Luiseno, a Structural Analysis IV: Appendices

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LUISEÑO, A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS IV: APPENDICES*

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7.1. Appendix 1: the function of noun class markers

7.2. Appendix 2: Luiseño kinship terms

7.1. The present status of the noun class markers (CM's) of Luiseño suggests that they may have evolved from an earlier system in which their function was to separate noun roots into a number of general classes on the basis of their use, some salient characteristic, or other factor such as generic relationship, etc. They may even have been free forms themselves at one time, one vestige of which would be the suffix /-aʃ/ which, with its own appropriate affixes, still means *animal*. However, we have not been able to attribute single, unambiguous, and exclusive meanings to most of the CM's; the system as it now stands appears to be characterized by considerable overlapping. This may be due to some loss or confusion of semantic value, as in the case of the French negative *pas*, to the creation of new analogical forms, or to shifts of function such as are commonly encountered in diachronic linguistics. On the other hand, researchers of non-Luiseño background may simply be insensitive to the criteria according to which nouns are classified in that culture. We can only say that if the latter is correct, the criteria must be extremely subtle, for we were unable to elicit any pertinent information on this question from our informant.

The impossibility of resolving this question beyond any doubt has led to considerable speculation and to some disagreement. Kroeber-Grace attempted to find a correlation, first between their distribution and phonetic context, then between their distribution and possible meanings, but concluded that there is not enough justification for attributing any semantic value to them, except in a very few instances. This work was based on the identification of the CM's as /-t∫a/, /-ta/, /-la/ and their 'reciprocals,' /-ʃ/, /-t/, and /-l/. They treated /-mal/, /-maj/, /-vɪsa/, and /-wʊt/ separately as 'noun-forming suffixes,' and for these they did indicate appropriate semantic values, such as 'diminutive' and 'augmentive.' The present writer has already taken issue with these conclusions, pointing out that a Chi Square analysis of the Kroeber data indicates a distribution that is definitely not random. Furthermore, a reclassification of some 250 words, according to nominal suffixes, segmented and identified differently than in the Kroeber-Grace study, has revealed somewhat more diversified and complicated semantic tendencies that are at least strongly suggestive—cf. below.

The following noun-class markers are listed in their order of numerical representation, starting with the most recurrent. All of the nouns known to the author, at the time this area was investigated, are given as examples, and these are grouped according to characteristics which, to our mind, they appear to share.

1) /-ɪʃ/. Nouns bearing this CM are grouped into categories as follows.

Nominalized verbs: e.g., /hɛlaxɪʃ/ (*song*), /pɛllaxɪʃ/ (*dance*).

Types of physical of temporal locations: /amalɪʃ/ (*hunting ground*), /aqɪnnɪlɪʃ/ (*post-childbearing sweatplace*), /ɛŋxavɪʃ/ (*salt-lake flat*), /nɔtɪlɪʃ/ (*hunting ground*), /palvɔnɪʃ/ (*valley*), /tawpɪʃ/ (*year, summer*), /tɔʔwɪʃ/ (*forest, wilderness*), /tupɪʃ/ (*sky*).

Foods: /maxɪʃ/ (*acorn flour*), /nátʃănɪʃ/

(food), /paʃkɪʃ/ (washed acorn flour), /pɔjɪʃ/ (meal, ground flour), /qɛqɪʃ/ (clover), /ʃaqappɪʃ/ (edible fungus from willow and cottonwood), /ʃiʔawɪʃ/ (cracked and cleaned acorns), /takavʃɪʃ/ (an edible green), /tɛŋalɪʃ/ (medicine), /waʔɪʃ/ (meat), /wiwɪʃ/ (acorn pudding).

Artifacts: /ɛvɪʃ/ (awl), /kawɪʃ/ (net sack), /kʊttapɪʃ/ (bow), /patkɪlɪʃ/ (gun), /peʃlɪʃ/ (dishes, pots, pans), /mixanɪʃ/ (clothes).

Animals and insects: /jʊŋavɪʃ/ (turkey buzzard), /kʊjxanɪʃ/ (black-widow spider), /laxwalxwɪʃ/ (blind rattlesnake), /mʊkwaʔtʃɪʃ/ (flea), /qɛŋɪʃ/ (ground squirrel).

Humans with awe-inspiring qualities: /jɪxɛjxɪʃ/ (wealthy person), /tɔwɪʃ/ (devil, ghost), /paŋawɪʃ/ (him-of-the-water).

