

feature in the organization of both systems. The three con-figurational forms correspond to the contrastive domains of orientation: house, shore and river.

Haiman notes that while the structure of language may reflect the structure of thought, the presence of iconicity in language indicates that "the structure of thought, in its turn, reflects the structure of reality" (1980:537). As a system of conceptual organization, Lushootseed is particularly well attuned to the spatial dimensions of entities, events and relations in the world.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Research for this paper was generously supported by the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Fund, the Wenner-Gren Society and Columbia University.
2. The reference for all English glosses is Hess 1976.

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#### Traces of "Abnormal" Speech in Lushootseed

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Sapir's highly provocative article, "Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka" (Sapir, 1915), has not, to my knowledge, stimulated sufficient interest in the topic of "consonant play" among latter day researchers in the Northwest to provide papers on the topic in other languages of the region. The only one I am familiar with is Dell Hymes' "How to Talk Like a Bear in Takelma" (Hymes, 1979).<sup>1</sup> In particular, I do not believe anyone has published on the subject in a Salish language. As a small step toward closing this gap in our scholarly literature on Northwest languages, I present here the types of consonant change used in Northern Lushootseed.

The corpus from which these data come was collected in the 1950's and 1960's,<sup>2</sup> a time when the moribund state of Lushootseed was well advanced. It is possible, even probable, therefore, that Lushootseed consonant play was more extensive than the few types described here. Except for some nasalization, all cases have been culled from taped myths.

There are four broad categories of consonant change known to have been used by Lushootseed speakers. These are replacement by bilabials, palatalization, and two degrees of nasalization.

Examples of the first are few and all come from stories told by the same raconteuse.<sup>3</sup> This class of changes replaces /t/ and /ʔ/ with /p/, and /w/ with /b/. The word *stáʔtadayʔ* 'girl' becomes *spáʔpadayʔ* on the lips of Rotten Log (*páqac*) on four occasions

which happen to be all the instances recorded of Rotten Log trying to say *sáʔadəyʔ*. There is also one case of Raven (*kawqs*) saying *spáʔpadəyʔ*.<sup>4</sup> Rotten Log also substitutes /p/ for /ʔ/ in one instance, *vis.*, *ʔabsʔibac* have a *grandchild* becomes *ʔaʔbšpibəš*; and on one occasion she says *sbəlús* instead of the normal *swəlús* *person of noble lineage*.

The effect of this sort of change is decidedly humorous. It may also be an imitation of young children's speech. Research on Lushootseed baby talk, however, is now impossible so the question must remain unanswered.

Rotten Log also palatalizes often. In her speech /š/ frequently replaces /s/ as in the following examples: *šuwəʔi* < *suwəʔi* *woke up*, *tašʔitut* < *t(u)asʔitut* *was sleepy*, *ʔaʔbšpibəš* < *ʔabsʔibac* *have a grandchild*. Further, there is one instance of each of three similar but more complex modifications of normal speech: /š/ < /c/ as in *pibəš* for *ʔibac* *grandchild*, /č/ < /c/ in *ʔibač* for *ʔibac*, and /č/ < /dʔ/ in *bəčibəc* from *bədʔibac* *my grandchild*.

The mother of Starchild also substitutes /š/ for /s/. Twice the word *siʔab* *nobleman* becomes *šiʔab* when she laments the abduction of her baby son (whom she designates as noble).

Speakers identify this palatalization as baby talk; and a baby is the topic of conversation in all cases except for the first two examples above. The two exceptions are from Rotten Log, in speech, referring to herself. The fact that an elderly and somewhat dim-witted woman uses such forms may signal her childlike incompetence; it must also be quite humorous to those steeped in the culture for

an adult to talk of herself in this manner. However, not all cases are humorous. When the mother of Starchild grieves for her kidnapped son, the scene is truly pathetic.

The third type of consonant change replaces oral stops with their corresponding nasals. It is a very widely used device serving several functions which all speakers utilize even at this late date in the language's existence. Often when talking endearingly to children and pets, /m/ and /n/ replace /b/ and /d/ respectively — a change that reverses the historical development. (See Thompson and Thompson.) For example, one consultant named a cute little stray dog *smiʔmkʷalps* *a little animal one happens upon and takes home*. (The root *bəkʷ(u)* means *take what one happens to find/come across*, *-alps* is *animal*, *biʔ-*, a *diminutive reduplication*, and *s-*, an *aspectual prefix of undetermined significance*.)

