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# Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka

BY

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# Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka

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An interesting linguistic and cultural problem is the use in speech of various devices implying something in regard to the status, sex, age, or other characteristics of the speaker, person addressed, or person spoken of, without any direct statement as to such characteristics. When we say "big dog make bow-wow" instead of "the dog barks," it is a fair inference that we are talking to a baby, not to a serious-minded man of experience. Further, when we hear one use "thee" where most would say "you," we suspect that we are listening to an orthodox Quaker. In neither of these cases is there an explicit reference to a baby as person addressed or to a Quaker as person speaking. Such implications are common in all languages and are most often effected by means of the use of special words or specific locutions. Thus, in Nootka there are special words used in speaking of obscene matters to or in the presence of women; a number of "baby-words" also exist. Generally it is the speaker or person addressed that is thus signaled, but it is quite possible, though less frequent, to thus imply something also in regard to the third person. A more specialized type of these person-implications is comprised by all cases in which the reference is brought about not by the use of special words or locutions, that is, by lexical, stylistic, or syntactic means, but by the employment of special grammatical elements, consonant or vocalic changes, or addition of meaningless sounds, that is, by morphologic or phonetic means.

To enumerate all the possible types of person-implication expressed in language, from the point of view of resulting classifications of human beings, would lead one far afield. Two types, however, seem to stand out most prominently — those referring to sex-discrimination and to rank-discrimination. Several languages make a distinction between words or forms used by males and such as are restricted to females. Such a distinction, for instance, is made by certain Eskimo dialects, in which, at least in earlier times, according to Boas,<sup>1</sup> final *p*, *t*, *k*, and *q*<sup>2</sup> were pronounced by the women as the corresponding nasals *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, and *ŋ*. In Yana, an isolated linguistic stock of northern California, the forms used by the women, whether in speaking to one another or to males, differ from the fuller forms used by the latter in the unvoicing of final vowels; final *-na* (*-hi* in Southern Yana), a common noun ending, is replaced by aspiration in the speech of the women, who further lengthen final vowels to express the interrogative; while the males suffix an element *-n*. Most languages that make such sex distinctions differentiate the sexes as speakers. In Yana, however, a further discriminating factor is the sex of the person spoken to; in so far as the men in speaking to the women use the forms characteristic of the latter.

More widespread in language seems to be a discrimination of forms according to the rank or social status of the person speaking, addressed, or spoken of. Here belong the etiquette forms characteristic of several East Asiatic and Indonesian languages, by which the social grading of the speakers as inferiors or superiors in reference to one another is clearly reflected in their speech. An analogous American instance is the use in Nahuatl of reverential forms to imply respect to the person addressed or spoken of. These are morphologically nothing but indirectives or causatives in *-lia*, *-tia*, or *-ltia* with reflexive pronominal prefixes; "he sleeps" is thus more politely expressed as "he causes himself to sleep." Here belongs also the use in so many European languages (French, German, Russian, and others) of second or third person plurals, instead of the more logical second person singulars, in speaking to people with whom one

<sup>1</sup> *Handbook of American-Indian Languages*, Bulletin 40 of Bureau of American Ethnology, 1911, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> See Phonetic Key at end of this paper.

is not on the most intimate terms. This usage has its parallel in Yana, where brothers and sisters address each other in the plural<sup>1</sup>; other Californian examples of a similar nature have been given by Goddard<sup>2</sup> and Kroeber.<sup>3</sup>

These preliminary remarks are intended merely to indicate the general class of linguistic phenomena to which belong the more specialized Nootka examples to be given presently. At the same time they will serve to render these latter less glaringly bizarre by providing them with parallels of a more general character. The data here presented were chiefly obtained in November, 1910, in the course of ethnologic and linguistic research for the Geological Survey of Canada among the Nootka Indians of Alberni canal, Vancouver island; the informant was Dan Watts, the young chief of the *Hōpātclāš'atn'* tribe. Further data on this subject were obtained in the winter of 1913-14 from Alex Thomas, a young Indian of the *T'slicl'atn'* tribe of the same region.

It is possible and often customary in Nootka to imply in speech some physical characteristic of the person addressed or spoken of, partly by means of suffixed elements, partly by means of "consonantal play." Consonantal play consists either in altering certain consonants of a word, in this case sibilants, to other consonants that are phonetically related to them, or in inserting meaningless consonants or consonant clusters in the body of the word. The physical classes indicated by these methods are children, unusually fat or heavy people, unusually short adults, those suffering from some defect of the eye, hunchbacks, those that are lame, left-handed persons, and circumcised males.

In speaking to or about a child it is customary to add the regular diminutive suffix *-'is* to verb or other forms, even though the word so affected connotes nothing intrinsically diminutive; affection may also be denoted by it. The *-'is* comes before temporal, modal, and pronominal suffixes. Thus, the normal *qw'istci* "do so!" (*qw'is-* "to do thus;" *-ci* "second person singular imperative, "go and . . . !") is changed to *qw'is'tci* "do so, little one!" when speaking to a child.

<sup>1</sup> Sapir, *Yana Texts*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 9, 1910, p. 95, footnote 139; p. 101, footnote 150.

<sup>2</sup> Goddard, *Kato Texts*; *ibid.*, 1909, vol. 5, p. 143, footnote 185.

<sup>3</sup> Kroeber, *The Languages of the Coast of California north of San Francisco*, *ibid.*, 1911, vol. 9, p. 321 (Pomo).

Similarly, *qwisma* 'he does so' (-*ma* third person present indicative) is changed to *qwis'isma* when one is speaking about a child. In speaking about oneself or others when addressing a child, it does not seem to be customary to use the diminutive suffix except to show affection at the same time. Thus, the word *walcīLAH* 'I am going home' (*wal-* 'to return home;' -*cīL-* inceptive; -*aH* 'I') may be changed to *walcīL'isah* 'I am going home, little one' when addressed to a child for whom one wants to show love, but this form would not be used in speaking to a child that is a stranger. As might be expected, diminutive verbal and other forms occur in lullabies, in some of which the child is represented as speaking about itself. Thus, in a lullaby supposed to be sung by a whale mother to its child, occur the words 'oH<sup>a</sup>'*ēsōk*<sup>c</sup> 'émiti' ('my) little name is' ('oH<sup>a</sup>- 'to be;' -'is- diminutive; -*ōk*<sup>c</sup> 'of, belonging to;' 'émiti' 'name'). Some people were said by Dan to have the habit of using the diminutive suffix in order to belittle others, as though the persons addressed or referred to were of no more importance than children as compared to themselves. If a chief does this to too great an extent, he is set down as haughty.

