month".

1. wiyqpa¹ "January": "windy, stormy month".
2. ba·²bi·qs "February": "elder sister".
3. tʰak^Wičʰ "March".
4. pa·k^Wisči·saba·¹ "April".
5. šišičkadi¹p¹ "May".
6. hu²uk^Waba·¹ "June": "flight [of geese] month".
7. qawašp¹ "July": "salmonberry month".
8. ²ixapaxp¹ "August": "red huckleberry month".
9. kʰayicpaxp¹ "salalberry month".
10. ²a·a²čx "October": "rotten time".
11. pa¹i·saba·¹ "November": "put fire to it month".
12. k^Wa¹k^Wač "backing up", i.e. solstice.

3. Native creations: are forms which [1] consist entirely of native morphs, and [2] are not based on a model in another language.

With its extensive suffix system, Nitinat has many productive means of forming new lexical items. The most productive suffixes are treated first, and then the less frequent ones.

- 3.1 -a²yk/-i²yk/-č²k may be glossed "instrument for [doing the stem]". Thus č²i·š²i²yk "broom" is "an instrument for sweeping"; cf. č²i·š²- "sweep", e.g. č²i·š²i² "sweep [momentaneous aspect]". Some objects named with forms using this suffix are not literally such instruments however; cf. yayaca²yk "trousers", yac- "step". Acculturated forms with this suffix are listed below, along with stems and their referents.

1. dača?yk "mirror", dadača?yksa·wub "window". dač- "look", e.g. dači² "look [imperative]".
2. čapa?yk "spoon". čap- "to ladle".
3. čiyaxa·sa?yk "frying pan". čiyaxa·s "to fry fish".
4. yayaca?yk "trousers". yac- "walk, step through", e.g. yacši² "walk, step through [mom. aspect]". The stem reduplication may indicate customary action [pants are "something you always step into"], or less likely it may indicate that there are two trouser legs to step into.
5. ŋapa?yk "scissors". ŋap- "cut", e.g. ŋapši² "cut [mom. aspect]".
6. ŋaqla?yk "key". ŋaql- "undo", e.g. ŋaqlši² "undo [mom. aspect]", ŋaqli·ta·p "unlock door [causative?]".
7. ŋi²iča·y²la?yk "rudder". See ŋiči?yk. Function and referent of reduplication and -a·y² are unknown.
8. lakačilt²a?yk "portable lamp". Cf. lakača·xs "[old-fashioned] lamp".
9. ha·wa?yk "dishes". ha-/ha·w-"eat", e.g. ha?uk "eat [durative aspect]".
10. si·pi?yk "flashlight". si·p- "flash", e.g. si·pši² "flash it! [imperative]".
11. susi?yk "life jacket, life preserver". sus- "swim", e.g. susa· "swimming [dur. aspect]".
12. čiti?yk "a[short] saw", čičiti?yk "a [long] saw". čit- "to saw", e.g. čitši² "saw [mom. aspect]", čiči·t "sawing [iterative aspect]".
13. č²i·ši?yk "broom". č²i·š- "sweep", e.g. č²i·ši² "sweep [mom. aspect]".
14. ŋiči?yk "rudder". ŋič- "steer canoe; turn canoe to the left", e.g. ŋiči² "steer, turn canoe [mom. aspect]".
15. ŋupi?yk "comb". ŋup- referent unknown.
16. ŋubuxsti?yk "ladle". ŋubuxst "soup".
17. qici?yk "pen, pencil". qic- "write, paint", e.g. qicši² "write, paint [mom. aspect]".
18. hiči·ksi?yk "lantern with handle". hič- exact referent

not known, cf. hiča·k "catching fish at night using fire", hiči·ks "carrying a light"; -i·ks "carrying [the stem]".

19. qa²yawačk "fork". Referent of stem unknown.

3.2 -ak^w "looks like, resembles [the stem]". This suffix is always accompanied by reduplication of the first consonant and vowel of the stem.

1. babac²sak^w "rice". Cf. bac²si·d "maggots".
2. wawačak^w "beans". Referent of wac² is not known.
3. susup²cačak^w "sugar". sup²ic "sand".
4. šašabak^w "yellow". šab "baby's excrement, diarrhea".
5. AiAičak^w "carrots". Aič "wild clover roots".
6. k²u·k²u·k^wak^w "macaroni, spaghetti". k²u·k "worm, hooked stick".
7. qiqistqak^w "celery, rhubarb". Cf. qistu·p "Indian rhubarb".
8. p²ap²aylak^w "butcher knife". p²aya·č "feather".