The change to nasals is also heard in prayers and some types of song. Thus, Lushootseed speaking Shakers say, *txʷəl kʷ snáʔs kʷə máns ʔi tə mənáʔs ʔi tə sánktus plí. šúm ʔəsʔistə*, which in regular diction would be *dxʷəl kʷ(i) sdaʔs kʷə bads ʔi tə bədaʔs ʔi tə sánktus pli. šub ʔəsʔistə(?)*, *In Nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen* (i.e., *It be good thus*). In some recitations of the Lushootseed version of the Lord's Prayer, the odd /b/ or /d/ is replaced with /m/ or /n/, but the same speaker often does not use nasals in the same words in successive repetitions of the prayer.

Songs also vary from verse to verse in the use of nasal and oral. When one consultant sang a power song, he used /b/ in

sdəduk<sup>w</sup>əb<sup>5</sup> in the first line but /m/ when repeating the word in the second and otherwise identical line. Similarly, in the Snohomish song of solidarity sduhú<sup>b</sup>š is sometimes pronounced [sda<sup>h</sup>úbiš] and sometimes [sda<sup>h</sup>úmiš] in successive repetitions of the word. I can detect no pattern to the use of oral or nasal in these songs.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, in a shaman-like doctoring (ba<sup>h</sup>ad) song which Raven sings for his afflicted sister Crow (ka<sup>h</sup>ka<sup>h</sup>?), nasals are maintained every time he sings it throughout the myth:

ʔəx<sup>w</sup>slək<sup>w</sup>ədx<sup>w</sup>yítəmə<sup>m</sup> d<sup>z</sup>ət cə ʔənimúliča?

ʔə tə stú<sup>h</sup>uməs, təlú<sup>h</sup>əməs . . .

In standard speech these lines would be ʔəx<sup>w</sup>slək<sup>w</sup>ka<sup>h</sup>yítəbəb d<sup>z</sup>ət cə ʔənimúliča<sup>h</sup>? ʔə tə stú<sup>h</sup>əb, stəlú<sup>h</sup>b . . . *It must be that they want to eat Crow's dried dog salmon (and) dried king salmon . . .*

A few names of both people and places are consistently articulated with nasals. Thus, sní<sup>h</sup>əm, the name of a point of land and also a family name, today is (to my experience) never pronounced sdi<sup>h</sup>əb. A crow is ka<sup>h</sup>ka<sup>h</sup>?, but the Prechanger name for Crow is always ʔənimúliča<sup>h</sup>?, never ʔədibúliča<sup>h</sup>?

There is also one word from the general vocabulary which is pronounced with nasals. This is the high frequency mí<sup>h</sup>man *small, little*. However, speakers vary in preference for nasals in this word. The following pronunciations have been heard: mí<sup>h</sup>man, mí<sup>h</sup>mad,<sup>8</sup> and bí<sup>h</sup>bad. Everyone who uses the first accepts the last as being good Lushootseed and vice versa. It is most interesting to note that Sapir has observed an analogous

phenomenon in Wishram, "It often happens that the normal form of a word is itself partly diminutive in form owing to its meaning ..." (Sapir, 1911, p. 639).

Significant for historical understanding of nasal consonant play is the fact that only the voiced orals that developed from nasals are renasalized in this type of special speech. There is no /ŋ/ for /g/ nor /ŋ<sup>w</sup>/ for /g<sup>w</sup>/ (except for the often extremely nasal talk of Raven which is here thought to be a different class of Lushootseed abnormal speech). This return to an earlier manner of articulation for special effect is somewhat reminiscent of Mink's speech in Kwakiutl. Among other changes, Mink shifts all anterior palatals to corresponding sibilants which, as Sapir points out, is the very change that Kwakiutl's sister language, Nootka, did undergo (Sapir, 1915). Thus, the Kwakiutl case, anticipating a change, is the opposite of the Lushootseed change which reflects the past.

Raven does sometimes include /ŋ<sup>w</sup>/ as well as /m/ and /n/.<sup>9</sup> Often he also nasalizes vowels. For example, when he maliciously tries to get Crow to speak the name of her recently deceased husband,<sup>10</sup> he asks, tū<sup>h</sup>lyát, ʔənimúliča<sup>h</sup>?, which from less big nosed characters would be tug<sup>w</sup>át, ʔənimúliča<sup>h</sup>? *Who was he, Crow?* Other examples abound throughout the texts though not always as extreme as this.

On the basis of the present corpus, this sort of nasalization seems to characterize Lushootseed Raven exclusively. Although he does not always talk this way, he is the only one who does do it.

