LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION
IN
NITINAT

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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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop Type</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottalized</td>
<td>p t c 耆 ʔ k kʰ q qʰʔ ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b d b' d'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s š ʃ x xʰ xʰʔ xʰʰ h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m n mʰ nʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w y l y'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The vowels are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>i·</td>
<td>e·</td>
<td>a·</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ʃ k kʰ q qʰ ? ?
f t s ʃ s iː x xʰ xʰ h
b d g
m n w y l
i e æ a u
i· e· æ· a· o· u·
```

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. *pikčas*  
   "photograph, picture", from *pictures*
4. *bi·t*  
   "ten cents", from *bit*
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 moulin
2. lipla·š "plank", from la planche
3. lipli·t "churchman", from le prête
4. lipute· "bottle", from le bouteil
From Chinook:

5. pi·čpiš "cat"
6. mu·smas "cow"
7. či·ko'ik "wagon, wheels of wagon or car"
8. saplił "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 / (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 / matúli / .

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/-pa/-p is glossed as "season, month".

1. wiyqpa "January": "windy, stormy month".
2. ba-bi-qs "February": "elder sister".
3. t?akwič "March".
4. pa-kwisči-saba- "April".
5. šišičkadi- "May".
6. huʔukwa "June": "flight [of geese] month".
7. qawaʔ "July": "salmonberry month".
8. wiłapaxp "August": "red huckleberry month".
9. k?ayicpaxp "salalberry month".
10. saʔač "October": "rotten time".
11. paʔi-saba- "November": "put fire to it month".
12. kwaʔkwač "backing up", i.e. solstice.

3. Native creations: are forms which [1] consist entire-
ly of native morphs, and [2] are not based on a model in an-
other language.

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

3.1 -aʔyk/-iʔyk/-čk may be glossed "instrument for [doing
the stem]". Thus čiʔšiʔyk "broom" is "an instrument for
sweeping"; cf. čiʔš- "sweep", e.g. čiʔšč "sweep [momentane-
ous aspect]". Some objects named with forms using this suf-
fix are not literally such instruments however; cf.
ayaceʔyk "trousers", yac- "step". Acculturated forms with
this suffix are listed below, along with stems and their ref-
erents.
1. dača?yk "mirror", dadača?yksa·wub "window". dač- "look", e.g. dačiš "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. yacšiš "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. ţapa?yk "scissors". ţap- "cut", e.g. ţapšiš "cut [mom. aspect]".
6. ţaqāa?yk "key". ţaqā- "undo", e.g. ţaqšiš "undo [mom. aspect]", ţaqi·ta·p "unlock door [causative?]".
7. lići·cāa?yk "rudder". See lići?yk. Function and referent of reduplication and -a·yā are unknown.
8. lakači-ta?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·pšiš "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. čitšiš "saw [mom. aspect]", či·či·t "sawing [iterative aspect]".
13. ći·ši?yk "broom". ći·š- "sweep", e.g. ći·šiš "sweep [mom. aspect]".
14. lići?yk "rudder". Lič- "steer canoe; turn canoe to the left", e.g. lićiš "steer, turn canoe [mom. aspect]".
15. ţupi?yk "comb". ţup- referent unknown.
16. ţubuxsti?yk "ladle". ţubuxst "soup".
17. qici?yk "pen, pencil". qic- "write, paint", e.g. qicšiš "write, paint [mom. aspect]".
18. hići·ksi?yk "lantern with handle". Hič- exact referent
not known, cf. hiča·k "catching fish at night using fire"; hiči·ka "carrying a light"; -i·ks "carrying [the stem]".


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. babac'sak'k "rice". Cf. bac'si'd "maggots".
2. wawac'ak'k "beans". Referent of wac' is not known.
3. susup'cak'k "sugar". sup'ic "sand".
4. šašabak'k "yellow". šab "baby's excrement, diarrhea".
5. āičak'k "carrots". āič "wild clover roots".
6. ku·ku·k'ak'k "macaroni, spaghetti". ku·k "worm, hooked stick".
7. qiqistqak'k "celery, rhubarb". Cf. qistu·p "Indian rhubarb".
8. p'ap'aylick "butcher knife". p'aya·p "feather".

3.3. A number of morphs referring to buildings are used in acculturated items. 
-už, -u?ž, and -u·?us may roughly be glossed "building for [the stem]". It is not clear whether they constitute a single morpheme. Examples are:

1. bakuž "store". bak- "buy, trade".
2. baľuž "jail". baľ- "tie, make fast".
3. ha?už "restaurant". ha- "eat".
4. wa?čuž or wa?ču·?us "hotel". wa?ič "sleep".

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

5. bi·cqak' bakuž "meat store", bi·c "meat"; see above for analysis of bakuž.
6. ha'ubqa?i bakul "grocery store", ha'ub "food".
7. la'naga?i "gas station". laq/-la?i - "oil".
8. hi·tekWi·idqa?i "dry goods store", hita/-hi·ta/- hida- "empty stem", -kwicid "clothing".

-i?n "inside, in the house" is used in a few items.

9. ba·li?i "prisoner". See ba·li? above.
10. çabli?i "bed". Referent of çab- is not clear.
11. si·?i?i "matches". si- "produce fire by rubbing".
12. hu·siwi·i?i "button". hup/-hu·p- "round object", -siw- "pass, go through".

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

1. dukWi·i?u. "radio, record player". duk/dukWi- "song".
2. qici?i?u. "photograph". ci?i- "paint, write".
3. baksac "pocket". Referent of bak- in this case is unclear.
4. kWa·sac "chair". kWa- "move, sit backwards".

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

1. t'apa?wa?dib "belt". t'ap- "tie", -ib "diminutive [?]".
2. k'axa?wa·t "fifty cents". k'ax- "break".

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

1. t'a·tnusa·?tx "midgets, dwarfs; Eskimos".
2. q'a·yiba·?tx "hop-pickers".

The term for "white person" consists of native morphs but does not contain the suffix -a·?tx:
3. babla?d "white person", ba? "move", -a?d "on the water".

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

4. ba·ba·bha·?dq "English language".

3.7 -?awa?kW/-?awa?kW "looks after [the stem]" is used in two items:

1. ćisap?awa?kW "telephone". ćis-/ćiy- "intestines; line", -ap- [?].
2. qu·?acawa?kW "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. ṭaxtqilib "saucer". ṭax- "flat [?]", -ilib "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. ćudisk "gunpowder". ću- "burn", -ćisk [?].
2. ću·?iqWa?i "rifle".
3. yuyučskap "pear". yuč- "thin", yučskap "tapering".
4. ćicibs "flour". ćic- "motley, grey", -ibs/-abs "mass".
5. ćišićip "chewing gum". ćiš- "to chew", referent of -ićip 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. tiʔi·kšiʔyq "teacup", ti "tea", -i·ks/-ʔi·ks "carrying [the stem]", -ʔiʔyq "instrument for [doing the stem]."

2. la·bqaʔ "beer parlor", la·b "liquor", -qaʔ [see 3.3].

3. bu·laqqaʔ "engine, machinery store", bu·la "engine".

4. lipla·šiʔ bu·la "lumber mill", lipla·š "plank", -iʔ "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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