Miscellaneous: /pavkɔnɪʃ/ (larynx), /mɔʃɪʃ/ (pond scum), /tɛlɪŋɪʃ/ (ash), /wavɪʃ/ (foxtail grass), /pavlɪʃ/ (leaf).

2) /-mal/. It is probably an oversimplification to say that /-mal/ is no more than a diminutive. While it is true that many nouns bearing this CM are small exemplars or the young of their specie, it must also be noted that the majority of items in this class are animate, and that there is nothing overtly antipathetic in the list, with the possible exception of /mɛsmal/ (fog, mist), and /tɔlmal/ (hell).

Humans: /amájaʔmal/ (boy, youth), /hɪŋɛʔmal/ (boy), /kɪhatmal/ (baby), /neʃmal/ (old woman), /naxanmal/ (old man), /pumal/ (young initiate).

Animals: /anámal/ (fish), /anmal/ (small ant), /alwɔmal/ (small crow), /kɛjumal/ (any small fish), /nɔwómal/ (sea fish), /paʔjamal/ (raccoon), /palʔvɪsmal/ (swallow), /qarawmal/ (small earthworm), /qawimal/ (raven), /qɛŋmal/ (young ground squirrel), /qeʃmal/ (small shell), /tapaʃmal/ (house mouse), /tʊkmɪsmal/ (polecat), /tumal/ (small black ant), /tɔkamal/ (hawk), /wasimal/ (hawk that nests on ground), /wɪkkasmal/ (bluejay), /wɪsmal/ (chipmunk).

Plants: /avaxmal/ (small cottonwood), /naxmal/ (evergreen shrub), /qasimal/ (blue sage), /tawamal/ (mountain ash), /wavimal/ (foxtail grass).

Artifacts: /kumal/ (poker), /naðʊŋðʊmal/ (water jar), /paʔkʊmal/ (deep little basket), /pivɛvmal/ (sm. deep basket w. mouth), /tʊkmal/ (shallow basket).

Miscellaneous: /tɔmal/ (small stone), /mɛsmal/ (fog, mist), /tɔlmal/ (Hell, abode of the dead), /malaʔmal/ (Agua Tibia, place name).

3) /-wʊt/. Kroeber-Grace have again oversimplified the problem by identifying /-wʊt/ simply as an augmentive and agentive. An examination of the animate and supernatural beings, and weather phenomena, in this list reveal that they are for the most part antipathetic—note the contrast between /ʃovówʊt/ (winter) and /tawpɪʃ/ (summer)—, or that they play an active role in man's existence. Among the plants, however, we note several edible and otherwise useful varieties. Disparaging terms for individuals are freely coined from verbs denoting their habitual and objectional behavior plus /-wʊt/.

Humans (disparaging): /pikawʊt/ (a whining person), /ʃaʔwʊt/ (defecator), /rɛqaqwʊt/ (stinker), /ʃɪʔɪwʊt/ (urinator), /tamáwʊt/ (talkative person).

Animals: /alwʊt/ (crow), /aʃwʊt/ (eagle), /hʊnwʊt/ (bear), /ɪswʊt/ (wolf), /jamisawʊt/ (watersnake), /jʊŋáwajwʊt/ (condor), /mɪxɛwʊt/ (band-tailed pigeon), /paxwʊt/ (jackrabbit), /qarawʊt/ (earthworm), /qawiʔalwʊt/ (raven), /ʃowʊt/ (rattlesnake), /takupawʊt/ (oriole), /tʊkwʊt/ (puma, mt. lion), /tʃɔrwʊt/ (leech), /waxáwʊt/ (toad).

Plants: /atʃáwʊt/ (holly), /kʊlawʊt/ (wood),/ hɔváwʊt/ (pennyroyal tea, Monardella villosa), /mawʊt/ (an edible green),/ mukalwʊt/ (an edible green), /naxwʊt/ (evergreen shrub), /ʊʔuʃawʊt/ (deer brush),/ qaxáwʊt/ (soap plant).

Atmospheric or supernatural antipathetic phenomena: /ʃovówʊt/ (winter), /tɔmawʊt/ (thunder), /tɔwʊt/ (North wind with dust), /pavawʊt/ (quicksand monster), /wanáwʊt/ (ritual network figure of spirit).