However, Hymes has convincingly shown that what Sapir took to be simply stereotypic speech traits of Coyote and bears in Takelma were actually prefixes having specific expressive content beyond identifying or imitating a particular myth being (Hymes, 1979). Perhaps if the Lushootseed corpus were larger and contained another being with a very large nose, that being too would nasalize like Raven. In this connection, it is significant that Raven does not nasalize in a story where he is a hero who obtains daylight for the people. On the other hand, like Rotten Log, he sometimes changes /ʔ/ to /p/ — a good example of expressive content as opposed to identifying speech traits.

Although these four types of change are similar to the kinds of consonant play described for other Northwest languages, no particular type seems to have the same significance from language to language, at least not among those few for which data have been published. After listening to so many Lushootseed stories with Raven talking through his nose, it was a mild shock to learn that Nootka Elk does this while Raven, instead, inserts /ʔ/ after the first vowel of words.<sup>11</sup> (It was no surprise, however, to learn that this inserted element designates gluttony.) On the basis of the meager evidence available, it seems that particular types of consonant play and their significance have not been readily borrowed.<sup>12</sup>

Lushootseed types of consonant change and their meanings are summarized below:

I Substitution with labials      incompetence

	baby talk (?)
II Palatalization	baby talk childish behavior
III Substitution with nasals	(a) endearment, address form to children, diminutive (?) (b) archaic flavor, sanctified (?) language
IV Nasalization	Ravenese, mocking all big nosed people (?) gluttony (?)

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Franz Boas also reports such stylistic speech for Kwakiutl. References are given in Sapir, 1915.

<sup>2</sup>The data collected in the 1950's was done on a large number of magnetic tapes by Leon Metcalf, who donated them to the University of Washington. Somewhat over twenty years later Mrs. Vi Tak<sup>W</sup>Soblu Hilbert, a native speaker of the Skagit dialect of Lushootseed, transcribed and translated these recordings. The data from the 1960's was collected and transcribed by me in consultation with the storytellers.

<sup>3</sup>This storyteller was Mrs. Susie Sampson Peter, an Upper Skagit. She and all of her generation had died many years before Mrs. Hilbert had the opportunity to work with the recordings so many questions about subtleties of style and meaning remain forever unanswerable. However, Mrs. Peter's son, Mr. Martin Sampson, was able to provide much insight into the meaning of his mother's stories which represent the oldest form of the language recorded and the only sample from a village along the middle reaches of the Skagit River so far as I know.

<sup>4</sup>These forms for *girl* may represent even further distortions of the everyday word. Although C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>(?)C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> ... reduplications are very common in Lushootseed, my data have no examples of *stá'laday?* aside from these. The word for *girl* used by all consultants with whom I studied was *stá'day?* and *girl friend* was *stá'laday?*. It may well be, however, that *stá'laday?* was the normal form in the particular dialect spoken by Mrs. Peter. (The word for *women*, which is based on the same root as the word for *girl*, does vary from one Lushootseed region to another. It is *stá'laday?* in the north, but *stá'day?* in the south.) At this late date it is impossible to find out for certain. (There are two other reduplicative patterns based on *stá'day?* *woman*. These are *stá'laday?* *girls* and *stá'day?* *woman (living) alone*.)

<sup>5</sup>Because of the private nature of power songs, a gloss for this word is deliberately omitted.

<sup>6</sup>It is interesting for insight to the development of oral articulation in Lushootseed that there is more frequent variation between /b/ and /m/ than between /d/ and /n/. The alveolar remains oral much more than the bilabial. See the Thompsons' remarks concerning Charles Ferguson's hypothesis that, "If in a given language there is only one PNC, it is /n/ ..." (page 451).

<sup>7</sup>The use of nasals in this word is considered in the following paragraph.

<sup>8</sup>See footnote #6.

<sup>9</sup>/g/ is relatively rare. The corpus lacks any examples of Raven using words that have /g/ in normal speech.

<sup>10</sup>A strong taboo prohibits Lushootseed speakers from using the name of someone recently deceased.

<sup>11</sup>The forms I have recorded of Raven talking in Nootka are from the Ahousaht dialect. Sapir (1915), however, referring to Tsishaht Nootka quotes Raven forms as *-tax-* (i.e., /-čx-/). In the closely related language, Nitinaht, Raven inserts /-šx-/ after the first vowel. There are numerous examples of /č/ corresponding to Nitinaht /š/; therefore, the Tsishaht and Nitinaht forms may be thought of as the same.

<sup>12</sup>Although borrowing may have been limited or non-existent, there is at least one case of consonant play having been "given" to another language. Mr. John Thomas, a Nitinaht speaker from Clo-oose, reports that his generation, as children, used to apply these changes to English for amusement. Here is an example of Raven speaking English (Using standard spelling except for the Raven sounds). Išxm gošxyn' to Višxtoria.

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