In talking to or about fat people or people of unusual size, the suffixed element -*aq*' is used in a manner analogous to the diminutive -'is. Thus, the normal *hnt'cīLwe'in* 'he comes, it is said' (*hin-* 'empty' verb stem 'to be, do;' -*t-*, shortened form of -*in*' 'to come;' -*cīL-* inceptive; -*we'in*' quotative) becomes *hnt'cīLaq'we'in*; 'ōtsātcīLma' 'he goes to it' ('ō- 'empty' noun stem meaning 'something;' -*tsa-* 'to start for, go to;' -*tcīL-* inceptive, used after vowels; -*ma*' third person present indicative) becomes 'ōtsātcīLāq'ma'. Other examples are: *ha'ōkwaq'ma* 'he, clumsy one, eats;' (*ha'w-* 'to eat;' -*ōkw-* intransitive verbal suffix); and *ha'ōkwāqit'hak* 'did you eat, fatty?' (-*it*' tense suffix denoting past time; -*Ha-* interrogative; -*k*' second person singular).

People who are abnormally small are spoken of in forms with the diminutive suffix; moreover, in such cases, all sibilant consonants (*s*, *ts*, *ts!*; *c*, *tc*, *tc!*) become palatalized *c*- sounds (*ś*, *tś*, *tś!*; compare, for *ś*, Polish *ś* and Sanskrit *ç*; for *tś*, compare Polish *ć*), which sound acoustically midway between *s*- and *c*- sounds; the diminutive -'is itself becomes -'iś. Thus,



*hnt'ciLwe'in'* "he comes, they say" is changed to *hnt'siL-'iswe'in'* "he, little man, comes, they say." These *s*-forms are also used to refer to small birds, such as sparrows and wrens. Sometimes a meaningless *s* is added to the word, as in *wikāh's tōhauk'* from *wikāh' tōhauk'* "I am not afraid" (*wik-* verb stem "to be not;" *-āh'* first person singular present indicative; *tōh-* verb stem "to be afraid;" *-uk'*, diphthongized to *-auk'* because of preceding *a*-timbred *h*, intransitive suffix). We shall meet this consonantal change again further on in another connexion.

Quite analogously to dwarfs, are addressed or spoken of those suffering from some defect of the eye. Under this category are included cross-eyed people, those who squint, and such as have one eye run out, but not the blind. Here again the diminutive suffix is used, with the added feature that all *s*-sounds and *c*-sounds are converted into the corresponding voiceless lateral stops or spirants (*s* and *c* become *t*; *ts* and *tc* become *L*; *ts'* and *tc'* become *L'*); the diminutive *-is* itself becomes *-il*. This style of speech is termed *L'al/dtck/in'* "to talk in sore-eyed fashion" (cf. *L'al/dtck/sul'* "one-eyed person"): Thus, *qwt'sma'* "he does so" is changed to *qwt-'ilma'*. Similarly, *tc'/tciLma'* "he cuts" (*tc'i-* "to cut;" *-tciL-* inceptive; *-ma'* third person present indicative) becomes *L'iLil'ūma'*. A full-grown Indian named Sammy (or *Sē'mi* as pronounced in Nootka), who is cross-eyed, is referred to as *lē'mi'il* "little cross-eyed Sammy." Another Indian of the same tribe, *Tō'mic*, who has only one good eye, is, in parallel fashion, referred to as *Tō'mil'il* "little one-eyed Tō'mic." It should be remarked that such people, particularly when adult, are apt to become offended if addressed in this fashion, and that one would not use such forms in their presence unless with the express purpose of showing contempt or of teasing. As will be seen again later on, *L'al/dtck/in'* forms are used also in referring to the deer<sup>1</sup> and mink. Thus, the mythological Mink, *tc'āsti-mits'mit'* "Mink-son," is generally referred to as *L'āttimil'mit'*.

Hunchbacks (*k/wāpi'*) are also addressed or spoken of in forms provided with the diminutive suffix, a further peculiarity in these being the change of ordinary *s*-sounds and *c*-sounds

<sup>1</sup> Deer is associated with sore eyes also in other Indian mythologies. An Ojibwa example may be found in P. Radin, *Some Myths and Tales of the Ojibwa of Southeastern Ontario*, Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 48 (No. 2, Anthropological Series), p. 3 (episode d).

to peculiar thickish *c*- sounds, pronounced with the lower jaw held in front of the upper; the diminutive *-is* appears as *-iç*. We may represent these *c*- sounds by *ç*. In this hunchback talk *qwisma'* becomes *qwıç'içma'*. Other examples are: *yältçuk'-içma'* "he is walking" (*yäts-* "to walk;" *-uk'*- intransitive verb suffix); *tç!ötçk'mınıH*^*içma'* "all of them are" (*tç!ötçk'-* "to be all;" *-ınıH*^**- plural); and *tç!äxçıl'içma'* "he spears" (*ts!ax-* "to spear"; *-çıl-* inceptive). Here again these distinctive forms are generally avoided when in the presence of hump-backed people, for fear of giving offence. However, a hump-backed child who is well known to the speaker would hardly take offence and would be addressed as described. Or, if an old hump-backed woman is good-natured, *ç*- forms may well be used when she is about, as though to show that she is happy and not easily ruffled. Here the notions of contempt and affection commingle.

In speaking of lame people the diminutive suffix is again used, this time in its normal form. Besides this, the meaningless element *Lc* or *Lci* is inserted in the body of the word somewhere before the diminutive suffix, its exact position apparently depending on the whim of the speaker. Thus, *hınınr'ALma'* "he comes now" (*hın-* "empty" verb stem; *-ını-* "to come;" *-AL-* determinative suffix marking point of time, "now"; *-ma'* third person present indicative) becomes *hınınrLç'içs!ALma'* (diminutive *-is* and *-AL* regularly combine to form *-içs!AL*) or *hılcnınır'içs!ALma'* "the lame chap is coming." Similarly, the verb *tç!içç'içALma'* "he cuts now" (inceptive *-içç!* and *-AL* combine into *-içç!AL*) is changed to *tç!iççLç'içs!ALma'* when a lame person is spoken of. The word *t!a'né'is'i* "the child" (*t!a'na-* "child, son, daughter;" *-is* diminutive suffix, *i* causing preceding *a* to become unlauded to *e*; *-i* nominalizing element, about equivalent to our definite article) becomes *t!ALcné'is'i* "the young lame fellow," which may be used in speaking to children.