4) /-ʊt/. This CM is perhaps derived from /-wʊt/, but contrasts exist between the two classes, e.g., /tukʊt/ (bobcat): /tʊkwʊt/ (puma, mt. lion)—the /uːʊ/ contrast here is undoubtedly phonetically conditioned.

Animals:/palʊkʊt/ (skunk), /tukʊt/ (bobcat), /qaʃɪppʊt/ (lizard).

Miscellaneous: /ʃamʊt/ (grass), /paʔkʊt/ (deep basket), /tʃaqwkʊt/ (ready seizer of women, 'wolf').

5) /-la/. It is noted that no humans are included here, except for /pula/, a plausible exception, since the shaman may be considered as supernatural.

Mass nouns, nature: /ɛŋla/ (salt), /ɛxla/ (land, earth), /jʊxwala/ (mud), /ɔwla/ (blood), /tula/ (coal, charcoal), /pala/ (water).

Celestial phenomena: /hʊŋla/ (wind), /ʃʊʔla/ (star), /mɔjla/ (moon).

Non-material human attributes or activities: /ɪxila/ (coughing), /tatawila/ (whirlwind dance), /taʃkɪʃla/ (shadow), /tʊŋla/ (name).

Plants and animals: /paʔqwala/ (sunflower), /kwila/ (acorn), /putʃakla/ (Calendrina green), /ʃɪvɛla/ (sycamore), /kukʊntala/ (any bumblebee), /kwaʔla/ (chicken hawk), /piqwala/ (snake), /waxawkɪla/ (frog).

Artifacts: /hula/ (arrow), /wikʊnla/ (net sack).

Miscellaneous: /pula/ (shaman), /pavkɔnla/ (larynx), /wɪjala/ (quartz crystals).

6) /-al/. The /-al/ group may be, as Kroeber-Grace suggest, a reciprocal of /-la/ —in this case, the implication for /ʃʊŋal/ is hardly flattering! Not only is there nothing overtly antipathetic in this list, but most, if not all, of the inanimates are useful—this statement would not apply to /-la/.

Plants: /panaʔal/ (yucca), /paʃal/ (chia seed), /ʃɪʔqal/ (an edible green).

Animals: /awal/ (dog), /ɪsal/ (western meadowlark), /jaxwajxwal/ (cactus wren), /paʃkal/ (sea lion).

Mass nouns, useful materials: /ɛxval/ (sand), /sɪnnaval/ (money), /tɔpal/ (mortar), /tɔval/ (white clay).

Miscellaneous: /kunal/ (gunny sack), /waʔnal/ (seine net), /ʃʊŋal/ (woman), /wɪʔaʃal/ (oak tree).

7) /-l/. This group might possibly belong to a larger /-l/, /-ɪl/, /-al/ group, as the Kroeber-Grace classification suggests.

Plants: /pakɪl/ (peppergrass), /qasɪl/ (white sage).

Animals: /kɪjul/ (water monster), /mɪxɛl/ (mourning dove).

Pertaining to people: /aqɪnnɪvʊl/ (where childbirth takes place), /mukɪl/ (a boil), /ɔjɪl/ (jaw, chin).

8) /-at/. It is noted that all the items in this class come within human contact as materials, edible animals—note the edible cottontail versus the usually wormy jackrabbit—, artifacts, and pests.

Plants: /aváxat/ (cottonwood), /nɛqat/ (greens), /pivat/ (tobacco), /pɪvɛsat/ (tule rush).

Animals: /paʔat/ (mountain sheep), /ʃukat/ (deer), /tɔʃɪqat/ (cottontail rabbit).

Insects: /anat/ (ant), /ʃaʔlat/ (body louse).

Natural useful materials: /tɔʔxat/ (white clay), /xɛxat/ (unhulled acorns).

Accoutrements and extension of this idea: /ɛlat/ (headdress), /tɛlat/ (words, speech), /tʃɛjat/ (feather bunch, pompom), /wakat/ (throwing club), /witʃat/ (rope).

Miscellaneous: /mɔmat/ (ocean).

9) /-ɪt/. This CM may belong to a larger /-t/ class, as Kroeber-Grace suggest. Natural airborne phenomena: /jujɪt/ (snow), /kumɪt/ (smoke), /tukʊmɪt/ (night).