3.3 A number of morphs referring to buildings are used in acculturated items.

-u²č, -u²č, and -u·č²us may roughly be glossed "building for [the stem]". It is not clear whether they constitute a single morpheme. Examples are:

1. bakuč "store". bak- "buy, trade".
2. ba²u²č "jail". ba²č- "tie, make fast".
3. ha²u²č "restaurant". ha- "eat".
4. wa²č²u²č or wa²č²u·č²us "hotel". wa²ič "sleep".

The suffix -qač appears to represent a different morpheme from the above suffix morphs, although the meaning is similar.

5. bi·cqač bakuč "meat store". bi·c "meat"; see above for analysis of bakuč.

6. ha[?]ubqa^λ baku[±] "grocery store". ha[?]ub "food".
7. λa[?]aqaa^λ "gas station". λaq-/λa[?]- "oil".
8. hi·tak^Wi³cidqa^λ "dry goods store". hita-/hi·ta-/ hida-
"empty stem", -kwi³cid "clothing".

-i[±] "inside, in the house" is used in a few items.

9. ba^λi[±] "prisoner". See ba^λu[±] above.
10. čabi[±] "bed". Referent of čab- is not clear.
11. si·[?]i[±] "matches". si·- "produce fire by rubbing".
12. hu·psiwi·[±] "button". hup-/hu·p- "round object", -siw-
"pass, go through".

3.4 -i³u· "box" and -sac "container" are both productive in the language as a whole, and occur in a few items of acculturation vocabulary.

1. duk^Wi³u· "radio, record player". duk/duk^W- "song".
2. qicic³u· "photograph". qic- "paint, write".
3. baksac "pocket". Referent of bak- in this case is unclear.
4. k^Wasac "chair". k^Wa- "move, sit backwards".

3.5 -a[?]wad/-a·[?]wa·t "in, around the middle" is used in two items:

1. t[?]apa[?]wadib "belt". t[?]ap- "tie", -ib "diminutive [?]".
2. k[?]axa[?]wa·t "fifty cents". k[?]ax- "break".

3.6 -a·[?]t^x refers to "person, people, tribe of [the stem]".

1. t[?]a·tnusa·[?]t^x "midgets, dwarfs; Eskimos".
2. q^Wa·y^λiba·[?]t^x "hop-pickers".

The term for "white person" consists of native morphs but does not contain the suffix -a·[?]t^x :

3. babla·?d "white person". bał- "move", -a·?d "on the water".

The suffix -q "language of [the stem]" is added to this to form:

4. ba·ba·bła·?dq "English language".

3.7 -?awałk^w/-!awałk^w "locks after [the stem]" is used in two items:

1. c'isap?awałk^w "telephone". c'is-/c'iy- "intestines; line", -ap- [?].
2. qu·?ac'awałk^w "Indian agent". qu·?as/qu·?ac- "person, Indian".

3.8 -tqi "underneath" occurs in two items:

1. caxtqi "steamboat". cax- "rotate", referring to the propeller.
2. Maxtqiłib "saucer". Max- "flat [?]", -łib "diminutive[?]".

3.9 There are a number of words which have been formed using less productive suffixes, as far as native creations of acculturation vocabulary are concerned. The analysis of these is now given.

1. bučisk "gunpowder". bu- "burn", -čisk [?].
2. tu·?iq^wałił "rifle".
3. yuyučskapł "pear". yuč- "thin", yučskapł "tapering".
4. Micibs "flour". Mic- "motley, grey", -ibs/-abs "mass".
5. ?išic'ip "chewing gum". ?iš- "to chew", referent of -ic'ip is not clear: the suffix does not appear to be productive at all.

3.10 There are a few acculturated words which contain a loan morph, but are original creations. They attest to the

thorough assimilation of the loan morphs.

1. ti?i·ksi?yk "teacup". ti "tea", -i·ks/-?i·ks "carrying [the stem]", -i?yk "instrument for [doing the stem]".
2. la·bqaʔ "beer parlor". la·b "liquor", -qaʔ [see 3.3].
3. bu·laqaʔ "engine, machinery store". bu·la "engine".
4. lipla·šii bu·la "lumber mill". lipla·š "plank", -ii "inside, indoors".

The terms "loanword" and "loanshift" are taken from Haugen ["The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing", Language 26, 1950: pp. 214-215]. No words in Haugen's third category, "loanblend" [morphemic importation with partial substitution], were found in the corpus.

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