In speaking of or to left-handed people the diminutive suffix is used in its normal form, besides which the meaningless element *tch*^** is inserted after the first syllable of the word. Thus, *yäl'ALma'* "there now he is" (*yäl-* "to be there;" *-AL* and *-ma'* as above) becomes *yälttch*^*'içs!ALma'* (*-is* and *-AL* combine to form *-içs!AL*) "there now he is, poor little left-handed chap!"

Similarly, from *sukwí'ALMA* "now he takes it" (*su-* verb stem "to take;" *-kwíL* inceptive suffix, changed to *-kwi-* before *-AL*) is formed *súTCH<sup>a</sup>kwíL'its!ALMA*. The diminutive suffix may also be omitted. Examples are: *hítCH<sup>a</sup>nín'* from *hinín'* "to come"; and *t!ítCH<sup>a</sup>tcíLAH* from *t!ítcíLAH* "I throw it down" (*t!i-* "to throw;" *-tcíL* inceptive suffix; *-AH* first person singular indicative). Such a form as the last might be appropriately used in speaking to a left-handed person that one is well acquainted with and who will not take offence at being thus twitted. It is customary, particularly for jokers, to use these left-hand forms also in talking about bears, who are supposed to be left-handed.<sup>1</sup>

In speaking of or to circumcised males, forms known as *'i'ict'k!in'* "to make *ct'* sounds" are used. In these the meaningless element *ct'* is inserted after the first syllable of the word. One of the *Ts!icá'atH<sup>a</sup>* Indians, named *T!óxmíS* "Slaying-while-moving-from-beach-to-beach," is often humorously referred to as *T!óctxmíS* because of his having been born circumcised. Other examples of this class of forms are: *hict'níníma'* from *hiníníma'* "he comes;" and *háct'ók'u* from *há'ók'u* "to eat."

Similar phonetic changes are made in forms used to refer to one or two classes of individuals characterized by some mental quality. Thus, greedy people are addressed or referred to in forms having a meaningless *tcx* inserted after the first syllable of the word. Thus, from *'oH<sup>a</sup>sáMAH* "I hunger for it" (*'o-* "empty" stem which may be rendered by "something" or "so and so;" *-H<sup>a</sup>sá-* verbifying suffix "to desire to eat;" *-MAH* first person singular present indicative, used after vowels) is formed *'utcxHsáMAH*. Similarly, *hiníní'ALMA* "now he comes" becomes *hítcxníní'ALMA* "now he comes, greedy fellow that he is." These *tcx-* forms are also used to refer to ravens, regularly to the mythological Raven, a character noted for his gluttony.

Cowards may be satirized by "making one's voice small" in referring to or addressing them, in other words by speaking in a thin piping voice that suggests timidity.

It is interesting to notice that in several of the above usages, the notions of mere smallness, of contempt, and of affection are found side by side, and doubtless the precise nuance of feeling expressed depends much on the relations subsisting between

<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. Paul Radin, the Winnebago also consider the bear to be left-handed. In the bear clan feast of these Indians the guests eat with a spoon in their left hand.

the speaker and the person addressed or spoken of. What is meant in the spirit of pitying affection for a poor lame or hump-backed child or for a good-natured squinting old grandpa, might be intended to convey contempt when addressed to a young man and would be promptly resented as an insult. It is significant that the various types of abnormal forms of speech that we have reviewed are used with little or no reserve when speaking of the persons referred to or when addressing children, but are, on the whole, avoided when within ear-shot of adults so referred to. It seems further significant that the traits satirized are chiefly such as are inherent in a person, not merely acquired in the accidental course of events, whereby he is set apart by nature as falling short in some respect of the normal type of individual and is to that extent stamped as inferior. This may explain why blindness, which is more often acquired rather late in life than congenital, is not made the subject of speech-mockery. Added to this may be the feeling that blindness is too grave an affliction to be treated light-heartedly, an explanation which gains weight when the well-known sensitiveness of the Indian is considered.

Outside of the normal use of the diminutive in addressing or referring to children, the peculiar forms of speech that we have seen to obtain in Nootka are not easily paralleled in America. For diminutive verbal forms of the Nootka type Uto-Aztekan affords a close parallel. In Southern Paiute the regular diminutive suffix *-tzi-*, which is employed to form diminutive nouns and adverbs of all sorts, is also used as a verb suffix when speaking to or of a child. Cognate with this element is the diminutive suffix *-tzin(tli)* of Nahuatl. Derived from this is the verb suffix *-tzi<sup>noa</sup>*, "which," according to Rémi Siméon,<sup>1</sup> "serves to denote respect or love;" it is generally, like reverentials of the type already referred to, employed with reflexive prefixes. Examples given by Rémi Siméon are: *otechmo-chiuiilitzino in Totecuyo* "our Lord created us" (*o* preterit prefix; *tech-* first person plural objective prefix; *mo-* third person reflexive prefix; *chiui-*, from *chiua*, because of following *-li-*, verb stem "to make;" *-li* dative suffix, *mo- . . . -li* "for himself;" *-tzi<sup>noa</sup>* reverential, final *-a* being dropped because of preterit

<sup>1</sup>Dictionnaire de la Langue Nahuatl ou Mexicaine, s.v. *tzi<sup>noa</sup>*.

tense; *in* definite article, "the"; *to-* first person plural possessive prefix; *tecuyo* noun stem "lord"); and *timo-çauhtzinoa* (quoted from Olmos) "you fast" (*ti-* second person singular subject; *mo-* reflexive;<sup>1</sup> *çauh-*, from *çaua* verb stem "to fast;" *-tzinoa* reverential). These forms may be rendered in some such fashion as: "our Lord has created us for himself, revered one," and "you fast, honoured sir."

Strikingly similar psychologically to the cases of consonantal play in Nootka just considered are the peculiar consonant changes characteristic of Chinookan, employed to convey diminutive and augmentative notions respectively in all parts of speech.<sup>2</sup> The change here of *c-* consonants to *s-* consonants to express the idea of diminution further illustrates the tendency of sibilants in America to be subject to consonantal play. In Yana the phenomenon of diminutive consonantism is illustrated in the change of *l* to *n*. This process takes place regularly in forming diminutive nouns in *-p!a*; thus, *nânimaup!a* "little nose," from *klimau(na)* "nose." The *l-n* type of consonantal play is another one of some currency in America, and seems to obtain also in Sahaptin. This matter of consonantal play to express modalities of attitude is doubtless a fruitful field for investigation in American linguistics and should receive more attention than has hitherto been accorded it. It may be expected to turn up particularly in connexion with notions of smallness, largeness, contempt, affection, respect, and sex-differences.