10) /-ka/. Parasites and pests, undesirable presences:/ajáraka/ (pond scum), /aláwaka/ (buzzard), /atʃájaka/ (mistletoe), /avɛllaka/ (butterfly), /mʊvɪllaka/ (snail), /tʃahʊkka/ (an ancient spirit), /tʃalakka/ (horned toad).

11) /-ɪ/. Volatile—teepee and pipe, by virtue of their characteristic emanation of smoke would constitute a plausible extension of this idea.

Animate flying beings: /kamarɪwrɪ/

(*dragonfly*), /saqapıʔpı/ (*long-tailed titmouse*), /toʔlokkolomı/ (*sparrowhawk*), /womʔsı/ (*snowbird*).

Miscellaneous: /hukapı/ [*smoking pipe*), /tʃakulı/ (*teepee*).

12) /-mı/. Used exclusively for place names. Probably formed from the plural marker /-ʊm/ plus the accusative suffix /-ı/ with the idea of referring to the inhabitants: /sakıʃmı/ (*Guejito*), /sawmı/ (*Valley Center*), /waxomı/ (*Guajome*), /ʊʃmı/ (*Las Flores*).

13) /-na/. Used exclusively for plants: /atóʃana/ (*California poppy*), /posıʔkana/ (*sow thistle*), /tuna/ (*cactus pear*).

14) /-aʃ/. Animate: /aʃ/ (*animal, horse*), /jaʔaʃ/ (*man*), possibly from 'talking animal.' /-maʃ/ (*husband of aunt, or father's brother*), /mɛʔqaʃ/ (*yellow rattlesnake*), /momŋaʃ/ (*White Man*), sometimes /momŋawıʃ/ (*being from the ocean*). /-paʔaʃ/ (*older brother*), /-taʔaʃ/ (*mother's brother*).

Plant: /qawmaʃ/ (*a fiber plant*).

15) /-tʃa/. Locations: /jamitʃa/ (*brush, woods*), /kitʃa/ (*house, home*), /qawitʃa/ (*hill*).

16) /-kat/. Refers exclusively to persons with special skills, agentive: /amakat/ (*hunter*), /aqmnıkat/ (*midwife*), /tɛŋalkat/ (*doctor*).

A further attempt was made to throw some light on this question by conducting with the informant a simple experiment, described as follows: She was given a number of English words, for which there were presumably no known Luiseño equivalents. These were presented in pairs or in series corresponding to contrastive characteristics or degrees of responses usually associated with the entities in question, or suggested by the author's first classification. A brief explanation (definition and/or characterization) was given with each word. She was then asked to coin Luiseño equivalents, consisting of any suitable root plus a CM chosen from the complete list, which she had before her. This list contained only the CM's; no examples nor explanations as to their ap-

parent roles were provided. The English words were presented as follows:

Group 1. *battleship, cruise steamer, destroyer, yacht,* and *garbage scow* (the latter described as ugly and foul-smelling).

Group 2. *dinosaur* (described as enormous, fearful, and aggressive), *tame elephant, baby dinosaur, baby elephant.*

Group 3. *man-eating plant, mosquito-eating plant.*

Group 4. *skunkweed, perfume plant* (a figment of the author's imagination).

Group 5. *poison gas, laughing gas* (described as easing pain and provoking joy).

Group 6. *leprechaun* (described as benign), *Loch Ness monster* (described as fearsome, aggressive, and huge), *sprites* (described as small and benign), *gremlins* (described as small evil presences in and about airplanes).

Group 7. *paper clip, steam shovel, pile driver, tack hammer.*

Group 8. *airplane, dirigible, flying saucer* (described as a vehicle for invading Martians).

Group 9. *cannon, water pistol.*

Group 10. *new Cadillac, old jalopy, motorcycle.*

Group 11. *bacteria* (described as microscopic, dangerous to man, causing sickness and death), *barnacle* (described as pests, hull parasites).

Group 12. *professional actor.*

The results, although inconclusive, are nevertheless interesting and strongly suggestive. In most cases, the informant could not make a choice of root with which she was completely satisfied, but she experienced no difficulty whatsoever in deciding on what she felt was an appropriate CM for each word. Furthermore, each decision appeared to be spontaneous and firm. The following shows the English words, listed under the CM's chosen for their Luiseño equivalents, together with the author's inference as to what quality was involved. These results, as far as they go, support those of our first classification.

