

AMERICAN INDIAN LINGUISTICS AND ETHNOGRAPHY IN HONOR OF LAURENCE C. THOMPSON. Edited by Anthony Mattina and Timothy Montler. University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics, no. 10. Missoula: University of Montana, 1993. Pp. xi + 497. (Paper.)

This volume is a fitting tribute to Laurence C. Thompson. Twenty-eight papers are presented to him by his research collaborators, colleagues, and students.¹ The papers are all consistent with Thompson's high standards of description and analysis and they all address issues of descriptive or comparative significance.

The volume is divided into two parts. The seventeen papers in part 1 address Salish language and culture. The eleven papers in part 2 deal with other languages of the Americas. The coverage of part 1 is impressive for its range of languages and topics. Papers deal with thirteen of the twenty-three Salishan languages: Bella Coola, Colville-Okanagan, Coeur d'Alene, Lillooet, Lushootseed, Nooksack, Saanich, Shuswap, Spokane, Moses-Columbian, Thompson, Tillamook, and Twana.² In addition, comparative Salish evidence is presented in several papers.

Several of the Salish papers address topics of phonology and morphophonology. Four papers deal with reduplication, a topic of recurrent interest to Salishanists because of the wealth of types of reduplication with various meanings. Galloway's paper on Nooksack is a catalog of the forms and meanings of twenty-four types of reduplication, with a comparison to Halkomelem. While further research on a richer corpus would probably yield phonological and semantic evidence for subgroupings, this paper is important for its presentation of data on a now-extinct language. Van Eijk's paper shows that Lillooet has two distinct types of CVC reduplication. He claims that one requires a syllable-based analysis, while the other requires a morpheme-based analysis. Both types are attested in other Salishan languages. Czaykowska-Higgins treats the parallel case of CVC reduplication in Moses-Columbian. She claims that these two types of reduplication can be correlated with two different semantic functions—augmentative and characteristic. She argues on the basis of an insightful discussion of stress in reduplicated forms that one case of reduplication must be analyzed as involving prefixation, while the other involves suffixation to the first bimoraic syllable of the root. Mattina's paper starts with a brief summary of the research of various Salish scholars on a process of (V)C₂ reduplication with a meaning of 'out-of-control'; he then gives an extensive data set from Colville-Okanagan. The data are carefully classified on the basis of stress into strong and weak roots and suffixes. The distinction between strong and weak roots serves as the basis of two other papers in the volume. Carlson shows that the two inchoatives in Spokane are actually complementary: *-ʔ-* appears with strong roots, while *-p* appears with weak roots. Kuipers gives a brief discussion of some words with unexpected stress patterns in Shuswap. He shows several cases of strong roots yielding the stress to suffixes and a couple of cases where a weak root irregularly draws the stress. A

¹ Barry Carlson, Steven Egesdal, Thom Hess, Anthony Mattina, Timothy Montler, and Jay Powell were all Ph.D. students of Larry Thompson.

² See Thompson and Kinkade (1990) for a general introduction to the Salishan language family.

final phonology paper by Nile Thompson discusses denasalization in Twana. Here, as in several other Northwest languages, nasals have changed to stops, resulting in an inventory without nasals—in seeming contradiction of phonological typology. Thompson shows that forms from 100 years ago contained nasals. Obstruents were substituted for nasals first in final position of geminates and in diminutives and baby talk, and later elsewhere.

Salishan languages would probably be best known for their formidable phonology if it were not for the insightful work of Thompson (1979; 1985) on the transitivity system and its relationship to the semantic categories of control and aspect. Several papers in the volume address the interplay of morphology and semantics. Miller and Hilbert's brief note points out that the semantic category referred to as "control" by Thompson might be more appropriately labeled as "caring for." They suggest that conscious concern leads to taking care when performing an act. Doak's paper addresses the discourse use of a transitive suffix, the *-st(u)-* transitivizer, which marks causative and customary actions. After a brief introduction to the pronominal paradigm associated with this suffix, Doak turns to textual examples to illustrate its various discourse functions. These include the introduction of primary action and participant tracking. This paper is marred by the lack of interlinear glossing and a conclusion, but nevertheless is important for addressing the neglected topic of Salish discourse. Hess's paper on Lushootseed verbs presents a framework for cataloging the co-occurrence of verb roots with transitive and intransitive suffixes. Salishan languages present special difficulties in lexicography because of the changes to the root vowels that accompany various suffixes. Hess's framework is put to good use in the excellent dictionary of Lushootseed (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994). Saunders and Davis's paper on Bella Coola discusses the various uses of the imperfective prefix *?at-*, which takes on the meaning of iterative/continuative or resultative depending on the semantic class of the root. The roots are sorted according to the semantics of control and events, as well as the grammatical notion of valence. This paper is difficult to read due to a plethora of undefined terminology and under-exemplified analyses, but it is nevertheless a significant contribution to research on Salish verb semantics.