Such consonant changes and increments as have been considered are evidently of a rhetorical or stylistic as much as of a purely grammatical sort. This is borne out by the fact that quite analogous processes are found employed as literary devices in American myths and songs. I have already drawn attention to the fact,<sup>3</sup> that in American mythology certain beings are apt to be definitely characterized by speech peculiarities. The employment of consonantal play or of similar devices in such cases seems always to have a decidedly humorous effect.

<sup>1</sup> This verb is intrinsically reflexive.

<sup>2</sup> See Sapir, *Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology of the Upper Chinook*, *American Anthropologist*, N.S., 9, 1907, pp. 537, 538; and, in greater detail, Sapir, section on "Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Wishram," in Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, pp. 638-645.

<sup>3</sup> Sapir, *Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology*, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXIII, 1910, pp. 455-472. Takelma, Ute, Chinookan, and Nootka examples are there given, p. 471.

The culture-hero *Kwátiyāt'* of Nootka mythology is in the habit of inserting a meaningless *x* after the first vowel of a word; thus, the normal form *h̄nuse'i* "come up out of the water!" (*h̄n-* empty stem "to do, be," *-use-*, unlauded from *-usa-* because of following *i*, "to move up out of the water;" *-i* imperative singular) becomes, at the same time, inasmuch as it occurs in a song, with song-vocalism, *h̄xnusa'ê*. In the speech of the Deer and Mink all sibilants, whether of the *s* or *c* series, are transformed into the corresponding laterals (*s* and *c* to *l*, *ts* and *tc* to *L*, *ts'* and *tc'* to *L'*). Thus, the Deer says *l̄imil* for *tc̄imis* "black bear;" *L'ápaL* for *tc̄!ápats* "canoe." The Nootka Deer and Mink style of talking is of particular interest for two reasons. In the first place, it will have been noticed that the consonantal changes are identical with those employed in speech about or addressed to those that have some defect of the eye, the latter type of forms, of course, being further characterized by the use of the diminutive suffix *-'il* (from *-'is*). Here we see at once the intimate connexion between the two types of consonant play. In the second place, the speech of the Nootka Deer and Mink offers an interesting parallel, or rather contrast, to that of the Kwakiutl Mink. This latter character regularly transforms all laterals to corresponding *s*-sounds (*l*, *L*, *L*, and *L'* become respectively *s*, *ts*, *dz*, and *ts'*), the exact reverse of the Nootka process. From the point of view of the psychology of phonetics, it is significant to observe that both Nootka and Kwakiutl have a feeling for the interchangeability of the sibilant and lateral series of consonants. But the Mink of the Kwakiutl is not content with this. He also regularly transforms all anterior palatals to corresponding sibilants (*x*, *k*, *g*, and *k'* become respectively *s*, *ts*, *dz*, and *ts'*). There are still other phonetic changes to be found in Boas' Mink texts, but they seem less regular in character than these two; the changes at times of *l* and *l'* to *y* and *'y* may be instanced as one of these (thus *se'yé* for *le'lé* "dead").<sup>1</sup> Now it is perhaps significant that the change in Kwakiutl of anterior palatals to sibilants is curiously like the change of original Wakashan (Kwakiutl-Nootka) anterior palatals, as preserved in Kwakiutl,

<sup>1</sup> For data on Mink's peculiarities of speech, see F. Boas and G. Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts — Second Series*, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. X, 1906, footnotes on pages 82 to 154; and Boas, *Kwakiutl Tales*, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, volume II, 1910, footnotes on pp. 126-154.

to *c*- consonants in Nootka.<sup>1</sup> Thus, a Mink form *nedzê* in Kwakiutl for normal *neg'ê* "mountain" is strikingly similar to the regular Nootka cognate *nutci'*. Suggestive also, à propos of the use by Mink of sonant palatal spirants (*y* and 'y) for normal sonant laterals (*l* and 'l), is the fact that in Nootka so-called "hardening" suffixes change immediately preceding *l* to 'y, corresponding in such cases to Kwakiutl 'l.<sup>2</sup> The bearing of these facts on mythological consonant play in Kwakiutl is not easy to determine; a possibility will be suggested farther on.

Consonant play as a device in mythology is not confined to America. In reading some recently published Bushman literature the writer came across striking parallels. The Bushman Mantis, who, like the Kwakiutl Mink, is a trickster, consistently changes all the cerebral clicks of normal speech into lateral clicks.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the Baboon transforms all the clicks of ordinary speech into a compound click, consisting of cerebral followed by dental click.<sup>4</sup> Evidently a comic effect is aimed at in both these cases.

The phenomenon of consonant and vocalic play is also well illustrated in Indian songs. Song diction is an extremely important, though rather neglected, field of primitive lore, and only one phase of it can be touched on here. Song texts often represent a "mutilated" form of the language, but study of the peculiarities of song forms generally shows that the normal forms of speech are modified according to definite stylistic conventions, which may vary for different types of songs. Sometimes sounds are found in songs which do not otherwise occur in the language. Where the texts of a type of songs are in the language of another tribe, as happens so often in America, such an abnormal sound may be simply borrowed from the foreign language, as is the case with the mourning songs of the Southern Paiute, which, sung to supposedly Mohave texts, contain many examples of *l*, a sound otherwise unknown in Paiute. On the other hand, new sounds may be developed spontaneously or in imitation of foreign sounds. The former is probably the case in the frequent

<sup>1</sup> See Sapir, *Some Aspects of Nootka Language and Culture*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, pp. 430, 435; Sapir, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Bleek and Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, 1911, footnotes on pp. 6 and 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* Footnotes on pp. 18 and 22. At least this is indicated by Bleek's orthography, though possibly the compound sign is meant to indicate a special click not otherwise found.