/-wʊt/ *battleship* (augmentive, antipathetic), *man-eating plant* (antipathetic), *skunkweed* (antipathetic), *poison gas* (antipathetic), *steam shovel* (noisy and awkward, hence antipathetic), *airplane* (noisy, perhaps fearsome, hence antipathetic), *motorcycle* (noisy and awkward, hence antipathetic). It turned out that a word had already been coined: /ʃɪxnɪkwʊt/, from /ʃɪxnɪq/ (*to crepitate, break wind*).

/-ʊt/ *garbage scow* (antipathetic), *tack hammer* (?), *cannon* (antipathetic).

/-mal/ *baby elephant* (diminutive, perhaps benign), *baby dinosaur* (diminutive), *mosquito-eating plant* (benign to man), *laughing gas* (benign), *dirigible* (quiet?), *water pistol* (a plaything, benign), *new Cadillac* (benign, but certainly not diminutive), *paper clip* (diminutive).

/-kat/ *Loch Ness monster* (agentive), *flying saucer* (?), *professional actor* (agentive)—in this case, the whole word was coined: /jɪʔjɪkat/, from the verb *to play*—*dinosaur* (agentive). One wonders whether /-kat/ does not have connotations of antipathy in spite of the fact that the informant appears to have been very happy as a movie extra and had many close friends who were also actors.

/-ka/ *gremlins* (undesirable presences), *barnacles* (undesirable presences), *old jalopy* (undesirable presences).

/-ɪt/ *bacteria* (natural airborne phenomena), *sprites* (same?).

/-ɪ/ *destroyer* (perhaps thought of in terms of its function, hence a verbal derivative), *steam hammer* (same?).

/-mɪ/ *perfume weed* (volatile emanation).

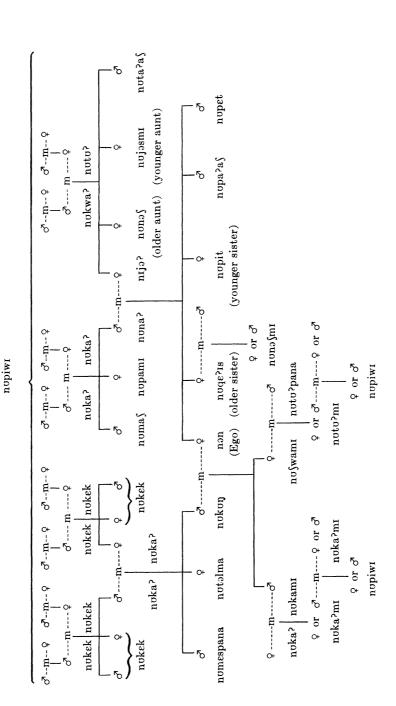/-tɪ/ *elephant* (probably a phonetic analogy with Spanish).

7.2. The following material is offered as a point of departure for further study in this area. The present data constitute a fairly complete inventory of kinship terms from the point of view of our informant, but another informant, a male, or the youngest or oldest sister in a given family, might have yielded additional terms in some of the genealogical ramifications and eliminated some of those we have noted in others.
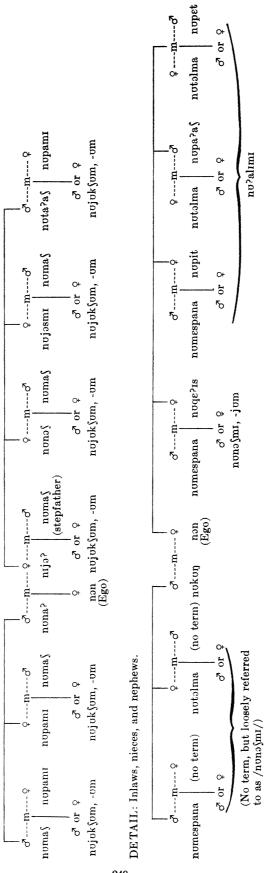
There are, however, a number of tentative conclusions that can be drawn from the terms collected thus far: Differentiation and generalization in various ramifications may reflect the subjective closeness and relative importance of different family relationships in the social structure. Our data suggest, for example, that Luiseño society is matrilinear, that the family line goes from woman to eldest daughter, and that all other relatives are felt to be removed from that line by various degrees. This is borne out in part by the specific and exclusive nature of most of the feminine terms in the line extending from the informant's maternal grandparents, down through her own children and those of her older sister, while on the other hand, a number of terms for apparently less important relatives show little more than the number of degrees separating them from the maternal line. Thus, /-kɛk/ designates indiscriminately all brothers, sisters, and parents of the informant's father; /-kaʔ/ refers to either of the father's parents, the son's child, or that child's spouse; /-maʃ/ is any uncle or uncle-in-law not a blood relative; and /-pamɪ/ is any aunt or aunt-in-law not related by blood. Furthermore, the Luiseños appear to attach importance only to the living, for there is a loss of differentiation at the extremities of the genealogical tree—great-grandparents and great-grandchildren, regardless of sex or proximity to the maternal line are indiscriminately called /-piwɪm/.