The other Salish papers deal with syntax, texts, ethnography, or comparative data. Montler's paper, which addresses the issue of relative clauses in Salishan languages, is the sole paper dealing with syntax. Although some Salishan languages are claimed to lack relative clauses, Montler argues for their existence in the Saanich dialect of North Straits and shows that they follow the patterns previously demonstrated for Island Halkomelem. This includes relatives headed by determiners, the so-called headless relatives. Montler concludes with a comparison of relative clauses in various Salishan languages.³

Two of the papers in part 1 give texts. Terry Thompson and Egesdal give a Thompson legend. This well-presented text with detailed glossing and ethnographic notes is an important contribution to the body of texts available in Salishan languages. Thompson and Egesdal point out Larry Thompson's emphasis in texts as a

³ For a more extensive treatment of this topic from a pan-Salish perspective, see Kroeber (1991).

research tool: “[H]e characterized texts as the fun part of doing field work, the reward, like some grand vista that followed the often rugged uphill climb over the language’s phonology, morphology, and syntax” (p. 279). Hymes gives several English renditions of the same Tillamook text, showing that these reflect the underlying patterns of discourse organization in the Tillamook original.

Two papers address ethnography. Amoss shows the significance of the wool dog, whose hair was used for making ceremonial blankets, to social stratification in the Coast Salish area. Amoss claims that people of high status kept dogs and thus had blankets and were able to dominate the potlatch system. Laforet, Turner, and York give a catalog of traditional foods of the Fraser Canyon Nłeʔképmx (Thompson). Besides giving scientific identifications, they provide information about acquisition, preparation, and ceremonial practices. This is a welcome addition to the Thompson ethnobotany of Turner et al. (1990).

One paper deals with a historical-comparative problem. Kinkade, Thompson’s long-term collaborator on Proto-Salish research, presents comparative evidence on words with meanings like ‘person’, ‘Indian’, and ‘man’. He reconstructs five such words for Proto-Salish and another four words for various branches or subbranches.

The eleven papers of part 2 deal with other languages of North, Central, and South America. Three papers discuss other Northwest languages. Dunn provides a new analysis of Sgüüxs (Southern Tsimshian) reduplication. Traditional accounts have simply listed different patterns of reduplication as “gender” classes. Dunn, however, shows that one overall template is possible if one posits a default vowel. Hoard addresses the issue of pitch in Quileute and suggests that, while it serves no role in the stress system and therefore carries no functional load, it is lexicalized as part of a tonal system. Powell compares the Chimakuan family, composed of two languages, Quileute and Chimakum, with two Wakashan languages, Nuuchahnulth and Heiltsuk. Although these data represent forms from two different subgroups of Wakashan, a more rigorous way of performing this exercise would be to reconstruct Proto-Wakashan forms first and then compare these with the Chimakuan forms. Powell nevertheless comes up with 154 cognates between Chimakuan and Nuuchahnulth and/or Heiltsuk. The data are intriguing enough to warrant further research on this topic. They also raise the issue of where Salishan languages fit into the Northwest comparative equation.

Four papers are relevant to the cross-linguistic study of the grammaticization of pronominal forms. Callaghan reconstructs three stems that underlie interrogative pronouns in Proto-Utian and shows some relic affixes. Gamble reconstructs imperative forms for the “Foothills” branch of Yokuts. He also shows that historically a three-way system of demonstratives referencing proximity to speaker in Yokuts has been leveled to a two-way contrast for some speakers. Sandra Thompson and Li discuss a third-person coreferential pronoun in the Californian language Wappo. This morpheme, which contrasts in function with the Wappo reflexive, signals coreferentiality of third-person object, possessor, or complement subject with a preceding, though not necessarily clause-mate, antecedent. Drechsel’s paper addresses Mobilian Jargon word order. This extinct language exhibited the typologically rare pattern of OSV, though in the evidence presented S is always a pronoun; Drechsel found no examples of sentences with NP subjects in the presence of an overt object.

He suggests that this is due to the fact that the Muskogean languages, which served as a basis for the pidgin, have a pattern of SOV, but with pronominal subjects affixed to the verb, usually as prefixes.

Two papers deal with phonetics. Kirk, Ladefoged, and Ladefoged investigate three contrasting laryngeal states in Jalapa Mazatec: breathy voice, creaky voice, and modal voice (i.e., garden-variety voice). Their instrumental analysis reveals that creaky voice is associated with jitter (irregularly spaced glottal pulses), narrower formant bandwidth, and a high-amplitude first formant. Key discusses vowel/semivowel pairs in several South American languages, including Mapuche and Apalai. These languages, in addition to the widely attested front unrounded *i/y* and back rounded *u/w*, have back unrounded *i/ɣ*.⁴ She concludes that claims regarding semivowels should be re-examined on the basis of this fact.

Finally, two papers are based on American Indian data collected in previous centuries. Rankin's paper deals with the two reconstructed Proto-Siouan-Catawban words for the number 'one'. This short and careful study shows that remnants of the form reconstructed for the Ohio Valley branch are found in Quapaw, a Mississippi Valley language, and Hidatsa, a Missouri Valley language. He thus concludes that this is the older form. Goddard discusses a 1752 Massachusetts petition. He gives a discussion of its rhetorical organization and then briefly compares it to a 1753 petition in English. He notes: "The Massachusetts petition is a reasoned, proud, and even confident presentation of a grievance, while the English petition is a desperate and abject appeal for pity, mercy, and charity" (p. 405).

This is a well-edited, nicely presented volume with copious amounts of data from many languages and analyses that should interest both linguists and anthropologists. I noticed only a few typographical errors (the misspelling of "situation" on page 39, "duplicate" on page 100, and "former" on page 111) and some omitted references in Galloway's paper. Overall, this is an excellent book and a wonderful addition to the University of Montana series dedicated to the presentation of research on native languages of the Northwest.

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⁴ Key makes no mention of the fourth logical possibility, front rounded *ü/y*, as attested, for example, in French.

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