Nootka use of  $\eta$ , a sound quite foreign to normal Nootka speech, in certain classes of songs; the latter explanation is more plausible in the case of the regular Nootka change of  $n$  to  $l$  in many songs. This  $n$ - $l$  interchange, again, is significant in so far as Kwakiutl, doubtless agreeing in this respect with primitive Wakashan, has both  $n$  and  $l$ , while Nootka, when cognate words are compared, is seen to have only  $n$  to correspond to both. Of particular interest in this connexion is the fact that such special song-sounds (Paiute  $l$ ; Nootka  $l$  and  $\eta$ ) are, at least so it would seem, pronounced with difficulty by Indians under ordinary circumstances, as in the handling of English words that contain them. The obvious inference is that one may react quite differently to the same speech-sound entering into dissimilar associations. This fact, has, of course, a much wider psychological significance.<sup>1</sup> Conventional consonant changes in songs are no more restricted to America than, as we have seen, are parallel changes in mythology. An example that happens to have come to the writer's attention lately is the change of voiceless stops to corresponding nasals plus voiced stops in the songs of the Karesau-Papua of German New Guinea. Thus, the normal *apil* becomes *ambil* in songs.<sup>2</sup>

In seeking some comparatively simple basic phenomenon, from which, as a starting point, the various types of consonant play we have illustrated from Nootka could have originated, one easily thinks of the vocalic changes or consonant substitutions that take place in the speech of those who have some specific speech defect. The most familiar case of this sort in English is lispings, which simply means that the ordinary alveolar sibilants (sometimes also stops) are changed to the corresponding dental sibilants or even interdental fricatives (and sometimes correspondingly for stops). Information was obtained of five types of speech defects found among the Nootka. The first of these is called *ninik'in* (*nini*- reduplicated stem; *-k'in* "to make a sound of") and consists of the involuntary

<sup>1</sup> Sounds falling outside the regular phonetic system of the language may be spontaneously developed also by the operation of other systems of consonantal (or vocalic) play than are found in song diction. Thus, in Wishram (Upper Chinookan), the analogy of certain consonant changes of augmentative value (as of  $p$  to  $b$ ,  $t$  to  $d$ ,  $k$  to  $g$ ) brought about the creation of  $dj$ , a sound otherwise unknown in Chinookan, as the augmentative correlate of  $tc$  or  $ts$  sounds. See *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, pp. 638, 639, 640.

<sup>2</sup> See Father W. Schmidt, abstract of *Über Musik und Gesänge der Karesau-Papuas*, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, Bericht über den III. Kongress der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, 1909, p. 297.



nasalizing of all vowels and continuants. Thus, the normal *hayá'akaH* "I do not know" (-aH first person singular present indicative) is pronounced by people who have this defect *hayá'akqH*. The father-in law of Dan Watts, who is a Ucluelet Indian that came to visit his son-in-law, was observed by the writer and definitely stated by Dan to have this "nasal twang," which is due to an inability, muscular or nervous, to raise the velum so as to shut off the passage of the outgoing breath through the nose. In speaking of the elk, *nínik'in'* forms are used.

A second type of defective articulation is termed *hahát'k'in'* or *hahát'in'* (*hahat'*- reduplicated stem; *-k'in'* "to make a sound of"), and is supposed to be due to a hole in the palate. I have no clear idea as to just what the organic basis of the faulty articulation is, but, judging from the examples given of it, it seems evident that those subject to it have difficulty in articulating against the hard palate. Perhaps the speech defect is due to cleft palate. All *ts* and *tc* affricatives (presumably also lateral affricatives) become simple *t*- sounds (dental), while *s*, *c*, and *l* become interdental fricatives ( $\theta$ ). The acoustic effect is that of an exaggerated lisp. Thus, *tc!ótc'k'* "all" becomes *t!ót'k'*; *'ótsi'yukwaH* "I go to it" ('*o*- empty noun stem "something;" -*tsi'yukw*- "to go to;" -aH "I") becomes *'ot'yukwaH*; and *tc!óp'tc!óp'c'inil* "stretch around the neck; sweater" (*tc!óp'tc!óp'c*- reduplicated stem; *-inil* "at the neck") becomes *t!óp't!óp'θinθ*. This latter rests on the authority of Dan Watts; Alex Thomas, starting from a form *tc!óp'tc!óp'c'inil* for "sweater," gave *t!óp't!óp'timil* as its *hahát'in'* correspondent. Those who are *hahát'k'in'* thus confound three distinct series of consonants in a single dental or interdental series. Such persons are imitated when addressed. The outward resemblance with the phenomena of consonant play is quite striking here.

This resemblance becomes even stronger in the case of the third Nootka speech defect of which information was obtained, that known as *tsiska'* (*tsisk*- verb stem; *-a'* verb suffix of continuative significance) or *tsiskaq'sul* (*tsisk*- verb stem; *-aq'sul*, perhaps misheard for *-ak'sul* "at the lips"). Such as are subject to it are supposed always to keep their teeth open and to be saying *ts+*. As a matter of fact, those who are *tsiska'*

change all *s* and *c*- sounds to palatalized sibilants (*š*). Thus, 'otš'iyukwAH "I go to it" becomes 'otš'iyukwAH; š'iyāsaH "it is mine" (š'iyās- "to be mine," from independent pronoun š'ya "I;" -AH first person singular present indicative) becomes š'iyāsaH. It will be remembered that these consonant changes are characteristic of the forms used in addressing or speaking about abnormally small adults, except that such discourse is further characterized by the use of the diminutive suffix -'is (from -'is). Here there is a tangible connexion between the involuntary consonant changes brought about by a speech defect and the consonant play used to symbolize a body defect, though it is far from obvious in this particular case what association there can be between a kind of lisp and a dwarfed condition of the body. A further point of interest is that those who are *tsiska'* are generally imitated when spoken of. The significance of this in the argument is obvious.

Somewhat similar to the *hahát'in'* speech defect, yet not to be confused with it, is that known as *kakát'win'* "to talk as one with missing teeth" (cf. *kát'wak'sul'* "to have teeth missing in one's mouth"). Such persons speak with a decided lisp, substituting *θ* for *s* and *c*, *tθ* for *ts*, *tθ'* for *ts'* and *tc'*, but, it would seem, *t* for *tc*. Examples are: 'é'pin<sub>1</sub>θ from 'é'pin<sub>1</sub>s "apples;" 'ó'yintaθ from 'ó'yintcas "oranges;" t<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>θ from t<sub>1</sub>c<sub>1</sub>m<sub>1</sub>s "bear;" tθ<sub>1</sub>ōtk' from tclōtck' "all;" tθ'ápatθ for tclápat<sub>1</sub>s "canoe" (contrast the corresponding *hahát'in'* form: t'ápat<sub>1</sub>). Here again, one who is afflicted with this speech defect is imitated when addressed; thus, Alex Thomas, before he had caps put on his vestiges of teeth, used to be mocked *kakát'win'*-fashion.