Various linguistic peculiarities emerge: First, as we have already seen—**2.1.1.1.2**—, kin are 'first-order-possessions,' and hence require possessive prefixes. Then, terms such as /-mɛspana/ and /-tʊʔpana/ are evidently derived, respectively, from the analytical forms /-mɛs punaʔ/ and /tʊʔ punaʔ/, the second part of which literally means *his (her-) father*. Finally, the reciprocity of certain pairs of Luiseño kinship terms, as noted by Kroeber-Grace, is generally confirmed by our

PRINCIPAL KINSHIP TERMS OF LUISEÑO

All designations from the point of view of informant (Ego)

nʊpiwɪ

nʊta?aʃ

nʊtu?

nʊjəsmɪ (younger aunt)

nʊpɛt

nʊkwa?

nʊnəʃ (older aunt)

nijo?

nʊpa?aʃ

nʊpit (younger sister)

nʊka?

nʊna?

numaʃ nʊpamɪ

non (Ego)

nʊqɛ?ɪs (older sister)

nʊnəʃmɪ ? or ♂

nʊtu?pana

nʊʃwamɪ

nʊtu?mɪ ? or ♂ nʊpiwɪ

nʊkɛk

nʊkʊŋ

nʊtɔlma nʊka?

nʊmespana

nʊkamɪ

nʊka?mɪ nʊka?mɪ ? or ♂ nʊpiwɪ

DETAIL: Inlaws and cousins.

DETAIL: Inlaws, nieces, and nephews.

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present findings. The ending /-mɪ/ occurs in eight of our twenty-seven terms and may indeed be a reciprocity marker—/nʊtʊʔmɪ/ (*my daughter's child*) contrasts with /nʊtʊʔ/ (*my maternal grandmother*), /nʊnɔʃmɪ/ (*my older sister's child*) with /nʊnɔʃ/ (*my mother's older sister*). However, in most cases, we find either no reciprocal for a given term ending in /-mɪ/ or else a lack of symmetry between the relationships indicated by such pairs. All that is certain is that /-mɪ/ refers to a blood relative in a junior relationship to the Ego.

The figures show the Luiseño genealogical tree with all the kinship terms we were able to gather. These are also spelled out in the following alphabetical list in which all the terms are translated into English.

/-ʔalɪmɪ/, the child of a brother or younger sister

/-jɔʔ/, mother

/-jɔsmɪ/, mother's younger sister

/-jʊkʃʊm, -ʊm/, first cousin(s) on either side of the family, including the child(ren) of mother and stepfather, perhaps also the child(ren) of father and stepmother

/-kaʔ/, paternal grandparent, husband's parent, or son's wife

/-kamɪ/, son

/-kaʔmɪ/, son's child, or that child's spouse

/-kɛk/, brother or sister of husband's parent, or husband's grandparent on either side

/-kʊŋ/, husband

/-kwaʔ/, mother's father

/-maʃ/, husband of aunt (either side), or father's brother

/-mɛspana/, husband of sister, or brother-in-law

/-naʔ/, father

/-nɔʃ/, mother's older sister

/-nɔʃmɪ/, older sister's child, also loosely used for child of brother-in-law or sister-in-law

/-paʔaʃ/, older brother

/-pamɪ/, wife of uncle (either side), or father's sister

/-pɛt/, younger brother

/-pit/, younger sister

/-piwɪ/, great-grandparent, or great-grandchild, on either side

/-qɛʔɪs/, older sister

/-ʃawamɪ/, daughter (age is immaterial)

/-taʔaʃ/, mother's brother

/-tɔlma/, brother's wife, or husband's sister

/-tʊʔ/, mother's mother

/-tʊʔmɪ/, daughter's child

/-tʊʔpana/, daughter's husband