A fifth, not uncommon, speech defect among the Nootka is stuttering. Stutterers, like all other persons who have something abnormal about their speech, are derided by being imitated.

The West Greenland speech defect known as *kutāt'oq'* is particularly instructive in that an individual speech-peculiarity, which, however, seems to be a common one in the Eskimo settlements along the coast, has become one of the dialectic peculiarities of the northern settlements of the Upernavik district. The *kutāt'oq'* habit consists in substituting ordinary gutturals (*k*- sounds) for velars (*q*- sounds), and is evidently due

<sup>1</sup> See W. Thalbitzer, *A Phonetical Study of the Eskimo Language*, Meddelelser om Grønland, XXXI, 1904, pp. 178-180.

to the greater difficulty of bringing about a contact between the root of the tongue and the velum than farther front in the mouth. This defect, it should be noted, brings with it the confusion of two etymologically distinct series of consonants with resulting grammatical or lexical ambiguities, at least theoretically. In this respect *kutät'oq* forms are parallel to the forms resulting in Nootka from speech defects or the use of consonantal play. Children are particularly apt to be *kutät'oq*, but generally lose the habit as they grow older. However, certain adults, particularly women, always remain *kutät'oq*, whether because of the mere force of habit or because of a physiological or anatomical impediment. As for the Upernavik peculiarity, it seems clear that the *kutät'oq* habit can hardly be due to the individual disability or carelessness of all the members of the district, but that what was originally a speech defect has become socialized into a dialectic peculiarity. The analogy with the forms employed in Nootka in speaking of or addressing certain classes of people that are ill-favoured by nature is striking.

The explanation and genesis of the various types of speech mutilation in Nootka can hardly be more than guessed at, yet certain probabilities, in part already suggested, seem to stand out. In the first place, the use of definite morphological elements to indicate some characteristic of the person spoken to or of (Nootka *-'is* and *-aq'*; Paiute *-tsi-*; Nahuatl *-tzinoa*) needs no particular comment, at least from the purely linguistic point of view. Further, definite points of contact have been established between speech defects and "mocking-forms," with consonantal play, on the one hand, and between the latter and myth-character forms with consonantal play, on the other. I am inclined to believe that the observation of consonant substitutions such as take place, with involuntarily humorous effect, in the speech of those that articulate incorrectly, has set the pace for the consciously humorous use of the same or similar substitutions in both mocking and, directly or indirectly, myth-character forms. The Nootka mocking-forms, with their use of the diminutive affix and of consonant play, represent a combination, both linguistically and psychologically, of the pity and affection symbolized by the use of the diminutive element and of the contempt or jesting attitude implied by the

imitation of a speech defect. A myth character whom it is desired to treat humorously may, among other possibilities, be relegated either to the class of poor talkers or to that of nature's step-children. Hence the consonant play of such characters is in part traceable either to speech defects or to mocking-forms. In passing it may be observed that the "enfant terrible" motive is fairly clear in the treatment of many humorous characters of American mythology, and that consonant play may in some cases be taken to symbolize this attitude. The socializing of the *kutät'oq* habit among certain of the Eskimo forcibly suggests the influence of the speech of children as a contributing factor in the creation of myth-character forms. The Kwakiutl Mink is a very likely example of the "enfant terrible," both in action and speech. The possibility should not be lost sight of, of the use of myth-character forms to apply to a class of people or to an individual in ordinary life. This would be an extension of the well-known American Indian habit of comparing one that is marked by some peculiarity of temper or habit with a favourite mythological character.<sup>1</sup>

There is, however, another factor which has undoubtedly exercised a great influence both on the forms of speech used by myth-characters and on the forms peculiar to songs. This is the comic or novel effect produced by the imitation of the speech of foreigners, particularly of such as speak a dialect divergent enough from the home-dialect to be funny or impressive, yet not so different as to be unintelligible and, therefore, lacking in interest. Hence we often find mythological characters in America making use of a neighbouring dialect of the language, as in the case of the Nass River *Txämsem* and other characters, who talk in the dialect of the Tsimshian proper of Skeena river.<sup>2</sup> Examples of songs whose texts are in a divergent dialect, not to speak of the common use of a totally distinct language, are frequently met with in and out of America. A well-known instance is the use by Melanesian tribes, according to Codrington, of the dialect of some neighbouring tribe for their own song diction; thus, the Melanesians of Mota (Norfolk

<sup>1</sup> A few interesting examples are given by A. Skinner, *Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Sauteaux*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. IX, 1912, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> See Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, Bulletin 27 of Bureau of American Ethnology, 1902, pp. 8, 18, 20, 30, 35, 46, 61-64, 78, 171.

island of Banks islands) use for their songs the dialect of Saddle island. Also in the clownish episodes of rituals, which are so characteristic of America, the impersonation and imitation of the speech peculiarities of foreigners are often resorted to and never fail to arouse a hearty laugh. In all these cases, it is rather important to observe, real accuracy of imitation is not generally attained or even aimed at, so that the foreign style often tends to reduce itself to a number of conventional vocalic and consonantal displacements. In dealing above with the change of anterior palatal *k*- sounds to *ts*- sounds in the language of the Kwakiutl Mink, I pointed out that a similar change was involved in the passage of original Wakashan anterior palatal *k*- sounds to Nootka *tc*- sounds. It is just possible that the Mink *ts*- sounds are in such cases due to an imitation of the speech of the northern Nootka tribes. The difficulty with this interpretation is that Nootka and Kwakiutl are altogether too divergent to afford more than a quite inconsiderable number of illustrative cases of the *k*- *tc* change, and of these but few would strike the naïve mind. It seems more plausible, on the whole, to assume that both the Mink and Nootka consonant changes rest on a common Kwakiutl-Nootka tendency, perhaps a tendency on the part of children to pronounce anterior palatals as sibilants. Data on the speech peculiarities of Kwakiutl children would be valuable here.

The Nootka Indians of one tribe frequently imitate the real or supposed speech peculiarities of those belonging to other Nootka tribes, the stress being primarily laid not so much on peculiarities of vocabulary and grammatical form as on general traits of intonation or sound articulation (cf. our New England "nasal twang" and Southern "drawl"). For the purposes of this paper the Nootka now spoken by the *Ts'icā'ath*<sup>a</sup> and *Hōpāt'as'ath*<sup>a</sup> of Barkley sound and the head of Alberni canal may be taken as the normal form of Nootka speech; this is, of course, purely arbitrary, but so would any other point of departure be. It is instructive to note that one or two of these tribal speech peculiarities coincide with individual speech defects.

According to the *Ts'icā'ath*<sup>a</sup> Indians, the *Houtcúq' Lis'ath*<sup>a</sup> tribe of Uchucklesit harbour, a western inlet of Alberni canal, speak or spoke (for there are few of them left now) in a rumbling fashion

(*L!qL!q:én*); they are said to use their throat more than the other tribes. The peculiarity referred to seems to be a more than ordinary use of velar resonance, due to a tightening of the passage between the root of the tongue and the velum or perhaps the throat.

The *Hō:áí'atH<sup>a</sup>* Indians of Sarita river and the southern shore of Barkley sound are said to speak *L!áL!atc!ín*, a spluttering effect being apparently referred to. As far as can be made out, their speech peculiarity consists in a more liberal use of *tc* sounds than ordinarily. Thus, according to Alex Thomas, the *Hō:áí'atH<sup>a</sup>* say *'nátccil* instead of *'náccil* "to look at" (as a matter of fact, this usage is probably etymologically justified, as *'nac-* and, in other forms, *'nate-* are both used as verb stems in *Ts!icá'atH<sup>a</sup>* itself); instead of pronouncing *tc!ayí'is* "give me water" (*tc!a-* noun stem "water;" *-yí-* verbifying suffix "to give;" *-is* second person singular imperative with first person singular object) they say something like *tc!atcyí'is*, though Alex maintained that it was not a full clear-cut *tc* that was inserted. At any rate, the *Ts!icá'atH<sup>a</sup>* have seized upon the *tc-* insert as a convenient means of poking fun at their *Hō:áí'atH<sup>a</sup>* kinsmen, using it in ways that are certainly not, nor meant to be, accurate renderings of the tribal peculiarity. Thus, the tribe itself is humorously referred to as *Hōtc:áí'atH<sup>a</sup>*; *Numáqemiyis*, the main inlet of their country, is similarly termed *Nutcmáqemiyis*. Evidently, we have here an example of a mocking usage, based on a tribal peculiarity, that is in form perfectly analogous to certain myth character and cripple-mocking usages (cf. inserted *x* for Kwatiyát and inserted *tch<sup>a</sup>* for left-handed people.)

The northern Nootka tribes, beginning with the *La'ókwi'atH<sup>a</sup>* of Clayoquot sound and proceeding north, are said to speak *tāHtāHa'*, which refers to a drawling or long drawn out manner of talking. Apparently the peculiarity, which is often imitated in jest, consists not so much in lengthening out vowels as in a somewhat exaggerated rise in pitch towards the end of a sentence, which gives the flow of speech a sliding cadence. The most northern Nootka tribe, the *Tc!í'q'lis'atH<sup>a</sup>*, are said to be all stutterers and are accordingly imitated in jest.

In imitating the Nitinats (*Nitína'atH<sup>a</sup>*), a group of Nootka tribes to the south of Barkley sound that speak a very divergent

dialect, the meaningless syllable *-'aq'* is always added to the word, as this syllable is supposed to be a very common one in Nitinat. This device is strikingly similar to the use of suffixed *-aq'* for large persons.

The real old *Hōpátc!as'atH<sup>a</sup>* Indians, whose earliest homes were in the interior of the island along Somass river and about Sproat and Great Central lakes, were said to talk *tsiska'*, that is, to confound *s* and *c* sounds. As we have seen, this is also a well-recognized individual speech defect among the Nootka. In the case of the *Hōpátc!as'atH<sup>a</sup>*, the *tsiska'* habit was simply due to the fact that they carried over into Nootka speech a linguistic peculiarity found in the Salish dialect which they originally spoke (a dialect apparently identical with or closely related to Boas' *PínLáté*; recognized as *PínL!á'atc* by Tyee Bob, the leading man among the *Hōpátc!as'atH<sup>a</sup>* to-day and whose father is still remembered to have spoken *tsiska'*).

As for the *Ts!icá'atH<sup>a</sup>* themselves, they are said by the other tribes to talk very fast. If one anywhere among the Nootka Indians talks too fast, the proverbial saying is that he is a *Ts!icá'atH<sup>a</sup>*.

It will, as we have seen, have to be admitted, that mocking forms for various classes of people are connected not only with speech defects and mythological devices, but, to a large extent, also with tribal speech peculiarities.

Finally, the possibility of a direct psychological relation between the consonant change and the type of individual or attitude it symbolizes should not be summarily ruled out of court. That such an association once established by historical causes will be felt as a direct and simple psychological association is quite obvious, also that it may become productive, by analogy, of further associations of a related sort. I would, however, even be inclined to suppose, though proof may be difficult or impossible, that certain associations of sound and character or form arose more or less spontaneously, or, to put it more correctly, by virtue of the inherent associative value of the otherwise unconnected phenomena in the mind of a particular individual or group of individuals. Such an individual association, if given outward expression, can become socialized in the same way in which any individual idea becomes socialized.

The type of association here thought of is quite parallel to the sound-colour associations familiar enough in psychology. It may be not uninteresting as a psychological datum to note that the writer himself feels, or thinks he feels, the intrinsically diminutive or augmentative value of certain consonant changes in Wishram. Moreover, the association of *ç*-consonants with humpbackedness in Nootka seems not so far-fetched after all. The thickish quality of these consonants, together with the protrusion of the lower jaw in pronouncing them, suggests to me the same squat clumsiness as the image of a hunchback. All this may, of course, be merely auto-suggestion *ad hoc*.

To summarize, evidence has been presented of the historical connexion between various linguistic and stylistic processes involving the symbolic use of sounds. These are diminutive and augmentative forms of speech, mocking-forms, myth-character and animal forms, and song forms. Moreover, further evidence has been presented to show the historical connexion of these quite specialized tricks of language with the far simpler phenomena of speech defects, children's language, and imitation of the phonetic peculiarities of foreigners. The direct association of some of the former with the types they symbolize, after the manner of primary association between data of distinct sense, has also been suggested as a possibility.

The data brought forward in this paper as to the associations obtaining in Nootka between various classes of persons, mythological beings and animals, linguistic devices designed to satirize or characterize, speech defects, and tribal speech peculiarities, may be most conveniently grouped in tabular form. The arrangement in the table is intended to emphasize the purely linguistic similarities.

#### *Phonetic Key.*

*a*, short as in German *Mann*; *e*, short and open as in English *met*; *i*, short and open as in English *it*; *o*, short and open as in German *voll*; *u*, short and open as in English *put*; *ɛ*, short and close as in French *été*; *ɪ*, short and close as in French *fini*; *ɔ*, short and close as in French *chaud*.

*ā*, long as in German *Bahn*; *ē*, long and close as in German *See*; *ī*, long and close as in German *Sie*; *ō*, long and close as in



Type of person.	Mythological being or animal.
Child; grown-up person to whom little respect is paid	
Large person	
Abnormally small person.	Small birds (sparrows, wrens)
Sore-eyed persons (cross eyed; squinting; having one eye run out)	Deer; Mink
Hunchback	
Lame person	§
Left-handed person	Bear
Circumcised person	
Greedy person	Raven
	Culture hero <i>Kwátiyát'</i>
	Elk
Coward	

Type of person.	Mythological being or animal.	Tribe.	Linguistic peculiarity.	Native term for linguistic peculiarity.	Speech defect
Child; grown-up person to whom little respect is paid			Add diminutive -'is		
Large person			Add augmentative -aq'		
		Nitinat	Add meaningless -'aq'		
Abnormally small person.	Small birds (sparrows, wrens)	Hōpdt'as'atH <sup>a</sup>	Add diminutive -'is (for <i>tskska'</i> first 2 columns); change <i>s</i> and <i>c</i> sounds to <i>š</i> sounds		Confounding <i>s</i> and <i>c</i> sounds in one <i>š</i> -series
Sore-eyed persons (cross-eyed; squinting; having one eye run out)	Deer, Mink		Add diminutive -'it; change <i>s</i> and <i>c</i> sounds to <i>t</i> sounds	L'al'átc'ín'	
Hunchback			Add diminutive -'ic; change <i>s</i> and <i>c</i> sounds to <i>ç</i> sounds		
Lame person			Add diminutive -'is; insert <i>lc</i>		
Left-handed person	Bear		Add diminutive -'is; insert <i>tcH<sup>a</sup></i>		
Circumcised person			Insert <i>ct'</i>	'i'ic'k'ím'	
Greedy person	Raven		Insert <i>tcx</i>	.	
	Culture hero K'wdt'yát'		Insert <i>x</i>		
		Hōšáí'atH <sup>a</sup>	Insert <i>tc</i>	L'al'átc'ín'	
	Elk		Nasalize vowels of word	'nínk'ón'	Involuntary nasalizing
Coward			Talk in thin, piping voice		
		Tcl'i'q'lis'atH <sup>a</sup>	Stutter		Stuttering
		noutcuq'lis'atH <sup>a</sup>	Talk with velar resonance	L'qll'q'én'	
		All Nootka Indians from La'ókwi'atH <sup>a</sup> north	Talk with drawing cadence	lāHlāH <sup>a</sup>	
		Ts'ed'atH <sup>a</sup>	Talk very fast		
			Pronounce <i>z</i> , <i>ts</i> , and <i>tc</i> sounds as <i>t</i> sounds; <i>s</i> , <i>c</i> , and <i>l</i> as <i>θ</i>	hahá'ín', hahá'k'ín'	Cleft palate
			Pronounce <i>s</i> sounds as <i>θ</i> sounds; <i>c</i> and <i>tc'</i> as <i>θ'</i> and <i>tθ'</i> ; <i>lc</i> as <i>l</i>		Lisping due to missing teeth



German *roh*; ê, long and open as in French *fête*; ô, long and open as in English *saw*, yet with back of tongue not so low.

ɛ (Kwakiutl), short obscure vowel like *e* of German *Rose*; ɪ (Nootka), short open *i*-vowel of rather unclear quality; ɨ (Nootka), occurring as syllabic final after *n* and *m*, barely articulated or murmured (yet not voiceless or whispered) ɪ; ° (Nootka), denotes *a*-timbre of preceding *H* (see below).

*c*, like *sh* in English *ship*: *tc*, corresponding voiceless affricative, *ch* of English *church* (in Nahuatl *ch* is used for *tc*); *dj*, corresponding voiced affricative, *j* of English *joy*; *s* and *ts*, as in English *sit* and *hats* (in Nahuatl *z* and *tz* are respectively used instead); *ś* and *tś*, palatal voiceless sibilant and affricative, acoustically midway between *s-c* and *ts-tc* respectively; *ç* and *tç*, *c* and *tc* pronounced with lower teeth in front of upper; *θ*, interdental voiceless spirant, like *th* in English *thin*.

*q*, voiceless velar stop like Semitic *qāf*; *qw*, labialized form of same; *x*, voiceless spirant of *q*-position; *x̣*, voiceless spirant of *k*-position, not pronounced as far back as German *ch* of *Bach*; *ḳ* and *g̣* (Kwakiutl), anterior palatal stops (palatalized *k*-stops), approximately *ky* and *gy*; *x̣̣* (Kwakiutl), voiceless spirant of *ḳ*-position, *ch* of German *ich*; *ŋ*, voiced nasal of *k*-position, *ng* of English *sing*; *ŋ̣* (Eskimo), voiced nasal of *q*-position.

*l*, voiceless lateral spirant; *L*, corresponding voiceless lateral affricative (written *tl* in Nahuatl); *ḷ* (Kwakiutl), corresponding voiced affricative.

ʔ, glottal stop; ʔ̣ (Nootka), strangled-sounding laryngeal stop, similar in resonance to Arabic *ʿain*; *H* (Nootka), strangled-sounding laryngeal spirant, Arabic *ḥa*; ʰ, aspiration or breath-release of preceding vowel or consonant (*pʰ*, *tʰ*, *kʰ*, and *qʰ* are aspirated voiceless stops); ʔ̣! denotes glottalized stops and affricatives (*pʔ̣!*, *tʔ̣!*, *kʔ̣!*, *qʔ̣!*, *Lʔ̣!*, *tsʔ̣!*, *tçʔ̣!*, *tśʔ̣!*, *tçʔ̣!*, *ḳʔ̣!*), that is, such as are pronounced with simultaneous closure of glottis, but with oral release prior to that of glottal release. All other consonants as in English.

ˈ, stress accent; ˉ, denotes preceding long consonant (except in Kwakiutl *ḳ*-sounds); ˙, denotes nasalization of vowel under which it is placed; ː, denotes excessive length of preceding vowel or consonant.